

ANARCHISTS AND THE MAY 4 MOVEMENT IN CHINA (1)

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TRANSLATOR'S NOTE

Until the post-Cultural Revolution thaw that began in 1979, Chinese readers found it next to impossible to gain access to information about the strong anarchist influence within their country's revolutionary movement. From the point of view of the ruling Communist Party, in whose favour historical materials were invariably rewritten, this was a necessity borne out by the fact that, when people took to the streets in 1989 to demand a degree of control over their own lives, among the slogans that they raised were the traditional ones of anarchism. One of the few sources of information on anarchism available in Chinese before the 1960s was the collection titled *An Introduction to the Periodicals of the May 4 Period* (Wusi shiqi qikan jieshao), which first appeared in 1958 and was reissued in 1979. To those with the energy to wade through the six hefty volumes, the collection proved to be a treasure-trove. It not only listed all the major periodicals of the May 4 period and after, but also reprinted their Contents Pages, Editorial Statements, etc, while providing an analysis of the significance of each periodical. The latter, while written from the standpoint of the Communist Party,

was nevertheless remarkably objective, even with regard to the anarchist periodicals. Toward the latter the policy was one of stating the facts then suggesting shortcomings, making it possible to sift out considerable information not only about anarchist activities but also about the considerable overlap between groups of different political persuasions during those years. It was this collection, in fact, that provided the catalyst for Nohara Shirō's original essay.

Nohara Shirō, until his death in 1981, was a Marxist historian specializing in Chinese history and politics who had also become strongly involved in the movement to eradicate pre-war feudal and fascist influences from Japanese education and learning. The essay translated here originally appeared in his 1960 collection, *History and Ideology in Asia* (Ajia no rekishi to shisō). Despite his personal preference for Marxism over anarchism, Nohara's approach to the subject is quite open-minded. The strengths of his essay are its focus upon practical organizing attempts rather than intellectual activities, and its revelation of the considerable anarchist influence upon Li Dazhao, whom the Communist Party has long claimed as its own. Whilst most of the early intellectual exponents of the anarchist idea either drifted away into obscurity, were converted to Marxism, or joined the bandwagon of the nationalist movement (some even becoming outright fascists), the organizing activities described here often became the building blocks for the subsequent communist movement. Nohara's work is thus invaluable not only for shedding light on the role of anarchism as an intellectual stimulus for the Chinese revolutionary movement as a whole, but also for making clear the political debt owed the anarchists in terms of practical activities.

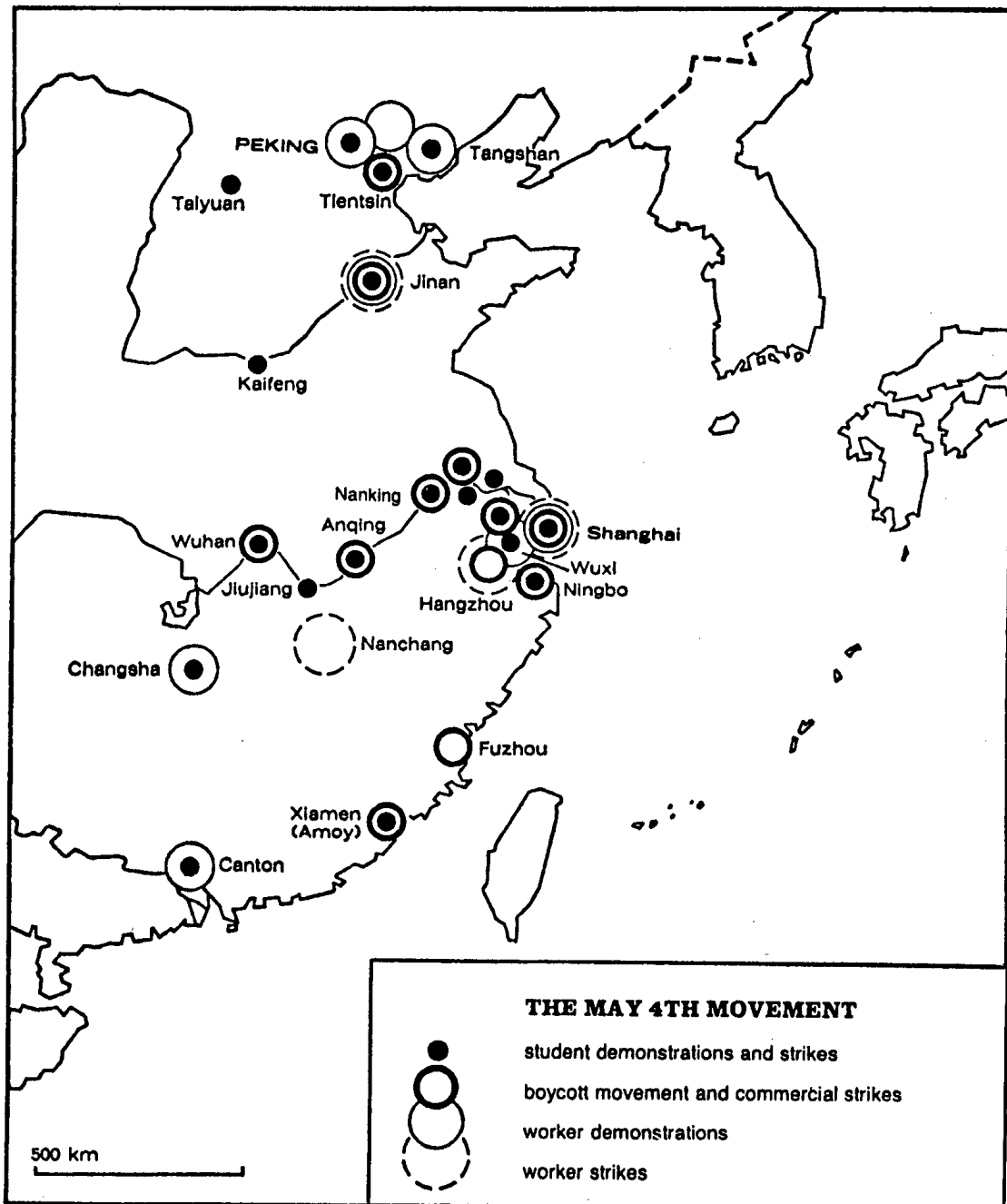
In the Commentary I have attempted to marshall additional material

on themes raised by Nohara, without losing a sense of proportion. The Chinese anarchist movement, like its counterparts elsewhere, has often been overlooked because of a lack of materials, and the Commentary is an attempt to assemble previously scattered information and make it accessible to readers. The translation is a completely revised version of one that first appeared in issues 1-4 of the small magazine *Libero International*, published in Kobe and Osaka from 1975 to 1977. The Commentary and Introduction have also been considerably expanded and amended. In accordance with standard East Asian practice, personal names of Chinese, Japanese and Korean individuals have been transcribed with the family name preceding the given name. Chinese characters for most of the individuals and periodicals mentioned may be found in Chow, 1963.

A Note on the Pronunciation of Chinese Names and Terms

Most letters are pronounced roughly as written, with the exception of the following:

- c = ts as in 'its'
- q = ch as in 'chin'
- x = hs as in 'shin'
- si = sir
- zi = zer as in 'Tizer'



INTRODUCTION

The students' movement for democratization that erupted in China in April 1989 only to be bloodily crushed by the authorities some two months later was the latest in a series whose origins can be traced back to the beginnings of modern China's revolutionary process. Sparked off by the death of Hu Yaobang, the former Secretary-General of the Chinese Communist Party who had been deposed in disgrace by conservatives two years before, the movement had derived further inspiration from the visit to Beijing of the Soviet leader Gorbachev, then at the height of his popularity thanks to his 'perestroika' reform initiative. And yet it was not by chance that the movement also coincided with the 70th anniversary of the famous student movement of May 1919. Ironically, while the latter has been appropriated as a primary revolutionary icon by the ruling Communist Party, it was against the dictatorial style of that very party that the 1989 students were protesting. Sadly, despite the students' insistence upon a nonviolent movement and the fact that they sought merely to urge the Party to live up to the revolutionary ideals it still claimed to espouse, the government's reaction was as ruthless as had been that of its counterpart, the warlord regime of seventy years before.

The parallel between the two movements does not stop there. Government approval for thousands of students to travel abroad, which formed one wing of the 'opening-up' (*kaifang*) policy of the ten years following the refutation of the 'Cultural Revolution' in 1979, closely matched the policy of dispatching students to Japan and the West for further education in the early years of this century. In both cases the initiative was an implicit recognition of the fact that stagnation had set in which could only be cured by the injection of new blood; and in both

cases student demands, far exceeding the bounds of the government's original intentions, were for fundamental reforms in the country's political organization. For in 1989, as in 1919, changes were taking place on a worldwide scale that not only stimulated the students to press home their demands with still greater fervour than they might otherwise have had, but also caused the government to look fearfully over its shoulder, admitting the justice of many of the students' arguments while ordering them to restrain the 'radicalness' of their behaviour.

Behind the students' actions, in 1989 as in 1919, was a deep mood of patriotism that was effectively obliterated in each case by a barrage of government propaganda. In 1919 the students, a tiny minority of the population but open to the input of new ideas and current information, had watched their country being steadily divided up among the super-powers and realized that politicians in charge of government policy were in fact contributing to the disaster. It was as if the shock of that realization had galvanized them into a search for the real meaning of 'China'. Why was the country apparently resigned to suicide? Was there any longer any meaning to being 'Chinese'? Where was the country bound, and what was needed to guide it along the way? In the sense that the spirit of the May 4 Movement was an attempt to redefine Chinese culture in the context of the modern world, it was far more of a revolution than its predecessor of eight years earlier which had overthrown the Qing dynasty and inaugurated a republic.

Seventy years later the 1989 students' call for a multi-party state to replace the Communist Party's dictatorial control over national affairs stemmed from a similar realization that the Party's refusal to admit change was leading China toward disaster. Not least was their concern that the Party, by betraying the very values it had foisted upon the

country in place of those of traditional society, had left people with no values at all. Their anxiety was fuelled by the screening the previous year of the controversial television documentary 'River Elegy' (*Heshang*). Using the Yellow River as a symbol for Chinese civilization, the programme had suggested that the desperate efforts put in over the centuries by peasants to sustain the river in its course and prevent flooding had their parallel in efforts by successive governments to sustain the unique nature of Chinese civilization, resulting in stagnation and a refusal to admit the validity of outside ideas. The allusion to the conservatism of the present government was obvious. To concerned intellectuals, persisting on this course could only mean the continued isolation of China from the world community.

Despite government efforts to contain the controversy and the sponsoring of a stream of publications criticizing the producers of 'River Elegy', the debate continued. Just as students and intellectuals in 1919 had called for political reform to 'protect our mountains and seas' — ie, to return China to its own people — the demands for democratization in 1989 grew from the perception that the government possessed neither the will nor the energy to tackle the multitude of problems facing the country. If anything, reports of widespread pollution and defoliation throughout China over the past few years have made the issue of 'protecting the mountains and seas' more pressing than ever.

On May 4 1919 some 3,000 Beijing students demonstrated in protest against the Chinese government's acquiescent attitude toward Japan's expansionist demands. The immediate cause was the failure of the

Versailles Peace Conference to return to China German colonies in Shandong province seized by Japan in 1915; the revelation that the government had tacitly agreed to Japan's assuming control was the last straw. The officials held responsible for the government's stance were denounced as traitors, and the May 4 demonstrations were called to force their resignation. When some students invaded the home of one of the ministers, police arrived, a fight ensued, and 32 people were arrested. This was the 'May 4 Incident', the catalyst for a process of tumultuous change that would end in the total transformation of China. Out of the May 4 Movement that followed the Incident grew not only the cultural revolution that would sweep away the old elite and (most of) its values for ever, but also many of the political currents that over the next thirty years would battle for control of the country. National consciousness, political parties, the labour and student movements, even the beginnings of the peasant movement, can all be traced back to 'May 4', the term which has come to subsume not merely the Incident itself but also the decade of social and intellectual change that had begun four years earlier.

The transformation of China's predominantly-agrarian economy had begun during the 19th century, the result of a combination of imperialist pressure and more gradual domestic trends. In the early days native industry had little chance to expand because foreign-manufactured goods of lower price and superior quality were constantly being dumped on the market through the many one-sided trade agreements forced upon the weak Chinese government. With World War 1 and the preoccupation of the western powers with military production, however, China obtained a breathing space. Native production, especially in light industry, grew rapidly from 1914 to 1920. Investment moved from the countryside to

the cities; joint-stock corporations and modern banks began to appear; capital concentration and the growth of a modern economy quickened. Merchants, always a despised group in Chinese society because of their non-productive character, transferred their operations from the hinterland to the cities with the encouragement of the new Chambers of Commerce. Their consequent interest in national rather than local markets made them a highly significant political factor, and many of them came to support the aims of the May 4 Movement. In particular, the increased influence of Japan and the return of the other imperialist powers after the war made the merchants and industrialists anxious about the future and therefore sensitive to appeals for national recovery.

