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of the Japan Communist Party

Dictated by
ICHIKAWA, Shoichi

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6. Mr. ICHIKAWA, Shoichi was arrested by the Japanese Government in April, 1929 on the occasion of the April 16th incident; was sentenced to life-imprisonment in accordance with the Peace Preservation Law which had been revised immediately after the March 15th incident; spent 17 years of hard labour and of maltreatment in prison; and on March 15, 1945, in Miyagi Prison, he closed his life of 53 years, the last 27 of which he had spent in struggle and 23 as a member of the Japan Communist Party. He died in Miyagi Prison's sick cell, subjected to the most brutal persecution, but shouting that the day of victory was drawing near. This is not the time for writing the history of ICHIKAWA Shoichi's struggles. This will be given in the collection of his articles and letters which we expect to publish in the near future.---

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Section 1. The International Situation:

First of all, I shall state regarding the international situation. The World War of 1914-1918, unparalleled in ferocity, was the first great explosion of the international contradiction. The entire age from that time down to this has literally been a time of war and revolution, just as the leader LENIN said. On a world-wide scale, it is a period of transition from bourgeois dictatorship to proletarian. The Russian proletariat under the leadership of the Bolsheviks in 1917, won the victory in its revolution, and established the present Union of Soviet Socialist Republics. Thereby, the

proletariat of the world for the first time had a fatherland. Thus the world was divided into two; one the capitalistic world, which is on the way to ruin, and the other the world of the establishment of socialism, which no power can stop or oppose. This is also a period in which the foundations of imperialism are being shaken and uprooted first by the Chinese revolution, which is establishing the ever-growing Soviet power all over the land, and next by the revolutionary movements in the colonies and in the semi-colonies of the world. Also, this is an age ^{in which} rationalization of production had been pushed through in a ruthlessly capitalistic style, yet this does not mean the permanent stability of capitalism; on the contrary it has increasingly deepened and widened the inconsistencies of capitalism; consequently causing a great world-wide panic which anyone with eyes can see.

(One paragraph omitted.)

LENIN had already declared during the World War the collapse of the Second International, and had then established the Third International. As a world-wide party for the proletarian revolution, the dictatorship of the proletariat and as a strong shield for the colonial and the semi-colonial races of the world for the most exploited and most suppressed peoples, namely the oppressed races, and as the general headquarters of the world revolution, this Comintern is growing stronger with the years, conquering opportunism of every kind at home and abroad with the glorious Bolshevik tradition. In such an age the proletariat's party -- that is, the communist party is the only revolutionary party, and only a branch of the Comintern

is entitled to call itself the Communist party. In this international situation, our Japan Communist Party was born, has fought and has progressed.

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Section 8. Relation between the Comintern and the Japan Communist Party at the time of the Party's foundation.

As the result of a conference attended by leaders of the Comintern and Communist leaders of the Japanese revolutionary movement, the Japan Communist Party was organized in July, 1922. The Japanese representatives of the party attended the Fourth International Congress of the Comintern held in November, 1922, and reported the Party's formation. In this Congress, the party was formally recognized, for the first time, as the Japan Communist Party, the Japanese branch of the Comintern. Actually the Japan Communist Party had been founded in Japan before the Fourth International Congress. At that time, the Comintern had already declared its foundation had a covenant decided at the Second International Congress the 1920; and had already deliberated on and passed many kinds of Theses on the party's leading principles. Particularly noteworthy is Article 1, as being the bases on which the party was formed: We shall recognize this covenant and shall be active as a positive branch of the Comintern and as the leader of the proletarian revolutionary movement in Japan. "

is obtained the approval of the Fourth International Congress.

As the Japan Communist Party, as a branch of the Comintern, recognized, the matter of course the covenant of the Comintern and the twenty-two articles stipulating the requirements necessary for joining, as well as the guiding principles regarding the proletarian dictatorship,

and adopted them as the fundamental principles of the Japan Communist Party. The preamble of this covenant gives the purpose of the Comintern; and this purpose is at the same time the Japan Communist Party's purpose. I shall now quote the most important parts of this statement.

