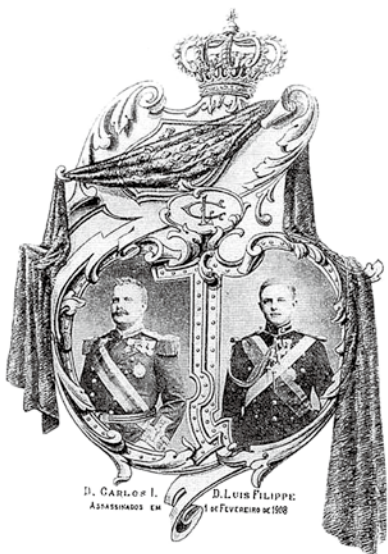


# Anarchism and Assassination

## Dom Carlos and the Qing's Zaifeng Regent

PAUL B. SPOONER\*



Just over a hundred years ago, on 1 February 1908 anarchists assassinated Dom Carlos I and the Portuguese Crown Prince, Luís Filipe, mortally wounding the Portuguese monarchy. The quasi-decapitation of Portugal’s liberal constitutional monarchy, which had successfully guided the country out of the traumatic period of civil war and political breakup with Brazil, opened the door to a republican political coup less than two years later. The strange death of the exiled Manuel II at age 42 on 2 July 1932 from ‘inflamed tonsils’ shortly after watching a tennis match at Wimbledon, England ended any realistic hopes of re-establishing Portugal’s liberal monarchy.<sup>1</sup>

\* Ph.D. in Modern Chinese History, focusing on Macao, from the University of Hong Kong, M.A. in Chinese Studies from Yale University. In 2014 he was a Visiting Fellow at Yale’s Council on East Asia Studies. He has taught Lusophone History at the University of Macau, Strategic Management at the University of St. Joseph, and Tourism at Macau University of Science and Technology.

*Doutorado em História Moderna da China, com foco em Macau, pela Universidade de Hong Kong, Mestre em Estudos Chineses pela Universidade de Yale. Em 2014 participou como Professor Convidado no Conselho de Yale em Estudos do Oriente. Lecionou História Lusófona na Universidade de Macau, Gestão Estratégica na Universidade de São José e Turismo na Universidade de Ciência e Tecnologia de Macau.*

Substantially confirming that Portugal’s republican coup of 5 October 1910 was not solely a domestic affair was the arrival shortly before the coup in the Lisbon of the most powerful battleship in the world, the Republic of Brazil’s *Sao Paulo*. It carried Marshal Hermes Fonseca, Brazil’s president-elect, the nephew of the army general that overthrew the Braganças in Rio de Janeiro 21 years before. Similar to the Brazil Republican coup of 15 November 1889, the priority of Portugal’s non-elected new rulers was to break the established Catholic Church from the Portuguese state and severely constrain its activities. Forestalled was an investigation into the assassination of Dom Carlos I. Copies of the judicial report were inexplicably lost or stolen.

History defining attacks on the Habsburg Monarchy, a dynasty that had been linked to Portugal’s monarchs since Charles V of the Holy Roman Empire and Dom João III had married each other’s sisters in the 16<sup>th</sup> century, similarly occurred in the same era. With disastrous consequences for Europe, the assassination of Austro-Hungarian Emperor Franz Joseph’s heir,



The Lisbon Regicide as depicted in French newspaper *Le Petit Journal*, February 1908.

L'ATTENTAT DE LISBONNE  
Le roi de Portugal et le prince héritier périssent assassinés



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King Carlos I of Portugal (1863-1908).



Archduke Franz Ferdinand (1863-1914).

Franz Ferdinand, and wife Sophie on 28 June 1914 led directly to the First World War. An anarchist had previously assassinated Emperor Franz Joseph's wife (Empress Elisabeth) on 10 September 1898 in Geneva. What was the international organisational and financial context of these Anarchists who successfully crippled Portugal's monarchy and goaded the Austria-Hungarian Empire into war?

With respect to Anarchist operations in Asia, decades have been spent detailing the links between the Marxists of the Third International in Europe to China, but considerably less time investigating its two precursor organisations whose relationship to the assassins of the Austria-Hungarian and Portuguese monarchs was considerably closer: (i) the Anarchist International that evolved from Mikhail Bakunin's split with Karl Marx at the First International's Hague Congress of September 1872, and (ii) the Second International from its founding in 1889 under the auspices of Frederick Engels. Although focused primarily in Europe, both organisations sought to operate and project their ideology internationally, and undoubtedly into the European colonies and affiliated jurisdictions in Asia including Japan, Indonesia, Vietnam, India and China.

The roots of the anarchist movement correlate to European imperial struggles for power. This article will discuss the historic background of the anarchist movement; describe its organisational structure, financing, operating bases and methods; provide instances of Anarchism being manipulated by *agents provocateurs*; relate its implantation into Iberia and the subsequent use of 'propaganda by the deed' and anarcho-syndicalist unions, explore its international context, and then discuss anarchist relationship to the Chinese revolution, with particular reference to the activities of Wang Jingwei 汪精卫. Directions for future research that may operationally tie anarchist operations in Europe to those in Asia will be identifiable.

Focus on Comintern (Third International) activities in Asia post-1919 has left a lacuna in analysis with respect to the global reach of its predecessor organisation, the Second International, as well as the Second International's major competitor, the Anarchist International. This has had the knock-on effect of curtailing observation as to how the Second International's successor, the Labour & Socialist International (LSI), deployed into Asia as a Marxist alternative to Lenin's Comintern during the inter-war

period 1919-1940 when it was substantially under the leadership of the British Labour Party. The lack of discussion of the Second International's strategy for Asia is extraordinary given the impact the organisation had on the international socialist movement for the 30 years from its founding in July 1889 to the emergence in March 1919 of Lenin's Third International (Comintern).

Theoretically the Bolshevik's Comintern displaced the Second International from its lead role in the Socialist movement. But, that is hardly the historic record. After the First World War the Second International continued under the name 'Labour & Socialist International' (LSI) as a major Marxist force in Socialism from 1923 all the way up to its last pre-World War II meeting in the spring of 1940. For the 21-year period from 1919 to 1940 while the LSI contended with Lenin's Bolsheviks for leadership of the Socialist movement, the British Labour Party under both Ramsay Macdonald and Arthur Henderson dominated its leadership. Also, after World War Two the Second International-LSI was again reborn as the Socialist International in London in 1951 as the Cold War against Stalinist Marxism unfolded. Its secretary



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general was Julius Braunthal, an Austrian socialist, historian of Socialism, and long time LSI activist who had lived in exile in Britain from 1935.

Though the lacuna in discussions of the Marxist Second International strategy in Asia deserves a thorough vetting, more important may be the strategy of the organisation’s competitor, the Anarchist International. A similar dearth of analysis is in evidence. More radical and more violent than the Second International, the emergence of anarchist centres for Chinese revolution in Paris, Tokyo and Canton in the early 20<sup>th</sup> century should have called for an investigation into the specific operational links between anarchism in Europe and Asia. However, analytic focus on the Comintern (Third International of Lenin and Trotsky) has shifted attention away from the key international anarchist networks of France and Iberia.

Anarchism in Spain was first implanted in 1868 during the Marxist-Anarchist alliance of Marx’s First International, and it extended forward powerfully into the Spanish Civil War of 1936-9. The Republican movement in the Philippines, Spain’s key Asian holding, blossomed in this period; and, China’s Sun Yat Sen 孙逸仙 had a relationship with it. Emilio Aguinaldo, the leader of the 1896 Filipino revolt against Spain has confirmed that the revolt was inspired, led, and executed by the Freemasons.<sup>2</sup> The overlap of Freemason, Anarchist and Marxist revolutionary activity is evidenced in numerous revolts, including that of Portugal and China. U.S. acquisition of the Philippines in 1898 could have furthered use of the Philippines as a Republican, if not a revolutionary logistics base.<sup>3</sup>

French anarchists with their major syndicalist union, the Confédération Générale du Travail (CGT) paralleled and connected to the Spanish anarchists during this period. The CGT had been established in 1895, and then was reinforced by the merger with the Fédération des Bourses du Travail in 1902 to form France’s largest union.<sup>4</sup> The extent of the CGT’s penetration into the Asian possessions of France in Shanghai, Fort Bayard (Leizhou Peninsula) and Indochina would not be a trivial question. International Revolutionaries made use of the French Concession in Shanghai, including the Soong Family,<sup>5</sup> the Comintern for the founding of the Chinese Communist Party (CCP) in July 1921, Agnes Smedley until 1929,<sup>6</sup> and Sun Yat Sen to whose organisation the formerly Paris-

based anarchists represented by Wu Zhihui 吴稚晖 were without question allied by the 1920s. Shanghai’s notorious opium-peddling Green Gang, which ran extensive operations in the French Concession in the early 20<sup>th</sup> century, was not initially opposed to the operations of political radicals. It also had extensive relations with foreign elements that controlled the opium supply and generated vast quantities of cash. These individuals included David Sassoon (Bombay in origin and the number one opium merchant in China), E.D Sassoon, S.J. David, and Edward Ezra. Most, if not all, carried British Empire passports.<sup>7</sup>

The proximity and mutual support of the world-leading anarchist operations in France and Spain between 1895 and 1939 begs the question as to anarchist operations in Shanghai, Indochina, the Philippines, and Portuguese Macao.<sup>8</sup> How were the strategists of these anarchist groups positioning their organisations in the Asian possessions of their home-countries? It is a historical fact that the operations of Lenin’s operations from 1919 directly linked Europe to Asia. It should not therefore be shocking to contemplate anarchist links at a minimum during the same period.

Only a select number of academics have explored the significance of anarchism to the Chinese revolution and its impact on the strategy of the Chinese Communist Party (CCP), notably Robert Scalapino and G.T. Yu (1961), Agnes Chan Pik-Chong (1979), Peter Zarrow (1990), Arif Dirlik (1991), and Edward Krebs (1998). Disconcertingly, many of the leading scholars analysing Chinese anarchism did not address the existence of the powerful France-based Confédération Générale du Travail (CGT) at the time the key Paris-based group of Chinese anarchists was in existence.<sup>9</sup> Known as the New World Society (*Xinshijie She* 新世界社) group, members had direct relationships with Wang Jingwei and later became highly placed members of China’s Kuomintang 国民党 (KMT).

Despite Agnes Chan (1979) raising the issue of the extensive correspondence of the Xiangshan-Guangzhou based doyen of Chinese anarchism (Liu Shifu 刘师复) having a large international anarchist network of ‘eighty foreign anarchist or Esperanto journals’, no subsequent author has attempted to trace his international financial and organisational network. Tellingly, Liu operated from Macao, Xiangshan and Shanghai between 1912 and 1915, while Chan

reports that his correspondence ‘enabled him to enter the fraternity of international anarchism’.<sup>10</sup> The fact that his journal *Min Sheng* (民声, *People’s Voice*) was published in Esperanto, the language of the anarchist movement, confirms that Shifu’s vision was global, and not restricted to changing China’s domestic social structure. Who supplied the organisational support for his anarchist operations?

Few authors have suggested parallel efforts between the anarchist movement of the late 19<sup>th</sup> century and the Second International in strategies to disrupt and overthrow religiously allied monarchical regimes. Targeted ‘ecclesiastical monarchies’ included the Romanov, Habsburg, Hohenzollern and Bragança dynasties, but could also have encompassed the Manchu’s Aisin Gioro dynasty of the Qing Dynasty. Little has been written about the Second International itself, and seemingly nothing about its strategy for Asia, while commentaries on Anarchist movements have appeared to be primarily focused on internal national struggles. The trees of anarchy have been observed, but not the forest.

Western literature’s discussion of overt anarchist activity in Asia focuses on a score of anarchist centres, although it has been reported that up to 92 anarchist organisations came into existence between 1919 and 1925.<sup>11</sup> A discussion appears to be missing of how these anarchist groups interfaced with the larger anarchist movement that by the early 1900s was operationally focused in France and Iberia, but had a network run by Kropotkin in London that developed anarchist theory and propaganda.

The Paris-based New World Society and Tokyo based Tong Meng Hui 同盟会 (TMT)group are by far the most critical for the early period of Chinese anarchism. Observing their activities, which coincide with the height of the anarchist movement in France, might begin to sift out the evidence of overlap of European and Asian anarchist operational activities. Listed below for reference purposes are the Chinese anarchist groups reported by the literature to date:

(i) New World Society in Paris (1907 to 1910) that centred on Li Shizeng 李石曾, Zhang Jingjiang 张静江, Wu Zhihuiand Chu Minyi 褚民谊;

(ii) Tong Meng Hui organisation in Tokyo from 1905-1907 which included Liu Shipei 刘师培, He Zhen 何振 and Zhang Ji 张继, who moved to Paris in the spring of 1908 to take up with the New World



Li Shizeng.