The intellectual revolution which provided the initial impetus for the May 4 Movement also grew out of this process of structural change. China's ability to maintain its social and political systems virtually unchanged for more than two millenia was primarily due to the fact that their intellectual premises had never been seriously challenged. After the Opium War with Britain in 1840-42 had demonstrated the superior might of the West, however, the first stirrings of national consciousness began to be discernible. A movement grew up around the principle that, while China's traditional learning and institutions were superior to those of the West, in order to protect and preserve them China needed to learn Western methods and technology. Military defeat by Japan in 1894-5, though, brought another rude awakening. The lessons of the ineffective revolution of 1911, together with increasing encroachment by Japan (where the 1868 'Meiji Restoration' had already begun to transform society along Western lines) convinced intellectuals that merely transplanting laws and political institutions was not enough.

Fierce nationalism, inspired by opposition to the 250-year rule of the

alien Qing or Manchu dynasty, had won a transparent victory in the revolution of 1911 that established a republican system of government, but the new order was almost immediately turned into the personal dictatorship of President Yuan Shikai. Many erstwhile revolutionaries joined the government; others wasted time and lives on futile, uncoordinated insurrections; still others, once their more practical strategies showed signs of becoming a serious threat to the established order, were eliminated by presidential assassins. Following Yuan's abortive 1916 attempt to make himself emperor and his death soon after, the country fell into the hands of local militarists or 'warlords'.

All this, together with further imperial restoration attempts, the collusion of party politicians with the warlord governments, and the total failure to rally popular opinion for a 'Second Revolution' in 1913, brought home all too plainly that mere nationalism was not the cure-all which many intellectuals had thought it to be. The abject acceptance by the government in 1915 of Japan's 'Twenty-One Demands', intended to turn China into little more than a Japanese colony, merely underlined the hollowness of the changes that had taken place so far, and convinced many intellectuals of the need for more fundamental change. Things being what they were, it was inevitable that these intellectuals, though numbering only some ten million in 1919, would come to represent other casualties of social change in a kind of crusade to save China.

The 'new' intellectuals, whose contacts with modern Western civilization had often, even if only temporarily, alienated them from traditional Chinese orthodoxy, claimed that not only should Western methods and ideas be fully introduced, but also that China's hallowed traditions themselves should be subjected to a total re-examination. In 1915, therefore, through the medium of the newly-established *New Youth*

magazine, these intellectuals began calling for the destruction of all traditional values, ethics, social theories and institutions, and for their replacement by new ones appropriate to building a 'new culture' for China. The appeal was predominantly to young people, as the name of the magazine suggested, and Chinese students responded enthusiastically, particularly after *New Youth* began to be published in the vernacular style instead of the stilted classical forms that symbolized the old culture. As this 'New Culture Movement' gathered momentum, every aspect of the old society came under fire: the traditional family was to be abolished, arranged marriages would give way to freely-chosen love matches, filial piety would be replaced by individual equality, and the sexual double standard would be ended by the establishment of sexual equality. Old superstitions and religions were castigated in the name of scientific methods. Politics would be by and for the common people, and a literary revolution would do away with the old script intelligible only to a few thousand trained scholars, making culture available to all.

Events outside China were presenting a stimulating contrast to its own passivity. While Western democracy had been widely discredited by the Peace Conference's decision on Shandong, the success of the October Revolution in Russia, followed by the ill-fated but still impressive revolts in Hungary, Finland, Germany, Austria, Bavaria and elsewhere showed the potential of popular uprisings. Meanwhile, the August 1918 'Rice Riots' in Japan and the following year's 'March 1 Movement' against Japanese colonial rule in Korea helped demonstrate that popular initiative was not the prerogative of the West.

The effects of May 4 were far-reaching. Most profoundly affected of all, perhaps, were the women — at least, those living in the cities. Chinese women were taught from childhood to be passive and obedient,

sheltered from the outside world, used as pawns in family politics, rarely given any education, and not allowed to work. Foot-binding, concubinage, female infanticide, the cult of chastity preferring suicide to dishonour and so on had made Chinese women perhaps the most violently oppressed in the world. Women's emancipation, when first mooted by progressive (male) intellectuals made aware that half China's population was kept in virtual slavery, thus had a feeling of inevitability to it. Young women bobbed their hair, went on demonstrations, attended school for the first time, demanded a free choice in marriage and so on. The idea of 'women's rights' had gradually filtered down through the few schools and publications that were available until by 1919, despite strong resistance, it had become a key motif of the intellectual and social revolution.

The modern labour movement was also a product of May 4. Foreign economic encroachment since the mid-19th century had created a small proletariat, and expansion during World War 1 had increased the number of urban workers by 1918 to about a million. Though but a tiny proportion of the entire Chinese population of 400 million or so, the anti-imperialist movement, particularly the anti-Japan agitation during May 4, quickly awakened these workers to a sense of their own potential. It also brought home the advantages of organization, which in turn, by arousing the opposition of Chinese industrialists, helped encourage class awareness. Although there was no central labour organization at the time, it has been estimated that as many as 60,000 workers in 43 enterprises staged some form of strike or stoppage in Shanghai alone. Much of the activity was stimulated by the socialist clubs and study groups that had spread across the country during mid-1919.

The remaining 90% or more of the population, meanwhile, the pea-

sants, took little part in the events of 1919. Mostly illiterate, and culturally speaking light years removed from the world of the urban intellectuals, the people of the Chinese countryside could make little of the nationalist furore enveloping the cities. Rural China, controlled for two thousand years by an unproductive landlord class presiding over an atomized peasantry in varying degrees of economic distress, had naturally changed but little as a result of the revolution of 1911, which had been barely more than a military coup. Years of inter-warlord conflicts rolling back and forth over the villages, destroying the economy and killing millions, had by the time of the May 4 Movement reduced many parts of inland China to chaos. Thus, while May 4 had meant little more to most peasants than the entertaining sight of bands of well-meaning students come to 'share the peasants' lives' and to spread the message of 'national reconstruction', intellectuals concerned with the practical methods for creating a 'new China' were giving serious thought to the 'peasant problem'. Out of this concern to liberate the countryside from poverty and ignorance would eventually, after twenty years in which rural conditions went from bad to worse, come the peasant revolution that would prove stronger than either Japanese imperialism or the US-backed middle-class elite of Jiang Jieshi (Chiang Kai-shek), and which would win the whole country for the popular policies of the Chinese Communist Party. China's peasant revolution may thus also be said to have germinated in the fertile soil of the May 4 Movement.

AN ANARCHIST GENEALOGY

In the China of 1919, hot on the heels of the broad-based popular movement known as 'May 4', a cacophony of diverse ideologies was vigorously disputing how to build upon the movement's successes in the reconstruction of their country. One of the profoundest of those disputes, as elsewhere, was that between anarchism and 'bolshevism'.¹⁾

Prior to the establishment of the Communist Party in 1921, 'socialism' in China had encompassed a range of creeds, from anarchism, syndicalism, guild socialism and bolshevism to Tolstoyan humanism and even the Japanese 'New Village' (Atarashiki mura) movement.²⁾ Indeed, the thinking of the earliest Chinese communists had been deeply imbued with elements of anarchism and other ideologies, and 'bolshevism' itself was widely viewed as no more than a faction within the anarchist movement.³⁾ Not until after the post-May 4 disputes did the Chinese bolsheviks genuinely manage to forge a clear direction for themselves and strike out upon an independent path.

Anarchism, along with other socialist creeds, had been introduced to China on the eve of the 1911 Revolution there by radicals exiled in France and Japan. Among the numerous articles dealing with socialism carried in the *People's Report* (Minbao), organ of the Chinese Revolutionary Alliance (Zhongguo geming tongmenghui) formed in Tokyo in 1905, Bakunin, Kropotkin and other European anarchist figures were well represented. Alliance members including Zhang Binglin, Zhang Ji and Liu Shiwei⁴⁾ contacted Japanese militants Kōtoku Shūsui, Ōsugi Sakae, Sakai Yoshihiko and others,⁵⁾ and with their help organized the Society for the Study of Socialism (Shehuizhuyi jiangxihui). In the journals *Natural Justice* (Tianyi bao) and *Impartiality* (Heng bao) which

they subsequently launched, they began regularly introducing the ideas of Bakunin and Kropotkin.⁶⁾

In 1906 Kōtoku Shūsui, following his return from the United States, had promptly announced his conversion to anarcho-syndicalism and begun to propagate the general strike as the only road to a true revolution:

We will never, never achieve genuine social revolution through universal suffrage or by parliamentary procedures. In order to attain our target of socialism, there is no other course for us but to rely on direct action by the workers acting in unison.⁷⁾

In China, meanwhile, domestic and foreign pressure since the Boxer Uprising of 1900 had forced the Qing authorities to take steps towards establishing a constitutional monarchy based upon a system of consultative assemblies in an attempt to bolster its autocratic rule. The working class was still fearfully weak, however, and an anti-government struggle by means of a general strike was quite out of the question. Under the circumstances Chinese anarchist militants could do little but resort to 'propaganda by the deed' using the tactic of assassination. The backcloth to this advocacy of individual terrorism was provided by such episodes as the 1907 plot to kill all the high officials of Anhui province, in which Qiu Jin, a woman student just returned from Japan was involved, and Wang Jingwei's attentat upon the Imperial Regent in 1910.⁸⁾

A good example of this trend was Liu Sifu. Following his return from Japan in 1906, Liu, or Shi Fu as he is usually known,⁹⁾ undertook the elimination of local officials in support of the Alliance's armed rising in Guangdong in 1907, and later masterminded an assassination attempt upon the Imperial Regent on the eve of the 1911 Revolution. In this way he commenced his efforts to propagate anarchism by way of un-

disguised terrorism.¹⁰⁾ His subsequent activities too, since they came to constitute the main current of the pre-May 4 anarchist movement, require a brief explanation here.

Since 1907 the anarchists Wu Zhihui, Li Shizeng, Zhang Jingjiang and, following his expulsion from Japan, Zhang Ji, had been publishing the weekly magazine *New Century* (Xin shiji) in Paris.¹¹⁾ Sales outlets had also been set up in England, the United States and Japan, and efforts were being made to spread anarchist propaganda via overseas Chinese students and residents. Shi Fu, who had contacted this Paris group soon after the 1911 Revolution, then set up his own propaganda organization in Guangzhou called the Cock-Crow Study Group (Huiming xueshe). From August 1913 the group began to publish its own magazine, *Cock-Crow Record* (Huiming lu), later changed to *People's Voice* (Minsheng). In the meantime, they had already put out, in the summer of 1912, not only a selection of articles reproduced from the *New Century*, but also a collection entitled *Masterpieces of Anarchism* (Wuzhengfuzhuyi cuiyan), which introduced the writings of Kropotkin and other libertarian theorists and propagated the use of Esperanto.¹²⁾

In the summer of 1913 Shi Fu and his fellow-anarchists also got together to found the Conscience Society (Xin she). Membership required observation of the following twelve injunctions: 1. do not eat meat; 2. do not take liquor; 3. do not smoke tobacco; 4. do not have servants; 5. do not use sedan chairs or rickshaws; 6. do not marry; 7. do not use family names; 8. do not become officials; 9. do not become Members of Parliament; 10. do not join any political party; 11 do not join the military; 12. do not profess any religion.¹³⁾

The Chinese scholar Ding Shouhe has suggested a number of reasons for China's susceptibility to the appeal of anarchism. First, having

suffered long under the corrupt rule of an autocratic monarchy, the Chinese people had come to regard governments, laws and all political activity with extreme antipathy. Second, the expanding petty bourgeois class, accustomed to backward and dispersed forms of economic organization, mistrusted and therefore reacted strongly against the idea of a strong centralized polity based upon an advanced mass-production economy. Third, when confronted by social or political difficulties everyone fell back on their own abilities: when occasion demanded some might dream of establishing an ideal society, but the idea of a fierce, protracted class struggle was repugnant to the Chinese. Finally, the traditional nihilistic influence of Lao Zi and Zhuang Zi created a hotbed for the spread of anarchist ideas.¹⁴⁾

As far as the last point is concerned, it is true that certain anarchists at the time followed *Natural Justice* in posing Lao Zi as the father of Chinese anarchism.¹⁵⁾ The charge that anarchism appealed to the petty bourgeoisie, too, is more or less borne out by Shi Fu's union activities as described below. Point number one, on the other hand, can perhaps only be fully appreciated in the context of the period between the Revolution of 1911 and the May 4 Movement of 1919. Indeed, unless this point is grasped it is impossible to understand the special significance of anarchism's far-reaching influence during this period.

For many Chinese, the 1911 Revolution had brought a promise of better things to come, but that promise had been totally dashed by the subsequent assumption of power by Yuan Shikai, Duan Qirui and successive militarist governments. The anarchists' profound mistrust of parliamentary politics and indeed of all political activity was thus borne out by actual events. Shi Fu's 'Twelve Abstentions', therefore, especially numbers 8, 9, 10 and 11 with their air of political asceticism, struck a

harmonious chord in many hearts.