"The aim of the Comintern is to fight by all means, even by a resort to arms, in order to destroy the international bourgeoisie and to establish the International Soviet Republics as a transitional stage in realizing the complete abolition of states." It then goes on to state the measures for achieving its aim, and affirms that "the Comintern regards the dictatorship of the proletariat as the only possible way of freeing the human race from the tyranny of capitalism. Also the Comintern regards the Soviet Government as the form of proletarian dictatorship given to us by history. For the purpose of destroying the international bourgeoisie all over the world, of completely abolishing national states and of establishing the World Soviet Republic as a transitional government to achieve this purpose, the Comintern believes that the dictatorship of the proletariat and the Soviet form of government, which is the concrete realization of this proletarian dictatorship and is a form history calls for, is absolutely necessary. It believes that this purpose can be accomplished by no other means and therefore that this is the only means." Of course, this fundamental platform, this primary objective or purpose, remains unchanged in the Comintern of today. This is plain if we glance at the Comintern's platform made at the

Sixth International Congress. The Comintern has consistently maintained a distinct purpose since its foundation, has showed it to the public and has struggled for the establishment of a world proletarian dictatorship. It is natural that the Japan Communist Party has had the same purpose and fundamental platform since its foundation.

The systematic relationship between the Japan Communist Party and the Comintern is provided for in the Covenant of the Comintern as follows:

"The Comintern knows that the workers organizations which are fighting for the extermination of capitalism and the establishment of communism must have a strictly centralized organization. And the Comintern should truly be the consolidated Communist Party of the whole world. The communist parties, active in all countries, are no more than the individual sections of the Comintern."

The Japan Communist Party was organized as an indivisible element of this concentric and united world party, the International Communist Party and was admitted to the Comintern as such. This is the basis of the systematic relationship between the Comintern and the Japan Communist Party. To enter into details, the relation between the headquarters of the Comintern and its branches in each country is prescribed in the individual articles of the covenant which were adopted at the Second International Congress; but they will not be given here.

The twenty-one articles stipulating qualifications for admission are especially strict, having been personally drafted by LENIN; therefore, they are historically important to the proletariat. Though I need not comment on each of the articles, there is just one article which I like to emphasize.

It stipulates that it is absolutely necessary for that "the Comintern, in view of the general situation in all Europe and America, should establish, besides its legal organizations, illegal communist organizations." At that time the world-wide revolutionary crisis following the World War had reached its height. It was a time when the general situation in all Europe and America had given the Communist party as the direct leader of the revolution, primary task of mobilizing the masses for the revolution. Therefore, in view of the all-out frontal clash which must be fought with the enemy powers, the importance of illegal organizations as an absolute necessity was stressed. Furthermore this was not merely a temporary measure, for it was again emphasized in the thesis (plank) regarding the political situation at the Second International Congress. Of course it may be said that when the Sixth International Congress was held, it was also a period in which a new revolutionary wave was rising and this is no doubt the reason this plank was included then; but the Comintern never resorts to such hocus hocus as to work only within the limits and the restraints of the laws drawn up by the bourgeoisie of the whole world. The Communist party which is engaged in an all-out struggle with the governing classes for the thorough destruction of the whole power of the bourgeoisie must have a firmly organized

illegal underground movement and an illegal organization capable of fighting the bourgeoisie. This is an invariable principle.