Society.<sup>12</sup> Wang Jingwei had deep relationships with key individuals of this organisation from 1905 to 1910;

(iii) Shifu in South China, a self-confessed assassin who had been born in Heangshan as Liu Szu-fu, was active in Macao from 1906 to 1907 then in Shanghai until his death in 1913;

(iv) TMH group led by Wang Jingwei in Tokyo, South China and Beijing, which by March 1910 had attempted to assassinate with a bomb the key political figure of the post-Dowager Empress Manchu Dynasty, the Zaifeng 载沣Regent;

(v) Jinde Hui 进德会 (Society to Advance Morality) that was organised in South China after the 1911 Xinhai Revolution (Xinhai Geming 辛亥革命) by elements of the Chinese anarchist groups in Paris and Tokyo that included Wu Zhihui, Li Shizeng, Zhang Ji, and Wang Jingwei;

(vi) Lesser known group of Lo Wu 樂無 and Fen Fen 憤憤 which broke away from the Chinese Socialist Party of Jiang Kanghu 江亢虎 shortly after China’s 1911 Xinhai revolution;



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- (vii) Society for Frugal Study in France (Liufa Jianxue Hui; 留法俭学会) that was a pioneering work-study group founded in April 1912 which was organised substantially by members of the Jinde Hui that included Wu Zhihui, Wang Jingwei, Li Shizeng, Zhang Jingjiang, Chu Minyi, Zhang Ji, and Qi Zhushan 齐竺山;<sup>13</sup>
- (viii) Anarcho-Communist Comrades (Wuzhengfu gongchan zhuyi tongzhi) led by Shifu’s brother Liu Shixin who published the *People’s Voice* (*Min Sheng* 刘石心) in Shanghai until 1922, initiated a syndicalist movement in China, and was reported to have started in 1918 China’s first labour journal, *Labour* (*Laodong* 劳动);<sup>14</sup>
- (ix) Truth Society (Shishe 实社) started at Beijing University in 1917, which by 1919 had merged with anarchist societies in Guangzhou and Nanjing to found the Evolution Society (Jinhua She 进化) with a journal edited by Chen Yannian, the son of the Chinese Communist Party leader Chen Duxiu 陈独秀;<sup>15</sup>
- (x) Fujian Star (*Minxing bao* 闽星报) based in Zhangzhou, Fujian which had been set up by the Guangzhou Anarchists with Liang Bingxian 梁冰弦 as editor in the early 1920s;<sup>16</sup>
- (xi) Society for the Study of Marxist Theory in Beijing which began in the summer of 1919 as the Comintern established alliances with anarchist groups, who up to that time had been the ‘most readily identifiable group on the social revolutionary Left’;<sup>17</sup>
- (xii) Congress of the Toilers or the East in Moscow in the spring of 1922, as the Comintern sought to build bridges with this group by inviting anarchists to attend;
- (xiii) National Labour Congress in Guangzhou in 1922, the first such meeting in China and in which anarchists were prominent;
- (xiv) Anarchist Federation created by more than 50 anarchists in Guangzhou under the direction of a Russian agent (Dikebuo) who unsuccessfully sought a conspiratorial organisation ‘complete with code names and passwords’. Participating were Ou Shengbai 区声白, Liang Bingxian, and Huang Lingshuang 黄凌霜, but this core group soon split with Ou leaving for Paris and Huang heading to Massachusetts and its Clark University;<sup>18</sup>and finally,
- (xv) Anarchists who were incorporated directly into the highest levels of the Nationalist Party (KMT) by the mid 1920s that included those from the groups operational in Paris and Tokyo, among them Zhang

- Jingjiang, Wu Zhihui, Li Shizeng, Wang Jingwei and Chu Minyi.
- ANARCHISTS AND IMPERIALISTS
- The single most compelling instance of anarchists being tied to the global needs of imperial struggle is the mixture of nationalism, anarchism and imperialism evident in the operations of the Tong Meng Hui that operated in Tokyo from 1905 to 1910 as Japan made its advance into the ranks of Imperial states. In this period, while Japan was formally allied to Great Britain in the Anglo-Japanese Alliance of 1902-1922, Japan first defeated in Manchuria the Qing dynasty’s long-standing ally, the Russian Empire, and thereby opened Manchuria and Korea to occupation and annexation by the Japanese imperial state.
- The affiliation to the TMH of most of China’s leading anarchists, many of whom supported assassination against Qing Dynasty targets, united the Chinese anarchists to the Japanese Imperial strategies by time, location, opponent, propaganda, and, most importantly, funding. In the Tokyo base of the Chinese anarchists, not only was the TMH being financed to some degree from Japanese sources, but also in Paris funding for the French-based Chinese anarchists was coming from a narrowly-based source (Zhang Jingjiang) whose desire for actual anarchism was not altogether clear. It is apparent that in financial and political centres of London, Paris and Tokyo) that were most committed to the defeat of the Qing-Russian alliance there were located key Chinese anarchists who brought anarchist ideology and methodology to China.
- The case of Wang Jingwei clearly links anarchist assassination into imperial strategies. An authoritative biography on Shifu, the renowned Chinese anarchist from Xiangshan County 1906-1915, states unequivocally that Wang was an anarchist.<sup>19</sup> At a high level of the Republic of China government, Wang Jingwei led the ‘KMT Left’ in the 1920s and 1930s. Earlier as Sun Yat Sen’s key supporter in the TMH, he had attempted to assassinate the Manchu Zaifeng Regent (Prince Chun 醇亲王) in March 1910.<sup>20</sup> Wang’s political career was severely damaged when he joined Imperial Japan in 1940 as head of the collaborationist Republic of China government in Nanjing. His brother-in-law and a core anarchist from the Paris group, Chu Minyi, acted as the Collaborationist

government’s Minister of Foreign Affairs before his execution in 1946. Wang himself died before the war’s end in Tokyo in November 1944 while undergoing a medical operation. The execution of Chu Minyi removed an authoritative witness of the relationship of Asian to French anarchists

The insufficient and propagandised texts which unfortunately have haunted much of the discussion of Wang Jingwei as head of the ‘KMT Left’ for the past 70 years, have for the most part removed him from discussion of pre-World War Two Chinese revolutionary history. Reviewing original sources and relatively unbiased secondary material quickly confirms that Wang Jingwei with Hu Hanmin 胡汉民 and Huang Xing 黄兴 were Sun’s key lieutenants during the Tong Meng Hui period from 1905 to 1911, with

Wang Jingwei becoming increasingly powerful in the highest reaches of the Republic of China government up through 1938.

Wang Jingwei appears with associates who were self-proclaimed anarchists in virtually every node of China’s pre-1917 anarchist spectrum, and with them again as they moved into the top ranks of the KMT from 1926. In the 1905-1917 period he is directly tied into the organisations established by China’s leading anarchists including the Jinde Hui and Liufa Qinggong Jianxue Yundong 留法勤工俭学运动 (Society for Frugal Study in France).<sup>21</sup> Anarchists (Wu Zhihui, Li Shizeng, Zhang Ji, and Zhang Jingjiang) along with Wang Jingwei founded this pioneering Chinese anarchist organisation in April 1912.<sup>22</sup> As was required for a dedicated anarchist, that year Wang rejected several

Wu Zhihui, Li Shizeng and Zhang Jingjiang.



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key posts in the new Chinese republican government, including that of governor of Guangdong province,<sup>23</sup> opting to depart for France ‘for study’. In France by the summer of 1916 he was publishing articles in the anarchist-affiliated *Lu Ou Zazhi* 旅欧杂志 (*Magazine for Study in Europe*), edited by his brother-in-law and future Foreign Minister in the 1940-1944 Nanjing regime, Chu Mingyi.<sup>24</sup> With Hu Shih 胡适, Wang Jingwei later became editor of the magazine.<sup>25</sup>

Many analysts of Chinese anarchists, however, do not articulate the view that Wang Jingwei was part of the anarchist movement. This undoubtedly has much to do with the unwillingness of his anarchist colleagues of the late Qing and earlier Republican period to associate themselves with his World War Two initiative to Japan. The core of the Chinese anarchists in Paris (and their funder), including Wu Zhihui, Li Shizeng and Zhang Jingjiang, all evacuated with Wang’s World War Two-arch-enemy Chiang Kai-shek (Jiang Jieshi 蒋介石) to Taiwan in 1949 where they spent the rest of their lives. Zhang Jingjiang died in Taiwan on 3 September 1950, Wu Zhihui on 20 October 1953, and Li Shizeng on 30 September 1973.

Wang’s veering into support of a major ally of Fascism in 1940-1944 does not insure that he was not near the core, or a member, of the early Chinese Anarchist movement in 1905-1910, just as Wu Zhihui’s close relations with Chiang Kai-shek did not place Wu (or any of the other New World Society) outside of the early anarchist camp. In France the case of George Sorel (1847-1922), who as an anarchist theorist later became a precursor to fascism, is an example of the link between anarchism and fascism: he is touted both as a ‘great syndicalist’ who ‘advocated direct action and believed in the purifying effects of violence’,<sup>26</sup> but also as ‘instrumental in founding that plague of the second quarter of the 20<sup>th</sup> century, fascism’.<sup>27</sup> James Joll reported that his views ‘led to his being regarded as the theorist of anarcho-syndicalism’. His most famous book, *Reflexions on Violence*, was published in 1906 in France just as the Paris-based New World Society and Wang Jingwei’s Teng Meng Hui were emerging as leading forces in Chinese anarchism and revolution. Sorel proclaimed, ‘not only can proletarian violence ensure the future revolution, but it also seems the only means at the disposal of the nations of Europe, numbed as they are by humanitarianism, to recover their energy’.<sup>28</sup>

The career of the leading French anarchist, Jean Graves, who published the *Les Temps Nouveaux* as the Chinese anarchist New World Society in Paris was being formed, points clearly to the transformation of factions in the anarchist movement into nationalist and anti-Bolshevik parties after the Bolsheviks seized power in Russia and suppressed all opposition. Dirlik describes Graves and Reclus as being the source of the Kropotkin anarchism that ‘was the foremost source for Chinese Anarchism’<sup>29</sup> and asserts that the subtitle of the New World Society’s journal, *La Tempoĵ Novaj* (in Esperanto) was named ‘probably after *Les Temps Nouveaux*, published by Jean Grave’.<sup>30</sup> Dirlik further describes that after some Chinese anarchists resisted the growth of nationalism in China after the May Fourth Movement, ‘Jean Grave in a letter gently rebuked Chinese anarchists for their inflexibility on this issue, reminding them that he and Kropotkin had supported World War I as a necessary compromise’.<sup>31</sup> Grave had refused to remain neutral in World War I, splitting with the international anarchists; with Paul Reclus he supported Peter Kropotkin’s negative assessment of the Bolshevik regime. Paul Reclus, the nephew of Elisée Reclus, had lead Li Shizeng of the Chinese Paris anarchists into the anarchist movement early in the 1900’s.<sup>32</sup>

By May 1919 the *Temps Nouveaux* group was ‘criticizing the soviets as counter-revolutionary and were declaring their support for the Russian anarchists and Left Socialist Revolutionaries against the Bolsheviks’.<sup>33</sup> In January 1919 Graves repeated the rumor in his publication that the Bolsheviks had murdered Kropotkin. Further, with the launching of Grave’s *Publications* in 1920, writers that Grave published included a J. Erboville who asserted that the Russian revolution was concrete proof of the failure of Marxism, referring to the ‘Tartars’ and the ‘Hebrews who have murdered freedom of thought, killed production and sown famine in Russia’.<sup>34</sup> Anarchist defenders of the Bolsheviks countered by pointing out what Graves and Kropotkin had supported during the war: ‘How can we not prefer Lenin to someone like Kropotkin or Jean Grave, who associated themselves with the massacres of the world war?’<sup>35</sup> It is clear from the words of both Graves and his critics that he had moved significantly to the right during the war and after the Bolshevik seizure of power in Russia.

It is not surprising that historical texts using the Anglo-American narrative do not tie Wang Jingwei

directly into the Chinese anarchist movement in France, seldom refer to the activities of his brother-in-law Chu Minyi as a major writer for the anarchist New World Society newspaper (that was run by the future KMT stalwarts Wu Zhihui, Li Shizeng and Zhang Jingjiang), and skirt carefully around his long-term relationship with Sun Yat Sen. Wang’s position as head of the ROC Nanjing collaborationist government in World War Two results in his being buried behind a blistering personal attack that has labeled him a *hanjian* (traitor to the Chinese) in both Taipei and Beijing, but fails to explore his relationship to Japan and global anarchists during Sun Yat Sen’s anti-Qing campaign from 1905 to 1911.

Wang had substantial links to both the key Chinese anarchists from 1905 to 1912 as well as with Imperial Japan from 1938 to 1944. The hypothesis that his World War Two affiliation with Japan in 1938-1944 was based upon an earlier relationship with Japanese interests is substantially more compelling than asserting there was no prior relationship. It would not be possible to sustain the view that his relationships from 1905 to 1910 when he operated from Tokyo editing the main journal of the TMH, the *Min bao* 民报 (People’s Tribune), which placed Sun Yat Sen at the forefront of the Chinese revolution and gave him the position of being the first President of China, did not carry over into Wang’s later close affiliations with Japan in subsequent decades. Which Japanese imperialist, military officer or foreign affairs strategist would have dropped the relationship with Wang after his mentor (Sun Yat Sen) had become Chinese President in 1912 or when Wang himself was at the top of KMT leadership after Sun’s death in 1925? The overlap between Chinese anarchists and Japanese Imperialists is clear: when Wang was in a key position in the Tokyo base of the TMH from 1905 to 1912, the early Chinese anarchist movement was at its height, with support for assassinations against the Qing continually being expressed in the TMH journal *Min bao* that Wang Jingwei often controlled, wrote for and edited.

For analytical purposes one merely needs to hypothesise that his position in the anti-Japanese War of 1937-1945 was directly linked to those in Japan supporting his political activities from 1905 to 1910 to crystallise the argument that the funding of major components of the anarchism movement was tied to imperial politics. From 1905 to 1920 Wang was near

the core of the Chinese anarchist wing that was being operated from Tokyo and Paris. From 1940 to 1944 he was president of the collaborationist government for whom he had selected Chu Minyi (a key writer for the anarchist *Xin shiji* 新世纪 [New Century] newspaper from 1907 to 1910) as his Foreign Minister. One of Chu’s major tasks must have been to develop relationships between Wang’s Nanjing government and their previous contacts in Europe, which certainly would have included Vichy France where anarcho-syndicalist efforts often paralleled fascist organisations.

*The affiliation to the TMH of most of China’s leading anarchists, many of whom supported assassination against Qing Dynasty targets, united the Chinese anarchists to the Japanese Imperial strategies by time, location, opponent, propaganda, and, most importantly, funding.*

Running a secretive organisation, not based on a mass movement, and personally participating in assassination at the highest of levels against the Qing, put Wang directly among the ranks of those affiliated with anarchism that were implementing policies parallel to global imperial politics. The goals of the TMH between 1905 and 1911 unquestionably benefited Japan’s imperial strategy on the Asian mainland: paralysing the Qing Dynasty, disrupting the Qing’s major political ally (Imperial Russia) and driving the Qing from Han China. Seizing the nearly empty, but resource-rich Manchu homeland in Manchuria, became in fact the competitive goals of both Imperial Japan and the KMT. It was over this that the two political groups warred beginning in September 1931. Between 1902 and 1922 as Japan expanded onto mainland Asia, it had been in a formal political and military alliance with London, the base of the world’s leading Anarchist, Peter Kropotkin.