Let us now return to Shi Fu's activities. With the failure in 1913 of Sun Zhongshan (Sun Yat-sen)'s so-called 'Second Revolution' against Yuan Shikai, Yuan's authority finally extended as far south as Guangzhou. *Cock-Crow Record* was immediately proscribed after only two issues and the Study Group closed down. In September Shi Fu himself was forced to move, lock, stock and barrel, to Macao, where he managed to publish two more issues under the title of *People's Voice* before the Portuguese colonial authorities, under pressure from the Chinese Foreign Ministry, also clamped down on him.¹⁶⁾ He next found refuge in the Foreign Concession of Shanghai,¹⁷⁾ from where in April 1914 he began to put out *People's Voice* once again. That July he formed a new group under the name of the Society of Anarcho-Communist Comrades (Wuzhengfu-gongchanzhuyi tongzhishe), and released a manifesto:

What is anarcho-communism? It means the elimination of the capitalist system and its reconstruction as a common-property society in which both governments and rulers shall be superfluous. To put it plainly, it is to advocate absolute freedom in economic and political life.¹⁸⁾

The proposal for a 'common-property society' with no need for governments or rulers was intended to proclaim the group's rejection of the post-revolutionary dictatorship advocated by the bolsheviks; ironically, however, the Chinese phrase gongchanzhuyi or 'common-property-ism', evidently coined by Shi Fu, later came to stand for that very 'communism' advocated by the bolsheviks.¹⁹⁾

That August a strike spread among lacquer craftsmen in Shanghai, but with very little organization. Shi Fu promptly ran up a pamphlet advising them on how to conduct their campaign and urging them to

organize themselves and increase their social awareness. The pattern which he outlined for their union was a revolutionary syndicalist one repudiating all political objectives. During that same month of August — whether before or after this episode is not clear — the Society of Anarcho-Communist Comrades affiliated itself to the Jura League, an international anarchist organization based in Switzerland.²⁰⁾ By this time Shi Fu had clearly abandoned his former individualist anarchism for the anarchist-communism of Kropotkin. Accordingly, he threw himself into the thick of the labour movement, putting out a worker-oriented paper called the *Worker's Handbook* (Gongren baojian) as an organ for the propagation of syndicalism.²¹⁾

Back in Guangzhou barber-shop workers (with funds of 100,000 yuan, it was claimed) and tea-shop employees were inspired to form their own unions under Shi Fu's guidance, while many other young Guangdongese, after imbibing his ideas, left China to settle in European colonies like Burma, Java and Singapore. There they either became teachers in schools for overseas Chinese or bustled about organizing the Guangdongese printers, clothing workers and hotel employees. Shi Fu himself, however, on March 27 1915, succumbed to tuberculosis in Shanghai.²²⁾

Despite Shi Fu's death the subsequent development of the Chinese anarchist movement was much along the lines that he had advocated...²³⁾ After the 1911 Revolution, and particularly after 1915, the year of Shi Fu's death and of the beginnings of the May 4 New Culture Movement, Chinese anarchism was generally seen as having abandoned its individual terrorist associations for Kropotkin's 'mutual aid' conception. It thereby re-emerged as a systematic body of thought rejecting every authority save that of science, demanding absolute liberty, and advoc-

ating the construction of an ideal utopian society.

In 1913 the radical intellectual Li Dazhao had written his essay titled 'The Great Grief' (Da-ai pian) in which he decried the complete untrustworthiness of 'democracy' and 'political parties' under warlord rule.²⁴⁾ However, with Japan's infliction of her 'Twenty-One Demands' in 1915, the conclusion of the Nishihara Loans in 1917, and the signing of the Sino-Japanese Military Mutual Assistance Conventions in 1918,²⁵⁾ Li's mistrust turned to alarm as he came to feel still more keenly the crisis facing the Chinese people. In order to overthrow warlord rule and establish a new society, it was necessary to go to the very roots of the problem, something which had not hitherto been attempted. In a 1916 essay, 'Spring', Li thus stressed as follows:

From now on, the problem for humankind in general and the Chinese nation in particular is no longer merely to seek blindly to survive, but one of rebirth, rejuvenation, and reconstruction... Young people who are self-aware can burst through the ensnaring webs of history, smash the prison of stale ideas... free their present selves, destroy their past selves, and urge the selves of today's youth to clear the way for those of tomorrow.

The theme of youth persisted right up to Li's 1918 essay 'Now' (Jin), clearly reflecting young people's contemporary demands for a 'change in values'.²⁶⁾ Ye Shaojun's novel *Teacher Ni* (Ni Huanzhi) framed those demands succinctly:

The revamping of all values has become a popular ideal. Why have hitherto-sacred concerns become of no import?... Doubts are bubbling over, self-questioning is rising in pitch. The time is past for worrying over the minor details – let us boldly pull down and rebuild the whole lot!²⁷⁾

This passage expressed perfectly the May 4 New Culture Movement's attack on the old morality and ethics that sustained warlord rule, and its hopes for constructing a new Chinese identity. To this end, the movement took up and used as weapons in its struggle not only evolutionism and other modern western theories brought into China since the closing years of the Qing era, but also the various schools of socialism and the ideas of Bergson, Dewey and Russell.²⁸⁾ Among the young people and students of the time, however, by far the most popular books were Tan Sitong's *Philosophy of Benevolence* (Renxue), Kang Youwei's *One World* (Datong shu), and, representing the West, the ideas of Kropotkin and Tolstoy.²⁹⁾

Amidst all this, it was anarchism that for a time seized the emotions of young students who, along with many other people, translated their fierce desire for a reorientation of values into a total rejection of traditional authority itself. With their suspicion and mistrust of 'politics', they came to dream of setting up an ideal society at one stroke. During the May 4 period, therefore, it was inevitable that the lingering influence of Shi Fu should finally stretch as far as north China too. The credo of the Society for Promoting Virtue (Jinde hui) formed by Cai Yuanpei and others in 1918, for example, clearly echoed the 'Twelve Abstentions' of the Conscience Society.³⁰⁾ In May 1917 Beijing University students had already formed an anarchist group, the Reality Society (Shi she), whose prominent members included Huang Lingshuang, Ou Shengbai and Zhao Taimou. In their occasional magazine *Notes on Liberty* (Ziyou lu) they explained Kropotkin's mutual aid theory, and argued for a workers' general strike to bring about a socialist revolution.³¹⁾ Elsewhere, too, new anarchist groups were appearing, like the Masses Society (Chun she) of Nanjing with its magazine *The Masses* (Renchun) and the Peace Society

(Ping she) of Taiyuan with its *Peace* (Taiping). By March 1918 Wu Zihui had begun publication in Shanghai of an anarchist monthly called *Labour* (Laodong), where Chinese readers first received the message of May Day.³²⁾

The considerable overlap among the editors of and contributors to these magazines suggests that the groups were in close contact with one another. As Huang Lingshuang said, all of them were really just extremely small free-wheeling outfits, with but a minimum of ideological unity. They were viewed by the warlord-controlled government, however, as treasonable, immoral and ultra-extremist, a clear measure of how strongly their proposals appealed to the current mood of Chinese intellectuals.

In February 1919³³⁾ the Japanese Diet had heard the following speech from one of its members:

Broadly speaking, the socialists in Japan may be divided into five varieties. Among them, the state socialists are not in the least dangerous — on the contrary, they should be encouraged. Next come the pure Marxian socialists who, whilst not to be encouraged, pose no threat. Then there are the communists, visionaries admittedly, but not to the extent of posing any threat to social order. Fourth and fifth, respectively, come the plainly dangerous syndicalists with their advocacy of revolutionary labour unionism, and the anarchists, who seek to do away with all authority and advocate absolute liberty for the individual.

Conditions in China, where the union movement lagged far behind that of Japan, were thus somewhat different. Still, the Chinese ruling class kept a firm grip on the situation. As a result, during the course of 1918 the *People's Voice*, Reality, Masses and Peace groups were all forced

to close down. In January 1919 they merged as the Progress Society (Jinhua she), and began to put out a new monthly, *Evolution* (Jinhua), whose third issue (March 1919) was a special one in commemoration of Shi Fu, but before long this too was proscribed, a victim of the furore surrounding the May 4 student movement.³⁴⁾ Let us now take a look at how things were on the campus of Beijing University, particularly the activities of the anarchists there, by way of Xu Deheng's 'Recollections of May 4'.³⁵⁾

Ideologically speaking the campus was divided into three trends, the most influential being the *New Youth* (Xin qingnian) group represented by Chen Duxiu, Hu Shi and Li Dazhao.³⁶⁾ Although the three men had all been initiators of the New Culture Movement, by 1919 their paths had already begun to diverge. To Li Dazhao's piece 'The Victory of the Poor', for example, Hu Shi retorted with 'The Victory of Democracy over Militarism', revealing their fundamentally polarized conceptions of democracy. Again, to Hu's insistence upon "more study of problems, less talk of isms", Li issued a refutation, precipitating a clash over the issue of theory versus practice. Among Hu's student followers were Fu Sinian and Luo Jialun, editors since January 1919 of the monthly *New Tide* (Xin chao) and active in the vernacular speech movement.³⁷⁾

The second of the three trends, though far less influential, was the so-called National Heritage Faction represented by Gu Hongming, Huang Kan and Liu Shiwei, which published the monthly *National Heritage* (Guogu). Extremely conservative, the group made hardly any mention of politics whatsoever.³⁸⁾

Then, of course, there were the anarchists, the main focus of this essay. Li Shizeng and Wu Zhihui were there, and at first even University Chancellor Cai Yuanpei demonstrated sympathy with their aims.

The combination of highly backward political conditions, low student comprehension of the social sciences, and the attractiveness of these 'eminent scholars' ensured that, for a time, considerable numbers of students would flock to the anarchist ideal.³⁹⁾ Best remembered among the latter are Huang Lingshuang and Ou Shengbai. Denying the need for either state or family, these two symbolized their stand by refusing to use their family names.⁴⁰⁾

The 'Recollections' contain several noteworthy points concerning the 1919 student movement, but before discussing them it seems worthwhile to show how the ground for May 4 had already been prepared by the students, particularly those in Beijing, in the previous year's campaign against the Sino-Japanese Military Mutual Assistance Conventions.

Japan, which was then plotting intervention against the new Soviet regime in Russia, had devised the Conventions as a Sino-Japanese 'alliance' to defend the Far East against mutual enemies. To this end, Japanese and Chinese troops would 'cooperate' in north Manchuria, and dispatch a 'joint' force for operations 'beyond the Chinese frontier': ie, in Siberia. Japan would also appoint personnel to 'maintain mutual contacts' with the Chinese army, and establish 'jointly operated' military bases on Chinese territory. The real objectives of this 'mutuality', of course, were no less than the subjugation of the Chinese army to Japanese control, and the subordination of China itself through the system of military bases.

Chinese students in Japan, as soon as they got wind of the Conventions, organized a protest rally, only to suffer numerous arrests and injuries at the hands of the police. Their anger complete, in May they returned as one to China. Once back in Shanghai they formed the National Salvation Corps of Chinese Students in Japan, founded a paper

called the *National Salvation Daily* (Jiuguo ribao), and sent representatives to Beijing to appeal their case to the students there.⁴¹⁾ As a result, on May 21 1918 more than 2,000 students from Beijing University, the National Higher Normal College, the National Industrial College, the College of Law and Political Science, and the College of Medicine demonstrated against the Conventions.

While it had no direct effect, the anti-Conventions movement did provide an opportunity for the students of Beijing and Tianjin to get organized. The most significant result was the establishment soon after of the Students' Society for National Salvation. In July Beijing and Tianjin representatives went south where they contacted other students in Jinan, Nanjing and Shanghai, and within a month a nationwide organization had been created. In October preparations began for a new monthly, the *Citizens' Magazine* (Guomin zazhi), intended to act as a liaison medium among the scattered groups. The Citizens' Magazine Society, founded at the same time, had over two hundred members, each of whom paid five yuan into a fund to finance publication of the magazine. Many of them were active in the subsequent May 4 demonstrations.⁴²⁾

According to the 'Recollections', the anarchist students of Beijing University did not take part in the 1918 agitation. Neither, for that matter, did the *New Tide* group, but it was the anarchists above all who poured scorn upon their fellow-students' patriotic agitation, deriding patriotism as a decadent ideology. Since their opposition is said to have been behind the adoption of the name Students' Society for National Salvation instead of the original name of Students' Patriotic Association, it may be gathered that the anarchists wielded considerable influence among their fellow-students. Moreover, few Citizens' Magazine Society

members were as yet capable of holding their own in an argument with the cosmopolitan anarchists.

UNITE WITH THE TOILING MASSES!

In April 1919 the Versailles Peace Conference granted Japan the former German colonial rights in Shandong province, sparking off nationalistic fury at almost every level of Chinese society. Since the failure of China's international diplomacy was clearly a result of the 'nation-selling' policies of the Beijing government, this nationwide anger fused with and further strengthened the existing opposition to warlord rule, already intensified by the New Culture Movement. The first to translate this emotion into actual activities were the students. The slogans coined for their demonstration on May 4, 'Fight for Sovereignty Abroad, Smash the Traitors At Home!', 'Refuse to Ratify the Peace Treaty!', 'Fight to Retrieve Shandong!', 'Bury the 21 Demands!', 'Boycott Japanese Goods!', 'Punish the Nation-Selling Traitors!', 'China for the Chinese!', and so on soon turned the original Beijing-centred student movement into a national shutdown by merchants, to be followed after June by a wave of workers' strikes. Under pressure from this unified nationwide resistance, the government finally declined to sign the Peace Treaty.⁴³⁾

According to Xu Deheng's 'Recollections', Beijing University student groups who had previously pursued independent paths now put politics behind them as they joined forces at the forefront of the May 4 Movement. The anarchists were no exception to this trend; on the contrary, it was for them a golden opportunity. Of course, from their standpoint all political activity was pointless; on the other hand, if the movement

could be turned in the direction of the workers' general strike which they had advocated for so long, nothing could have been better. However, it has to be said that their decision to participate in the May 4 Movement owed less to such clear political calculations than to their inability to stem the force of an irresistible tide. The calculating was to begin only after May 4.