-----Omitted -----

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----- Omitted -----

The platform of the Japan Communist Party had not been completed at that time. At that time, there was a draft platform of the Japan Communist Party drafted in direct cooperation with the leading members of the Comintern. Being ordered by the Comintern to deliberate on and decide the draft platform, the Japan Communist Party held an extraordinary general meeting May, 1923 to deliberate this matter as well as the question of the organization of so-called proletarian parties. The general meeting adjourned before the deliberation of this draft platform was completed, and it was decided that it would be deliberated on and adopted by various party organs after the general meeting. But as the result of successive occurrences such as the June round-up, the great earthquake of September, the subsequent public confusion during the ensuing reactionary period, and the dissolution of the party, the expected program was not carried out. Therefore, the draft platform remains nothing more than a draft to this day. In spite of this, the important duties of the party in those days is distinctly expressed in it. As it seems noteworthy that such an important matter was handled by the Japan Communist Party of the time I would like to give a brief explanation about it.

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Section 4 The Decision to Dissolve the Party.

----- Omitted -----

In fact, party members of the working classes at the ^{opposed} time the decision to dissolve the party and protested against it. But the party was finally dissolved by the shameless petit-bourgeois traitors and sold over to the bourgeoisie. Of course, this did not by any means imply that the revolutionary element among Japanese workers was entirely blind to this fact. Immediately after this, the struggle for the reconstruction of a staunch communist party was begun. Particularly, the Comintern, from the outset, had absolutely and strongly ^{opposed} this dissolution, never gave its sanction, and ordered the immediate reconstruction of the party. The Comintern's fight against the dissolution of the Japan ^{Communist} Party was immediately disclosed by an order rejecting this in the spring of 1924 that is the 13th year of TAISHO when the dissolution of the party was decided. That is to say, the ^{Executive} Committee of the Comintern informed the leaders of the Japan Communist Party about its disapproval of the dissolution of the Japan Communist Party. It is hardly possible that the Comintern should approve dissolution, and since the more vital decisions of the ^{party} in any country must meet with the approval of the Comintern's Executive Committee in case, it is ^{opposed}, that decision will be annulled. As long as any decision adopted by a general meeting is not objected to by the Executive Committee of the Comintern that decision would stand as approved; but if the Committee should

adjudge that decision to be wrong, it should and was rescinded.

----- Omitted -----

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Section 3 The Period of the "Bureau"

----- Omitted -----

This was, internationally, a period of equilibrium, and for Capitalism a short period of relative stability; but, at the same time, a period in which its inconsistencies increasingly deepened. In Japan, as has been previously mentioned, it was the age of the reaction following the great earthquake and of capitalistic reconstruction work sacrifices were all inflicted on the workers; and class warfare grew in intensity. Under such circumstances, on the side of the bourgeoisie, the so-called three pro-constitutional party (TH: the SEIYUHAI, the SEIWAHAI, and the KAISHIN Club) coalition cabinet, under the pretext of safeguarding the constitution, was formed and the KENMEIHAI of the MITSUBISHI Clique, which was the predecessor of the present MINSEITO became its leader. In the face of the development of proletarian class strife, the three bourgeois pro-constitutional parties, having aroused the workers with the slogan "Abolition of the privileged classes," won the proletariat over to their side by means of promulgating a new election law providing for universal manhood suffrage and also by giving the labour unions the right to elect delegates to the International Labour Conference; and, at the same time, the very bourgeoisie who insisted on the abolition of the privilege classes enacted and published the present Peace Preservation Law, as a measure against

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the proletariat. These two, the universal manhood suffrage law and the Peace Preservation Law, which were co-related, were inseparable instruments or weapons of the bourgeoisie to oppress the proletariat. The Peace Preservation Law, which had formerly been squelched as being too drastic was passed by the bourgeoisie with the crafty and sneaking intention of sternly suppressing proletarian activity using such intolerable legal phrases in its text as "the alternation of the national polity" or "the denial of the private property system". By this law members of the proletariat could be sentenced to ten years imprisonment. In the proletarian camp, under such attacks of the bourgeoisie social democracy was developing with the positive backing of bourgeoisie; while, in inverse proportion to this, workers, turning to revolutionism and to leftist ideologies, were solidifying the communist party from its foundations.

