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Pamphlet No. 10: Comintern Activities in China. (Detailed notes attached to documents.)

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Pamphlet 10

Translated by SHIN KAMACHI

Jun 21, '46

"Comintern Activities in China"

(Edited by the ^{Information Board} Intelligence Division of the Cabinet - Sept., 1937)

(published by) the Education Ministry.

Contents

1. The Origin of the Comintern
2. Palmy Days of Chinese Communists and ^{the} "Coup d'Etat"
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4. Anti-Japan peoples' front and Comintern.
5. North China incident and Activities of Comintern, Chinese Communists and Communist Army.

Introductory remarks

Whereas the firing of seven Generals to death and conspiracies repeated five times until culminates in these effect in Soviet Russia rumored in diversified ways all over the world, it is liable to give general impressions that the Comintern which makes an indivisible unity with the Soviet Russia will be weakened in power, so that the influences of the communism in the world will be in ebb tide. Such a view, however, must be considered as an risky conjecture. For, the Comintern, i.e. the International Communist Party and the various national

Communist forces under its leadership does not cease to carry on their movements for Reddening the world. Their maneuvering in China, in particular, being exercised in more dexterous manner, is growing to be a terror as a cancer for the peace of East Asia, which could more than be conjectured by the profoundness of their intrigues in the present North China incidents. We are going to describe some of the actual state of affairs about the Comintern's China-Reddening policies and anti-Japanese movements in the following pages:

1. The Origin of the Comintern.

In stating the present situation of the Comintern, a few words shall be told about its history so that the outlines of its future trends might be appreciated.

The foundation of Comintern, the ultimate objects of which being in the Communist revolution of the whole world, was in March 1919, eighteen years ago. This is the so-called The Third International, which has been the motive power in effecting the Russian revolution by minor militant-Communists, Lenin as center, and at the same time being the "Internatio-

nal of action ^{ever}, driving the populace to revolutionary movements. This international revolutionary body, its head quarters being situated in Moscow, makes respective nations' communistic parties its branches, keeping world's ^{General} conferences once in two years, convokes representatives from national communistic parties as supreme organ, and ^{has under it} ^{composed} an organization of Executive Committee, Business office and organ-paper division (demonstration head quarter), etc.

By the way, the number of allied branches represented in the Seventh General Conference of 1935 was 65, and the number of members represented by these branches being 3,150,000, the majority being members in Soviet Russia, and members from so-called Capitalistic Nations reported to be 750,000.

The Comintern has been continuing for eighteen years since its establishment, its pertinacious activities openly and secretly in the demonstration of Communism and the disturbance of social orders, directing the respective National Communist parties as its branches. Sometimes bold agitations being made in destructive and sensational demonstrations, and sometimes in ^{ground} underhand manoeuvring, even hand in hand with the Second International, which were in cat-and-dog relation before long, in facing the

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Fascist and Imperialists in unified front, the phases of its activities are quite incalculable.

2. Palmy days of Chinese Communists, and the coup d'état by Chiang Kaishek:

It was stated that once Lenin said that "the machinations for communizing in Asia is a preparatory attack to win in the West Europe".

This principle seems to be invariably carried on since the establishment of Comintern as a link of World-reddening policies, toadden out China first, which as a center, work out into Manchuria and Japan.

The regular practice of Communizing action of the Far East begins with the dispatch of Voichinski as the representative of Comintern to China. The social conditions of China in those days were of just the time for, as the extreme poverty and wastage being in rural districts and the modern sweating system of capitalism about being to be organized among urban life, while the feudalistic military clans are still continuing to assume their powers over local inhabitants.

On the other hand, the hostile class consciousness, then in high tide all over the world, were not slow to be

absorbed by Chinese intelligentsia, which kept in itself germs of being communized in a strong degree. These circumstances made the activities of Voichinski attain ready success in the establishment of Chinese Communist Party as a branch of Comintern.

Since the Comintern and the Soviet Russian Government as well were endeavoring in the agitation of reddening movements, the Chinese Communist Party, as its center.

After Voichinski went back to Russia, many influential 'Leaders' and 'Consultants' were sent one after another, until established to be an unshaken power. Especially those four years from 1924 ~ 1927 were the ^{period when the} so-called 'ally Russia, allow Red' policy was in boom, and the reddening forces got an unprecedented extension, a Palmy days in the history of Chinese Communist-Movements. The so-called 'Ally Russia, allow Red' policy was first adopted in the first General Conference of Nationalist party convened at Kuangtung, in Jan., 1924, for the purpose of felling of the Northern Militaristic clan. After the unexpected death of Sun Wen at Peiking on March 12, 1925, Chiang Kaishek, who got the actual power of Nationalistic party in his hand, being himself the master of army,

started from Kuangtung for North-ward advance, commanding seven armies as General Commander of National Revolutionary Armies in July 1926, occupied Wuchang and Hankow and there established the National Government. It is well known that behind this Northward March there were General Galar (present Generalissimo Blucher, Commander in Chief of Far Eastern Armies) and Borodin as supreme political consultant, both of Soviet Russia.

The Communist party, now taking the lead of Wuchang-Hankow Government in the high tide of communistic forces, ^{at once} contriving the consummate communizing of all China, by stifling the Nationalists at the Central General conference of Nationalistic party in Jan., 1927, and divest Chiang Kaishek of ^{all} military and other authorities.

Chiang Kaishek, at this, divided his armies into two groups, one of which being kept in his control, started for marching to East for the purpose of exterminating the communist party, occupied Nanking on March 24, the same year, ventured Coup d'état against Communists, established the Nanking Government on April 18, 1927, denouncing the 'Wuchang-Hankow Government.'

The Communists in Wuchang-Hankow, on the other hand, in an unduband connection with Hunan Army

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under Tang Sheng-Chih, the only powerful ^{force in} the locality and left wing partisans in the Nationalists siding Wang Chao Min, contrived to penetrate into the ground of Hunan and there exercised atrocious communist revolution in their characteristic red terrorism and confiscation of real estates. Tang Shenchih, who was in way of Northward march with majority of his Hunan Army, indignant at hearing this report, changed his attitude at the instance, returned with his army to Wuchang-Hangchow and there inflicted coup d'etat against the communists. On the day Aug. 1946 the two Governments in Wuchang-Hangchow and Nanking agreed in coalition, Russian consultants being expelled, and the 'Ally Russia, allow Red' policy cleared away, ^{all} in the complete defeat of the communist army. That the number of men fired to death in these two coup d'etat's were more than several scores of thousand, tells how the communist power were penetrating as well as their loss also was great.