The organizational leadership of the May 4 Movement was quite independent of established groups and political parties. When word of the Peace Conference's humiliating decision reached Beijing, the Citizens' Magazine Society, New Tide Association, Work-Study Society (Gongxue hui) and other influential student groups had immediately held a meeting at which they resolved to stage a mass demonstration on May 7, 'National Humiliation Day' (the anniversary of Japan's ultimatum on the 21 Demands). At a later meeting of Beijing student representatives held on the university campus on May 3, the demonstration was brought forward to the next day. The organizations set up the previous year by the Students' Society for National Salvation were transformed into students' unions, first in Beijing then elsewhere, culminating on June 16 with the formation in Shanghai of the Students' Union of the Republic of China.⁴⁴⁾ It was precisely these local students' unions that were to provide the organized leadership for the movement that followed.

The already-mentioned Work-Study Society, formed by students and graduates of Beijing Higher Normal College in February 1919, was one of the groups destined to fire the opening shots in the campaign. Its work-study principles, as we shall see later, were remarkably anarchistic. Always present behind the scenes of the May 4 Movement, frequently playing a militant role, the group has been credited with planning the assault on the homes of the three government ministers held responsible

for acceptance of the 21 Demands and conclusion of the Nishihara Loans: Minister of Communications Cao Rulin; Minister to Japan Zhang Zongxiang; and Director-General of the Currency Reform Bureau Lu Zongyu.⁴⁵⁾

May 4 left behind it a rich legacy, not least the realization among the people as a whole that the combined struggle against feudalism and imperialism was a *national* issue. Another lesson was that the decisive factor in the struggle had been the power generated by the united front of the mass organizations formed at every level of society. Thus was born, in July 1923, the Great Anti-Imperialist League comprising some fifty organizations including the Students' Union of China, the Chinese Chamber of Commerce and the Chinese Federation of Labour Unions.

Sun Zhongshan, who at the peak of the May 4 Movement was staying in Shanghai, told student representatives who came to plead for his support that he was powerless to help them. Nevertheless, in an address to the World Association of Chinese Students on October 18 1919 Sun exclaimed:

Even in so short a space of time... what tremendous things this student movement has achieved! I now know that unity is strength. Sun then sought the students' support for his own 'Constitution Protection Movement'. Moreover, in a letter to overseas Nationalist Party members in January 1920 he pinned his hopes upon the ideological changes wrought by May 4, and highly appraised the New Culture Movement. In fact the Chinese Revolutionary Party (Zhonghua geming-dang), over which Sun had wielded dictatorial control since its founding in 1914, had already renamed itself the previous October as the above-mentioned Chinese Nationalist Party, the first step in its transformation from a secret society-style organization into a mass political party.⁴⁶⁾

Mao Zedong also demonstrated the profound lesson learned from May 4 in his 'Great Union of the Popular Masses' (Minzhong dalianhe), published in the *Xiang River Review* (Xiangjiang pinglun) in July and August 1919. This article had strong repercussions, and its importance was stressed by a representative of the Shanghai Students' Union in the *China Times* (Shishi xinbao) on the movement's first anniversary.⁴⁷⁾ In his article Mao singled out the Students' Union of China and the National Salvation Societies formed in various quarters as the two most significant groupings spawned by May 4.

Another important political thinker to feel the impact of May 4 was Li Dazhao. Li took up the issue of 'personal liberation' raised by the New Culture Movement, and, by linking it to the May 4-inspired 'Great Union of the Popular Masses' idea, evolved the conception that it would be achieved in the process of struggles waged by individuals within their organizations. It was a conception which would revamp modern political thought in Asia, and an example of what is meant by the contention that May 4 was the ideological take-off point for the New Democratic Revolution in China. Chinese scholars have even seen in the wartime National United Front the germination of the 'Great Union of the Popular Masses' conception.⁴⁸⁾

Among the new organizations that appeared as a result of May 4 were the 'Street Unions' (Malu lianhehui) formed in Shanghai and other big cities by merchants and shop proprietors. These unions differed fundamentally from the old commercial guilds, which had become the creatures of successive warlord governments. In later years they were to become active in campaigns for civil rights.⁴⁹⁾

The peasants, however, who were of course the great bulk of the population, remained quite excluded from the popular movement of

1919. To be sure, Mao Zedong and Li Dazhao were showing great interest in the peasant issue, but they had yet to take any practical measures. Then there were the efforts of a group of Beijing University students who, in March 1919, had set up the Commoners' Education Lecture Corps (Pingmin jiaoyu jiangyantuan) with the objective of increasing the common people's knowledge and awareness. Inheriting the New Culture Movement's twin concepts of 'science' and 'democracy', they had initiated an enlightenment programme aimed particularly at village dwellers, but after the spring of 1920 their message too was confined to a lecture hall set apart for them on the university campus.⁵⁰⁾ While Chinese scholars have attributed this failure to official obstruction or financial difficulties, it seems far more likely that the inability of the Corps members to shake off their inherent didacticism came up against a brick wall in the villages themselves. The unbridgeable gulf that persisted during the May 4 era is treated in the writings of Lu Xun.⁵¹⁾

For a time, then, the problem of how to organize the working class remained the movement's central concern, but in order to get so far, a certain turning point had had to be manoeuvred. As the example of the student movement showed, the posture assumed by the May 4 agitation was one of seeking to force the government to accept its demands by a combination of petitions and propaganda among the masses. Even after May 4, however, the government, bowing to Japanese pressure, ordered provincial authorities to suppress the boycotts of Japanese goods. Subsequently, in January-February 1920, it even clamped down on students in Beijing and Tianjin protesting against the opening of direct negotiations with the Japanese government on the Shandong question. In both cities the Students' Union, the Teachers' Union and the Federation of All Organizations of China (Quanguo gejie

lianhehui) were ordered to dissolve.

As the confrontation with the government intensified, the more radical students were already beginning to tire of petitions, protest demonstrations and the like, and their tone gradually began to change. From things like dismissal of the nation-selling politicians, opposing the signing of the Peace Treaty, and a boycott of Japanese goods, they now began to advocate the wholesale overthrow of the present government and the reform of the country's social structure. The Nationalist Party's organ *Weekly Review* (Xingqi pinglun) of Shanghai highlighted this trend in an article titled 'The Past and the Future of the Student Movement':

Up to now the movement has been one concerned solely with foreign policy issues; from now on it will be a movement addressing itself to fundamental social problems... a movement through which the plundered class shall overthrow the plunderers, and all the people of the world become workers! (No. 46, April 18, 1920)

In this way the effect of government repression was to push concern with social change, hitherto submerged beneath the students' absorption with resistance to imperialism and feudalistic ideas, to the forefront of their consciousness. Their vision of the form that change would take was given shape by the decisive role of the working class in the victory of May 4; that same energy, hopefully, could now be put to use to destroy the existing order and construct a new society. As a result the relative merits of anarchism and various socialist creeds became the subject of debate within many of the student groups. Deng Yingchao's 'A Memoir of the May 4 Movement' gives an example.⁵²⁾ Within the Awakening Society (Juewu she), an organization formed in Tianjin in September 1919 by progressive male and female students (who included

Zhou Enlai), such arguments took place constantly, though no-one as yet possessed any firm belief. As for communism, it was simply an ideal society, where you had only to work to the best of your ability for all your desires to be met. Exposure to the vicious savageries of the warlord governments, however, indubitably for a time made anarchism the prevailing trend among the students.⁵³⁾

As examples of that trend, it is possible to single out the *Beijing University Students' Weekly* (Beijing daxue xuesheng zhoukan), founded as the official organ of the students' union in January 1920; *Struggle* (Fendou), put out by the Struggle Society, a small anarchist group established at Beijing University soon after May 4; and *Zhejiang New Tide* (Zhejiang xinchao), established in November 1919 and edited by teachers and students of the Zhejiang Provincial First Normal, First Middle and other schools in Hangzhou.⁵⁴⁾ The change of tone of the *Students' Weekly* was particularly striking, and gives a vivid illustration of the turning point mentioned above.

As originally conceived, the magazine was intended to be an ideological forum for the entire student body: in line with Chancellor Cai Yuanpei's principle of 'broad-minded tolerance of diverse points of view' (jianrong binghao), no single 'ism' or theory was to be promoted within its pages. Up to its fifth issue, therefore, it continued to reflect the trends of the New Culture Movement period, for which the 'mass movement' meant no more than conducting academic research, importing new scientific methods, seeking ideological breakthroughs, and rebuilding the cultural framework. What is more, the tasks of cultural reconstruction and social leadership were seen by these intellectuals as devolving upon them alone; one must look hard to find any suggestion of the need to change themselves by learning from working people.

With the upsurge in the student movement that accompanied the negotiations on the Shandong question after February 1920, the magazine's tenor steadily began to break through those limitations. In response to the February movement, the Beijing government had announced that "of late ... people in various quarters have organized illegal groups in which they engage recklessly in discussions of politics and thereby disturb the security of the realm." Several groups including the Beijing Students' Union were consequently ordered to disband. In response the *Students' Weekly's* ninth issue (February 27), in an article titled 'Dissolution! Dissolution! Illegal Dissolution!', argued that the Public Order Police Law invoked to justify the dissolution itself infringed the Constitution: drafted by a parliament that had been no more than a rubber-stamp for Yuan Shikai's policies, it too was illegal. What was more, the warlord-bureaucrat clique then controlling the government, known as the 'Anfu Club', was itself an illegal organization, so why did the Police Department not dissolve it as well? While those in power are allowed to sell the country out and create chaos, deplored the writer, the powerless are forbidden even to utter the word "patriotism" !

In the following issue (March 7), an article titled 'A Refutation of Riots' argued that "laws and institutions created by the state are ultimately designed to protect the interests of the capitalists and to suppress those of the workers". When such an arbitrary system provokes plans for "general strikes" and "overthrowing the government", the rulers label such tactics as "riots", but for the people they are simply extraordinary methods forced upon them by the need to break out of the extraordinarily onerous conditions they live in. "As citizens of a republic they have the right to express their opinions concerning important national affairs — this is agitation, not 'rioting', and the sole criterion should be

not whether a movement is violent or nonviolent but whether its motives are good or bad.” Accordingly, the popular anti-monarchical movements in Russia and Germany which sought political reform and an improvement in people’s living conditions were not ‘riots’. On the other hand, the Japanese government’s suppression of the Korean Independence Movement, Yuan Shikai’s attempt to make himself emperor, and the present government’s armed interference in the students’ patriotic movement are all motivated by malicious despotism, and it is those which should be considered as true ‘riots’. “In a stagnant and poverty-stricken country like ours is today”, the writer summed up, “is there any other way to break down these irksome barriers than to resort to deeds of a startling nature?”

Although this piece still held up the Provisional Constitution as the basis for the right to resist, the signs of change were already clearly visible. The new course, apparent in issues six and seven and growing steadily stronger thereafter, led towards anarchism. The addition to the editorial board of anarchist members of the Reality Society like Huang Lingshuang, Chen Youqin and Huang Tianjun undoubtedly provided much of the impetus for this drift.⁵⁵⁾ In issue six, an article titled ‘Governments and Freedom’ had argued: “In an era of governments there can be no freedom for the people. From now on we must give up the illusion that governments are divinely prescribed”. From issue seven onwards, introductions to Kropotkin’s theories and editorials discussing anarchism appeared more and more frequently, and issue seventeen (May 23, 1920) was actually given over to an ‘anarchism special’. One article in this issue, ‘The Meaning of the Anarchist Revolution’, explained as follows:

Direct action by the workers, the driving force of the revolution,

will return the entire means of production — fields, factories, mines and machinery — to public ownership, thus abolishing the private property system. At the propaganda stage of our activities, we cannot and must not seek to avoid radical methods. Our objective is to arouse society and pressure the government, so we must devise effective propaganda without questioning the methods.

Another article, 'Anarchism and Socialism', took an unmistakably anarcho-syndicalist line:

The most rapid means for the realization of anarchy is the general strike. Naturally, the more tightly organized the workers' groups are, the more quickly it can be attained. However, many Chinese workers are uneducated, and to create anarchy overnight would be difficult. As anarchists, therefore, our most pressing tasks at this time are, first, to propagate anarchist ideas as energetically as possible; and second, to raise the workers' educational level so as to give them the ability to govern themselves and resist attempts to lead them astray.

Already, the implications of 'direct action' had come a long way from the "deeds of a startling nature" — within the limits of the Provisional Constitution — proclaimed earlier.

References to anarchism could also be found in other issues of the magazine. Concerning direct action, Kropotkin's ideal society was invoked:

The workers will run the factories directly, and return the organs of production which have been plundered by the capitalists to public ownership. After that both production and consumption will be communal, based on the principles of liberty. ('Congratulations on May Day', issue number 14)

As to prospects for the future:

Workers of the whole world, irrespective of national boundaries, will organize labour boards at strategic points; these will take over the planning responsibilities historically assumed by so-called governments. ('Labour's Great Enemy and its Future Role', same issue)

This second article, which resounded with the tenor of anarchist cosmopolitanism, also described the October Revolution in Russia as only the first stage in the liberation of the proletariat, which for its ultimate victory would have to await the anarchist revolution.