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The party's activity in 1927 was summarized in the foregoing. The delegates of the Japan Communist Party who went to Moscow in July, 1927 discussed the problems of the Japan Communist Party under the guidance of the Comintern. These leaders of the Comintern who were so busy in leading the proletarian movement of the whole world that they had no time to rest because of their constant activity, spared time to discuss the problems of the Japan Communist Party. Translating, reading and criticizing thoroughly the documents written by YAMAKAWA, Kitchi or books concerning FUKUMOTO-ism (TN: FUKUMOTO, ^aK₄uo was the leftist theorist of that time who

advocated a special theory of communism) and making every effort to investigate the real condition of the Japanese labour movement, they criticized exhaustively the problems of the Japan Communist Party. Of course all Japanese delegates, beginning with Comrade MATSUDA, Masanosuke, who were most active and positive, as befits representatives of the laboring classes, earnestly joined in this discussion. After thorough deliberation, the decision of the Comintern regarding the Japanese questions was made in July 1927.

Among the Japanese delegates, there were working class ^{elements} as well as those of the petit-bourgeois intelligentsia.

During this discussion, they were divided into two; and consequently a workers' group was formed. This always happens when the party has misguided leaders; and it is essentially ^{improper} but as an offshoot of the party, that group was a sound one. A group of this nature was formed with Comrade MATSUDA, Masanosuke as its leader. And it played a great part in realizing the Thesis of 1927 in the Japanese communist movement. The Japan Communist Party, for the first time, ideologically and politically entered into line the of Bolshoviks; and for the concrete realization of ^{the} democratic centralism, it properly placed itself on the foundation of ^{the} factor ^{ies}. Organized as cells which from the viewpoint of organization was the most important, and laid an unmovable and proper foundation along the line of the Comintern for the communists in Japan.

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Chapter 5 From Reform of the Party Based on the Theses of 1927
to the Sixth International Congress.

Section 1 Reform

This important and epochal Thesis of the Comintern was conveyed to the Japan Communist Party and it was decided to translate it into action. Besides sending the Thesis to the Japan Communist Party, the Comintern appointed its new central committee which assigned the duty of reforming the party fundamentally in accordance with the principle of the Thesis. That is to say, the Executive Committee of the Comintern, after due discussion of the resolution adopted at the so-called reorganization conference had assigned the hard task of carrying out the new policy to the Communist Party in Japan, and at the same time, appointed a new central committee.

----- Omitted -----

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Needless to say, candidates from the Communist Party must positively place themselves under the absolute control of the central committee of the party. At that time, the special committee namely the election control committee was instituted. Each of the candidates was charged with the duty of working under the immediate direction of all the organizers in absolute obedience to the control of the leaders of the party through these political candidates supported by the Japan Communist Party were not allowed to go one

step beyond of the party at any meeting where he aired his political views. The central committee ordered them to obey absolutely the rule that requires the candidates of the Communist Party to stand on the platform with speeches the list of which had been prepared with the help of the Central Committee and in which all points required by Central Committee to be included were woven.

Certificate on Source of Document

We, the SHOKO Publishing Co. Ltd., hereby certify that the Japanese book attached to this sheet consisting of 232 pages and entitled "Brief History of the Struggle of the Japan Communist Party" dictated by ICHIKAWA, Seichi, and edited on the basis of his manuscript was sold by our store and that the said writer is already dead.

On this 9th day of January, 1947,
at Tokyo.

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On the same date,
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rej

市川正一述

日本共産黨綱領小史

昭和二十一年十月二十日

桐生 圖書房 刊行

編 考 例 言

六 市川正一氏は一九二九年四月、かの「四・一六事件」に際して、日本政府の手に捕はれ「三・一五」直後に改めた治安維持法によつて無期懲役を科せられ、監禁苦役處遇の日を満ること十七年、一九四五年三月十五日、宮城刑務所において、その五十三年の生涯、闘争二十七年、日本共産党員生活二十三年の生涯をとちた。宮城刑務所の病舎において勝利の日近しと叫びつつ極度の痲痺を迫害のうちに獄死した。——いまは市川正一同年史を述べるときではない。これはいづれ近く刊行する預定の書、書簡集並にゆづる。