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The example of Wang Jingwei clarifies the link between Imperial Politics and anarchist revolutionaries; the discussion that follows will correlate the anarchist movement with the activities of European struggles for power generally.

HISTORIC BACKGROUND

The First International (1864-1876) had seen a temporary alliance between the anarchists and Marxists until conflicts of personality and strategy between Karl Marx and Mikhail Bakunin led to the dissolution of the organisation in Philadelphia, Pennsylvania in 1876. The fight between Marx and Bakunin that followed the disaster of the Paris Commune in May 1871 split the First International by September 1872. Bakunin, a Russian, came to be based in the Jura Federation of Switzerland, a remote and rural French-speaking region. Publishing and writing in French, through the *Bulletin de la Fédération Jurassienne*, he focused on launching insurrection among the peasants of Italy and Spain. Marx operated in the heart of the leading city of the globe, London, writing in German and English, attempting to organise revolutionary networks among the new industrial working class, particularly in Germany. His control of the First International's General Council was authoritarian if not dictatorial.

With fundamentally different strategies and cultural backgrounds, Marx fractured the First International in 1872, just a few years after Bakunin had joined in 1868. Bakunin, however, took most of the First International sections when the split came at The Hague and Saint Imier Conferences of September 1872. Still utilising the name 'International Workingman's Association' (First International), Bakunin's immediate initiatives would fail miserably, notably in Italy in August 1874, and he would be dead by July 1876. Marx, moving the rump portion of the First International to New York City in 1872, tried to keep the General Council operating through his NYC-resident comrade from the 1848 revolt, Friedrich Adolph Sorge, despite fierce opposition from many national federations. It collapsed in July 1876 in Philadelphia, with Marx being dead by March 1883. The New York-based Sorge's influence remained significant. In Japan F.A. Sorge's grand

nephew, Richard Sorge, would go on to become one of the most successful agents of Comintern history as the Pacific War unfolded.

After Bakunin's death in 1876 and that of Marx in 1883, anarchist and Marxist socialism were advanced by a new generation of leaders, who modified both. The Marxist Social Democratic parties of Europe (particularly Germany) evolved the labour movement into a struggle through parliamentary processes. In July 1889 under the leadership of the German and French parties, and while Frederick Engels organised the last two volumes of *Das Kapital* for publication, the Marxist Social Democrats established the Second International on the 100<sup>th</sup> anniversary of the storming of the Bastille. Over the next 25 years it became the most influential Marxist organisation in Western Europe. As Europe's leading Marxist party, the German Social Democratic Party, would support Imperial Germany as the First World War commenced.

Following failed efforts in Switzerland and France beginning in 1878, Peter Kropotkin became the leading anarchist theorist after he established his *Freedom, a Journal of Anarchist Communism* in London in 1886. Reportedly decentralised, anarchists implemented assassination in Russia and social insurrection in Spain. Though anarchists were initially welcomed into the Second International at its founding in July 1889, the Third Congress in Zurich in August 1893 expelled them as the Second International restricted its membership to groups accepting political action within established governing systems. The anarchists thereupon organised their own international, holding Congresses in September 1893 in Chicago, in July 1896 in London and a final congress in Amsterdam in August of 1907.

Instead of operating within the established political order, with London-based Kropotkin as a leading personality, anarchism rejected collaboration with the existing state political structures; its various factions were directed to advance 'Social Revolution' by varying mixtures of direct action that included assassination, general strike, or syndicalist seizure of the means of production. Those advocating unitary labour combines that could seize the means of production through direct action shortly founded major unions in France (CGT 1902), in Portugal (FGT 1907) and in Spain (CNT 1910). Anarchism strategy evolved into syndicalism in the decades leading up to World War One.

Mikhail Bakunin.

# Freedom

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## ANARCHISM AND ITS ENEMIES.

When the class struggle—which is always going on, even when superficial observers the surface appears calm,—when this struggle from some cause or other takes an acute form, there is always an excuse for the bigoted and the obtuse, as well as the hired and mercenary opponents of progress, to deluge the public mind with infamous distortions of the cause which happens to be in sharp conflict with the established order of things when this "order" has indulged in some more than usually iniquitous measures against the rebellious spirits who question its rights. Such a state of things has arisen over the assassination of Canovas. Although no observant person can really and truly have felt any surprise at the occurrence, it has nevertheless afforded an opportunity for a section of the most stupid and brutal of the reactionaries to shine forth in their true colors. It is nothing new that these persons should demand that Anarchists should be treated as outside the pale of humanity; that is generally the way with people who pretend to be so shocked at the fall of a tyrant. To show their horror of bloodshed they talk openly of a crusade of extermination against Anarchists, and they lose no opportunity of making a disgusting travesty and burlesque of Anarchist principles.

It is necessary under these circumstances to assert a fact which government and the classes try to ignore, and which unfortunately many of the workers do not fully grasp, namely, that the social revolution is inevitable. Whether sooner or later, whether successful or unsuccessful, whether peacefully or with violence and bloodshed, the social revolution must come. It is not only the Anarchists who recognize this fact; it is perfectly well understood by the more intelligent section of the ruling classes, whose tactics, whether reactionary or "advanced," are really actuated by the desire of postponing the inevitable.

Now, Anarchism asserts that the birth of a new society will not only involve an economic revolution, but also a political and social readjustment of human relationships. The true ideal is not the well-fed man who vegetates in mental and moral slavery, taking orders from superiors in return for the assurance of a good dinner. A man should be, as Mazzini said, part of the living truth, realizing the fullest significance of life and willingly accepting the responsibilities that freedom brings with it. Under such conditions there is neither room nor necessity for the official with his cumbersome, irritating and costly "administration." Hence the necessity for the abolition of government. And in advancing this lies the head and front of our offending.

To declare for common property and the abolition of government is the unpardonable sin in the eyes of the exploiters. But a moment's reflection is sufficient to convince any honest person that it is only the legal robber and oppressor who feels his interests threatened by Anarchism; for whilst denying the need for man-made laws, or rather whilst denouncing them as sins against humanity, it affirms the necessity for mankind to place itself in harmony with natural laws, to study them, to learn by experience their true effects, and so ensure the healthy and normal progress of the race.

If we glance at the evils that surround us,—the fraud and chicanery, the stupid and brutal lust for wealth and power, all the misery and degradation, too well known to need naming,—we have no difficulty in tracing them as the effects of the capitalist system; and all upholders of that system must, whether they will or no, share the responsibility for these evils. Happily, there exists to-day a wide-spread discontent amongst the workers, who are compelled by hard experience, to recognize the truth of the Socialist principles they hear and read. Discontent, with a knowledge of the cause of its misery, makes, as we said, the social revolution inevitable.

For those who study the tendencies of social and economic evolution without prejudice it is not difficult to foresee broadly what the workers will strive to attain in the approaching revolution. Along with economic emancipation they must and will claim political freedom; they are the sides of the agitation, and the problem cannot be solved in the absence of either. There are the facts the Anarchist recognizes, and he practices them uncompromisingly in the face of all opposition, in spite of all shame.

Capitalistic society is rushing on to a catastrophe, the result of its own greed and folly, spreading as it goes havoc and ruin amongst friends and foes alike. Now it is the homes of the workers decimated by strikes and lock-outs, the result of the capitalist's struggle to maintain his profits at all costs; now even the small fry of his own class, mad with the lust of gain, brought to ruin by the tricks of the financiers. And this is called life; and it is expected or desired by these vampires that human beings should rest content with it. For us the issue is clear. It is our duty—a self-imposed duty—to enlighten the worker

as to his true interests; to trace out how the conditions may be conquered that he may at last have a human existence with all its possibilities of a healthy and happy development. We want bread and freedom and happiness for all. This is Anarchist Communism; its enemies may call it what they choose.

## IN MEMORY OF MICHAEL ANGIOLILLO, Garrotted in the prison of Vergara, August 10, 1897.

If ever, since the death of Alexander II., an act of revenge was comprehensible to all and realized what everybody had long ago thought would be the inevitable consequence of the actions of such a monster, it was the killing of Canovas del Castillo, the Spanish prime minister, at the Baths of Santa Agueda on August 8 last, by Michael Angiolillo. Canovas' career needs no comment: a politician all his life, a traitor to the Spanish Republic which he and others—above all, the other traitor, Martinez Campos—helped to overthrow in order to reestablish the monarchy of the accused Bourbon race who had already been driven from all the thrones they occupied in the South of Europe; later on, the chief of reaction, warning the country with greedy officials, whilst schoolmasters, for instance, receive hardly any salary and sometimes have to tramp on the roads in boots to beg for their living, Cuba and the Philippines were driven to revolt, and Canovas considered even Martinez Campos too humane and replaced him by the bloodhound Weyler, who burnt hospitals and wife women and girls. Weyler, by the way, the foremost Cuban insurgent, was assassinated last year; this murder in an animal was, by official Spain, made the occasion for a fête all over the country, as if it were another Waterloo.

The torture of Anarchists in 1891 and 1896, and the infamous treatment even of the acquitted prisoners is as well known by this time as the Versailles atrocities against the combatants of the Paris Commune in 1871. Of all this Canovas was the prime mover; and, as Henri Rochefort wrote the day after his death, "if ever a man ought to have expected to find some day some bullets shot into his head or body, that man was Canovas."

Our readers will be more interested in the life of Michele Angiolillo. Very few reliable data are known at present, the most important being a letter by comrade Roberto d'Angio of Foggia, Italy, who knew him from boyhood and wrote to the Tribune of Rome the following:

"Michele Angiolillo is 25 years old. A young man, tall, brown, robust, an oval face, thick black hair, a long beard. To vain Lombroso would examine him to find the slightest defect in support of his wrong and ridiculous theory on the alleged criminality of Anarchists. Ugliness or irregular development of the face, deformed ears—nothing of all this the author of the attempt on Santa Agueda presents."

Michele, as we called him, Lillo Angiolillo is indeed a beautiful young man. Not too vulgar or ignorant. He is intelligent and educated. His character was very gentle, almost timid, yet ever-ready and resolved in certain circumstances."

Both were requisitioned since boyhood; as far as Angiolillo followed technical and of Anglo-classical studies, but they spent long hours together in the Communal Library at Foggia. In 1891 d'Angio had revolutionary ideas and read Socialist and Anarchist literature, whilst Lillo (Angiolillo) "was a gentle and timid boy, as I have said, and he tried to moderate my opinions, explaining the theory of evolution, which he studied earnestly at that time. He maintained that we must pass through these stages. Whilst I always advocated violent means, he contradicted me and spoke in opposition in an easy but determined way." His modesty prevented him from speaking in public. He wrote his lectures and read them, with a voice often feeble."

At that time Angiolillo belonged to the Republican society "Azzurro Saff," and in the autumn of 1892 he had to enter military service. Only at the end of 1894 d'Angio, then at Naples and a convinced Anarchist, heard of him again.

"He informed me (in a letter) with enthusiasm that he also had become an Anarchist; he proposed to me to work together for propaganda, and told me in a few words of his sufferings in the 3th company of discipline at Capri where he had been sent on account of his principles."

"The letter I perfectly remember. He was fire and flame against the present disorder; he was impatient to act and to do something serious for our ideas."

"What he had suffered during military service had exasperated him. His health also had been shaken."

By the arrest of the writer in 1895 they were again separated and he heard nothing more of him, d'Angio being sent to *douzelio coats* (transported) and Angiolillo leaving Italy to escape a sentence of imprisonment and *douzelio coats* for the publication of a *man-festo* when working at Foggia, his native town, in 1895. He is said to have worked as a printer at Mercurio, Barone (which he left at the time of hundreds of arrests in 1896), at Mercurio again, when he was expelled from France, and at Brussels. Here some information becomes available, as the *Reforme*, a Radical daily of Brussels, has published some recollections:

"His odd fellow workers in the printing office of Briand (carried on by the widow of the old Belgian Socialist and Internationalist, Dédé Briand) preserved the best recollection of this man, who was very gentle, vaguely poetic and faintly. When his work was done he retired to the small lodging-house near the Place de David, where he lived and spent all his spare time in reading books.".....

Assassination seems to have continued as part of anarchist methods despite the emergence of syndicalism. Robert Kern reported, 'the syndicalists acknowledged a debt to anarchism, but the alliance between the two represents one of the unexplored aspects of modern European history'.<sup>36</sup> Importantly, in Spain 'the CNT was torn between continuing anarchist terrorism and seeking a political role for Spanish labour'.<sup>37</sup> In comparison to syndicalist action, assassination, which required secret cabals and discrete funding, was able to be manipulated by political cliques in nation states who jockeyed for global positioning against their state, ethnic and religious adversaries.

Bakunin's First International anarchist core from 1864 to 1876 had operated through conspiracies financed by a restricted number of wealthy benefactors (Alexander Herzen and Carlos Cafiero), while police operations in France (under Louis Andrieux as disclosed in his *Souvenirs d'un préfet de police*) are conclusively known to have established anarchist operations for their own purposes. Anarchists supported by the French police worked in parallel with Peter Kropotkin in London. The funding of Kropotkin's *Memoirs of a Revolutionist* in 1899 was also undertaken by a major U.S.-based publications firm (Houghton Mifflin) whose manager (Walter Hines Page) would shortly be directly involved with bringing the United States into World War One on Britain's side. Not surprising, Peter Kropotkin supported Britain's efforts. Seven years later reliable reports in Tokyo and Shanghai described key anarchists Liu Shiwei and He Zhen as facilitating the Qing Dynasty policing operations.

The overlap of anarchist personalities and imperial bureaucracies makes clear that the role of anarchists cannot be discussed without observing the larger geopolitical relationships among the nation states, and their contention for global power. Relegating discussions of anarchists solely to the written articulated arguments of past socialist texts misses the critical issue of how anarchists (and their strategies of assassination) may have been manipulated for the ends of imperial struggle.