At the same time that the tone of the *Beijing University Students' Weekly* was experiencing this sudden transformation, the *Zhejiang New Tide's* programme for social change, as outlined in its 'Opening Statement', also displayed a clearly anarchistic tone:

Our ideal is a society based upon liberty, mutual aid and labour. In order to bring prosperity and progress to people's lives, we must resolutely smash all politics, laws, states, families, impotent theories, customs and habits which stand in the way!

The Statement also stressed that the mission of reforming society could only be assumed by the workers and peasants. It divided the world into four classes, politicians, capitalists, intellectuals and workers, and continued:

The classes of politicians and capitalists, being the root source of slavery, competition and plunder, are the principal opponents of liberty, mutual aid and labour, and are therefore incapable of creating social change. The class of intellectuals too, since it assists the former in their crimes against society, is equally incapable. Only the class of workers, the vast majority of the world's population, can discharge the responsibility for mutual aid and labour. Moreover, since their lives are filled with misery they must take the responsibility for reforming

society, however much they may shrink from it.

Enlightened members of the intelligentsia must cast off their class preconceptions, throw themselves into the world of labour, and become as one with the toilers Our hope for the future is that, in the first place, the students will become aware and join forces before going on to promote similar awareness and unity within the labouring world; in the second stage the students' and labouring worlds will join forces; finally, the students will all become workers, and the labouring world move toward one great federation. If all the students threw in their lot with the workers, the aim of reforming society could be easily attained.

Deng Yingchao, who had experienced the May 4 student movement as a 16-year old pupil of the Tianjin-Zhili First Girls' Normal School, was not then aware of the need for such things as the need for intellectuals to unite with the workers and peasants. Yet, she relates in her 'A Memoir of the May 4 Movement', she felt intuitively that the students alone could not save China, that they must go beyond their limited capacities and awaken all their compatriots. What was no more than an inkling for her, meanwhile, had already been refined by the *Zhejiang New Tide* into a union of intellectuals, workers and peasants. The era of Illuminati-style politics had passed.

Their experiences in the May 4 Movement brought home to the youthful students the fact that not only destruction, but even the construction that would follow it required the strength of the working class to succeed. How to ally with and organize the workers consequently became a problem of major proportions for them. Accordingly, went the *Zhejiang New Tide* programme, intellectuals could not merely act as purveyors of political education from some foreign haven.⁵⁶⁾ They had to

deny their very existence as intellectuals, casting in their lot with the working class. At the same time as raising the latter's consciousness, they would also remake themselves, finally blending into the workers' midst. The overall strength of the working class would thus be increased, allowing itself to free itself by its own efforts, and thus making it possible to commence the task of constructing a society based on liberty, mutual aid and labour.

Certain Chinese scholars, holding up Li Dazhao's conception of a 'union of intellectuals and workers' (expounded in his 1919 article 'Youth and the Villages'), have insisted that the principle of uniting with the labouring masses was first proclaimed by the early Chinese communists, whose understanding of Marxism had been deepened by the lessons of the October Revolution. This is not quite true. The crucial differences between the Chinese Marxists and the anarchists and others would appear elsewhere. That the ideological principle of uniting with the toilers was shared by both anarchists and communists at this point in time is left in no doubt by the programme for social reconstruction of the *Zhejiang New Tide*.⁵⁷⁾

COMMENTARY

- 1). Nohara Shirō uses the words 'bolshevik' and 'bolshevism' very loosely in this text to denote not only the Bolshevik Party formed by Lenin and his supporters, but all advocates of the centralizing trend within socialism.
- 2). 'New Village', a utopian movement inspired by the ideas of Tolstoy and Kropotkin, was conceived by the Japanese communalist Musha-nokōji Saneatsu. Members renounced all private property to live a life of 'from each according to their capacity; to each according to their needs'. In China, where such 'New Villages' were often seen as communes through which the anarchist message could be carried to the countryside, many young people of the May 4 era were affected by the movement's ideals.
- 3). For a discussion of Chinese perceptions of the 1917 Revolution, see Dirlik, 1989a: Chapter 2.
- 4). Zhang Binglin (1867-1936), aka. Zhang Taiyan, was a brilliant cultural critic who had fired the imaginations of a generation of young Chinese in 1900 by cutting off his queue (the long pigtail of hair traditionally worn by Manchu men and forced upon Chinese men following the Manchu conquest to symbolize their acceptance of their new rulers). Anti-Manchu nationalism was the common denominator that brought together revolutionaries of every creed in pre-1911 China, and Zhang's trenchant critiques made him a natural leader of the movement. After arriving in Japan he served as editor of the *People's Report* from July 1906 until it was suppressed in 1908. His distaste for political organization brought him close to anarchism, and under his influence the Chinese revolutionary movement in Japan became increasingly radicalized. In 1908 he split with the republican movement

and returned to China. With the fall of the Qing dynasty his cultural conservatism came to the fore and he eventually became a foe of the May 4 New Culture Movement. Furth, 1976 is an interesting discussion of the contradictions between Zhang's innate conservatism and his revolutionary activities. For a fuller discussion, see Shimada, 1990.

Zhang Ji (1882-1947) had been one of the first Chinese students to arrive in Japan, and had soon been converted to anarchism under the influence of Japanese militants Kōtoku Shūsui and Ōsugi Sakae. He made a number of translations of anarchist classics from Japanese into Chinese. After police pressure forced him to flee Japan in late 1907 he joined another active group of Chinese anarchists in Paris. For details, see Scalapino and Yu, 1961: 28-34. Following his return to China he became a leading light in the Nationalist Party (Guomindang) though continuing to espouse anarchist ideals, and soon after the revolution in 1911 tried to acquire from the government an island in the Yangzi River "as an experimental area for world anarchism". By the 1920s, like many other former anarchists, Zhang's revulsion for the communists' methods had turned him into a diehard reactionary. At the time of his death he was director of the National Museum of History.

In Liu Shipai (1884-1919), aka. Liu Guanghan, political radicalism and cultural conservatism combined yet again. From 1902 to 1907 he was active in the revolutionary movement in Shanghai before being invited to Japan by Zhang Binglin to help him put out the *People's Report*. In Tokyo his anti-Manchu nationalism was quickly transformed into militant anarchism by the Japanese radicals mentioned above, and he wrote a series of articles applying anarchist ideas to China. His wife He Zhen was evidently another radical influence on

him, and was herself later arrested on an assassination charge. Liu was unusual among pre-1911 Chinese anarchists in stressing the significance of labour (though he was less interested in the labourers themselves), insisting that in an anarchist utopia manual labour would be performed by all. He was deeply affected by Tolstoy's agrarian utopianism. Then, in 1909, Liu suddenly turned traitor and betrayed several of his comrades to the authorities before returning to China. Some say that He Zhen, known for her beauty, had been threatened with torture following her arrest, and that Liu changed sides to save her. This is probably no more than a romantic smokescreen thrown up to protect Liu's image, however, and the truth has never been discovered. In later years Liu became a notorious figure, sponsoring Yuan Shikai's attempt to make himself emperor in 1915, and, following his appointment to the Faculty of Beijing University in 1917, actually speaking out against the new literature and thought of the May 4 Movement. After being personally rebuked by his students he died suddenly of TB at the early age of 36. Typically, Liu's backpedalling has usually been blamed by his friends and apologists on the "evil influence" of He Zhen. For detailed treatments, see Dirlik, 1986; Bernal, 1976a and 1976b; Scalapino and Yu, 1961: 29-33.

- 5). Kōtoku Shūsui was the first Japanese intellectual to espouse the causes of anarchism and anarcho-syndicalism, and collected a considerable following of young people before his execution in 1911 on a fabricated charge of plotting to assassinate the Emperor Meiji. Ōsugi Sakae took up the anarchist banner following Kōtoku's murder, and became the inspiration for the second phase of the Japanese movement, a wave of syndicalism accompanying the post-World War 1 economic boom, until his murder by the military authorities in 1923.

- Sakai Toshihiko, though not an anarchist, supported their direct action position and worked closely with them into the 1920s, when he moved from Marxism to social democracy. For details, see *A Short History of the Anarchist Movement in Japan* (Idea Publishing House, Tokyo, 1979).
- 6). *Natural Justice* had also been intended as the journal of He Zhen's Association for the Recovery of Women's Rights, and both it and *Impartiality* were jointly edited by Liu and He. Both papers were closed down by the Japanese authorities in 1908. The Society for the Study of Socialism opened in August 1907. For details, see Scalapino and Yu, 1961; 29-32; Bernal, 1976b. On He Zhen, see Ono, 1989: 66-8.
- 7). From 'My Change of Thought' in *Heimin shimbun* (Common People's Paper), February 5, 1907. The article split the Japanese socialist movement into militants and moderate social democrats, and began the chain of events that would culminate in the execution of Kōtoku and eleven others in 1911. For details, together with a translation of the article, see the *Short History*: 78-106.
- 8). Qiu Jin (1875-1907), a pioneer feminist revolutionary, had formed a radical women's group along with He Zhen in Shanghai in 1903 before crossing over to Japan to elude arrest in 1904. In 1905, in protest against Chinese government pressure on radicals active in Japan, she returned to China to throw herself into the revolutionary movement and became involved in plans for an anti-Manchu insurrection in the two provinces of Anhui and Zhejiang. The Anhui plot was prematurely exposed and crushed, but Qiu went ahead with her plan to organize secret societies into a revolutionary army until she was arrested and executed. Always astride a horse and usually wearing a man's gown, Qiu Jin cut an extraordinary figure for her time. For details, see Ono, 1989: 59-65; Rankin, 1975.

Wang Jingwei (1893-1944) was one of the foremost political figures in modern Chinese history. From his pro-terrorism position in 1911 he gradually moved towards party politics, was associated with the anti-communist left wing of the Nationalist Party until the 1930s, and finally, despairing of China's capacity to resist Japanese expansion, agreed to serve as puppet premier under the occupation in 1940.

Although often equated with anarchism, assassination was resorted to by practically all early 20th-century Chinese political groups, from Manchu die-hards to liberal democrats; like the Russian nihilists, they saw it as the only way to hit back at autocratic rule. Attacks on Manchu officials during the first ten years of the 20th century were legion. For details, see Price, 1974.

9). 'Shi Fu' was the name adopted by Liu Sifu when he began anarchist activities, his abandonment of the family name 'Liu' symbolizing his rejection of the despotism of the traditional Chinese family. Numerous texts (including Nohara's) mistakenly refer to him as 'Liu Shifu'. Due to the similarity of his name to that of Liu Shipei, the careers of the two men have often been confused, and certain overlapping circumstances in their careers (both were born in 1884, both died of TB in their thirties, both became anarchists at about the same time, and both were in Japan at almost the same time), aided in the confusion.

10). In fact Shi Fu had not yet declared himself an anarchist at the time of his assassination activities. A scion of an old gentry family like many of his contemporaries, Shi Fu went to Japan as a reform-minded student in 1904, and in August 1905 had been present at the founding of the Alliance. He returned to China without contacting the Japanese anarchists (Kōtoku Shūsui was mostly either in the United

States or in prison), and much of his time was spent learning about explosives. In the summer of 1906, back in Guangzhou (Canton), he began to plan his first revolutionary activities, but the unsuccessful 1907 rising resulted in the loss of his left hand and in his incarceration for two years. Those years, however, gave him the chance to do some reading, most notably of some texts of Kropotkin translated by the Paris New Century group (see below) and smuggled in by friends. It was only then that he became an anarchist. After his release Shi Fu again formed an assassination band to promote the anti-Manchu movement, but with the establishment of the Republic in 1911 declared his rejection of violent activities in favour of constructive social revolution.

- 11). Wu Zhihui (1864-1953), although he became a supporter of the Nationalist Party after 1911, remained an atheist and intellectual fellow-traveller of the anarchists well into the 1920s. Li Shizeng (1880-1973) led a career similar in most respects, occupying various senior posts in the Nationalist Party and later becoming Dean of Beijing University. Both he and Wu escaped to Taiwan in 1949 with the remnants of Jiang Jieshi's government, fearing a backlash from their association with the party's anti-communist right wing since the 1920s. In their heyday, however, they had been among the most influential of the Chinese anarchists. Wu laboured hard in the 'work-study' movement, sending Chinese students to study in Europe where many were converted to anarchism or syndicalism. Li was the translator of Kropotkin's *An Appeal to the Young* and *Mutual Aid*. A lot less is known about Zhang Jingjiang (1873-1950). He was the son of a wealthy silk merchant and an intellectual who, during his stay in France with the work-study movement, became involved with the

French CGT (Confederation Générale des Travailleurs), then a pure anarcho-syndicalist organization. His fortune allowed him to contribute considerable funds to the revolutionary cause, and much of his wealth was used up in promoting the work-study scheme. He too later became prominent in the Nationalist Party, and because of his fortune was regarded as a political power-broker.