一 國 際 情 勢

第一に國際事情についていふに、一九一四年から一八年に至るかの未曾有の慘酷な世界戦争、それは最初の國際的矛盾の大爆發であつた。それ以來今日までの全時代は、指導者レーニンのいつたごとく、文字どほり戦争と革命との時代であつた。世界的規模においてブルジョア獨裁からプロレタリア獨裁への轉換時代である。一九一七年のボルシェヴィキ

に率ゐられたロシア・プロレタリアートの革命が勝利を遂げ、今日のソヴェート社会主義共和国連邦を樹立し、ここに世界のプロレタリアートは始めて歴史をもつた。かくて世界は、一方ますます増進に向ふ資本主義の世界と他方をにももの力をもつても止めることのできない社会主義的世界と、この二つに分理してゐるのである。またこの時代は、ますます増進しつゝある、今日すでにソヴェートが力を内測る所に樹立してゐる第三革命を初めとして、世界の植民地、半植民地における革命運動、これが社会主義の基礎をゆりかかし、持ち崩れしつづまる時代である。またこの時代は、驚々しい資本主義的な生産の増化が進行され、しかもそれが資本主義の安定を永久に阻むものでないのみか、かへつてますます資本主義の矛盾を永久に増大して、今日なにもの目にも窺ひがたい世界大恐慌をきたしてゐる時代なのである。

(中 略)

レーニンは早くも世界大恐慌中に、第二インターナショナルの崩壊を宣言して、第三インターナショナルを創立した。このコミテルンこそはプロレ

タリア革命のための、プロレタリア獨裁のための世界黨として、世界の植民地、半植民地の民族、最も搾取され、抑壓されてゐる民族、すなはち、被壓迫民族の力強い柱として、世界革命の總司令部としてボルシェヴィキの光輝ある傳統によつて常に一切の内外の日和見主義を克服しつゝ、年ごとと月ごととに強大を加へつつあるのである。かういふ時代においては、プロレタリアの政黨、すなはち共產黨のみが革命黨であり、またコミンテルンの支部たるもののみが共產黨なのである。かかる國際的事情のもとに、わが日本共產黨は成立し、闘争し發展してきたのである

八 黨創立におけるコミンテルンと日本共產黨

コミンテルンの指導者と日本の當時の革命運動の共產主義的指導者との會議により、日本共產黨は一九二二年七月に組織され、同年十一月のコミンテルン第四回世界大會に日本の黨の代表が出席し、黨の成立を報告した。この大會において、初めて正式に、コミンテルン日本支部日本共產黨として認められた。日本共產黨は、第四回世界大會の以前に、日本において創立されたものであるが、當時すでにコミンテルンは創立

の宣言を有してをり、また一九二〇年の第二回世界大会において決つた規約をもち、なほ過去のテーゼすなはち當の指導原則を完備可決してゐた。なほかんづくこの規約第一條の「この規約を承認し、革命的にコミンテルンの一支隊として、日本におけるプロレタリア革命運動の指導者として積極的に活動する」ことをもつて黨を成立せしめ、さうして第四回世界大会の承認をたのである。コミンテルンの第二回大会において可決されたコミンテルン規約ならびに二十一ヶ條の加盟條件、その他プロレタリア綱領に関する指導原則を、日本共産黨はコミンテルンの一支隊として當然承認し、これを日本共産黨の根本原則として採用したわけである。このコミンテルン規約には、その首文に於いて、その目的をつぎのごとくいつてゐる。これは同等に、日本共産黨の目的でもある。いまごく真面な箇所だけを述べる。

「コミンテルンはあらゆる手段をもつて、武器をもつてしても、プロレタリアジートの指導と、國家の完全なる腐敗への過渡段階としての民族的ソヴェート共和の建設のために奮ふことを目的とする。」