## ANARCHIST MISSION

The anarchist mission was to destroy immediately the monarchial regimes and the social structure the regimes represented, while the Second International adopted more moderated strategies that sought to

push societies from monarchial feudalism to bourgeois republics and on to industrialised societies where socialism based on a new working class could be built. There was a clear methodological overlap in the desire of both to destroy monarchial-based societies that impeded 'social progress'. At the top of the target list were Romanov Russia, Habsburg Austria and Manchu China. Rather than also being another target, the rapidly industrialising Meiji Monarchy of Japan became a London ally and a key tool that halted Romanov expansion onto the Pacific. Initially attempts were made at the founding of the Second International in July of 1889 to reincorporate the anarchists into the new Socialist umbrella organisation. But by 1896 at the 4<sup>th</sup> Congress in London, due to continuous conflicts over strategy, which included the use of violence and assassination, the anarchists and Marxists formally split. That would not have, however, precluded these previous partnering groups from continuing to work in parallel for the first step of the social revolution that both sought: the destruction of monarchial regimes.

The Confédération Générale du Travail (CGT), the leading French-based but European anarchist organisation had in June of 1902 established an International Bureau in Berlin through the support of twelve national federations that included Germany, England, Austria, Czechoslovakia (Bohemia), Denmark, Spain, France, Holland, Italy, Norway, Sweden, and Switzerland.<sup>38</sup> This International Bureau was overtly charged with the responsibility of providing support during strikes, assembling statistics on the situation of the Federation in each country, and of publishing the laws related to the working class in each country. Subsequently, anarchist organisations in France and Spain became the dominant organisations of the working class in the Mediterranean region. France's Confédération Générale du Travail (CGT) emerged in France by September 1902 when the Bureau du Travail joined it.<sup>39</sup>

Five years later anarchists formed Portugal's Federação Geral do Trabalho (FGT) in May 1907 with a syndicalist-revolutionary orientation<sup>40</sup> during the time after 1905 when the Chinese Anarchist New World Society in Paris and the TMH in Tokyo were fully functional. Spain's Anarcho-Syndicalist Confederación Nacional del Trabajo (CNT) followed Portugal's FGT and was established on 30 October 1910<sup>41</sup> soon after the Portuguese Republican coup d'état on 5 October



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1910. Portugal’s FGT organisation was the precursor to the Portuguese CGT, which would only be established in September 1919<sup>42</sup> as the battle lines were being drawn with the Comintern to control the European labour movement.

The Second International of 1889, substantially Marxist, also began focusing on international coordination in 1900, when it established its central administration unit, the Brussels-based International Socialist Bureau (ISB). By August 1904 its Amsterdam Congress strengthened the ISB through the appointment of Camille Huysmans as its Secretary General, a position he would hold through the life of the organisation. The Second International also launched a clear initiative into Asia: the Amsterdam conference elected Katayama Sen, the Japanese Socialist (who operated more in the United States than Japan) as First Vice President and the Russian Georgi Plekhanov as Second Vice President while their respective nations warred and revolution unrolled in Russia.<sup>43</sup>

During the lifetimes of the Second International and the Anarchist International, in the 27 years between 1889 and 1917, the most significant of all social revolutions would take place: in addition to China’s Xinhai Revolution of 1911, key revolts or coups took place in Brazil (1889), Russia (1905), Turkey (1908), Portugal (1910), Mexico (1910) and finally again in Russia (1917).

ANARCHIST ORGANISATIONAL STRUCTURE

Anarchist organisational structure has been subject to considerable conjecture: was it centralised as claimed by European police establishments, or was it a plethora of independent movements operating within their separately contained social environments as claimed by its philosophical spokesmen? By proclaiming the movement, ‘the Anarchist International’, analysts by definition should regard its operations as being cross-border. With respect to conspiracy, that seems to define Bakunin’s method of operation: Tamma Kaplan observed that Bakunin was ‘tutored in the schools of Masonry and Carbonarism’ and ‘obsessed with conspiracy’. His anarchist operations often consisted of a conspiratorial core of secretive operatives interfacing with larger networks of federated and open organisations.<sup>44</sup>

George Woodcock also describes Bakunin’s operations as being dominated by conspiracies, with Bakunin’s entry point into the First International being his Naples-based International Brotherhood that was fully operational by the summer of 1866. It was created as ‘a hierarchical structure’ that ‘had a most unlibertarian emphasis on internal discipline’. At the summit of the hierarchy was to ‘stand the International Family, an aristocracy of tried militants from all countries who would make plans for revolution’.<sup>45</sup>

It is widely known that Bakunin’s conspiratorial methods led him into direct conflict with Karl Marx at the Basel Conference of the First International in September 1869. He had arrived to establish the Alliance for Social Democracy, a revolutionary secret society topped by the Hundred International Brothers, that was designed to be ‘a secret society in the heart of the International’!<sup>46</sup>

The meeting had followed Bakunin’s initiation of a close association with the violent Russian nihilist Sergei Nechayev earlier in the year. Bakunin was responsible in some manner, either as co-author with Nechayev or his facilitator, for the creation of *The Revolutionary Catechism*, one of most violent anarchist texts ever composed, whose exhortations included those to the revolutionary that ‘he has only aim, one science: destruction. .... between him and society there is war to the death, incessant, irreconcilable. He must make a list of those who are condemned to death, and expedite their sentence’.<sup>47</sup>

Bakunin appears to have relied on a narrow funding base, which included the Russian émigré Alexander Herzen in London, and a small group of dedicated followers. Marx claimed that Bakunin’s stronghold of the Jura Federation in rural Switzerland had a membership that was no more than 200’.<sup>48</sup>

With respect to links between anarchists and other revolutionary organisations, including Republicans, Temma Kaplan in 1977 observed a considerable gap in the historical narrative, writing:

...The connections between the Republicans and early anarchists have not been explained, nor has the way in which anarchists fused their ideology with local working class and peasant culture been analysed, nor has the process by which anarchism threw down such deep roots in the Northern Cadiz Province been described.<sup>49</sup>



Wang Jingwei, wearing a white *changpao* 长袍, second from the right, Mikhail Gruzenberg, second from the left, and Zhang Taili, Borodin’s interpreter, between them, c. 1925. Photograph by Fu Bingchang 傅秉常. Image courtesy of Yee Wah Foo and Historical Photographs of China.

In China, Scalapino and Yu (1961, 10) state that the Chinese anarchists of the early 20<sup>th</sup> century were ‘at one with Marxists in wanting massive peasant-worker support, and it was the anarchist movement that first introduced this concept in its modern form into the stream of Chinese political thought’.<sup>50</sup> The head of the Comintern’s 1923-1927 mission to Sun Yat Sen’s KMT, Mikhail Gruzenberg, known as ‘Mike Berg’ in his Chicago base in the first two decades of the 20<sup>th</sup> century, selected the nom de guerre ‘Borodin’ for his revolutionary missions. This pseudonym was precisely the name that the anarchist prince, Peter Kropotkin, had used for a pseudonym as described in his 1899 text, *Memoirs of a Revolutionist*.<sup>51</sup>

Gruzenberg operated in Chicago where Bill Haywood had founded the syndicalist International

Workers of the World (IWW) in June 1905. The IWW was similar in methods and strategy to the anarchist-syndicalist unions that were at the same time emerging in France (CGT) and Spain (CNT). Both Haywood and Gruzenberg would be in Moscow from 1921, with Haywood an advisor to Lenin’s Bolshevik government, 1921-1923. Gruzenberg subsequently headed the Comintern’s political mission in China by the fall of 1923, while Haywood would die at the age of 59 in Moscow in May 1928 following Stalin’s rise to power and Gruzenberg’s recall from China.<sup>52</sup> Joining them in Moscow intermittently from the same Chicago base was Katayama Sen, the North American Socialist and Japanese Marxist who was a founding member of the American Communist Party. The only East Asian on the Executive Council of the Comintern while it



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was supporting Sun Yat Sen, he died in Moscow on 5 November 1933 not two weeks before the new U.S. president Franklin Roosevelt provided U.S. diplomatic recognition to the Soviet regime.

Even a hypothetical sketch of possible operational links of the CCP back to European anarchists, and particularly to France,<sup>53</sup> has seldom been suggested, despite Paris being the focus of Chinese anarchist activities in Europe and leading members of the CCP having studied there, some through anarchist efforts. Those resident in France during significant anarchist activity includes the two CCP leaders who were most responsible for China’s opening to the West beginning in 1968, Zhou Enlai 周恩来 and Deng Xiaoping 邓小平. While Scalapino (1961) began to assert the CCP connections to Anarchism, he referenced Mao Zedong 毛泽东, just twice and did not tie Mao’s remark to Edgar Snow that ‘that he had once been strongly influenced by anarchism’<sup>54</sup> into the methodology by which anarchists may have linked their Asian operations to the leading Chinese Anarchist centre in Paris. Scalapino only writes once of Zhou Enlai as ‘having come from Germany’ in 1922 as the Communist Party was being formed,<sup>55</sup> while he provides no data on Deng Xiaoping. France, one notes, preceded most Western nations by recognising the People’s Republic of China on 27 January 1964, while having been a key centre for the development of Vietnam’s Ho Chi-minh and the strange political enigma of Pol Pot.

Robert Kern in 1978 provided an inkling of what might possibly be found when he reported that the leading element of Spain’s anarchist movement, the FAI (Federación Anarquista Ibérica), which provided the leadership core of the CNT (Confederación Nacional del Trabajo), the largest syndicalist union in the world, ‘was involved in all aspects of modern politics that have rarely been discussed’. This included its theory of anarcho-Bolshevism, its development of affinity groups (party cells), and its use of workers’ councils and agricultural communes’.<sup>56</sup> Turghenieff’s 1861 novel, *Father and Sons*, a prelude to the nihilist/anarchist movement in Russia, also has its heroic character, Barzaroff, proclaiming a near Maoist-Pol Pot message: ‘it is necessary above all to clear the ground. Later when all institutions have been destroyed, when a tabula rasa is complete, then existing forces, then humanity will crystallize again in new institutions’.<sup>57</sup>

Apart from the relatively easy tasks of dissecting the published historical texts found in anarchist journals in Switzerland, France and Britain, the more difficult effort of tracking organisational relationships has often been deflected by assertions that few centralised links were ever proven to exist between the leading anarchist spokesmen and disparate anarchists, particularly those who were conducting assassinations in Russia, France, Italy and Spain in the late 19<sup>th</sup> century. Sympathetic authors claim the slogan ‘propaganda by the deed’, which appeared first in the *Bulletin of the Jura Federation* in June 1877 as Bakunin’s International was failing,<sup>58</sup> never was translated into centralised organisational application.

The views of Western European police department that links are likely to have been operational have been belittled by authors such as the British Fabian and Libertarian Socialist G.D.H. Cole who reported while he was Professor of Social and Political Theory at Oxford that no concrete evidence was ever produced to tie the acts of lone assassinations to anarchist spokesmen, including individuals such as Kropotkin, or to larger organisational structures. Cole likely was recalling the trials of 30 French anarchists who were rounded up after the assassination of French President Carnot on 24 June 1894. The internationally renowned anarchists Sébastien Faure and Jean Grave, the latter being a major influence on Parisian-based Chinese anarchists, were two of the 27 tried and acquitted, but bafflingly Cole does not provide any specific evidence for what he asserts. Typical was his broad brush assertion concerning Anarchist violence in the late 19<sup>th</sup> century:

...the authorities and the public became convinced that these must be the work of some central Anarchist organisation, secretly organised with large resources coming from some unknown source. There is in fact not the smallest evidence to support this view, and all the circumstances brought to light in the numerous trials of Anarchists discredit it.<sup>59</sup>

FINANCING

More difficult than tracking organisational relationships is attempting to trace the financial support for the global anarchist movement, despite the widely reported need for such support, and the public discussion of the evaporation of anarchist organisations

when such financial support was withdrawn. Anarchist collapses post-financial exhaustion include Bakunin’s retirement in Switzerland when the private financial resources of Carlo Cafiero were exhausted in 1874-1876; and, the end of the leading Chinese anarchist publication *Xin shiji* in Paris in May 1910 when Zhang Jingjiang cut his private funding for the Wu Zhihui edited journal.<sup>60</sup> Additionally, Li Shizeng’s financing of the Chinese anarchists in Paris is hardly discussed, but being the son of a member of the Qing’s Grand Secretariat and a nephew of Li Hongzhang<sup>61</sup> must have provided him access to financial resources. The Manchu versus Han Chinese struggle for the control of the Qing government could certainly have been a motivation for Li’s support of anarchist operations to eliminate Manchu rivals. It is certain that the Paris centre was not funded by a mass base, but by wealthy benefactors who hardly represented an oppressed urban or rural proletariat. Had anarchism succeeded those leading this cell would likely have been the targets of revolution, not the beneficiaries.

Given the need for financial backing for known anarchist operations, a high-value target for study should have been the financial support that kept Peter Kropotkin producing his anarchist theories for the 31-year period he was in London from 1886 to 1917. This was the period of highest revolutionary intensity, with key revolts in Russia, Portugal, and China, which utilized combinations of anarchist, republican and Marxist organisations.

Kropotkin’s late life propagandising overlapped with G.D.H. Cole’s allegiance to Libertarian Socialism while Cole was studying at Oxford and subsequently during Cole’s six-year stint working directly for the Fabian Society.<sup>62</sup> The effort to identify Kropotkin’s funding should have focused on private groups, publishers and benefactors (not on governments) that were known to fund Socialist activities, examples being Alexander Herzen, H.M. Hyndman, Sydney and Beatrice Webb, and Sir Sidney Low, a member of the House of Lords whose niece had married in 1916 Maxim Litvinov, the future Soviet Foreign Minister (1930-1939) and Ambassador to the United States (1941-1943).

It is also widely reported that after escaping from Siberia in 1861, Bakunin had received financial support from the London-based Alexander Herzen after Bakunin had made his way to London where he reconnected with both Herzen and Nicholas Ogarev, an editor for Herzen’s London-based *Free Russian Press*.