Wu, Li and Zhang had first set up the World Press (Shijie she) in Paris in 1906 after fleeing the persecution in China, and published two issues of a pictorial magazine called *World* (Shijie) before beginning the *New Century*. Most of the articles in the latter (which also carried the Esperanto title of *La Tempo Novaj*) were written by either Li or Wu; and included Li's translation of Kropotkin's *Mutual Aid*, the source of Shi Fu's first knowledge of anarchism. The magazine was suspended in 1910 after a hundred-odd issues, and most of the people involved in it returned to China following the successful 1911 Revolution. For details on the activities of the Paris group, see Scalapino and Yu, 1961: 2-28; Dirlik, 1989a: Ch. 5.

12). The most detailed source on Shi Fu is Edward Krebs: *Liu Ssu-fu and Chinese Anarchism, 1905-1915* (University Microfilms International, 1977), and this section of Nohara's essay has been amended somewhat to agree with facts newly discovered by Krebs. The Chinese term translated as 'Cock-Crow' could alternatively be rendered as 'Crying Out in the Darkness'; Shi Fu evidently intended the name to emphasize the anarchists' lonely struggle amidst extremely hostile conditions.

13). While the Cock-Crow and *People's Voice* groups were engaged in actively studying and promoting anarchism, the Conscience Society was intended to be no more than a loosely-organized spiritual move-

ment. Many people belonged to both. Almost eighteen months in advance of the Conscience Society, the Association for Promoting Virtue (Jinde hui), a very similar organization, had been set up in January 1912 by Wang Jingwei and some of the returned Paris anarchists. Like the Conscience Society and many other contemporary groupings, its membership requirements contained a set of negative injunctions: the lowest category of membership prohibited gambling and visits to prostitutes; others included rejection of meat, tobacco and alcohol, refusal to enter government service or the military, and rejection of concubinage (Scalapino and Yu, 1961: 37). The reason for the popularity of the negative example among Chinese anarchists was probably the preponderance of intellectuals, among whom the common feeling was that China's problems were born from the degeneration of moral values and the corruption of the political elite. Of all these groups, the regulations of the Conscience Society were the strictest and the most comprehensive. The Association for Promoting Virtue was revived in Beijing in 1918 by Wu Zhihui, Li Shizeng and Cai Yuanpei (see below, note 30). For details, see Chow, 1960: 51.

- 14). See Ding Shouhe et al, *The Influence of the October Revolution on the Chinese Revolution* (Shiyue geming dui Zhongguo geming de yingxiang) (Beijing, 1957), pp. 101-2.

The issue of China's susceptibility to anarchism is perceptively discussed by Dirlik (1989a: 19-54). The anarchists were the first Chinese radicals to positively appraise the Bolshevik Revolution, partly because of its radical nature, but primarily because it was perceived as a social revolution. They insisted throughout their debates with other socialists that the social revolution must take precedence over political change lest a new dictatorship result.

15). This applied chiefly to the cultural conservatives Liu Shipei and Zhang Binglin. Liu agreed with the Paris group on everything but their attitude towards China's past. He cited Laozi and Zhuangzi as the world's first anarchists, and used his training as a classical scholar to demonstrate China's potential to become an anarchist society without imitating the West. He also cited the ease with which local self-government could be instituted because of the lack of centralized control in China, and emphasized the spirit of humanity and cooperation in the villages.

The position of the Paris group was quite different. Influenced by European thought, they rejected Chinese tradition entirely for doing no more than foster superstition, and praised in its stead the role of science. They even proposed that the Chinese language be abandoned altogether (blasphemy to the likes of Liu and Zhang) in favour of Esperanto, a point that later split the anarchist movement. For a discussion, see Krebs, 1977: ch. 4. On traditional Chinese anarchism, see K.C. Hsiao, 'Anarchism in Chinese Political Thought', in *Tien Hsia Monthly* vol. 3 no.3 (October 1936), pp. 249-63.

16). In late 1913 Shi Fu's group had proposed to revive their assassination activities one last time in order to attempt to eliminate Yuan Shikai, but were dissuaded by liberal politicians, possibly including their erstwhile co-conspirator Wang Jingwei. Some members of the group, incidentally, had remained in Guangzhou to continue clandestine activities.

17). The Concessions were pieces of Chinese territory ceded under pressure to foreign powers during the 19th century and after. Since they were not subject to Chinese law, they became centres of anti-government intrigue and refuges for 'undesirable elements'. Andre

Malraux's *Man's Estate*, set against the revolution and counter-revolution in Shanghai in 1927, takes place almost entirely in the French Concession.

- 18). The proclamation continued by declaring the group's intent to create a free communist society with no distinction between male and female roles, each person contributing according to their ability. Relations between women and men would be free and open-ended, and the children cared for in communal nurseries. The traditional family would be broken up and replaced by love alliances. Workers would use the fruits of their labour for their own needs. This sounds very idealistic, but Shi Fu believed that twenty years' hard work by anarchists in Asia would bring about an anarchist-communist society throughout the continent. Incidentally, Shi Fu's activities were also a family affair: at least three of his brothers and his four sisters worked together with him on the *People's Voice*, and continued working there after his death. See Krebs, 1977: ch. 6-7; the proclamation is discussed on pp. 369ff.

As early as 1907 the Paris-based *New Century* had been the first to condemn the traditional family as the ultimate source of oppression in China, calling for an 'ancestor revolution'. For details, see Scalapino and Yu, 1961: 9ff. Shi Fu's role in spreading the anarchist word in China is assessed in Dirlik, 1989a: 60-65.

- 19). The word 'bolsheviks' here refers to centralizing socialists like Sun Zhongshan and Jiang Kanghu, not the Russian Bolshevik Party, whose ideas would not reach China for several more years. Sun Zhongshan (1866-1925), better known as Sun Yat-sen, was the grand old man of the Chinese revolutionary movement, having been responsible for some dozen or so attentats against the Qing authorities prior to 1911. After

1911 he was elected Provisional President of the new Republic, resigned in favour of Yuan Shikai to prevent civil war, then led a series of insurrections and rival governments before eventually setting up a political base in Guangzhou with Russian help in 1923. He died of cancer in 1925 in Beijing where he had sought to open talks with the northern warlords on the reunification of China. Jiang Kanghu (1883-1945) was the organizer of the first Chinese Socialist Party which in 1913 claimed some 400,000 members. He and Shi Fu subsequently engaged in a major debate over the merits of anarchism versus democratic socialism. Exiled from China, he travelled through the United States and Russia before returning to China in the 1930s. He eventually made himself a non-person in Chinese political history by throwing in his lot with Wang Jingwei and the Japanese puppet regime in Nanjing. In 1913 both Sun and Jiang had taken up positions close to the European socialist parties, including mass nationalization under state control, among their plans for social reconstruction. The debates between Jiang and Shi Fu are summarized and discussed in Krebs, 1977: 334-368, and in Dirlik and Krebs, 1981.

20). The group also sent a report on the state of the anarchist movement in China to the International Anarchist Congress scheduled to be held in London in August 1914. The congress never took place because of the outbreak of war.

21). According to Chow Tse-tsung (1963: 38), this publication actually appeared after 1917, published secretly and irregularly by the *People's Voice* group after Shi Fu's death. I have found no mention of it in Krebs, 1977. According to Chow, the paper, whose contributors included Zhang Ji, sought to spread anarcho-syndicalist ideas, advocated the distribution of economic power among labour unions by means of

the general strike, criticized Marxist dialectics, and opposed the doctrine of seizing political power by force. Whether an earlier edition appeared in 1914 or not is a question requiring further research.

- 22). Shi Fu died during an operation on his lungs, and his body was buried near Hangzhou where the Conscience Society had been formed in 1912. The *People's Voice* group continued its activities after his death, putting out four more issues of the paper (No.'s 23-26) between May and June 1915. After that its appearance became sporadic, and it ceased altogether with No. 29 in November 1916. Its place was taken by a newsletter, the *People's Voice Society Record of Events* (Minsheng she jishilu), which appeared fairly regularly for the next ten years. Pamphlets were also produced, more than 45,000 copies being distributed between 1916 and 1920. In 1921 *People's Voice* was revived for a final time in Guangzhou. The four issues (No.'s 30-33) acted principally as a mouthpiece for the anarchist position in the deepening confrontation with the communists. See Krebs, 1977: 407ff. Shi Fu's life provided the model for various leading characters in the novels of the anarchist novelist Ba Jin. For details, see Lang, 1967: 54, etc.
- 23). I have omitted here a rather vague and inaccurate paragraph in Nohara's text about the syndicalist movement in Japan, at the end of which he himself admits that he is uncertain of its relevance. Rather than mislead readers, I decided upon omission as the best policy.
- 24). Li Dazhao's political position at the time is explained, along with a discussion of this article, in Meisner, 1974: 8-14. Along with an admiration for the socialism of Jiang Kanghu, Li was also deeply influenced by Tolstoy and Kropotkin, and took up a position very similar to that of Liu Shipai's anarchism. This point, ignored by Li's principal biographer Meisner, is noted in Dirlik, 1989a: 26.

25). The Twenty-One Demands were an ultimatum presented to the Chinese government by Japan on January 18 1915. Printed on paper ominously watermarked with dreadnoughts and machine-guns, they called for Japanese control over Shandong, Manchuria, the Yangzi Valley and other key areas, together with other measures that would have resulted in China's becoming little more than a Japanese colony. On May 25, following a threat of military force, Yuan Shikai accepted most of the terms. Not only did Yuan's own credibility collapse as a result; the widespread anger toward Japan that the Demands sparked off became the focus of the new nationalist feeling that developed throughout China in subsequent years.

The Nishihara Loans had been forced upon the Chinese government in the wake of the Twenty-One Demands with the purpose of bolstering the pro-Japanese warlord government then in power in Beijing. They amounted to some 145 million yen.

The Conventions gave Japan the right to station troops in north China and Outer Mongolia on the pretext of preventing an invasion by Germany or the Soviet Union; the right to use Chinese military maps; and the right to provide officers to train Chinese troops. For details on the Conventions and the resistance to them, see Chow, 1960: 79-83.

26). 'Spring' (Qingchun) appeared in the September 1 1916 edition of the New Culture Movement magazine *New Youth*, and 'Now' in the April 15 1918 edition. An English translation of the former, slightly simplified, may be found in *Chinese Literature*, May 1959, pp. 11-18.

Few articles were more representative of the optimism of New Culture thinking than 'Spring'. While critical of the deadweight of China's past in a manner extremely similar to the critiques unleashed prior to the army crackdown in Tiananmen Square in June 1989 (see,

for example, the television series titled *Heshang* — 'River Elegy' — and the book by the same name), Li expressed perfectly the contemporary belief among intellectuals that, by their own cultural remoulding, they would be able to simply extinguish the past and create a new future. Intellectuals of seventy years later, having seen how little difference a communist revolution had made, were less optimistic.

Li's thinking at the time is summarized in Meisner, 1974: 26-8, and in Schwartz, 1967: 10-13.

27). This possibly autobiographical novel, published in 1930, described the experiences of a typical young May 4 intellectual subsequently caught up in the midst of the counter-revolutionary violence of 1925-27. Ye Shaojun, aka. Ye Shengtao (b. 1893), was also a poet and educator who had a strong influence on the anarchist writer Ba Jin. For a discussion of the significance of *Teacher Ni*, see Schwarcz, 1986: 171-8.

28). John Dewey and Bertrand Russell were among the many Western thinkers and educators invited to lecture to Chinese audiences in 1919-20 by New Culture Movement activists. Russell's influence in particular was strong until he fell out of favour for his criticism of the post-revolutionary society in the Soviet Union. Plans to invite Bergson did not materialize. For details, see Chow, 1960: 191-3, and chapters seven and nine in general.

The New Culture Movement itself is discussed fully in Grieder, 1983: chapter six; Schwarcz, 1986: chapter one; and Chow, 1960: chapters three, seven and passim.

29). Tan Sitong (1865-1898) and Kang Youwei (1858-1927) were traditional intellectuals whose desire for political reform to stem China's decline in the late 19th century led them to advocate a

constitutional monarchy. Revolutionary enough in its time, the concept was soon left behind by the accelerating pace of events. Each of the works mentioned showed some strains of anarchism and utopian socialism. In 1898 both men acted as advisers to the young emperor during the so-called 'Hundred Days' Reform', but the changes they advocated were blocked by court conservatives. In the reaction that followed Tan was arrested and executed, but Kang escaped to Shanghai and finally to Japan. After the 1911 Revolution his monarchist ideas lost their attraction and his only moment of fame came with his support for an abortive restoration attempt in 1917. The 1898 episode is discussed in Spence, 1982: 48-57.

In some respects Kang's ideas were more radical than those of the revolutionaries of his time. He presented Confucius as a reformer who had responded creatively to the crisis of his time, and revived the traditional concept of Great Harmony or 'One World' as the basis for a modern society. He foresaw a future in which race, class and gender distinctions disappeared along with the institution of the family. Private ownership would no longer exist, people would eat in communal dining halls, and children would be reared by communally-operated schools and nurseries. Kang's work has appeared in English as *Ta T'ung Shu: The One World Philosophy of K'ang Yu-wei* (Translated by Lawrence G. Thompson. London, Allen and Unwin, 1958.) It is discussed in Spence, 1982: 64-73.