3. Later Activities of Chinese Communists and the Comintern.

While ^{since} the separation of Nationalists and Communists in 1927 as stated, the organs of communist seems to have been abolished and their activities tending to be declining, the reddening activi-

ties of Comintern were still being carried on by the Far-East Bureau as central leading organ, (the location of which not certain; Shanghai (?) or Harbin?) and their representatives resident in China, ^(?) ~~Wiff~~ as the leader, which organs being reopened as well as the recovery of China-Soviet diplomatic relations after the Manchurian incident, moreover as the results of the inauguration of the Seventh Comintern world's conference at the summer of 1935, the reddening activities were added in violence, together with the beginning of anti-fascist unified front, or the peoples front movements.

It is also stated that, behind all these, some influential workers were sent from Central Comintern in Moscow or from Coast Province to reinforce China, making those communist personnel, who lost their footing of Manchurian Reddening by the late transference of Northern rail road, to creep into China, especially concentrating their power in North China, and also have transferred the Central Committee, the highest executive ^{organ} of Chinese communists, to Tientsin or Peiping from Shanghai.

As the anti-Japan movements were extended by Chiang Kaisek since the Manchurian incident, the Comintern, took it as a good chance, ^{and side by} sides those under ground works to Chinese communists and other anti-Japan organizations,

Open pro-Soviet manipulations were carried on ^{their characteristic} demonstration made in various cultural, ^{and} social organs, ^{as well as} newspapers, magazines and periodicals of regular and irregular publication, all co-operating to promote popular communizing movements.

As these demonstrative manipulations proved fruitful in the establishment of anti-Japanese peoples front, they availed to more than "spurring" the sensations of Chinese populace, and have been acting a powerful part at the occasion of the North China incidents.

At present, the principal organs, which are suspected to have guiding or utilizing relations with the anti-Japan Communizing movements of Comintern, excepting diplomatic organs, are as follows:-

(A) Chino-Soviet Cultural Association.

Organized in the year 1935 at Nankin for the aim of cultural combination of two nations, Sun Ke as president and Bogomolof, as honorary president, Shanghai branch was established in March 1936; ^{This body,} being labeled to be a cultural body, endeavoring to absorb many pro-Soviet parties in governmental and general circles, continues in ^{carrying out} ~~conducting~~ pro-Soviet anti-Japanese demonstrations since its establishment. Sumptuous celebrations of Soviet memorial day and whenever there are occasion, [Chino-Soviet Culture] published as its

organ. This association, being at present the Center of Soviet's or Comintern's cultural organs toward China, also looked upon as the central existence of secret manipulations.

(b) Shanghai Soviet Union Resident Club.

Established March 1937 Spilvanek (?), Consul General of U.S.S.R. as honorary president, although not long in standing, its activities in open and closed doors are looked upon with cautiousness.

(c) Branch of Pan-Soviet purchase Co-operative Union.

(Centrosoyuz).

Publicly a Soviet organ of Chinese trade, established in Shanghai, Hangchow and Tien Shin; although it is manifestly utilized as Comintern's China communication agents.

The Shanghai branch was closed in 1936, and the Branch of Pan-Soviet Cereal Export Union was established in stead, supposed to have succeeded the business of the former one.

(d) Pan-Soviet Cereal Export Union's confederated branches. opened in March 1936 in Shanghai. The successor of The Pan-Soviet Purchase Union's Shanghai Branch, as stated above.

- (e) Shanghai Branch of Moscow People's Bank.
- (f) Agency of Pan-Soviet Petroleum Trust at Shanghai.
- (g) Shanghai Agency of Soviet Far-East Mercantile Marine.
- (h) Tientsin Investment Corporation.

A Soviet people's Bank established at the end of 1935 by the workers of Ea-North China R.R., suspected to be the source of Communizing fund in North China, expected to open a branch office in Shanghai.

- (i) Wootweg Co. (Fu Hsiang Kung Su).

Publicly a German Commercial Concern, and said to have been serving ^{in the back of scene} as an ^{intelligence agent of the} private informant to Soviet Union. Branch offices in Shanghai, Tientsin and Kalgan. Its espionage caused it to be closed under the pressure of German Government under Hitler. From September 1936 the business was succeeded by Adam Pulpio ^(?) in the title of Fu Hsiang Kungsu, under American flag, opening branches offices in Tientsin and Kalgan. The successor is also suspected to be a reddening agency of Comintern.

- (j) Beside these as press organ of anti-Japanese demonstration there are branch office of TASS, ^{and} China Daily Herald as Communist's organ, besides Shanghai Evening Post, China Press, (JIJI SHIMPO), ^{also} are in suspect

of fund backing. As to the various Anti-Japanese periodicals as [Chung Kuo Call], there are innumerable in number.

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4. Anti-Japan Peoples' Front and Comintern.

At the Seventh World Conference held in Moscow, in the summer of 1935, The Comintern, resolving on the excitation of Anti-imperialistic movements and Anti-fascist fight; decided to concentrate the Anti-imperialistic fight, particularly in China, to Anti-Japan Campaign, in consideration of the objective situations; and has taken up a new policy of "Anti-Japan peoples' front," in declaring, in the resolution of the Conference as follows:-

"The most important duty of a communist in Colonial and Semi-Colonial Countries is the establishment of Anti-imperialistic peoples fronts, that is to guide and lead most comprehensive populace into the emancipation movements of opposition to ever-increasing imperialistic sweating, opposition to cruel servitude, expulsion of imperialistic states, and independence of Countries, and to execute the co-operation with bodies of racial revolutionary and racial reformatory principle.

" In China the propagation of Soviet movements and the extension of fighting power of Red army must be combined with the ^{Expansion of} nationwide peoples' Anti-imperialistic movements.

" This movements must be executed by the slogan of - 'The racial Emancipation fight against the imperialistic oppressors, especially Japanese imperialists and their Chinese followers' -

" All the Soviets, for this purpose, shall be the organizing centers in the emancipation fight of all Chinese people.

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" The proletariat of imperialistic states must support in every way the emancipation fight of Colonial and Semi-colonial nations against the imperialistic invaders, in order for their own emancipation fight. "

Now, many representatives from Chinese Communist Party, Wang Min and others, were present at the said conference, expressing their opinions about the said Anti-Japan people's front policy, and after deliberations, the Chinese Communist Party carried on discussions about how to get ^{into} practice the said policies,

in accordance to the views of Comintern, thereby issued an important declaration at the date of Aug. 1st. This is what known as "The August 1st. Declaration," ^{issued in the name of} Central Committee of Chinese Communists and Incidental Central Government of Chinese Soviets, or the declaration "A letter to Compatriots for National Salvation and resistance ~~Deliverance~~ against Japan."