Herzen was able to access his deceased father’s fortune through the organisational capabilities of the France-based James (Jacob) Mayer de Rothschild, the fifth and youngest son of Mayer Rothschild, the group founder of the Rothschild banking network.<sup>63</sup> In Herzen’s memoirs he recalls:

Within a month or six weeks Nicholas Romanov, that Petersburg merchant of the first guild, who had been so stingy about paying up, now terrified of competition and of publication in the newspapers, did at the imperial command of Rothschild pay over the illegally detained money, together with interest... From that time forth I was on the best of terms with Rothschild. He liked me in the field of battle on which he had beaten Nicholas; I was for him something like Marengo or Austerlitz, and he several times recited the details of the action in my presence, smiling faintly, but magnanimously sparing his vanquished opponent.<sup>64</sup>

For three years Bakunin used London as a base until 1864 when he left to foment revolution in Naples. Whether Herzen continued to maintain his financial support remains to be investigated. By 1867 Bakunin was in Switzerland, also to be Kropotkin’s post-London home, where he maintained communications with Karl Marx in London. This led to the establishment of Bakunin’s Alliance of Socialist Democracy and its entry into the First International by 1869. Bakunin remained in Switzerland until his death in 1876, nine years later.<sup>65</sup>

Purely as an example of the private funding of imperialist causes, without suggesting any such funding to the parties in question, Cecil Rhodes, as Prime Minister of the Cape Colony (1890-1896), used the British South African Company he founded in December 1889, not the Cape Government, to finance the Jameson Raid in December 1895 in an attempt to overthrow the Boer Republic of the Transvaal. Rhodes’ fortune began in 1871 when N.M. Rothschild & Sons financed his acquisition of Kimberley South African diamond fields. It is assumed that the Rothschild group kept ownership positions in the company through which Rhodes controlled the mines. Subsequent study at Oriel College in Oxford in 1873 and 1876 resulted in the bequest of the famed Rhodes Scholarships to that institution. Twenty-three years after Rhodes Oxford studies and four years after Rhodes Jameson Raid, on 11 October 1899 Lord Milner, British High



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Commissioner for South Africa launched the Second Boer War for the control of South Africa and its gold production, then standing at 21-26% of the world’s total. By 1925, Transvaal’s gold production stood at 50.4%.<sup>66</sup> Private funding could indeed have imperial purpose.

Likewise, funding for many anarchist activities undoubtedly came in the fuzzy world between private interests and governments. Kropotkin received financial support for his *Memoirs of a Revolutionist* from the *Atlantic Monthly* that had published *the Memoirs* serially from September 1898 to 1899,<sup>67</sup> before being published by the blue chip Houghton Mifflin Company of Boston and New York in 1899.<sup>68</sup> The American editor of this Boston-based publication and also literary agent for Houghton Mifflin was Walter Hines Page, who U.S. President Woodrow Wilson would name as US Ambassador to Britain in March 1913. Page would play an instrumental role in leading the United States into the aar on the British side.<sup>69</sup>

Crystallising the thought is useful: the representative of a major U.S. publishing house, whose ownership remains unknown, provided support for the leading London-resident anarchist, not long before playing a key role in giving London the finance and military support it needed to defeat its leading imperial rival.

Kropotkin seemed to have had a secure base in Britain: he had escaped from prison in St Petersburg the day before Bakunin died on 1 July 1876 and proceeded to Britain, routing through Finland and Sweden. After taking up the intellectual mantle of the dead Bakunin, he left Britain and traveled to Switzerland, from where he was eventually expelled after assuming the leadership of the Jura anarchists subsequent to the retirement of James Guillaume in 1878.<sup>70</sup> He then fled to France, where he was imprisoned for three years. Immediately after his release in 1886, despite his past severe difficulties with the Swiss and French governments, he was welcomed to Britain where he lived in the Hammersmith district of London for the next 30 plus years producing a host of anarchist and revolutionary material.<sup>71</sup>

In a similar manner, the source of the funds that supported Chinese anarchists in Paris from 1906 to 1910 was Zhang Jingjiang, the son of a wealthy Chinese family that had been closely tied to the Qing government. He had arrived in Paris as an official of the

Qing Embassy, was initially suspected of dual purposes by overseas Chinese students,<sup>72</sup> and eventually was a major backer of Chiang Kai-shek. Additionally, funding to support Sun Yat Sen’s Tong Meng Hui in Tokyo came partially from a Japanese nationalist-imperialist (the Black Dragon Society) during virtually the same time period.

The financial resources for these anarchist operations did not originate from a large mass base of impoverished workers or peasants, but from a narrow base of wealthy individuals who had clear political objectives, often commensurate with those of imperial powers that included Japan, Britain and France.

OPERATING BASE: LONDON

G.D.H. Cole undoubtedly was pleased to be in Great Britain, as he himself reported it to be a society where ‘murderous Anarchism never existed on any substantial scale’ and where ‘only Irishmen, who were certainly not Anarchists, used the bomb as a political weapon’. He noted that in the ‘only case in Great Britain of Anarchists making bombs—that of the Walsall Anarchists in 1892—the bombs were for foreign use’.<sup>73</sup> He also tried to explain, ‘Why the 1880s and 1890s were ‘marked by this strange emergence of criminal Anarchism in a number of Western countries, and above all in France’, and not in Britain. After suggesting the invention of dynamite in 1868 and the amnesty to the communards in 1880, he put forward the notion that ‘it is much more likely that, in the West, Anarchist ‘propaganda by the deed’ was an incidental accompaniment of a much greater social movement with which it had only a psychological connection’.<sup>74</sup> Social turmoil and rapid change was more likely to be the cause of individual anarchist outrages, likely created by psychologically unstable people, not conspiracy. Blithely in passing he remarked that due to the ‘number of anarchist refugees from the Continent, it was often alleged... that London was the real centre of the secret international to which the outrages were attributed’. He judged that there was ‘little to support any such view’.<sup>75</sup>

Missing from his analysis however is the macro basis for some suspicion of some elements in the City of London: both the First and Second Internationals had substantial operations in Greater London and both had as members significant anarchist personalities dedicated to violent revolution and supportive of

assassination. Cole himself also noted that Britain never experienced anarchist terror, and bombs that had been made in Britain were intended for foreign use. In Cole’s era the leading anarchist theorist (Kropotkin) would be based in London continually for 31 years, while Lenin also made use of a London platform in 1902-1903 for his newspaper, for key Bolshevik party conferences in 1905 and 1907, and for ‘research’ in 1908 and 1911<sup>76</sup> From his base in Hammersmith in west London Kropotkin had proclaimed that the spirit of the masses must be awakened by ‘propaganda of the deed’ and that this must be carried out by ‘speech and written word, by dagger, gun and dynamite’.<sup>77</sup> But not in Britain.

Peter Kropotkin seems to have been permitted greater leeway than Johann Most, the famed German anarchist who published his *Freiheit (Freedom)* in London from 1879 to 1882, but was jailed for writing that the assassination of Tsar Alexander II on 13 March 1881 was a ‘heroic deed’ in which he had ‘croaked like a dog’.<sup>78</sup> London had not had a change of heart with regard to the mores of its journalists; Johann Most had stomped on the toes of the reigning British monarch, Queen Victoria. Queen Victoria’s first son and future British king, Edward VII had married in 1863 Alexandra of Denmark, who was the sister of Dagmar of Denmark, the queen of the Russian Tsar, Alexander III. And, Alexander III had succeeded the assassinated Alexander II, who Johann Most had insulted.<sup>79</sup> Further, Queen Victoria’s second son in 1874 had married the assassinated Tsar Alexander II’s daughter Grand Duchess Maria Alexandrovna. In 1881 at the time of Tsar Alexander II’s assassination the Tsar’s favorite daughter was the Duchess of Edinburgh.<sup>80</sup> Britain would act against anarchists that verbally attacked its own Royal Family, but not that of other nations.

Coincidentally, while Bakunin, Most, Kropotkin and Lenin all operated from London, nations that were experiencing anarchist attacks (including France, Russia and Spain) were in geo-political conflicts with leading financial interests in the city. Certainly operations from London were easier than virtually all other city centres, as it was a centre of international finance, where domestic and international funds could flow freely. But, Britain’s government also turned a blind eye to the British-based propagandists that were encouraging damage off shore.

The support for international revolutionary organisations within Britain was substantial. The First and Second Internationals had, in fact, received major funding from sources within Britain, including Frederick Engels and Sydney Webb as examples. The post-Great War Second International, known as the Labour & Socialist International (LSI) was actually run by the British Labour party. Its Secretary General, Arthur Henderson, became Ramsay Macdonald’s Foreign Secretary (1929-1931) in the first Labour Party government. Then in 1951, the LSI was resurrected as the ‘Socialist International’ in London, where it continues to operate today, by a long term Marxist exile and associate of G.D.H. Cole, Julius Braunthal’.<sup>81</sup>

Significant evidence of organisational and financial support in London for groups that sought radical global change was eminently available in Cole’s lifetime. In 1976 Albert Meltzer, at that time the dean of British anarchists, published a detailed text that described the extensive anarchist network that existed in Britain during the period from 1886 to 1928, when Kropotkin’s world-leading anarchist journal, *Freedom, a Journal of Anarchist Communism*, was published there.<sup>82</sup> He also cited the case of a London based-Italian businessmen who operated in British anarchist circles organising and financing assassination attempts against Mussolini, with whom Britain was not then at war.<sup>83</sup>

Cole noted the use of the bomb in Britain as a political weapon by Irish nationalists. The primary objective of the Bakuninists of the First International was to destroy the existing society, with minimal thought given to society’s subsequent structure. In this regard Irish nationalists seemed little different from the Bakuninists. Importantly, what was Britain’s purpose in allowing anarchists to take refuge in London and permitting its leading spokesman a platform for socially destructive propaganda? As demonstrated by the Johann Most affair, Britain did not tolerate anarchist instigation of attacks on its Royal Family or its Parliament, similar to those, which were applauded for other societies by Anarchists operating from Britain’s shores. The hypothesis that London could be a candidate for the location of a centralised ‘Anarchist Conspiracy’ with components financed partially from within Britain in fact could be supported by historical evidence, much of which was unlikely to be known by those writers most antagonistic to the supposition.



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The problem was always converting that hypothesis to proven fact.

OPERATING METHODS: CONSPIRACY

The Spanish Civil War came during the central period of Cole’s political life (at age 47), in which a leading contender in the struggle was Spain’s anarchist CNT. By 1937 it had 1.5 million members out of total Spanish population of 25 million, was the largest union in Spain, and the largest syndicalist union in the world. Kern reports this organisation was ‘torn between continuing anarchist terrorism and seeking a political role for Spanish labour’. He termed it ‘a new type of social institution—part political party, part union, and part guerrilla band’.<sup>84</sup>

When Cole finished his third volume of the *History of Socialist Thought* in 1956, had he seen no connection between the fifteen assassination attempts against Spain’s King Alfonso XIII between 1902 and 1931;<sup>85</sup> the dis-establishment of the Spanish monarchy, aristocracy and Church in 1931; and the anarchist CNT that had been formed in 1910? Certainly there were conspiratorial organisations that operated in local environments attempting to disrupt local societies. The question to be determined was how far these local conspiracies extended internationally. That question should have been easy for Cole to formulate as radical leftwing supporters of the Spanish Republic organised in London in 1936-1939, and as George Orwell published in London in 1938 his *Homage to Catalonia*, which described the battle between Stalinists, Trotskyites and anarchists in Spain that had just taken place.

Partially true must have been G.D.H. Cole’s belief that the wave of ‘bomb-throwers and other assassins who struck terror into the hearts of the French bourgeoisie in the 1890s’ was mostly for revenge against states that had persecuted those associated with anarchist beliefs, some of which were quite similar to his own Libertarian Socialism. But, by not providing a statistical analysis of the motivation for the exhaustive number of the terrorist activities conducted by the end-date of his second volume II (1890), he did not provide the data necessary to conclude that crimes of self-proclaimed anarchists were in fact predominantly perpetrated by unbalanced individuals acting alone. In other words, his assertion did not step outside of his own belief system.



Hu Hanmin (1879-1936).

The conclusion Cole reached was not the conclusion of European security establishments who in 1898 in Rome held ‘the International Conference of Governments... for the purpose of concerting means of combating Anarchist danger, especially by the suppression of Anarchist groups and newspapers, and by the enacting of special laws for the summary punishment not merely of ‘propagandists by deed’, but of anyone opening professing Anarchist opinions’.<sup>86</sup>

AGENTS PROVOCATEURS

Missing from both Cole’s analysis that asserted ‘revenge’ to be the main cause of anarchist attacks and the security establishments’ assessments that claimed ‘international conspiracy,’ was at least a third influence: the use by Security Establishments of *agents provocateurs* within anarchist communities. Though a small number of anarchists may actually have been

informers, there were sufficient incidents of police manipulation of anarchist organisations to require that analysts incorporate this component into their assessments of the origin and motivation of anarchist violence. The motivation of using this form of police technique included a spectrum from the mundane to the outrageous: identifying suspects, pre-empting anarchist attacks, propagandising the public by creating dangers, diverting resources and energies from more successful forms of socialist organisation, discrediting socialist movements through controlled outrages, and utilising assassinations for national political purposes. Two examples illustrate the relationship to policing operations of some noted anarchist activities:

1. 1881, *Paris*: Such relationships were articulated if not confirmed during Cole’s multi-decade professorial stint at Oxford. The pro-Comintern author, G.M. Stekloff, in 1928 had specifically recounted the report of the Parisian police creating an anarchist newspaper (*La Révolution Sociale*) that paralleled Kropotkin’s *Le Révolté*. These escapades had been discussed by the initiator himself, the Paris police prefect, Louis Andrieux in his *Souvenirs d’un préfet de police* that was published in two volumes in Paris between 1906 and 1910. Subsequent to Cole, George Woodcock in his exhaustive 1962 presentation entitled *Anarchism, a History of Libertarian Ideas and Movements*, again made public the Andrieux exploits.