30). This was a reconstruction of the 1912 group mentioned in note 13. For details, see Schwarcz, 1986: 49-50. Cai had also been a member of the earlier group but had left it to form his own 'Six Don'ts Society' (Liubu hui)

Cai Yuanpei (1868-1940) was an intellectual supporter of the

anarchist movement rather than an anarchist. An old-style literatus who had attained the highest degree in the old examination system, he had also been strongly critical of that system. As an educator, particularly as President of Beijing University from 1917 to 1919, he wielded great influence among young people during the May 4 era. His re-creation of the Society for Promoting Virtue had been intended to counter what he termed the "spiritual slothfulness" of both teachers and students at the University. About seventy teachers and three hundred students joined, including Li Dazhao, Luo Jialun and Fu Sinian (see below). They learned through the Society and its covenants the need to distance themselves as intellectuals from the establishment in order to avoid being corrupted like the traditional Chinese elite. All of these men went on to play major roles in the May 4 Movement. On Beijing University and the radical changes wrought by Cai Yuanpei, see Grieder, 1983: 215ff. For a biography of Cai, see William J. Duiker, Ts'ai Yuan-p'ei, Educator of Modern China (Pennsylvania State University Press, 1977).

31). Huang Lingshuang, aka. Huang Wenshan, Huang Zunsheng and under the penname Jiansheng, was the son in law of Huang Xing, one of the most famous insurrectionary leaders of the 1911 period. In his youth he had been a member of Shi Fu's group, and his anarchist career continued up to the end of the 1920s. One of the most prominent of the Chinese anarchists, his writings appeared in most of the journals described below. He also worked hard to restore the international links created by Shi Fu but sundered by the outbreak of war in 1914. In 1919 Huang and Li Dazhao were the two most prominent radical professors at Beijing University. As evidence of the considerable overlap between anarchists and communists at this time,

when the Comintern emissary Voitinsky arrived in Beijing in 1920, Huang was evidently introduced, and a letter of introduction which Voitinsky brought to the Guangzhou anarchists later was very likely written by him. See Dirlik, 1989a: 149-50. In his later years Huang became a member of the 'CC Clique' a right-wing group within the Nationalist Party, and was still alive in Taiwan in the 1970s.

Ou Shengbai (1893~?), another of the most important anarchist militants of the May 4 period and thereafter, is credited with having converted Mao Zedong to anarchism when both were living in Beijing in 1919. His political duel with communist party boss Chen Duxiu a few years later (see below) became a classic, Chen, his former teacher at Beijing University, calling him a "little devil". In Mao Zedong's autobiography contained in Edgar Snow's *Red Star Over China*, Ou is referred to as 'Chu Tsun-pei'. Ou is a Cantonese pronunciation of a name usually pronounced Qu in Mandarin. The debate is carefully analyzed in Dirlik, 1989a: 239-44, and also in Scalapino and Yu, 1961: 55-9.

Zhao Taimou abandoned anarchist activity soon after this and went to the United States to study. He later turned up as head of the Experimental Drama Theatre in Jinan, Shandong, where one of his most promising pupils was the fourteen-year old Jiang Qing, later to marry Mao Zedong and ultimately to be purged in 1976 as the leader of the 'Gang of Four'. In 1931, Zhao, by that time yet another anti-communist member of the Nationalist Party, arranged Jiang's admission to Shandong University of which he was then President. A fierce reactionary, he put pressure on her to dissuade her from "causing trouble" — joining the nationalist movement against Japanese aggression. See Witke, 1975.

Notes on Liberty, also known as the 'Liberal Record', was one of the most radical magazines of the time, introducing in translation such Western anarchists as Emma Goldman and Alexander Berkman as well as Tolstoy. Ba Jin was converted after reading a translation of Goldman's 'Anarchy' in one issue (Lang, 1967: 46ff). Although it published only four issues through May 1918, the magazine was very influential and circulated two thousand copies of each issue. It had the political and financial support of Li Shizeng and Wu Zhihui.

32). May Day was first celebrated in Guangzhou ('the Barcelona of the East' as it was called) in 1918, and in Beijing, Shanghai and other cities in 1920. Ironically, even in 1920 the parades continued to be led by anarchist and socialist intellectuals, the manifestation of a newly-felt need on the part of radical intellectuals to create an alliance with the working class to change China instead of relying on their own efforts. Only in Guangzhou, where the anarchists had been organizing workers for two years, did the latter turn out in large numbers.

Labour, which also carried the Esperanto title of *La Laboristo*, published five monthly issues before folding in July 1918. As well as propagating Proudhon's theory of labour, it also carried Tolstoy's ideas, and welcomed (with reservations) the October Revolution in Russia. The first labour-oriented magazine China had seen, it called for a general strike and for a take-over of the factories by the producers by means of direct action. Although it agreed theoretically with the formation of a workers' party, it insisted that the time was not ripe and advocated instead syndicalist organization "to increase the workers' knowledge and persuade them to unite to solve social problems". Contributors to *Labour* included, apart from Wu Zhihui himself, Li Shizeng, Huang Lingshuang, Cai Yuanpei, Chen Duxiu and

Chu Minyi. Chu Minyi had begun his radical activities in Japan before crossing over to Europe where he became a prominent figure in the *New Century* group. Back in China he moved rapidly up the ranks of the Nationalist Party, only to split with Jiang Jieshi and throw in his lot with Wang Jingwei's puppet government. He was joined there by Ou Shengbai. Following Japan's surrender in 1945 Chu was shot as a traitor and Ou disappeared. There is a discussion of *Labour* in Dirlik, 1989a. Nohara, incidentally, mistakenly refers to the publication as a daily.

The best source of information in English on the magazines of this period is Chow, 1963. Most of the information given here, unless otherwise stated, is taken from that source.

- 33). Nohara gives the year of the speech as 1909, but this seems historically impossible since the Japanese socialist movement, like that in China, did not really take off until after World War 1; anarchism and syndicalism were still virtually unheard of.
- 34). The merger had been proposed by Huang Lingshuang and Ou Shengbai, by this time the leading spokespeople for the anarchist movement. For more information, see Krebs, 1977: 409ff; and Chow, 1963. *Evolution*, short-lived but important, was among the first magazines to express the anarchists' growing disillusion with the Bolshevik Revolution. The aim of the new group, named after a Shanghai organization proscribed some time earlier, was "to spread the principle of mutual aid in society, making it known to all and practising it". The title was in line with their reservations toward violence and class struggle, which they saw as manifestations of authoritarianism. While they accepted Darwin's concept of evolution, they rejected his emphasis on the struggle for survival in favour of Kropotkin's stress on

the role of mutual aid. Revolution, as Huang Lingshuang put it in the magazine's Opening Declaration, was a process of re-evolution. *Evolution*, which carried the Esperanto title *La Evolucio*, also put out a separate edition in Yokohama, Japan.

35). The article was originally published in the *Guangming ribao* (Shanghai) on May 4 1951. Prominent as a student organizer since 1918, Xu had been among the five radical students who broke into the homes of the unpopular government officials at the climax of the May 4 demonstration, and had been arrested. Released soon after, he went to the United States to study, and later returned to China where he was active in the anti-imperialist movement that racked the country for the next thirty years. The author of numerous memoirs, Xu has consistently emphasized the political significance of May 4 over the cultural, making him a fairly safe figure for the government to trot out whenever it felt the need to reconfirm its own May 4 connections. In 1979, for example, Xu re-emerged as a strong critic of the democratization movement that coincided with the 60th anniversary of May 4.

36). *New Youth* was the most influential periodical of the entire May 4 era, providing a melting-pot for all sorts of ideas, though after its move to Shanghai in May 1920 it came to be dominated by the communists. Almost all the individuals mentioned in this essay contributed to *New Youth* at one time or another.

Chen, Hu and Li were all influential academics on the Faculty at Beijing University. Chen Duxiu (1879-1942) was a former traditional scholar who, though originally a patriot close to Zhang Binglin (in his youth he had cut off his queue following Zhang's example), had been one of the first to criticize the May 4 students' patriotism. He pointed

out that the objective was not to save China but to change it. In 1919 he became Dean of Humanities at the University. From the early 1920s Chen began to move toward a communist position, eventually becoming the Chinese Communist Party's first secretary-general. Most of his early efforts were directed at young anarchists like Ou Shengbai who, in refusing to accept that "coercion in the proper hands could be used for good", he considered a reflection of the traditional Chinese contempt for authority: as he put it, the "lazy, wanton ... free thought" inherited from Laozi and Zhuangzi (Scalapino and Yu, 1961: 57). It could equally be said, however, that his conception of a benevolent elite wielding power on the people's behalf was a reflection of the Confucian tradition which had bolstered autocratic rule in China for centuries, a tradition which had ironically enough been the first target of his polemics when the New Culture Movement began in 1915. Chen's own sons were for a time anarchists, though they were ultimately brought around to communism, and one of them died in the great Shanghai strike of 1927 (see below). Chen was later purged from the Communist Party as a Trotskyist in order to cover up for Stalin's self-seeking China policy, and died of cancer in seclusion in 1942.

Hu Shi (1891-1962), regarded today as the epitome of bourgeois liberalism, was a spokesman in 1919 for cultural reform void of political content. He particularly promoted the use of vernacular language in order to reach the ordinary people, but when the post-May 4 movement began to take a political turn dropped away. After disagreeing with both the Communists and the Nationalists, he escaped to the United States after 1949, moved to Taiwan in 1958 to take up a post in the academic hierarchy there, and died there a few years later.

Li Dazhao (1888-1927), the Chief Librarian at Beijing University in 1919, had moved gradually from patriotic liberalism to a more radical position after seeing the corruption of Chinese politics following Yuan Shikai's death in 1916. His career is discussed in detail later in this essay. Early in 1927, after the reactionary warlord Zhang Zuolin began a purge of radicals in the city, Li Dazhao and others took refuge in the Soviet Embassy, from where they continued to issue polemics against the Chinese authorities. In April Zhang's soldiers raided the embassy and Li was arrested. He was executed by strangulation soon after.

All three men are discussed in Grieder, 1983: chapters six and seven.

37). The debate between Li and Hu is discussed in Grieder, 1983: chapter eight. Luo Jialun (1897-1969), known for his fiery temper, had authored the original May 4 Manifesto calling on all Chinese to rise up in protest against those who had betrayed the national interest. Fu Sinian (1896-1950), more erudite and less political than his friend, had been an advocate of moderation. Whereas *New Youth* had been produced primarily by professors, *New Tide* was edited entirely by progressive students. For details, see Schwarcz, 1986: 67ff. On the vernacular speech movement, see Ibid: 76ff.

In May 1920, after Hu Shi urged May 4 activists to give up struggling and go back to school, Luo and Fu accepted money from a Shanghai capitalist and went to study in America. Both subsequently became stalwarts of the Taiwan academic elite.

38). In fact, former anarchist Liu Shipai was the main force behind this journal, being both founder and editor. Liu had emerged as the paramount critic of the *New Tide* group's critique of traditional Chi-

nese culture, and when he died later in 1919 the *National Heritage* collapsed after just four issues. For a discussion, see Schwarcz, 1986: 124-5.

Gu Hongming (1857-1928) was an extraordinary figure, a sort of Confucian Tory who gave lectures in Latin, wrote perfect English, and penned diatribes in the style of Scots ballads. See Grieder, 1983: 220-1. Huang Kan (1886-1935) had been a disciple of Zhang Binglin. *National Heritage* criticized the vernacular speech movement as "cultural vandalism" equivalent to the Qin emperor's 'burning of the books' in 213 BC (Ibid: 233-4).

39). Such 'eminent scholars' were the sole source of information on any brand of revolutionary thought in these early years, and would-be Marxists flocked to their book-lined studies with as much enthusiasm as did anarchist students.

40). Refusal to use family names, symbolizing rejection of the traditional family's despotic authority, was one of the commonest motifs of the May 4 period. So many contributors to radical magazines of the time did so that it is often impossible to identify them clearly. A vivid picture of the despotic Chinese family can be found in Ba Jin's novel *Family* (Anchor paperback, 1972), which also contains an introduction by Olga Lang on Ba Jin's life. Raised in just such a family himself, Ba (b. 1904), an anarchist who came of age during the May 4 era, personified the anarchists' concern with and appeal to the plight of young people of the time. Criticized and treated abominably during the Cultural Revolution, Ba has re-emerged in recent years amid a more open atmosphere toward political history; his works, once regarded as 'poisonous weeds' because of their anarchistic concern with the individual, have begun to be sold once more.

- 41). In fact, as the name suggests, the organization was founded while the students were still in Japan. Despite government pressure to go back to Japan to continue their studies, most of the students remained in China to agitate. For details on the movement, see Chow, 1960: 78 ff.
- 42). The Society's members were initially very moderate and opposed to direct action. As a result they bitterly opposed the cultural critiques of the *New Tide* group, arguing that in its hour of need China required unity, not self-criticism. The two groups finally came together in March 1919 with the formation of the Commoners' Education Lecture Corps (see below). The *Citizens' Magazine*, after publishing its first issue on January 1 1919, gradually moved further and further left and in its November 1 issue carried the 'Communist Manifesto'. For details, see Chow, 1960: 82.
- 43). On June 28, the date set for signing the Peace Treaty, Chinese workers and students in Paris, many of them organized in previous years by the anarchists of the New Century group, surrounded the headquarters of the Chinese delegation to prevent them from attending the ceremony. In the event the delegation refused unilaterally to sign since the Conference failed to recognize China's rights in Shandong. They then resigned and returned to China, where the students accordingly declared an end to the previous month's strikes and demonstrations. Nevertheless, the Shandong problem remained unsolved, and Japanese troops continued to occupy the province for some years.
- 44). The formation of the Students' Union of Beijing was significant in more than one respect. Not only was it the first time that both middle and higher school students in the city had been united on a permanent basis; more important, it was the first time in Chinese history that

male and female students could attend meetings side by side and become members of the same group. Since boys and girls attended separate schools there had previously been no common activities and no mixed groups. Now, however, girl students began to join the movement in large numbers, and within a year co-education was being introduced at Beijing University. See Chow, 1960: 123. At the same time there seems to have been resistance to the new atmosphere. In Tianjin the Students' Union created a separate organization for women, the Association of Patriotic Women Comrades, which enjoyed at its outset more than six hundred members ranging from thirteen-year-olds to women in their sixties. In October 1919 women began to join the Students' Union and the Association was disbanded. See Ono, 1989: 107.