In this declaration, the Chinese communists formally proposed the anti-Japan peoples' front movements, in which ^{advocated that} all Chinese and Manchurian forces to be combined for the ^{Establishing of} comprehensive Anti-Japan national deliverance Government and the organization of Anti-Japan Allied Army.

Later at the end of the year (1935) 'December 25' resolution and other resolutions and declarations, in which the above stated declarations were expatiated, ^{were published} for the more enforcement of anti-Japan peoples' front movements.

In the opinions as advocated in these declarations and resolutions, remarkable modifications are noticable in the revolutionary theories of class strife and of ^{reform} land owning, and as to various ^{various} Soviet policies modulations toward

more democratic principles were ^{ingeniously} ~~commonly~~ introduced.

The new tactics as stated above adopted by the Anti-Japan peoples' front having gained successful developments, in holding various Anti-Japan National deliverance bodies and Anti-Japan Students bodies under their wings, and in 1936 a most comprehensive Anti-Japan National deliverance system was organized, and as the result of their pertinacious incitements there aroused repeated terroristic incidents of malicious nature.

On the other hand Chinese Red Army (Communists) in the spring of 1936, invaded into Shansi province from Northern Shensi province in large number indulging in plundering, gave an unusual threatening among all North-China. These communists' activities might be called an anti-Japan action along the Anti-Japan peoples front, as it was expressed in the resolutions of the Seventh World's Comintern Conference:

" — in China the propagation of Soviet movements and the extension of fighting power of Red army must be combined with the expansion of nationwide peoples' anti-imperialistic movements — — — "

According to this direction, the invading Red army made a vigorous anti-Japan demonstrations, which were of great influence in the developments of all China anti-Japanese peoples' front movements.

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In these manner the band of peoples front ^{being} extended even to inside of armies, belonging to Chang Hsuak-Liang and Yang Hu-Cheng serving in banditti subjugation in North West, and ^{also} ex-North East and North West Armies, culminating in the ^{outbreak} explosion of Sian incident on Dec. 12, 1936, to the astonishment of not only all China but also all over the world.

After this incident the Chinese Communists came in more conciliatory attitude, strongly advocating National-Communist Co-operation, and even willingness of abolishing of Soviet districts and re-organization of Red-armies.

Upon these situation, the National Government clarified its anti-Communist attitude again by passing the Reddening Extirmination Resolution at the All China Conference of Feb. 1937. Nevertheless, the pro-Soviet members in the Government espousing the "Ally Russia, allow Red" principle, succeeded to make the Government send Chang Chung as representative to Sian to negotiate with Chou En Lai, the leader of China Communist party.

about the concrete co-operation problems, which is said to have resulted in the ^{agreements in extending,} common anti-japan front, and effected in their open positive attitude in the present North China incident.

5. North China incident and Activities of Comintern, Chinese Communist party and Communist Army.

A. Activities before the incident.

page 13 It was in the March of this Year (1937) that Mao Tse-Tung, head man of Chinese Communist party is said to have told to Miss. Smeddley, an American writer, on the Communist's attitude to Japan as follows:

" We do not say that we must go to fight with Japan at any way, concession with them not impossible. We, however, will never lay down our arms until Japan stop its invasive actions toward China, ^{and} Their Militaristic party abolish their age-long continental policies. In the present state of things Japan is carrying on its invasive actions to China as ever. Thereby Communist principles toward ^{Japan} must be grown also as follows: —

- "(1) Make Japan instantly abolish its China invasion policies.
- "(2) Let Japan return four North East provinces, and abolish Manchukuo and Kwantung Government.
- "(3) Make instant withdrawal of North China occupation army.
- "(4) Prohibition of large scale smuggling trade in North China.
- "(5) Abolition of freedom of aviation over China by Japanese Aeroplane.
- "(6) Abolition of Japanese Special ^{Intelligence} Organs stationed at various places in China.

"We have made compromise with our year long rival, the National Government, for the attainment of this object, that is to make accorded actions in Anti-Japanese Common front. The objects of the Communists resolved to exercise various corporeal policies are as stated, to exercise actual warring with Japan and defend China. We, therefore, presume it necessary to abolish the rivalry of Nationalists and Communists in political authority and to realize internal peace.

(14) If these are not sincerely practiced, the so-called warring-
with Japan is impossible. This is what the partial
interest should be sacrificed before that of General, or
class interests before racial interests. This fundamental
principle must be explicitly recognized by all parties
and individuals. The Communists do not confine
their scope in the interest of one class or for one period,
but what we always have concern are the interests of
all races in all the country, and as to the existing class
conflict our points of view are as follows:—

- 1. — "Capitalists and land owners have money
and power. They must, therefore, be the first to
consider the racial interest and to endeavor for the
betterment of the life of artisans and peasants. If
the Capitalist and landowners sweat the artisans
and peasants, the latter could not live, then the
warring against ^{Japan} will never be realized. Conscien-
tious Capitalists and landowners must, therefore, be
aroused in patriotism and assist the betterment of
of life as well as promotion in political concern among
workers and peasants, so that they can participate
the war against Japan.

-2.- "Proletariat workingmen and peasants in China, though lacking in money and authority, are important sources of power for the anti-Japan and Save-state war. Without their participation the war could not absolutely be won. If their economical and political living be reformed, their anti-capitalistic movements will soon be reduced. The imports which we Communist bring forward are as fully in patriotic nature, in any way less than the claims of the Nationalists. The defense of the Fatherland is in urgent. We, therefore, advocate to fight against Japan hand in hand with Nationalists, and, at the same time to promote worldwide unity movements with internationalism.

-3.- "Some people say that the co-operation of Communists and Nationalist is impracticable. It is not so. Leading men in the Communist party like Chu Te, Chou En Lai, Peng Tekwai, Liu Pocheng, Ho Lung, Lin Piao, Ye Chien-Yin, ^{and} Hou Hsiang Chien were once in leading position in Nationalist party, and moreover Lin Pochu, Wu Yu-chiang, HO Pi-wu, ^{HSIEH} Chiao-tsai and TUNG Wei-chien were once ^{Party} central committee of Nationalists, which relation will be enough to make one to recognize the feasibility of the

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our co-operation.