The Paris police financed and launched ‘the first anarchist journal to appear in France since the suppression of the Commune’.<sup>87</sup> The journal’s role ‘was not merely to spy; it was also to provoke’. Along with Kropotkin, the editor of the fictitious journal ‘Citizen Serreau’ (who was actually the Belgian Égide Spilleux, reporting directly to the Parisian prefect of police, M. Louis Andrieux) supported the call for a ‘Socialist Revolutionary’ congress to be held in London in July 1881. The charade was carried on throughout 1881 in *La Révolution Sociale* issues #19, #29 and #31; a ‘mutual interpenetration of anarchism and the secret police’ commenced. The ‘anarchist’ newspaper of the Paris police announced that the London Congress would ‘be held whatever happens’ and that ‘for the first time since the Paris Commune all sincere socialists have come together upon one practical general platform; ...nothing but a forcible revolution will enable the exploited to settle accounts with the exploiters’.<sup>88</sup>

2. 1907, *Tokyo*: Twenty-five years after the Parisian police had created the anarchist fly-trap the *La Révolution Sociale*, what occurred in Japan seemed to be an *agent provocateur’s* dream: in less than three years, from the first publicly articulated support of assassination as a means of social change in 1907, the charge of attempting to assassinate the Meiji emperor facilitated the elimination of Japan’s leading socialist and his closest supporters.

In Tokyo in mid-1907, two well-known Chinese, Liu Shipai and He Zhen, with Zhang Ji began an anarchist group at precisely the time as Zhang Jingjiang and Li Shizeng began their anarchist group in Paris. Within a short period of time, Liu and He Zhen would be back in Shanghai and deemed by the authoritative Chinese educator Cai Yuanpei 蔡元培 to have become police informers for the Qing. Possibly this was because He Zhen was caught in an assassination plot.<sup>89</sup> Peter Zarrow reinforces the assertion in his description of Liu Shipai’s brief life in Tokyo as a key editor for the Tong Meng Hui, his apparent short infatuation with ‘extreme socialism’ [anarchism] and ‘his great and puzzling betrayal of the revolution’, which included his puzzling support of Yuan Shikai 袁世凯 as one of Yuan’s ‘six gentlemen’.<sup>90</sup>

In Tokyo, Zhang Ji had been one of the first Chinese students to study in Japan, arriving in 1899; by the founding of the Tong Meng Hui in August 1905 he was active in the organisation. With Wang Jingwei and Hu Hanmin he edited the TMH’s main journal, the *Min Pao* from 1905 to 1906.<sup>91</sup> After arrival in Japan, Liu and He Zhen made contact with the leading Japanese anarchist/socialist, Kotoku Shushui 幸徳秋水, and in July 1907 all agreed to establish a ‘Society for the Study of Socialism,’ requesting through the *Min bao* in its July 1907 issue that all those who were interested should forward their names and addresses. Liu and He Zhen also began an anarchist journal of the name *Tianyi bao* 天义报 (*Journal of Natural Justice*) with the first issue coming out in June 1907. At the first meeting of the Society for the Study of Socialism on 30 August 1907, Liu spoke on the development of anarchist communism, emphasising Kropotkin’s new Anti-Darwinist theory, ‘Mutual Aid’, stressing that anarchism was superior to anti-Manchuism, while grounding his support for Kropotkin in traditional Chinese Confucianism and Taoism. Kotoku, who had just returned from the USA, then spoke to support the



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theory of the ‘advanced’ Kropotkin, while defending anarchist doctrine through reference to the Classics as well as Christianity, although he was not Christian. He Zhen’s comments were radical and short: she argued that Russian Anarchism was best for China, and that it consisted of a 3-stage process: (1) speech and discussion; (2) political activity; and (3) a period of assassination.<sup>92</sup>

In May 1910, following Wang Jingwei’s attempt in Beijing on the life of the Zaifeng Regent in March two months before, Japanese police cracked down heavily on Kotoku and other Japanese socialists/ anarchists accusing his group of plotting against the life of Emperor Meiji at the instigation of Russian anarchists. Hyman Kublin reported that Kotoku had been promoting ‘direct action’ and ‘propaganda by the deed’ but that a direct link to an actual plot was not likely.<sup>93</sup> After a secret trial that was held six months later in January 1911, Kotoku and eleven other defendants were hanged on 24 January. Twelve others were given long sentences.<sup>94</sup> The diversion of socialism into anarchism allowed the Japanese police to wipe out Japan’s leading socialists.

3. *Russia, 1911*: One of the most intriguing of the police agents who had been active in the radical social movements of the turn of the 20<sup>th</sup> century was Dmitrii Bogrov. In 1907 he ‘was a member of the Kiev Group of Anarchist-Communists, while serving as an agent of the secret police’,<sup>95</sup> but in 1911 would stunningly murder Peter Stolypin, the Russian Minister of the Interior and a key figure in attempting to moderate the revolutionary situation into which Russia had been thrown in late 1905. As Tsar Nicholas II’s new prime minister, Stolypin had been tasked with pacifying the nation. Social Revolutionaries bombed his summer house, wounding his son and daughter and killing 32 people. Instituting military tribunals by the next year, ‘hundreds...were summarily brought to trial and frequently sentenced to death or murdered by their jailers’.<sup>96</sup> The Russian anarchist movement rapidly withered, while Stolypin attempted to deal with underlying social tensions by instituting sweeping land reform. Bogrov, who was acting as an anarchist revolutionary, had been reporting on the Social Revolutionaries, Social Democrats and Anarchists. On 14 September 1911 shot Stolypin apparently ‘in order to decapitate a successful and popular conservative reform movement’. Alexandr Solzhenitsyn in his novel

*August 1914* supports the view that the assassination was permitted at the behest of extreme right-wing elements in the secret police.<sup>97</sup>

Within the ‘anarchist’ attacks that occurred from 1881 to 1921 there must have been a complete spectrum of motivation: lone wolf attacks, localised or international conspiracies, and the actions of *agents provocateurs*. All three motivations may have been present among the fifteen separate attacks on the life of the Spanish Bourbon King Alfonso XIII. Through the construction of chronologies, the recognition of geo-political interests, and the observation of lacuna in historical narratives a more complete historical analysis of anarchism as an international phenomenon should be attainable than the comfortable admonitions put forward by G.D.H. Cole. He concluded that assassination and violence was the result of individuals and small groups reacting independently and individually to government violence and repression. That was also the assertion put forward by the world’s leading anarchist theorist, Peter Kropotkin. He had been given a grand public platform via his authoring of the anarchism article in the 1910 issue of the *Encyclopaedia Britannica*. Cole reported that Kropotkin wrote, ‘The general public was under the impression that violence was the essence of Anarchism, but this was far from the case. Acts of Violence by Anarchists were retaliations against violence directed against them by Governments which themselves rested on violence’.<sup>98</sup>

Neither Cole nor Kropotkin had put forward the idea that such violence could be the result of organised international conspiracies, of *agents provocateurs*, or of controlled anarchist cells that were being operated for the geopolitical interests of imperial powers.

GEO-POLITICAL RIVALS TO LONDON

The city of London’s long-term geo-political rivals, including France, Russia and Spain all suffered great social turmoil in the last decades of the 19<sup>th</sup> century and first decades of the 20<sup>th</sup> century. Coincidentally, all experienced anarchist violence. Overseas observers were dumbfounded that Britain could be so naive, and regard the revolutionaries in their midst as ‘harmless eccentrics whom it would be tyrannical to suppress’. The view of some in France was that ‘the tolerance displayed in [Britain] towards alien agitators’ came ‘from a profound

Machiavellian policy of encouraging subversive ideas for the weakening of rival powers’.<sup>99</sup>

(i) France: In addition to the internationally controversial Dreyfus affair, which racked France from 1896 to 1906, London’s conflict with France became acute in the summer of 1898 as war came close in Africa with a severe clash over the upper Nile Valley and its water supply to Egypt. After the British head of the Egyptian army, General Horatio H. Kitchener had destroyed the radical Islamic regime in Sudan in the fall of 1898 following the Battle of Omdurman near Khartoum,<sup>100</sup> France agreed to end the confrontation by withdrawing from the Sudan’s Fashoda in March 1899. A realignment of interests was subsequently implemented in April 1904 as Britain and France signed the ‘Entente Cordiale’, which recognised mutual spheres of interest from Morocco to Siam, and aligned Britain with France against Germany. Long-term religious conflict between Protestant London and Catholic France was moderated when the French government in September 1905 split-off the Roman Catholic Church from the French state. Four years prior in July 1901 the leftist Waldeck-Rousseau had already begun action against 753 French religious communities. By 1906 conflict between London and France that extended back 500 years to the Hundred Years War, had been massively reduced. The realignment was in place that would lead Britain to support France in a war against Germany just eight years away.

(ii) Russia: Britain’s conflict with Russia, as exemplified by the Crimean War of 1854-1856, the ‘Great Game’ for dominance in Central Asia, and the Russo-Japanese War of 1904-1905 for the control of Manchuria, finally was terminated via the Anglo-Russian Convention of August 1907. This agreement ended an intense period during which Britain and its sole ally, imperial Japan, sought to militarily keep Russia from establishing a permanently sustainable base in the Far East. Russia had been positioned to help shield its Qing ally from Japanese advances, while Japan had received sufficient funding from the London and New York financial markets for its successful effort to drive Russia out of southern Manchuria in the 1904-1905 war. British Socialist H.M. Hyndman was direct in his denunciations when he asserted, ‘the crushing of Russia is a service done to mankind’.<sup>101</sup> The British Navy also facilitated the destruction of the Russian Baltic Fleet in

the Battle of Tsushima Straits in May 1905 by providing reports on the Russian fleet’s progress around the globe. This defeat triggered Russia’s interest in ending the war with Japan. The August 1907 Anglo-Russian agreement (a) divided Persia into British and Russian spheres of influence, (b) neutralized Afghanistan, and (c) recognised non-interference in Tibet. It also created the ‘Triple Entente’ between Britain, France and Russia. While this was not a full alliance because Britain and Japan remained allied against Russia (1902-1922), despite Russia being a French ally, the entente set the alignment for the coming war with Germany. The period of greatest anarchistic violence in Russia closely matched the period of greatest tension between Russia and London.

(iii) Spain: The city of London’s long-term conflict with Roman Catholic Spain helped to forge the British identity as far back as the reign of Bloody Mary and Philip II in the 16<sup>th</sup> century. In the Napoleonic era the British defeat of the French-commanded Spanish Fleet at the Battle of Trafalgar in October 1805 gave the British Navy control of the Atlantic and Mediterranean and led to the main Spanish colonies in America being independent by 1823. As Spain attempted to stabilise itself through a variety of religious and governmental reforms in the 19<sup>th</sup> century, radical disruption racked the country. From 1868 when the Bakunin anarchists joined the First International under Marx in London, Bakunin’s network penetrated both the Spanish Andalusia in the Sherry Wine producing regions just outside of Cadiz<sup>102</sup> and the Catalanian industrial class in Barcelona. From where did Bakunin obtain the financing to build the network? The ensuing multi-decade conflicts greatly exacerbated the difficulty of attempts at Spanish reform. Bakunin’s anarchists were, in fact, not part of an illiterate downtrodden and uninformed rural proletariat. Bakunin only truly succeeded in implanting his network in Spain in a region that was an international port, had a relatively high literacy rate and required technical skills for the production of sherry, its key export.<sup>103</sup>

Spain’s remaining empire, economy, and ideology were shattered by defeat in the Spanish American War of 1898, which placed the Spanish Philippines in U.S. hands and dis-established the Roman Catholic Church while forcing the sale of lands that it had held for centuries. This action removed the threat to London of a Spanish-German alignment that would have

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The assassinations of King Carlos I of Portugal and Prince Royal Luís Filipe in the Portuguese newspaper *Diário de Notícias*, 2 February 1908.

established a German presence throughout the Far East on a Philippines base. By 1931 the Roman Catholic Church had also been separated from the Spanish State, and Spain’s monarchy and its aristocracy eliminated. The Spanish Civil War of 1936-1939 shattered the Spanish state along with Spain’s anarchist and socialist movements. Adroit diplomacy backed by U.S. wheat and oil, kept Spain out of Britain’s second war with Germany, 1939-1945. In just over a hundred years, through a combination of direct military defeat, social disruption, and ideological re-orientation, Spain had ceased to be a threat to the City of London.

IMPLANTING ANARCHISM IN IBERIA

Spain and France were the leading centres of the anarchist movement during the revolutionary period that gripped Europe from the late 19<sup>th</sup> century to the Second World War. London and France produced theorists and a base for anarchists escaping from Spain, and Spain produced leading operatives. James Joll explained in his 1964 work *The Anarchists*, that ‘for nearly seventy years anarchism was a revolutionary force in Spain; and the movement achieved an influence there far greater than anywhere else in the world’.<sup>104</sup> The depth of the network of the Spanish anarchist movement relative to the global republican movements of the Second International period (1889-1919) is demonstrated by its having been founded 41 years before the Portuguese Republican *coup d’etat* of

October 1910. Mikhail Bakunin’s anarchist wing of the First International created the Spanish Section of the International Workingman’s Association (IWMA)<sup>105</sup> on 2 May 1869, providing his anarchist ideologues with a profound head start in the organisation of radical social movements in Iberia. The historical record confirms Bakunin operated from a narrow base with funding coming from at least two specifically identified wealthy individuals: Alexander Herzen in his early years in London, and Carlos Cafiero in his later years in Switzerland. Were there others? Two centres of anarchist organisation in Spain were developed: one in the port of Cadiz-Seville in the southwest and another in Barcelona in the northeast. Two years after Bakunin’s entry into the First International in June 1870 the first mass labour movement in Spain was organised by Bakunin’s Alliance for Socialist Democracy in Barcelona as it formed the Federación Regional Española (FRE) under the First International.<sup>106</sup> Bakunin’s operatives, including Anselmo Lorenzo, Francisco Mora, and Moraga then arrived in Lisbon in 1871 to establish the Portuguese Section of the International Workingman’s Association.<sup>107</sup> The movement in the southwest (in Andalusia) did not rest upon a displaced rural workforce, but upon highly skilled networks of workers who lived in the cities of the Cadiz region, had the highest level of literacy in most of Spain, and who provided the advanced skills necessary to create sherry wines.