45). The Work-Study Society rejected the traditional Chinese conception of 'mental labourers as governors, manual labourers as governed'. It aimed, via utopian socialism, anarchism, humanitarianism, the New Village programme and a labour movement, to realize anarchist ideals to serve the working class. It also propagated the concept that 'education is life, school is society'. Though its members rejected wholesale change in favour of piecemeal reforms, still they insisted on direct action, and often persuaded students to take radical steps where many had preferred to hold back. The organization formed in February 1919 was a mainly patriotic, anti-Japan group, and the society was revamped in May to push for more radical social change. The leader of the May 4 attack on the home of the pro-Japanese Minister Cao Rulin was a member of the Work-Study Society, a Hunanese anarchist named Kuang Husheng. He was credited with coining the slogan 'Oppose Authority!', which added a more militant tone to the

other students' mainly patriotic slogans. Kuang later became a teacher at the Hunan Provincial First Normal School in Changsha from which Mao Zedong had graduated. The School was in the process of becoming a centre of radical learning, but after 1927 drifted towards the Nationalist Party, and Kuang became active in the operation of the so-called 'Labour University' in Shanghai (see below).

In May 1922 the Work-Study Society published a May Day issue of its journal *Work-Study Monthly* (Gongdu yuekan) in which it proposed to establish a school for workers; the school seems never to have opened.

46). Backed by local military figures Sun had established a military government in Guangzhou in 1917 in opposition to the Beijing warlord regime. Following several small wars, peace negotiations had begun in Shanghai just before the outbreak of the May 4 Movement. This was Sun's reason for being in the city. Sun, however, was a cultural conservative, and his support for the student movement, which he saw as a weapon to use against Beijing, was carefully calculated. His refusal to help the students consequently stemmed equally if not primarily from his distaste for their iconoclastic attitude toward traditional culture. The quotation is from his speech, 'The Urgent Task of Saving the Nation', in *Selected Works* I, 1956.

'Protecting the Constitution' was the slogan under which Sun had created his military government in Guangzhou. In the confusion following Yuan Shikai's death, power in Beijing had been usurped by a new warlord clique under a revised constitution that reduced the influence of the representative assembly guaranteed by the 1912 Provisional Constitution. On the events surrounding the formation of the Chinese Revolutionary Party, see Edward Friedman, *Backward Toward*

Revolution (Berkeley, 1974).

47). The repercussions were perhaps not quite as great as Maoist hagiography has since claimed, but many May 4 activists including Luo Jialun proclaimed Mao's analysis of the movement to be fundamentally correct. His basic point was that the movement had awakened people to the need for a united front of students, merchants and workers in the struggle for civil rights and social reconstruction. Recent research has shown that Mao considered himself an anarchist until the end of 1920, far later than had hitherto been assumed, and his anarchist leanings appear quite clearly in the article. He calls Kropotkin's ideas "broader and more far-reaching" than those of "the party of Marx", stressing the need to understand the lives of the common people, and calling for mutual aid and voluntary labour. Mao also specifically rejects the elimination of political enemies, calling on them to repent and begin working with others (a call that was echoed in the theory if not the practice of the Cultural Revolution). For details, see Dirlik, 1989a: 178. Mao's article is translated by Stuart Schram in *China Quarterly* No. 49 (1972). The *Xiang River Review*, for which Mao also acted as editor, was considered one of the six best magazines to appear during the May 4 period, despite its having published only four issues before its suppression by the Hunan warlord authorities in August 1919.

48). In his essay 'On New Democracy', first published in February 1940, Mao wrote that May 4 was "called forth by the worldwide revolution at that time, by the Russian Revolution and Lenin, it was part of the world revolution of the proletariat". This statement has become the basis of Chinese communist historiography concerning the history of the revolutionary movement in China. Mao's theory of New

Democracy described May 4 as the watershed between 'old' and 'new' democracy: before May 4 the bourgeoisie had controlled the revolutionary movement; after it the working class began to take on an independent role, though the bourgeoisie, suffering from imperialist oppression, could still cooperate with it. While it is true enough to say that May 4 led to the emergence of the working class on the Chinese political stage, it is patently mistaken to suggest that the Movement was "called forth" by the Russian Revolution and Lenin. At the time of the founding of the Communist Party in 1921, few intellectuals knew anything about Marx, let alone Lenin, who seems not even to have been translated until late 1920. Interest in the Russian Revolution was a result of the May 4 Movement, not a cause. For a discussion, see Dirlik, 1989a: 43ff.

- 49). The Federation of Street Unions of Shanghai soon became the most influential organization in the city, establishing night schools and directing sanitary and welfare measures.
- 50). The Corps, founded on the anarchist-inspired slogan 'Go to the Masses!', originally had more than 120 members. Its founders included Xu Deheng, Luo Jialun, Zhang Guotao and Wang Guangqi (on Zhang and Wang, see below), and all were members of either the Citizens' Magazine Society or the New Tide group. They came together in the realization, previously repugnant to the former group, that China needed a new cultural identity to stand up to external enemies. For the first few months lectures took place on Saturday evenings on street corners; later lecture halls were established in working-class sections of the city where weekly talks were held on topics like socialism, mutual aid, the national crisis, the dangers of superstition, and the meaning of May Day. Popular literature was

also widely distributed. Although Nohara speaks of these activists' problems in the villages, the movement actually began within the city walls and spread out to the rural suburbs only in early 1920. For the intellectuals involved the most important effect was the face-to-face contact with ordinary people, and the group formed the basic nucleus for the communist group established in Beijing in mid-1920. For a discussion, see Schwarcz, 1986: 86ff, 128-33. It has also been said that the Corps' failure was despite being armed with a dictionary of popular usage compiled for them by the anarchist Wu Zhihui (see Dirlik, 1989a: 68).

Although the movement had little success in the suburban villages, the members reacted to their failure by establishing more formal institutions within the city, and these flourished until the movement was coopted by the communists a few years later. Incidentally, Nohara mistakenly gives 1921, instead of 1920 as the date for their becoming confined to lecture halls.

51). Lu Xun (1881-1936) is recognized as China's greatest essayist and writer of modern fiction. Originally a medical student, Lu turned to full-time writing to arouse the Chinese people to struggle for their liberation. His first short story, titled 'Diary of a Madman' and published in May 1918, was a prophetic one looking forward to the students' outburst a year later. *The True Story of Ah Q*, his most important work, was an allegory of the shortcomings of the Chinese character under the influence of traditional ethics and institutions while faced with the onslaught of the modern west. Lu's short stories have been published in English translation under the title, *Diary of a Madman and Other Stories*, translated by William A. Lyell (University of Hawaii Press, 1990). A short critical biography may be found in

- Griender, 1983: 270-74. For a full treatment, see Spence, 1982: passim.
- 52). Deng's 'Memoir' is included in the *Collection of Essays in Commemoration of May 4 (Wusi jinian wenji)*, 1950. Deng later married Zhou Enlai. She participated in the 1934 'Long March' and left an important record of that too. After 1949 she was elected to the Central Committee of the Communist Party and became a leader of the Chinese Women's Federation. In recent years she has come into prominence as a conservative voice, particularly for her criticisms of the 1989 student movement. She and Zhou had been active in various other groups prior to the Awakening Society, where she had worked primarily for women's emancipation. At this time, as Nohara says, there was no clear understanding of communism within the group: its main influences seem to have been guild socialism, anarchism and humanism. Its aims, expressed through its journal *Awakening*, were to propagate new thought, individual self-cultivation and women's emancipation, and to practice the ideals of work-study and the New Village. The magazine, which should not be confused with the later magazine of the same name that acted as a Nationalist Party mouthpiece, managed to put out only one issue in January 1920 owing to the arrest of the group's members for participating in the student movement mentioned above. Articles in the magazine were required to be collective creations; those contributed by individuals went unsigned, and members even went so far as to use numbers to identify themselves in place of their family names. For a discussion of the group's significance, see Dirlik, 1989a: 164-5. Nohara mistakenly gives the date of the group's formation as March 1919.
- 53). Some qualification of Nohara's comment at the end of this paragraph seems justified. Although the warlord government's repression

made the anarchists' critique of authority sharper than ever, it also blunted the movement's optimism regarding the possibility of spontaneous mobilization and a peaceful transition to a better society. As faith in anarchism among intellectuals declined, so the search for more structured forms of organization grew more pressing.

54). *Struggle*, which appeared three times a month, was established in January 1920 and published eight issues until it was closed down and the editors arrested in April that year. Contributors, as elsewhere, refused to use their family names, signing themselves with random initials. One of its issues was a special one on 'free love'. The magazine was succeeded by the *Struggle Weekly*, which managed to put out twenty issues during the summer of 1920. For a discussion, see Dirlik, 1989a: 31.

Zhejiang New Tide, though it put out only three issues between November and December 1919 before being suppressed, was one of the most provocative of all the May 4 magazines, its circulation reaching a thousand even in that short time. The Provincial First Normal School where it was based had a strong anarchist tradition and was eventually closed down by the authorities in the spring of 1920. The magazine advocated "freedom, mutual aid and labour" as the "natural" endowments of human society. After its suppression some of the students went to Japan where they worked with the anarchist Ōsugi Sakae.

One of the teachers at the school, Shen Zhongjiu, later became a member of the anarchist-affiliated clique within the Nationalist Party, and in 1927 was appointed director of the party-sponsored Shanghai Labour University. The latter, promoted by one-time anarchist party elders like Li Shizeng, Wu Zhihui and Zhang Jingjiang, was a last

futile attempt to use the Nationalist Party to channel the Chinese revolution in an anarchist direction in response to the inroads made by the communists. Opportunistic and ill-fated as it was, the Labour University nevertheless attracted not only the best among the remaining anarchist intellectuals (there was also a strong faction opposed to the venture, it should be said), but also drew participation from abroad. Guest lecturers included Japanese anarchists Iwasa Sakutarō and Yamaga Taiji, and Jacques Reclus, grandson of Elisee Reclus from whom Li Shizeng had first learned his own anarchism. For details of the Labour University, see Dirlik, 1989b.

The three magazines mentioned by Nohara were only a few of the numerous anarchist-influenced periodicals that sprang up all over the country in the immediate wake of the May 4 Movement. Most, of course, disappeared without a trace; some of those that did leave a record were as follows: *New Hunan* (Xin Hunan), published in Changsha from July to October 1919 and edited from August by Mao Zedong; *The Critic* (Piping), which appeared in Beijing in late 1920; *New Person* (Xin ren), published in Shanghai from 1920-21 by the New Persons Society, whose fifty members included some in Beijing and Nanjing; and *The Person* (Ren), put out in Guangzhou in early 1920, mainly by north China anarchists including Jing Meijiu and Zhao Taimou. Other magazines that carried anarchist ideas included *New Shandong* (Xin Shandong) of Jinan, *New Republic* (Xin gonghe) of Taiyuan, and *New Zhejiang* (Xin Zhejiang) of Shanghai, but the influence of anarchist ideas was so strong that there was probably no politically-oriented magazine, at least before 1920, that did not carry them at some point (the above information was taken principally from Chow, 1963).

55). Chen Youqin also contributed to several other magazines of the period, including *New Life* (Xin shenghuo), circulated by the Commoners' Education Lecture Corps to Beijing railway workers and citizens in 1920, and *Women's Review* (Funu pinglun), a women's rights magazine which appeared during 1920. Nothing more is known about Huang Tianjun.

The quotations from the *Students' Weekly* are taken by Nohara from the aforementioned Introduction to the Periodicals of the May 4 Period. For the present translation I have made certain corrections and amendments in line with the original text.

56). This is probably a reference to Sun Zhongshan and other revolutionaries of the pre-1911 generation, who spent much of their careers trying to organize insurrections from exile abroad.

57). In other words, the worker-peasant alliance, upon which Mao staked and won his political life in the 1920s and 1930s, was equally attributable to insights held by the anarchists. The latter had in fact called for this kind of strategy as early as 1911 when the mainstream of Chinese revolutionary politics had still been anti-Manchu nationalism, criticizing the latter as being capable of benefiting only a small minority. Another way in which the anarchists anticipated the Leninists of later years was in advocating infiltration of the secret societies, bandit gangs and other mass organizations that filled the interior in order to spread the message of social revolution and free federation. See Scalapino and Yu, 1961: 16-17.

As an example of the scholars mentioned in this paragraph, Nohara gives Shi Jun, author of *A Selection of Teaching Materials on Modern Chinese Intellectual History* (Zhongguo jindai sixiangshi jiangshou tikang), published in 1955.

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