- 4. - "As to the issue of war against Japan, we have this confidence. The magnificent resources and natural situation will ^{enable us} be able to sustain a prolonged war. Ten years war history of the Red Army confirms this fact. Japan has already got German and Italy as its Ally. China, ^{is} being attacked ^{by itself} against Japan, but she might also find ^{its} own allies. If we will combine with British, American, French and Soviet States in the Allied Pacific Camp and will attack at once the invading armies of Japan, Germany and Italy, our victory is absolutely attainable."

As if to respond to the Mao Tse-tung's statement, the Comintern dispatched ^{early} in March Bolotzki, Kolski, Liang Li and Mo Fei, ^{private} Secretaries, and Shih Fu-tsun, in charge of Political section of Chinese Communist party as their representatives to Nanking and proposed with the ^{through} intervention of SUN Ka as the following:

- 1) Communist's extermination plan shall be abolished by the Nationalist Army
- 2) The Nationalists shall stop the demonstrations

of Anti-Communism.

3) The Communist Army shall be re-organized into Anti-Japanese Army.

4) The provinces of Kansu, Ninghsia and Hsing-chiang shall be made the base districts of Communist Army.

5) HO Lung, HSU Hsiang-Chien and HSU Hai-tung shall be reserve units for bandits extermination.

6) CHANG Yang's units shall be transferred eastward.

page 16 7) All Japanese rights shall be denied.

In reply to this, the Nationalist Government despatched HO Chung-han, CHANG Chung, TSAI Liu and TENG Wen-i to Shansi in the midst of March, presenting 100 thousand cotton clothes to the communists' army, and replied to MAO Tse-tung in the following way:-

1) The anti-Japanese alliance is to be agreed ^{however} as a matter of course. The Communist Armies must be under the command of the Central Army.

2) The Central Army will stop internal fight instantly and also cancel the slogan of anti-

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C. Communism

3) No punishment shall be inflicted upon the North-East Army, but Anhwei and Honan provinces shall be provided for them, and the reorganized Communist Armies shall be treated and provided for like the Central Armies.

4) Munitions for North-Western Communist Armies shall be provided for in consultation with KU Chiating, Superintendent of Sian detachment.

Although WAN Chao-min, addressed in the Chinese General Conference, as a personal opinion that "the existence of Communist Army, ^{is untenable} under the principle of 'one government for one state, one army for one nation', there were those deep-rooted Anti-Japan Ally Communist party in the leading character of the government, in the persons of SUNG Ching-ling, Feng Yu-hsiang, SUN Ke and LI Lieh-chun, whose existence being of acute necessity to CHIANG Kai-^{and} sek in his performance of authority, as some degree of conciliatory conditions were given for the intercession of Communist in the Sian affair, which allowed the practical existence of Communists, in providing 100 thousand

Yuan of military expense a month, some more than ten or prefectures allowed areas to and in Hsien about Shansi province as their station, acknowledging their re-organization to National Army. Accepting the *

The wire message of ~~MAO Tsao-tung~~ ^{the Communist Party in China} sent to the ~~Att~~ ^{Att} China

P. 17 Conference and the latter's reply are as follows.

To the General Conference of Chinese Nationalists,

Gentlemen,

We presume ^{that} the peaceful solution of Sian question is an affair of Nation-wide importance.

The bliss of the nation and race will be realized hereafter by the principle of peace, unity and combined defence. ^{The moment when the} We, communists, at ~~the~~ ^{the} crisis of the

vicissitude of the Chinese race is at stake, being or none of Celestial race confronting the

Japan's assault, earnestly desire that your honorable party should consider the following items in deciding the national policies:

1.) All internal warring shall be checked, and national power shall be concentrated in unified defence against Japan

2.) Freedom of speech, assembly and association, as well as the releasing of political criminals and

* Items proposed in Chinese telegram addressed by Mao Tsao-tung to the general conference of Chinese Nationalists, the Shanghai "Sun" and "The Morning News" are as follows: 1. Thank you for telegraphic reply to my letter. 2. I am glad to find you are still loyal to the Chinese Nationalist cause. 3. I am glad to find you are still loyal to the Chinese Nationalist cause. 4. I am glad to find you are still loyal to the Chinese Nationalist cause.

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anti-japan heroes.

3) Quickest completion of preparations for anti-Japan war.

"If your honored party will daringly establish the above said national policies, we, Communist party, will not be slow to make pledge as following to express our sincerity in the combined defence:

1.) The title of Chinese Soviet Government will be changed to Chinese National Special Section Government, that of Red army to National Revolutionary Army, and will be in accordance to the direct guidance of Central Government and Military Committee.

2) Land confiscation policies for land owners will be checked.

3) The Common principles of Anti-Japan racial unified front will be pledged to be exercised.

"In these days when the Nation's crisis is pressing, we swear by Heaven's ^{for the cause} ~~healty~~ ^{of Chinese Republic} ~~to the~~ Celestial State, in hearty desire that you, elder gentlemen, would appreciate our sincerity, and to realize the unified front in the deliverance of all ^{the} nation and ^{the} race.

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"We are all the sons of Hwangt-tee, ^{the} children of Celestial race. Let us, in this national crisis, all circumstantial affairs being abolished and in brotherly cooperation, stand up and go in grand enterprises of felling Japan and in the ultimate deliverance of Celestial race.

"We, herewith wiring our message for your honored instructions, and make salute for the racial revolution."

Central Committee of China Communist Party.

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over line
CHIANG Kai-shek is said to have given reply, as:-

"Your Gentlemen's fealty is heartily appreciated; Important situations will be provided for you in convenient time."

After these negotiations being made, KU Chue-tung, representative of Nanking and CHOU-En-lai, representative of Communists, met at Sian on the day April 14, and formally signed in the following Terms:

"That the Communist armies shall be re-organized into three Divisions (12 Regiments), the orga-

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nization and equipments of Central armies
being adopted.

"That the Commanders of the Divisions from
the Communists, and those of Regiments from the
Nationalists shall be appointed.

"That political training stations shall be pro-
vided for every units, the master being appointed
from the Nationalists.

"That the military Expenses shall be pro-
vided by the Nanking Government, and the monthly
^{amount} shall be not less than 100 thousand Yuans.

"That the Armies shall be stationed in
the Provinces of Suiyuan, Shanhsi and Kansu."