Cadiz was Spain’s major port on the Atlantic that had an international mercantile community, which on the basis of the commerce in sherry made it one of the wealthiest in Spain. Hailing from Cadiz was the Spanish Marrano Juan Alvarez de Mendizabel, who as Prime Minister and Finance Minister, helped to implement the confiscation and sale of Roman Catholic lands between 1833-1840 (Desamorcación Eclesiástica of February 1836).<sup>108</sup> He also financed Pedro IV in the Portuguese Civil War of 1831-1834 that pitted Liberals under Pedro IV (also backed by London interests) against Traditionalists affiliated with the Catholic Church under Miguel I.<sup>109</sup> Just as in Spain liberal victory under Portugal’s Pedro IV would result in the dissolution of the Portuguese religious orders and the confiscation of their property. Stuart Christie, a British anarchist with long experience in Spain, explained that the Spanish anarchist organisation, (the FRE) was ‘to have particular influence on the anarchist unions who, half a century later, were to found the Federación Anarquista Ibérica’. Resolutions passed at the FRE founding were ‘federalist, anti-political, and anti-statist’, and called for the ‘demolition of all political power’ while appealing to proletarians to ‘establish an immense solidarity campaign of revolutionary activity outside the parameters of bourgeois politics’.<sup>110</sup> After setting up the Portuguese Section of the International in 1871 (also the year of the Paris Commune), the first serious confrontation between Marxists and Anarchists erupted as Marx expelled Bakunin and his followers from the First International in September 1872. Bakunin countered by organizing another ‘First International’ dominated by his Anarchists on the 15<sup>th</sup> September at Saint Imier in Switzerland with support from the Spanish FRE. The clash between Marx and Bakunin in 1872 foretells a continuing struggle for power between the Marxist and Anarchist wings of the Socialist movement, evidenced in the Russian, Spanish and Chinese civil wars that followed. By 1876 Mikhail Bakunin was dead. A member of the First International since 1872, Peter Kropotkin was arrested in Russia in 1876 but escaped confinement, arrived in England in 1877, and soon began restructuring the anarchist movement in Paris. By 1878 he was in the Jura Federation in Switzerland where he soon became the leading anarchist theorist in

the void that followed Bakunin’s death. Expelled from Switzerland after the assassination of Tsar Alexander II in 1881, he fled to Paris where he was arrested and jailed until 1886. He moved to London at the invitation of well-to-do supporters in the Fabian Society, with whom he founded the anarchist newspaper *Freedom*, and began a London-based career that would last over the next three decades. At the same time in 1886 and 1887 Elisée Reclus visited Lisbon and Oporto to lay the groundwork for a revived Portuguese anarchism. As previously noted, twenty years later Paul Reclus, the nephew of Elisée, brought Li Shizeng of the Chinese New World Society in Paris into the movement.<sup>111</sup> In the wake of the first visit to Lisbon of Reclus, Manuel da Silva Mendes, a name that would be prominent in Macau in the early part of the 20<sup>th</sup> century, published in 1886 the first major work in Portugal discussing anarchism, entitled, ‘Socialismo Libertário ou Anarchismo’,<sup>112</sup> which followed Kropotkin’s line. In 1887 a Communist anarchist group was formed in Lisbon, whose manifesto asserted the emancipation of the working class required both ‘social liquidation’ and ‘social revolution’. That same year in May 1887 Elisée Reclus claimed that the number of anarchists in Lisbon had grown substantially and were sufficient now to found a newspaper.<sup>113</sup> *A Revolução Social* (the longest-lived one) was launched in Oporto, with *A Revolta* and *A Propaganda* being founded shortly thereafter. João Freire reports that eighteen other papers following the ‘anarchist-communist’ ideal (the line that Kropotkin was promoting) made an appearance. Across the Atlantic Ocean in the United States, the hanging of five convicted in the Haymarket Riots in Chicago on 11 November 1887 stimulated international reaction and sympathy. In 1887 the market for anarchist theory in Portugal was minute, and the anarchist organisation were only just beginning. How were these newspapers funded? Typically funding would have been through a senior revolutionary with an undisclosed benefactor. That had been Bakunin’s *modus operandi* with both Alexander Herzen and Carlo Cafiero. Between 1886 and 1899, 42 separate anarchist groups would come into existence in Portugal. Propaganda activities included the publishing of fourteen pamphlets, and excerpts from the works of Kropotkin, Grave, Malatesta and Bakunin. Elisée Reclus (the uncle of



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Li Shizeng’s mentor, Paul Reclus) had come from Paris where both revolutionary agitation and funding abounded, including the source of the funding that had been provided through Alexander Herzen, Bakunin’s benefactor. It is eminently reasonable to assume that Elisée Reclus was the conduit for French-based financing for the Portuguese Anarchist publications, propaganda organs and cell groups that had sprung up so suddenly.

PROPAGANDA BY THE DEED IN IBERIA

Although Andrea Costa had first used the term *Propaganda by the Deed* in June 1877 in the *Jura Bulletin*, anarchist violence and the use of terrorism only began to escalate dramatically ten years later, co-incidental with Kropotkin’s rise in London. This was stimulated by the repression of the ‘*Black Hand Movement*’ in Spanish Andalusia at Jerez de la Frontera, just outside of Cadiz in February 1892. Those convicted were executed by strangulation. France, Portugal and Spain then suffered a series of attacks, which began with Ravenchol’s bombing in Paris starting in March 1892. Vaillant and Emile Henry in Paris followed with another round of bombings. At this point, the Second International distanced itself from anarchist influence in August 1993 at its 3<sup>rd</sup> Congress that was held in Zurich. This did not stop the violence. Paulino Pallás attempted to assassinate the head of the Spanish African Army, Arsenio Martínez-Campos, on 23 September 1893, and was executed in October. Shortly thereafter on 7 November an anarchist killed fifteen people with a bomb in a Barcelona theater.<sup>114</sup> Then in June 1894, the French president, Sadi-Carnot, was assassinated. By November 1896 an anarchist had even attempted to assassinate Portugal’s Dom Carlos I.

As Kropotkin’s *Memoirs of a Revolutionary* began to be published serially by the American magazine *Atlantic Monthly* in September 1898, US dollar funds began to flow to Kropotkin in London. Anarchist activity continued to develop in Portugal. In the same month Kropotkin began his series, the Portuguese Lawyer Bernardo Lucas, after defending anarchists in court, authored ‘A Questão Anarquista’ in the Oporto journal *A Idea Periodico Cientifico*.<sup>115</sup>

Spanish anarchists were also being encouraged in their organisation of an anarchist-syndicalist union by the French CGT (Confédération générale du

travail) who at their Ninth Congress in October 1906 had adopted a radical anarchist platform (Charter of Amiens), which included open class warfare and the call to be ‘conscious of the fight to be carried out for the disappearance of the salaried and of employers’. The Congress proclaimed the complete freedom for union member to participate—outside of his corporate group in—in those forms of struggle that correspond to his philosophical or political concepts’.<sup>116</sup> This left open the door to assassination, direct action, generate strikes and worker seizures of the means of production. The French CGT Congress took place in October 1906 at the same time that Zhang Jingjiang and Li Shizeng were launching their anarchist *Xin shiji* publication in Paris.

MORTALLY WOUNDING THE  
ECCLESIASTICAL MONARCHIES, 1908

The adoption of the radical Charter of Amiens by the French CGT was followed sixteen months later in February 1908 by the decapitation of Portugal’s Bragança monarchy as anarchists assassinated Dom Carlos I and his young heir Infante Dom Luis Filipe. The investigation into the execution was never completed, as the Portuguese Republican coup in October 1910 intervened. Reports of the investigators were lost. The death of Manuel II from ‘inflamed tonsils’ on 2 July 1932 in London at the young age of 42<sup>117</sup> was preceded by the theft of the report on the assassination that he had been given years before.

Around the world, in November of the same year, another decisive evisceration of a key dynasty took place in Beijing. On 14 November 1908 at a prime age of 37 the Guangxu Emperor died while still under detention by the Qing Empire Empress Dowager Cixi. His death was followed the next day by the death of the Dowager empress herself. The death of the Guangxu emperor virtually eliminated the effort for constitutional reform of the Qing government and threw the process of social change in China over into the revolutionary hands of Sun Yat Sen’s offshore-financed Tong Meng Hui. The Guangxu emperor had been the pivot around which Chinese intellectuals under Kang Youwei 康有为 and the Preserve the Emperor Society (Baohuang Tang 保皇党) attempted to modernise the Manchu throne through the creation of a constitutional monarchy. The core of Manchu political power was shattered by the death of the

Dowager Empress who had held power behind the throne for the previous five decades.

While the assassination of Portugal’s monarch clearly involved anarchists, the circumstances of the deaths of the Manchu monarchs, the Dowager Empress and Guangxu emperor, have never been concretely established. Jung Chung (2013) provided a detailed deathbed portrayal in her London-published work on the Empress Dowager, asserting that Cixi feared Guangxu would fall into Japanese hands and therefore poisoned him with arsenic.<sup>118</sup>

Because Jung Chung’s argument is precisely the opposite of what actually was taking place, her assertion seems disingenuous. The death of Guangxu facilitated Japanese interests in Manchuria by preventing the establishment of a deeply-backed constitutional monarchy. It also pushed the leading anti-Japanese general, Yuan Shikai from his Beijing base. The Japanese were not supporting the Baohuang Tang that was dedicated to the protection of Guangxu, but were supporting Sun Yat Sen’s TMH, Emperor Guangxu’s deadly rival. Three alternative motivations for the deaths might be asserted: (1) did a jealous Dowager poison the Guangxu Emperor before she died as surmised by other leading historians?<sup>119</sup> (2) were one or both poisoned by eunuchs in a power struggle between Manchu clans within the Forbidden City?<sup>120</sup> or, (3) were Japanese imperialists who were being supported by London-based financiers and the global socialist movements a more likely source of the action?<sup>121</sup>

Follow-on actions to the dual deaths in Beijing should provide some clues: immediately after Guangxu’s demise, Japanese opponent General Yuan Shikai was forced from power on 2 January 1909. Before the deaths of Cixi, he was reported to have attempted to use America to counter Japan in Manchuria. After the Cixi’s death he sought refuge in the British concession in Tianjin.<sup>122</sup> Additionally, Sun Yat Sen with his rabidly anti-Manchu Tong Meng Hui in Tokyo was no friend of Yuan. Shortly after the Xinhai Revolution in the fall of 1911, Sun was forced to give the Chinese presidency to Yuan in February 1912. He then fought a third revolution against him in 1914-1916 as Yuan attempted to take China back to an imperial monarchy. Yuan’s relationship with America (not Japan) appeared to be strong: Yuan had been following the advice of his American advisor, Frank Goodnow, with respect

to Yuan’s effort to reestablish an imperial monarchy. Goodnow’s credentials included having been professor of Law and Political Science at Columbia University, the first President the American Political Science Association in 1903, and eventually the third president of Johns Hopkins University.

*In Tokyo in mid-1907, two well-known Chinese, Liu Shipei and He Zhen, with Zhang Ji began an anarchist group at precisely the time as Zhang Jingjiang and Li Shizeng began their anarchist group in Paris.*

When Guangxu and Cixi died, Yuan lost power, and there was little in Beijing to offset Japan. In less than two years, Japan annexed Korea (on 22 August 1910). The deaths of both Guangxu and Cixi unquestionably benefited Japanese Imperialist interests backing the Tong Meng Hui in Tokyo between 1905 and 1910), and removed significant American influence with the ruler of China. After annexing Korea within five years of Cixi’s death, Japan had forced the Twenty-one Demands on Yuan while gaining a power base in Shandong that would last until the late 1920s. Jung Chung’s analysis of the motivation for the deaths of Cixi and Guangxu directly contradicts political realities that subsequently quickly emerged, and discredits her analysis

More insightful is the fact that within two years of the deaths of the key Manchu monarchs, Sun Yat Sen’s chief lieutenant, Wang Jing-wei left his Tokyo base, arrived in Beijing and attempted to use a bomb (the signature anarchist methodology) to kill the Zaifeng Regent, the remaining pillar of leadership in the Manchu regime. This would have benefited both the TMH and Japanese imperialists. Importantly, making the attempt was a senior TMH leader with extensive past and future relationships to the Chinese

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anarchist movement and imperial Japan, Wang Jingwei. Captured, but not executed by the Qing authorities, after the Xinhai Revolution in October 1911, Wang was freed from jail, joined the Jinde Hui (an organisation closely tracking the anarchist line),<sup>123</sup> and despite being offered high-level positions in the new republican government in Beijing and Guangdong,<sup>124</sup> would help found the Society for Frugal Study in France with leading Chinese anarchists.<sup>125</sup> He then disappeared for a time into France, the leading centre of anarchism in Europe, for the purpose of ‘studying’.

The crippling of the Manchu and Bragança dynasties, importantly, did not happen in isolation from key events in the larger geo-political world of Southern Africa, Brazil and China:

(i) As interests in London struggled for control of the production of a major portion of the world’s gold supply in South Africa, and to assure control of the transportation routes and communication cables around Iberia into the Mediterranean and South Atlantic, London forestalled having to deal with a Portuguese state that had the ability to grow substantially more powerful. London severely weakened Portugal’s position in Africa in the run-up to the Boer War of 1900-1902: (a) the Gladstone’s Liberal government (1880-1885) refused to implement the 1884 Treaty of London where Britain had recognised Portugal’s right to both sides of the Congo River, and (b) in January 1890 the Conservative Salisbury government issued an ultimatum to Portugal to evacuate the Zambezi River valley that connected Portugal’s jurisdictions in Angola and Mozambique. This ultimatum ended Portugal’s ability to create a ‘second Brazil’ in Southern Africa, forestalled any potential alliance between Portugal, the Boers and Germany, and thereby eliminated Portugal’s ability to again be a significant European power.