さらにつづけて、この目的のための手段を説いてゐる。すなはち「コミンテルンはプロレタリア獨裁をもつて、人類を資本主義の暴虐より解放する可能性のある唯一の手段である」と考へる。またコミンテルンは、ソヴェート政府こそプロレタリア獨裁の歴史的に與へられた形勢である」と考へる。すなはち全世界の國際ブルジョアジーの倒壊と國家の完全なる廢棄とのために、過度的段階としての世界ソヴェート共和國の建設、かかる目的のためにコミンテルンは、プロレタリア獨裁、このプロレタリア獨裁を具體的に體現した、歴史的に與へられた形勢としてのソヴェート政府、この手段が絶対に必要である、これをなしには不可能である、これが唯一の手段である、と考へる」と斷言してゐる。このコミンテルンの根本綱領、目的ともいふべきその眼目は、もちろん今日のコミンテルンにおいても少しも變りはない。これは第六回世界大戦においてできたコミンテルンの綱領を一見すれば明らかである。コミンテルンは、その成立の初めから一貫した明白な目的をもつてをり、それを公に大衆の前に示し、世界的プロレタリア獨裁の建設の闘争のために闘つてきたの

である。この同じ目的、根本綱領を、日本共産黨がその成立の最初からもつてゐたことは當然である。

日本共産黨とコミンテルンとの組織的関係をについては、コミンテルン規約に基づきのごとく規定してゐる。

「コミンテルンは、資本主義の廢絶と共産主義の發達のために闘争する労働者團體が、嚴格に集中的な組織をもたねばならぬといふことを知つてゐる。またコミンテルンは、眞實に全世界の統一の共産黨でなければならぬ。あらゆる國々で活動してゐる諸共産黨は、眞に、コミンテルンの個々のセクションたるにほかならぬ。」

この集中的な、統一の、全世界黨としての國際共産黨、その不可分な一構成要素として日本共産黨は組織され、コミンテルンに加盟した。これがコミンテルンと日本共産黨との組織的関係の根幹である。なほ詳細な點に至つては、この第二回大會において決定された規約の個々の箇條があり、それに各國支部とコミンテルン支部との關係が規定されてゐるが、ここでは述べない。

コミンテルン二十一ヶ條の加盟條件は、とくにレーニンの言葉の起草にかゝつた階級なものであり、プロレタリアートにとつては歴史的なものである。いま個々の條文については述べないが、ただ一言強調しておきたい箇條がある。

「コミンテルンは全ヨーロッパおよびアメリカの一般的情勢に鑑みて、合法的組織のほかに非合法的な共産主義組織をつくること」、これが絶對に必要であることを規定してある。當時は世界大戦後のこの世界的な革命的危機の波動の高潮した時代であり、全ヨーロッパ、アメリカの一般情勢は、直後革命の指導者として、大衆を革命に動員する任務を直接、當面の日程として共産黨に課した時代であつた。ゆゑにことに、ことに黨の権力との徹底的な衝突の爲め、絶對に必要とする非合法的組織の重要性を強調してあるのであるが、しかもこれは決して一時的なものでなく、第二回世界大會における政治情勢に關するテーゼにおいても、この點が強調されてある。これはもちろん、第六回世界大會のときも、やはり新たな革命的波動の高まりつつあつた時代であつたためには相違ないが、コミンテルンは全世界におけるブルジョアジーの法律の

束縛をうけ、その範圍内においてのみ仕事をするといふがごときごまかしは絶対にしない。徹底的に支配階級と闘ひ、ブルジョアジーの一切の勢力を根柢から破壊するために闘争する共産黨は、是非ともブルジョアジーと闘ひうる堅固なる非合法的な地下建築および非合法的組織をもたねばならぬ。これはいつでもかたはりない原則である。

(後 略)

(前 略)