As the above is the outlines of ^{the agreed Cooperations between the} Chinese Communist
party and National Government, it must be noticable facts
that the Comintern gave the former every guidance
in the present situations and negotiations for future ^{being made} course,
dispatching BOLOTZKI and KOLSKI. While the re-orga-
nized Red Army were to march under the "White
Sun in Blue sky", their former organization are
as follows:—

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Organization of Communist Armies

Commander General of Red Armies in Western Tsing, Hsu Hai-tung
 Chief Executive
 Chairman of Soviet Government in Shansi province Hsiao Ko Chiang

Commander of Western Tsing Detachment of C. R. A.

Central Red Army — Pen Te-huai

Political Committee of C. R. A. Mao Tse-tung

Chief Staff Officer of C. R. A. Su Tan-ju

(Force of Personnel)

No. 25 Army, Commander Hsu Hai-tung

No. 41 Division, Commander Chang Shih Chien

No. 73 " " " } 3,500

No. 75 " " " } not known

Supplementary Division Com'dr.

Central Red Army, Shansi and Kansu detachment.

Commander Pen Te-Huai

Vice Commander Lin Piao

Political Committee Mao Tse-tung

Chairman of Political Section

Delegate to Representative of

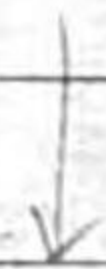
The Third International, Li Te.

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Column No. 1, Commander	Lin Piao	}	4,000
" " , Politic. Com'ite.	聶宗臻		
Column No. 2, Commander	鄧 毅		
" " Polit. Com'itt	秦 宥春		
Column No. 3, Commander	彭 德 風		
" " Polit. Com'itt.	李 宥春		

Western Tsuin Red Army;		}	6,000
Route	劉 紫 宸		
Troop No. 1 Commander	高 駿 龍		
" No. 2 "	王 宗 武		

Trans Tsuin Auxiliaries'		}	
Commander.	鄭 維 助		



Total Force of Personnel 13,500

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B. Activities just after the Incident.

As soon as the North China incident broke out, Constantinoof, Assistant Attaché to Russian Embassy to China, went to Tientsin by air to negotiate with 29th Troop, while Bogomolof, the Ambassador called on the head men of Nankin Army ^{at the 10th July,} and proposed that, as the Soviet Union being a friend to China, suitable way of assistance shall be made, these were then reported.

In the mean while, the Comintern directed its members in Manchuria to supply fuel and ammunition to replenish the Communist bandits, and also tried to agitate the ten thousand railway workers to sabotage, making propaganda in announcing that:

"Japan is invading North China, and will turn its arms to Russia and set all Manchuria in Gun fire."

The Moscow papers ^{on 12th,} began ^{to} attack Japan on the ground that the North China incident is the prescribed action, with sympathetic views toward China. Many columns were spent under the heading

of "Japanese provocation in North China", quoting TASS telegrams from Shanghai, Peking, Tokyo and London.

The outline of Soviet papers are as follows:—

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" The Lu Kou Chiao Incident is started first by the Japanese Soldiers suddenly firing at the Chinese, the issue being of grave importance. The conditions of peace by the Japanese are severe, requiring to give up the bridge to Japanese side. Moreover, Japan brought forward as supplementary requirement the setting up of armistice zone, in which the Peiping-Nanking R.R. is intended to be included. As the Japanese and Manchurian armies and Air-force are transported successively to North China, it is apparent that Japan will occupy the North China by force, which is the very imperialistic aggression we were ever warning against."

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In Shanghai, China Daily Herald, the Soviet Organ, Evening Post and China press, which are being suspected in financial backing, and the Magazine "Chinese Slogan", all stood up at once in the propaganda of, Challenge against Japan and All-the-Nations-War.

It was also ascertained that the Comintern ordered just after the incident to the powerful members of Chinese Communists; Anti-imperialistic League, Peace Makers Band and Peoples Young China to form a secret association called Ki-Tung False-Feller Band; for the agitation of Anti-Japan war among Chinese armies in North China.

In the meanwhile Chiang Kaishek invited Chou En-Lai (the well known No. 1 fighter of Communist) to Lu Shan, and negotiated on the next points:—

(a) The duties of National Conference are not only providing assurance to ^{institution} in the observance of regulations in the Constitution, but also in securing the rights of impartial democratic freedom,

(b) and also in the organization of democratic central government; causing the Anti-Japan Racial unification principle to pass, in which the fighting spirit against Japan shall be represented.

(c) The representatives of the National Conference shall not be ^{elected by} nomination from privileged classes, but by the voluntary competitive voting from every parties and sections.

(d) Communists shall be able to personally affiliate and participate as committee to the Nationalist party.

This meeting is noteworthy as to guarantee the participation of Communists in the future administration of China, and also assurance of co-operation of CHIANG Kai-shek and Communists. Indeed, the North

Part
back
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China incidents has given the Communist an unexpected yields. Even though the Sino-Japanese affairs will end in smooth solution, the Communists shall stir up and redden China and hold itself against Japan as an outpost of the Soviet.

At the explosion of North China incident, the Comintern sent WAN Ming, Chinese Communists' representative to Russia then being returned in China, between Chinese Head-Quarter of Communists in ^{北平} Pei-Shih of Shensi province and the Headquarter of Soviet Union Communists, and proposed ^{through the} ~~at the intervention of~~ Chinese Communists ^{Party about} the following points to Chiang Kaisek. That is:—

- 1) The Soviet Union will render utmost assistance to the National Government, the Chinese Communists as intermediary.
- 2) The Chinese Communists shall soon organize a voluntary Army, and start actions in West-North in the Co-operation with Armies in Shensi, Kansu and Shansi provinces.
- 3) Arouse riots in Manchuria, Korea and Japan in Co-operation with Communists in those areas.
- 4) Arouse riots in Japanese cotton mills and like those in China.

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Chiang Kaishek is said to have agreed to ^{all} these proposals. Now Chu Te and Mao Tse-Tung wired to Chiang Kaishek as in the following:-

"As to Japan the people are one in indignation. We will do our best as one in sincerity. Expect Your Excellency's ^{to} immediately ^{issue a cease-fire order} command for war; to which we will respond by standing at the front of defence rendering our duty to the nation with armies under us."

On the July 8th. MAO Tse-Tung, CHU Te, PEN Te-Huai, HO Lung, LIN Piao, HSU Hsian-chien, LIU Po-chien, ^{徐向前} ^{李得胜} ^{宋哲元} ^{洪绍周} ^{李仙洲} ^{刘峙} wired in joint signature to SUN Choh-yuan, CHANG Tse-chung, LIU Tzu-hing and FEN Chih-an in this manner.

p. 23.