(ii) The Freemason-organised coups against the Bragança dynasty in Brazil (November 1889) and in Portugal (October 1910) also eliminated the possibility of a re-emergence of a Portugal-Brazil political entity, the two portions of which continued to be ruled by close members of the Bragança dynasty. Pedro II of Brazil was the grand uncle to Dom Carlos I of Portugal. The Republican coups that removed the Braganças in both countries were separated by only 21 years and derived from Freemason organised rebellions within each nation’s respective national military. Both monarchies had maintained the Roman

Catholic Church as ‘state churches, and that status ended with the Republican coups. Chronological proximity of events suggests their linkage: The death of the Portuguese Bragança king Dom Luis I in Portugal on 19 October 1889 preceded the Brazil Republican coup of 15 November 1889 by one month. Within two months of the Brazil coup, on 11<sup>th</sup> January 1890, London’s Lord Salisbury issued the Ultimatum of 1890 demanding Portuguese withdrawal from the Zambezi River Valley. The newly-formed British South African Company, whose 29 October charter had been published only three-weeks before on 20 December 1889,<sup>126</sup> gained control of the strategic and mineral-rich Zambezi River territory that linked Angola to Mozambique.<sup>127</sup> By 1910 any potential threat to London’s control of the gold fields of Southern Africa or to the control of transport routes and communication cables through the Mediterranean to Suez and to the South Atlantic from a Portuguese dynasty operating a Brazil-Southern Africa political entity no longer needed to be contemplated.

(iii) Elimination of the Manchu Dynasty ended the political alliance between the Russian Empire and the Qing, which from 1895 had substantially kept Japan from asserting power on the Asian mainland. Russia’s defeat in the Russo-Japanese War of 1904-1905, in which Japan was financed out of London and New York, resulted in revolution on Russia’s home front that seriously damaged this relationship. Japan would occupy southern Manchuria by 1905, and then annex Korea in 1910. In this period Japan was in full alliance with London, an alliance that was initiated in January 1902 during the Second Anglo-Boer War under the conservative government of Lord Salisbury and before the Russo-Japanese War. It would last until 1922, allowing Japan to play a substantial role in Britain’s war against Germany and Austria-Hungary.

IBERIAN ANARCHO-SYNDICALIST UNIONS

By the turn of the 20<sup>th</sup> century the main Anarchist strategists had begun to shift from ‘Propaganda by the Deed,’ to the creation of syndicalist unions.<sup>128</sup> Two years after the deaths of the Portuguese and Manchu monarchs in 1908, the influential anarcho-syndicalist union, the CNT (Confederación Nacional del Trabajo) was founded on 30 October 1910.<sup>129</sup> This followed the Republican coup d’etat in Portugal on 5 October 1910

and the outbreak of the Mexican revolution on 20 October. Over the next two decades the CNT became the dominant and most powerful labour union in Spain.<sup>130</sup> As the Spanish Civil War broke out, it had nearly 1.5 million members. In September 1911, the month before the Xinhai Revolution in China, the CNT organized its first formal Congress, claimed representation of 26,000 workers, and committed itself to ‘direct action’, ‘class war’ and to mounting of a ‘revolutionary general strike’.<sup>131</sup> The liberal Spanish Prime Minister Jose Canalejas y Mendez, who as a moderate was attempting to stabilise Spanish society following the disastrous loss of its overseas empire in the Caribbean and Asia in the Spanish American War of 1898, declared the CNT illegal and forced it underground. On 12 November 1912 of the following year a Spanish anarchist, Manuel Pardinás, assassinated him.

More critical for Macao historians are the potential European anarchist links into Asia during the period when Sun Yat Sen operated a revolutionary base in Macao that utilised anarchist tactics: present in Macao in 1906 and 1913 was one of China’s most well-known anarchists, Shifu, the self-confessed assassin, who had been born in Xiangshan, virtually on Macao’s doorstep.<sup>132</sup> Furthermore, Liu Shipei, the key Chinese anarchist intellectual who was operating at the heart of the TMH as a writer for the *Min bao* in Tokyo, and who would be identified as a Qing agent, had registered his new 1908 publication (*Heng bao* 衡報) in Macao.<sup>133</sup> With both Liu Shipei and He Zhen being from Jiangsu, and operating in Shanghai, Tokyo and Beijing, how did they make the Macau connection? Through Liu Shifu only?

By the 1920s, Portuguese anarchists were playing a role in the international game, which was confirmed by the 1923 formation in the Lisbon outskirts at Aléquer of the Portuguese Anarchist Union (UPA). In May 1926 via its own newspaper, *O Anarquista*, it called for the establishment of an Iberian Anarchist Federation (FAI). Just over seven months later on 3 January 1927 this organisation again urged that the call of the Spanish anarchists in July 1926 to establish the FAI be acted upon as quickly as feasible. Proposals had been made to house the Liaison Committee in Lisbon. The FAI was subsequently rapidly formed on 27 July 1927 in a suburb of Spanish Valencia. A key organiser had been Progreso Fernandez, a Valencian anarchist who had been living in France until early 1927.<sup>134</sup>



CHINESE REVOLUTIONS

The high profile anarchists played in disrupting the Tsarist regime in the late 19<sup>th</sup> century, and their roles in the October Revolution in Russia (1917-1918), the Spanish Civil War (1936-1939) and in the KMT leadership during the Chinese Civil Wars from 1927 to 1949 have not led to sufficient analysis of the concrete connections of anarchism in China to its European organisational and financial roots. The conflicts highlight the importance of the anarchist movement to the bloody struggle between pre-World War One Socialists and monarchist regimes, as well as the vicious clashes in the socialist movement between anarchists and Marxists of all persuasions in Russia (Bolshevik, Stalinist and Trotskyite), China and Spain from 1917 to 1939. Though Bakunin was dead by 1876, the view which James Joll had articulated, that he ‘linked the revolutionary movement in Russia with that of the rest of Europe, and derived from it a belief in the virtues of violence for its own sake, and a confidence in the technique of terrorism’<sup>135</sup>



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was reflected in supporters of Sun Yat Sen’s TMH grouping in Tokyo. These supporters initially included the self-proclaimed anarchists Liu Shipei and his wife He Zhen in 1908,<sup>136</sup> and Shi Fu, later operating from his province of Guangdong after study in Japan 1906-1907.<sup>137</sup>

Wang Jingwei, whose history has been badly treated as a consequence of his affiliation with Japanese imperial interests after December 1938, was closely associated with anarchist elements in the early period of the Chinese Republican revolution, including: (i) reporting on anarchist assassinations during his work in Tokyo with *Min bao* (1906, 1908), (ii) working with leading anarchist personalities (Chu Mingyi: his brother-in-law), (iii) establishing anarchist-affiliated organisations such as the Jinde Hui), (iv) undertaking anarchist assassination attempts (1910), and (v) having extended residence in Europe’s leading anarchist nation intermittently from 1912 to 1937 (France). Wang, after all, was known as the leader of the KMT Left in the 1920s and 1930s. Since he was indeed not allied with the Third International (Comintern), his affiliation with ‘Leftists’ must have been either with the Brussels based LSI or the Paris-Spanish anarchists, if not attempting to square the circle with both.

Emphasising the importance of tracking anarchist links between Europe and Asia is the split in the Communist line between a Bakunin wing and a Marxist wing. This is in high evidence in 1927-1928 when the Stalin-controlled Third International attempted unsuccessfully to guide China’s revolution via Marx’s view that revolution would arise from the urban proletariat. After the disasters of 1927-1928, particularly the Canton Commune, remnants of the Chinese Communist Party (CCP) were forced to the countryside, where Mao Zedong began a slow move towards relying on peasant revolution. G.D.H. Cole reported that in practice the Comintern almost ceased to intervene in Chinese affairs long before Stalin abolished it in 1943’.<sup>138</sup> By 1935 Mao’s line of an alliance of peasants and workers had become the dominant theme the CCP followed in subsequent decades. This, of course, included the bloody internal struggles in the CCP over the Great Leap Forward, the Sino-Soviet split and the Cultural Revolution. These disputes culminated in Mao’s turn toward the West beginning in 1968 through the conduit of the French trained Zhou Enlai and later Deng Xiaoping.

Scalapino reported that Mao had told Edgar Snow in 1936 while Snow wrote the influential book *Red Star over China*, that Mao ‘had once been strongly influenced by anarchism’.<sup>139</sup> He reported little else on the topic. Mao Zedong having barely managed to escape to Yan’an with less than 8,000 survivors from the 100,000 that had left Jiangxi Province two years before, in the fall of 1936 was in no position to guide a working class revolution in major Chinese cities with any hope that this could result in the downfall of Chiang Kai-shek’s regime. Mao’s one hope had to have paralleled the Bakuninist wing of anarchist thought that proclaimed that social revolution would come from the countryside.

Importantly, did he also maintain concrete organisational links back to these elements in Europe via connection running parallel to the Comintern Far East Bureau in Shanghai? Scalapino and Yu did not pose the question. We do know, however, that Mao stated that he had been strongly influenced by anarchism and that Wang Jingwei was thoroughly associated with the leading Chinese anarchists. Throughout Chiang Kai-shek’s career, Chiang’s deadliest two enemies were from the ‘Left’: Mao Zedong and Wang Jingwei.

Bakunin’s view of social revolution, articulated as early as 1871, fits more with Mao’s vision for revolution in China than with Stalin’s traditional Marxist view. Sixty-years before Mao, Bakunin had already written describing that in Italy ‘the mass of Italian Peasants already constitutes an immense and all-powerful army for the social revolution. Led by the proletariat of the towns and organised by the young socialist revolutionaries that army will be invincible’.<sup>140</sup>

Bakunin’s associate since the spring of 1869 had been the violently radical Sergei Gennadevich Nechayev, who in Geneva drafted a Revolutionary Catechism, which called for ‘no other activity but the work of extermination’ and that ‘the forms in which this activity will show itself will be extremely varied—poison, the knife, the rope, etc. In this struggle, revolution sanctifies everything alike’.<sup>141</sup>

Scalapino and Yu’s 1961 report on the Chinese anarchist movement is important for developing two views regarding the CCP: (i) reinforcing the consensus that Maoist revolutionary strategy has deep anarchist roots, but more importantly (ii) developing the hypothesis that CCP operational links to European socialism could have traveled back to Europe via an

Anarchist network that ran parallel to and distinct from the Marxist links from the CCP to Moscow. How did Edgar Snow have the insight or motivation to arrive in Yan’an in 1936 to write his famed text when Mao’s forces were at their nadir? Indeed Zhou Enlai’s position as Political Commissar to the Whampoa Military Academy derived from his residence and study in France, not in the Soviet Union. This relationship came at a time when France and Spain were the heart of the global anarchist movement, and Wang Jingwei, who was in power in Guangdong and was Zhou’s party senior, was the expected heir to Sun Yat Sen. Mao Zedong, in fact, had tried to join the anarchist organised French study groups as they were established in 1917 but was unable to do so.<sup>142</sup> With residence and study in France dominating any time spent in the Soviet Union, Zhou Enlai’s longest relationships as China’s Foreign Minister must have extended into Western Europe, not the Soviet Union, with which in 1968 China nearly came to war.

CONCLUSION

This paper refocuses data generated by past studies of anarchism onto assassination and propaganda activities in Asia, by observing the geo-political context of anarchist operations. Anarchist personalities, operational bases, chronologies and sources for further investigation were identified with the objective of stimulating research concerning the relationships of the anarchists of France, Iberia and London (and those funding their activities) with their offspring in Asia.

We have seen that anarchism has been an integral part of the socialist world since the First International

in 1868; that it has operated organisational structures parallel to and competing with the Marxist socialists since that time; that it considered itself an international movement, which as Bakunin had structured it, used a secretive conspiratorial core, narrow sources of funding, and a larger federated system; that its two leading proponents, Bakunin and Kropotkin, had extensive financial relationships in the City of London; that credible reports tie anarchist activities into the acts of *agents provocateurs*; that leading personalities associated with anarchism (Wang Jingwei and Chu Minyi) were closely affiliated the Japanese Imperial strategies; that anarchism’s foremost operational bases were in France and Spain; that anarchists conducted assassinations in Portugal; that key Chinese anarchists operated from Portuguese Macao; and that anarchism influenced Maoist strategy.

Impartial analysts of the anarchist movement need to incorporate into their studies the view that anarchist violence could be the result of organised international conspiracies, of *agents provocateurs*, and of controlled anarchist cells that were being operated for the geopolitical interests of imperial powers. Historians know that the anarchists helped to establish the world’s first Socialist state in Russia and were destroyed by the Bolsheviks under Trotsky in the spring and summer of 1918.<sup>141</sup> Historical facts also suggest that anarchism and those funding anarchism could also have maintained longstanding ties to revolutionary Chinese leadership via those who had studied and operated in France with the assistance of anarchist networks. The thought for further research is to assess whether these are historical phenomenon only, or whether they have continued into the present world in an evolved form. **RC**

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Future U.S. President William Howard Taft was Governor General of the Philippines between 1901 and 1903, where he oversaw the compulsory sale of the Roman Catholic Church land holdings as a result of the Philippine Bill of 1902, which was passed on 1 July 1902. Later, as U.S. President, he provided early diplomatic recognition to the Provisional Republican Portuguese Government in June 1911 against great opposition from the American Catholic community.

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Timor, a Portuguese possession in Asia linked to Macao, received ‘deportados’ from Portugal, who could have been sent to the island for any number of issues, including revolutionary, Republican, Socialist and Anarchist activities. However, it was remote from East Asia and transportation and communication with it was weak.

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Peter Zarrow, *Anarchism and Chinese Political Culture*, p. 73.

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This would eventually be the breeding ground of what may have been the most virulent political form derived from Maoist revolutionary theory, that of Cambodia’s Pol Pot regime.

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103

Under the impact of legislative success of the Marxist Social Democratic Parties, particularly in Germany beginning with the Federal Elections of January 1874, and the disastrous failure of the uprising Bakunin planned in August 1874 in Italy, between 1876 and 1880 Bakunin’s organisation collapsed in Belgium, the Netherlands, Italy, France and then Switzerland. Other nihilist networks penetrated his homeland, Russia, not Bakunin’s post-1872 First International.

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The First International is often referred to in Spanish tests as the Asociación Internacional de Trabajadores (AIT). The post-split in the First International has resulted in the federations supporting Bakunin, including those in Italy, Spain, Jura, Belgium, France and Netherlands being called the ‘Anarchist International’. These organisations, however, continued to refer to themselves as the First International, or IWA (International Workingman’s Association.

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123 Akira Odani, *Wang Ching-wei, and the Fall of the Chinese Republic, 1905-1935*, p. 34. See also: Arif Dirlik, *Anarchism in the Chinese Revolution*, p. 120.

124 Don Bate, *Wang Ching Wei: Puppet or Patriot*, pp. 46, 49-50.

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