日本共産黨の綱領は、當時において完成しなかつた。當時、コミンテルンの指導的同志の直接参加によつてできた日本共産黨綱領草案がある。これについての審議決定を、コミンテルンは日本共産黨に指令したのであつて、實はこの日本共産黨綱領草案の案のため、一九二三年五月に臨時大會を開き、いはゆる無産政黨の組織の問題とともに、この綱領案に當つたのである。この綱領草案は、この大會において審議未了に終り、大會後にもちこされ、さらに黨内の意見によつて審議決定されることになつてゐたが、まもなく六月初めに過ひ、ついで九

月の震災、その後の反動時代における混乱、つづいて、遂に
 結局革命たるにすぎないままに終つてゐるのである。ゆゑに、これはど
 こまでも黨の綱領草案であつて、決してそれ以上に出でないものである。
 しかもこれには、當時重要な任務がはつきり示されてゐる。かくの如き
 重大な綱領が、當時の日本共産黨内において取り扱はれたことは記憶す
 べきことであると思ふから、ごく簡単に述べてみたいと思ふ。

(後略)

四 綱領草案

(前略)

實際また、當時の黨における労働者黨員たちは、綱領の決意にたいして反
 對し、さうして抗議したのであるが、結局それらの巨額無恥なる小ブル
 ジョアの的意切者たちによつて黨は解體され、ブルジョアジーに賣り渡さ
 れてしまつたのである。むろん決して、日本の労働者の革命的綱領がこ
 れにたいしてどこまでも盲目であつたのではなく、直ちにこの綱領にた
 いして、再びより一そう堅固な共産黨を再建するための闘争が開始され

た。なかんづくコミンテルンは絶對に服従に、最初からこの無黨にたいして反動し、この解黨に承認を與へず、臨時黨の再建をせよといふことを命令してきたのである。コミンテルンの日本共産黨の無黨にたいする關係は、解黨決議が行はれた二四年すなはち大正十三年の表、直ちにこれに対する反對の指令となつて現はれた。コミンテルン執行委員會から日本共産黨の解黨を認めないといふことを、當時の日本共産黨の指導部にたいしていつてきたわけである。コミンテルンが日本共産黨の無黨をもちろん認めるはずはないのであるが、またすべて一黨の黨の無黨をとはコミンテルンの執行委員會の承認を待たなければならず、コミンテルンの執行委員會が反對すれば、無効になるのである。その大會で決定したことは、コミンテルンの執行委員會がこれに反對して、異議を唱へざるかぎりはもちろん、そのままで正しく承認されるが、しかしこれにたいして誤つてあるといふ判定をくだすなら、それは取消されるべきものである、また取消されてきた。

(後 略)

(前 略)

この時代はいはゆる國際的には安定期、資本主義の一次的相對的な安定期に入つてゐた。しかし同時に矛盾はますます深くなつていつた時代であるが、日本においては前述のとほり、震災直後の反動、資本家たちの震災の打撃からえぬがれるための資本家的復興事業——その犠牲はすべて勞働者の肩の上に負せられた——の時代であり、階級闘争は激化し深刻化してゆくばかりであつた。かかる状態のもとにブルジョアジ側では、今日の民政黨の前身である三菱系の政黨の憲政會が盟主となつた、憲政擁護を名とするいはゆる護憲三派内閣が成立した。勞働者を煽動して、特權階級打破といふ旗印のもとにやつてきた、ブルジョア護憲三派は、このプロレタリアの階級闘争の進展に直面して、一方では普通選挙法案なるものを出し、また國際労働會議にたいする代表者の選出案を労働組合に負へるといふやうなことをして、プロレタリアートを自己の翼に附して奮發し、同時に一方ではその特權階級打破を叫んだ同じブルジョアジが、プロレタリアートにたいしては今日の治安維持法案