"At hearing the heroic defence of 29th Army, the Red Armies, kindled in indignation, will go and fight at your call. Hope that all the Nations' army unite in hearts and arms."

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As it was their strategy that to envelope the Japanese armies in North China from ^{over} ^{sides} and then to exterminate, a part of armies of CHU and MAO speedily

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Commenced northward march at the explosion of the incident and entered into the border of Suiyuan. They were thus trying to assault at the rear side of Japanese army from the direction of Suiyuan and Jehu.

Besides this they were preparing for the Partisan tactics in co-ordination with the great envelope strategy. According to an intelligence, several residentialies were sent from Vladivostok at the instance of North China Incident for the purpose of Reddening of and organization of Communist army in North China, and that more than 300 officers in 29th Army were already turned red.

The Communistic strategy can be found in the following lines which were supplied for the reference to responsible warfare committee of Chinese Communist party, reading as follows:

"All the Nation are ready to proceed in the great peoples union in the war cry of 'Save state, against Japan', as well as to fighting for the armed defence of North China.

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" At present the Chinese people are considering whether they shall carry out the warfare in which all their warlike forces collectively expanded to envelope the Japanese forces in ^{the} front of North China and crush at once the Japanese fighting power and check their southward march, or to rely upon the warfare to lead the Japanese army further inland of North China and to make a prolonged warfare.

4..

We dare say, and advocate that we must take the former, extermination strategy and should never side the latter defeat policies.

1st.

So, once the war opened against Japan, all our military, naval and air forces shall be mobilized and concentrated at the frontier of North China and general defence-Japan fronts, which as well as ^{with} general armament of local people shall be able to give glorious expectations to the extermination strategy.

While the summed up quantity of armed force as a result of general armament of people and the concentration of all military, naval and air force to North China front shall be absolutely supersede the Japanese forces, if the revolutionary side will

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take the leading stand, these predominance in quantity will be developed to that of qualities as well. Even though how much refined arms the Kwantung and Tientsing armies can use, the great quantities of arms which Nanking and local military clans accumulated by sweating the people, and the armed force of Chinese people, collectively mobilized in material and mental side, will no doubt be able to assume the superiority in quantitative as well as qualitative magnitude, and this superiority in collective armed force compels us to exterminate the Japanese army in North China.

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The strategical experts in Soviet's Red Army once pointed out ^{that} the tactical spirits of Red Army are in 'Speeding up of operation' and 'Forcing up of aggression'. Although the equipments and training of Chinese people are not to be compared with that of Soviet Red Army, the former being able by racial consciousness and combination to show valor and determination in human harmony and natural advantage, it is easy to adopt this tactics if there be most exact and powerful direction of the latter.

1257 and the introduction of these Soviet tactics seems to
express the way to vanquish over Japan.

Side by side with the extermination war, by the
operation of guerilla warfare where required it will
be able to enhance our complete victory.

If the general mobilization and general arma-
ment are exerted to proper extent and all the military,
naval and air force are combined under ^{people's} national pressure,
there is no foundation for hesitating in adopting the
extermination strategy, in pushing front to frustrate
the enemy's invasion and lessen the ^{hardships} tortures of pro-
longed warfare.

Our immediate and urgent need are first of
all to arm and fortify and defend from destruction
the North China, adopting the extermination warfare
as principal strategy, and to realize the social
combination of peoples front against Japan, and
the absolute freedom of speech and armament
and to oppose all the ^{traitorous} "despotic policies."

(The End)

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SA#26

時局資料

3702#2425
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支那に於けるコミンテルンの活動

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昭和十二年九月

凡例

一、本書は時局認識の爲め参考資料として編纂したものである。

二、本書の内容は成る可く廣く利用せらるゝことを希望する。

支那に於けるコミンテルンの活動

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凡例

- 一、本書は初版補遺の録を録を附録として附録しつゝのりである。
- 二、本書の内容は従前の刊行物と異なる部分がある。その場合は、

支那に於けるコミンテルンの活動

序 論

過般ソ聯邦に於ける七將官の銃殺事件及、之に至る迄に五回に及んで敢行された陰謀事件の内容が種々各様に世界に喧傳されるや、ソ聯邦と不可分一體を爲すコミンテルンは弱體化し、従つて世界の共産主義勢力も後退するに至つたと信せらるゝ様になつたが、かゝる見解は實に危険なる憶測と云はねばならない。國際共産黨即コミンテルン及其の指導下にあるところの各國共産主義勢力は、依然として世界赤化の運動を續けて止まず、特に支那に於ける其の策動は一層巧妙に遂行され、東亞平和の痛として其の存在は益々恐る可きものとなりつゝある。今次北支事變に於ける彼等の陰謀の深刻ることに鑑みる時は思半ばに過ぐるものがあるのである。

以下最近に於けるコミンテルンの支那赤化政策及抗日運動の真相を述べて見たいと思ふ。

一、コミンテルンの淵源

コミンテルンの現状を語る爲には、今日に至る迄のコミンテルンの歴史に就いて一言し、その趨勢

年)に至る約四箇年間といふものは、所謂聯露容共時代で赤化勢力の飛躍的進展、擴大を觀たところの支那共産黨運動史上の全盛時代である。この事情を大略すれば、大正十三年正月には、廣東に於て開催された國民黨第一次全體代表大會の決議を以て、北方軍閥打倒の爲に國民黨に依つて所謂聯露容共政策が採用された。其の後大正十四年三月十二日孫文が北京に於て客死して後、兵權を中心に國民黨の實權を握つた蒋介石は、翌大正十五年七月、自ら國民革命軍總司令となり、七軍を統率して廣東を出發、北伐の途に上り、武漢を占領して國民政府を廣東から武漢に移したのである。この北伐敢行の背後にはソ聯邦のガロン將軍(現在ソ聯邦極東軍司令官ブリユツヘル元帥)があり、國民政府の政治上の最高顧問に同じくソ聯邦のボロヂンが居た事は衆知である。

右の如く支那共産黨勢力は最高潮期に達するや、武漢政府を牛耳つてゐた共産黨は、昭和二年正月國民黨中央全體會議に於て國民黨派を壓迫し蒋介石の軍權及一切の權利を剝奪して、一舉支那の共産化を計つたのであつた。