を制定發表したのである。この普選選舉法案と治安維持法案とが同時に
 兩々あひ俵つて、ブルジョアジーのかくのごとき條件のもとにおいて、
 プロレタリアートを抑壓するための道具、武器として進すべからざるも
 のであつたのである。以前には過激法案として葬られてしまつたものを、
 再び今度は狡猾に卑劣に軍閥の機草、私有財産制度の否認といふ實に下
 劣な法をもちつて、プロレタリアを十年の懲役に處するところの法律を
 制定したのである。プロレタリアの陣營においては、かういふブルジョ
 アジーの攻策のもとに、一方においては法的にブルジョアジーの護謨
 支持を受けて社会民主主義が成長し、他方では労働者はこれと逆比例し
 て、革命化し左翼化して共産黨の陣營を下から固めつつあつたのである。

(後 略)

(前 略)

二七年における黨活動については、ごく總括的に以上述べた。二七年
 七月モスコイに行つた日本の黨の代表者同志は、コミンテルンの指導の
 もとに日本の黨問題を討議した。コミンテルンの指導者は、全世界のプ

ロレタリア運動を指導するために、空日のせい、手に忙しい、それこそ寸暇もないほどに忙しなく活動してゐる。そのコミンテルンの指導者たちが、日本問題のために非常に大きな日時を割いた。山川均氏の毎の返りたくだらない文獻、また福云主義に對する著書等を念入りに讀み、それらを細く讀み、検討し、また日本の實際の労働者運動の狀態の検討の上にあらゆる方法をつくし、日本の黨の問題にたいして、手にあますところなく批判を加へたのである。もちろん日本の代表者諸君は、同志渡邊政之輔を始めとして、労働者の最も活動的を積極的な同志諸君は、この討論に實に熱心に參加した。そして十分な討論を經た結果でき上つたものが、二七年七月におけるコミンテルンの日本問題に關する決議なのである。

このモスコに行つた日本の代表者の間に、やはり労働者の代表と小ブルジョアのインテリゲンチヤの代表とがあつて、この兩派の討論の間にわかれて、労働者グループといふものができた。これは、黨に關した指導がある時に生ずるものであり、そのこと自體は不都合であるけれども、分派としては健全な分派であつた。さういふ意味のものが、同志

渡邊政之輔を代表的な指導者として存在した。さうしてこれが二七年テーゼを日本の運動に實際に移すに當つて非常な活動をしたのである。日本共産黨は、二七年七月の決議によつて始めて、思想的にも、政治的にも、ボルシェヴィキの線に入り、さうして民主的中央集権主義の具體化のために、組織的に最も重要な工場細胞の基礎の上に黨を正しく築き、日本の共産黨にコミンテルンの線に沿うた抜くべからざる正しい礎石を据ゑたのである。

五 二七年テーゼに基づく黨の再組織よ

り第六回世界大會まで

一 再組織

日本共産黨は、この重要なる劃期的意義を有するコミンテルンのテーゼを受けて、これを実践に移すことになつたのである。コミンテルンはこのテーゼとともに日本共産黨の新しい中央委員會を任命して、このテーゼの精神に基づいて黨を根本的に再組織すべき任務を擔當せしめた。コミンテルンが日本の黨の中央委員會を新たに任命した、いはゆる黨再

建大會の決議をコミンテルン執行委員會が討議して、日本の黨に新たな方針を遂行する固い義務を課し、このテーゼを與へると同時に新たな中央委員會を任命したのである。

(後 略)

(前 略)

いふまでもなく共産黨の候補者は、黨中央委員會の統制に厳密に服従する。このときに、選挙統制委員會といふ特別なる委員會が設けられたが、これを以て黨の指導部の統制に絶対に服従し、さうして冬候補者は全オルガナイザーの直接の指揮のもとに行くといふ義務を課せられ、かつ共産黨の候補者たる者は、いかなる政見を表現しにおいても、黨の原則を一步でも踏みはずしてはならぬ、共産黨の候補者は少くとも、これこれの内容を演説の中に織りこんで演壇に立たなければならぬ、といふ嚴格なる演説内容の要旨をも中央委員會は授けて、これに絶対に従ふべきことを命令したのである。

(後 略)

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同日於同所

立會人 小川 浩