そこで蒋介石は北伐中の軍を武昌に於て二分し、自ら共産黨派を殲滅せしむべく東に軍を進めて、同年三月二十四日南京を占領して、共産黨彈壓のクーデターを敢行し、武漢政府を否認し、昭和二年四月十八日同地に南京政府を樹立したのである。

一方武漢に於ける共産黨は、蒋介石に對抗する爲に同地唯一の實權者である唐生智一派の湖南軍、

並に國民黨の左派である汪兆銘一派と密に連絡して湖南の地盤に喰入り、共産主義一流の赤色テロを行ひ土地を沒收するといふ暴虐な革命を遂行した。湖南軍の大部を率ゐて北伐の途上にあつた唐生智は、之を聞いて憤激の餘り俄然態度を一變して急進軍を歸し、武漢に於て共産黨にクーデターを加ふるに至つたのである。かくて八月十九日武漢、南京兩政府は妥協合體することになり、ソ聯邦側の顧問は追放され茲に聯露容共は全く清算され、共産軍の敗北となつたのである。この兩者のクーデターに依つて、銃殺處刑されたもの數萬と謂はれる程、共産黨勢力は没入して居り、それ丈に損失は多大なるものであつたのである。

三、其の後の中國共産黨及コミンテルンの活動

前述の一九二七年(昭和二年)に於ける國共分離以後は、共産黨機關は撤退を見、其の活動も衰頹に向つたが、コミンテルンの對支赤化活動は、中心的指導機關である極東局(其の所在地に付ては上海説と哈府説とがあつて真相は判明しない)及ミフを首班とする駐華代表等に依つて遂行されてゐたのであつて、滿洲事變後ソ支外交關係の復活に連れて之等機關も亦復活され、事變後赤化運動は活氣を呈し、更に一九三五年(昭和十年)の夏コミンテルン第七回世界大會が開催された結果、反ファシズム統一戦線運動、即ち人民戦線運動を開始すると共に、赤化工作は一段と熾烈さを加へて來たのであ

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る。

右の裏面に於ては、直接モスコのコミンテルン本部から或は又沿海州方面から有力な工作員を支那に増派し、曩に北鐵讓渡に依つて滿洲赤化の足場を失つた舊北鐵従業員の共産分子を潜入させ、特に北支方面に主力を注ぎ、從來上海に在つた中國共産黨の最高執行機關である中央委員會を天津或は北平に移動せしめたと傳へられて居る。

滿洲事變以來蒋介石一派に依る抗日運動が展開されるや、コミンテルンは好機乘す可しと視て中國共産黨其他の抗日諸團體に對する潜行的策動の外、親ソ的宣傳工作に堂々と乗り出し、各種の文化的、社交的機關及新聞、雜誌等の定期、不定期刊行物に依り、熾に獨特の宣傳を行ひ、大衆の赤化運動に乗り出したのであるが、此の種の宣傳工作は着々と効果を收め抗日人民戦線の結成となるや、一層に支那大衆の煽動に拍車を加ふるに至り、北支事變に對しても一大役割を演ずるに至つたのである。今日コミンテルンの對日赤化運動上、コミンテルンの指導乃至は利用關係があると疑はれてゐる在支各機關の主なもの、外交機關を除くと次の様なものである。

(イ) 中ソ文化協會

之は一九三五年(昭和十年)十月支ソ兩國の文化的結合を名目とし會長孫科、名譽會長ボゴモロフの下に、兩國人多數を以て南京に組織された團體であつて、一九三六年(昭和十一年)三月には支部

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を上海に新設し、表面は文化團體を標榜してゐるが、支那朝野の親ソ分子を多數吸收せんとし、巧妙な親ソ抗日宣傳を創立以來活潑に續けてゐる。之はソ聯邦記念日を初め其他機會ある毎に盛大なる會合を催し機關紙「中ソ文化」を發行し、現在ソ聯邦乃至はコミンテルンの對支文化機關の中心であり秘密工作の中心的存在であると見られてゐる。

(ロ) 上海ソ聯邦居留民俱樂部

一九三七年(昭和十二年)三月上海ソ聯邦總領事スピルワネータを名譽會長として創設され、創立後日は淺いがこの活動にも表裏があり警戒されてゐる。

(ハ) 全ソ聯邦中央購買組合支部(ツェントロソユース)

表面はソ聯の對支貿易機關であつて、上海、漢口、天津等設けられてゐるが、明らかにコミンテルンの對支赤化機關として利用されてゐる。其の上海支部は一九三六年(昭和十一年)三月閉鎖されたが、之に代るものとして同時に、全ソ聯邦穀物輸出組合聯合支部が新設され、前者の業務は其の儘後者に引繼がれた模様である。

(ニ) 全ソ聯邦穀物輸出組合聯合支部

一九三六年(昭和十一年)三月上海に新設され、從來のツェントロソユース上海支部の後繼者となつた事は前述の通りである。

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(ホ)モスコイ人民銀行上海支店

(ヘ)全ソ聯邦石油トラスト上海出張所

(ト)ソ聯邦國營極東商船隊上海代理店

(チ)天津インヴェストメント・コーポレーション

一九三五年(昭和十年)末、舊北鐵ソ聯従業員に依り設置されたソ聯人銀行で、之は北支方面の赤化運動資金の供給機關としての疑があり、上海に其の支店を開設せんとしてゐる。

(リ)ヴォストワーク商會(福祥公司)

表面獨逸の貿易會社として、裏面に於てソ聯邦の諜報機關としての役目を勤めて來たものと謂はれてゐる。其の支店は上海、天津、張家口にあり、其のスパイ行爲は終にヒトラー政權樹立後、獨逸政府の彈壓を受けて一應各支店共業務清算中であつたが、一九三六年(昭和十一年)九月からアダム・ブルピスなる者が之を福祥公司と名稱を代へ、米國々籍の下に業務を繼續し、支店を天津、張家口に置いたのである。之亦前者と同様コミンテルン赤化機關としての疑が濃厚である。

(ヌ)この他抗日宣傳の言論發表機關として、タス支局を始めチャイナ・デーリー・ヘラルド等は共產黨御用紙の役目を勤め、その他上海イヴニング・ポスト、チャイナ・プレス、時事新報等は何れも其の背後の資金關係を疑はれて居り、「中國呼聲」を始めとする各種抗日的雜誌、定期印刷物の數は夥しきものである。

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四、抗日人民戦線とコミンテルン

のである。

コミンテルンは一九三五年(昭和十年)夏、モスコイに於て開催された第七回世界大會に於て、世界各國に於ける反帝國主義運動、反ファシズム闘争の激化を決議すると共に、特に支那に於ては其の客觀的情勢に鑑み、右反帝國争を抗日闘争に集中す可き旨の方針を決定したのである。即ち同大會に於ける決議中

「植民地及半植民地國に於ける共產黨員の最重要任務は反帝人民戦線の創設事業であり、之が爲には最も廣汎な大衆を、益々増大する帝國主義的搾取反對、殘酷なる奴隸化反對、帝國主義諸國驅逐、國土獨立の民衆解放運動に誘引し、民族革命及民族改良主義的諸團體との共同動作を達成せざる可からず。

支那に於てはソヴェート運動の擴大及紅軍戰鬥能力の強化を、全國に於ける人民反帝運動の展開と結合せざる可らず。

此の運動は帝國主義的壓迫者、就中日本帝國主義及其の支那從僕に對する民族解放闘争なるスロガンに依り之を遂行せざる可らず。

之が爲には諸ソヴェートは解放闘争に於ける全支那國民の統合的中心たる可し。

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帝國主義諸國の「プロレタリア」は各自其の解放闘争の爲、帝國主義的侵略者に對する植民地及「半植民地國民の解放闘争を百方支持せざる可らず。」

と宣言して、支那に於ける抗日人民戦線の新策略を採用したのである。この宣言は、尙同大會には王明を始め多數の中國共產黨の代表が出席し、右の抗日人民戦線策略に就て意見を述べ、協議の結果、中國共產黨は以上のコミンテルンの意を體し、同策略を如何に實踐に移す可きかに就いての具體的方法に關して審議を重ね、茲に八月一日附を以て重大宣言を發するに至つたのである。この宣言は、八・一宣言として知られてゐる中國共產黨中央委員會及中華ソヴェト臨時中央政府名義に依るところのものである。

「抗日救國の爲同胞に告ぐるの書」の宣言である。

右宣言に於て中國共產黨は抗日人民戦線運動を正式に提唱し、全滿支の各種勢力を糾合して、廣汎な抗日救國政府の樹立及抗日聯合軍を組織する事を提唱した。

續いて同年末、右の宣言の趣旨を更に敷衍した二・二五決議及其他數箇の決議及宣言を發表して愈々抗日人民戦線運動の激化を策動したのである。

之等の中國共產黨の宣言、決議等に發表されてゐる主張は、從來同黨が唱へて來た共產主義に依るものである。

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階級闘争に關する革命理論や、土地革命理論を著しく修正したものであり、又ソヴェト政策の各般に就いても緩和された民主主義的理論政策に近い内容のものに修正された巧妙なるものである。

△右の如き内容を有する抗日人民戦線の新戦術は非常なる成功發展を遂げ、各種抗日救國團體、抗日學生團體は逸早く其の傘下に集り、遂に一九三六年（昭和十一年）には全國各界救國聯合會を中心とし、之等の各抗日救國團體を以て廣汎なる抗日救國組織が結成され、同時に支那各地に右の組織の執拗な煽動に依つて悪性の抗日「テロ」事件が頻發するに至つたのである。

（一方中國紅軍（共產黨）は一九三六年春大舉して陝西省北部より山西省に侵入し、掠奪を擡にして北支那一帯に非常な脅威を與へたが、右共產黨の行動は抗日人民戦線の方向に適つた抗日行動と言ふ事が出来るのであつて、この事は次の事實に依つても裏書きされるのである。即ち前記コミンテルン第七回世界大會に於ける決議中に左の如く明示されてゐる。

「……支那に於ては、ソヴェト運動の擴大及紅軍戰鬥能力の強化を、全國に於ける人民反帝運動の展開と結合せざる可らず……」

右の指令に基いて、當時侵入した紅軍が熾に抗日宣傳を行つたのであつて、當時の紅軍の行動が全支抗日人民戦線の發展に及ぼした影響は甚大なものがあつたのである。

(11)

かくて右の人民戦線の魔手は、西北に在つて剿匪に従事して居た張學良、揚虎城等の舊東北軍及西北軍の内部に延び、遂に昭和十一年十二月十二日の西安事變の勃發を誘導し、支那全土のみならず、世界を驚愕せしめたのであるが、西安事件後、中國共產黨は國民政府に對し、更に妥協的態度を深め、國共合作を熱心に提唱し、之が爲にはソヴェート地區の解消、紅軍の改編すら辭せざるが如き態度に出たのである。

右事態に對しては、一九三七年(昭和十二年)二月の三中全會に於て赤化根絶決議案を通過せしめ、國民政府は共產黨排撃の態度を一應闡明にしたが、政府部内では親ソ派等の分子は聯ソ容共説を唱へ、其の結果國民政府は代表張冲を西安に派して中國共產黨首領周恩來等と具體的合作問題に關し折衝交渉し、その結果紅軍との抗日共同戦線を張る點に關し、妥協が成立した趣である。この事實は一般の北支事變により表面化し、積極的に提携を促進せしめる運びとなつたのである。

(12)

五、北支事變とコミンテルン、中國共產黨、共產軍の活動

A 事變前の活動

本年三月中國共產黨首腦毛澤東は米人作家スエドレー女史と會見し、共產軍の對日態度に就いて次の如く述べた。

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「我々は決してあくまで日本に挑戦しやうと云ふのではない、日本との妥協は決して不可能ではない。然し我々は日本が對支侵略行爲を中止し、軍部がその年來の政策である大陸政策を放棄せざる限り、斷じて挑戦の戈を收めるものではない。現在の情況では日本は依然として對支侵略行爲を遂行してゐる有様である。従つて共產軍の對日方針は次の如く嚴たるものである。

- (1) 日本をして即時對支侵略政策を放棄せしめる事。
- (2) 日本をして東北四省と察北を返還せしめ、滿洲國と冀東政府を廢止せしむる事。
- (3) 華北駐屯軍を即時撤退せしめる事。
- (4) 北支に於ける大量密輸の禁止。
- (5) 日本側飛行機の支那通航の自由の撤廢。
- (6) 支那各地に於ける日本特務機關の撤退。

この目的を達成する爲め、我等は年來の敵である國民政府と妥協して、抗日戦線に一致の行動をとるものである。共產黨が各種の具體的政策を實行するに決定したる目的は、前述の如く眞の對日抗戦と中國防衛を實行せんが爲である。故に我々は共產黨及國民黨の兩政權の對立を排除し、國內平和を實現せしむ可きものと思料する。而して之を切實に實行するに非んば所謂對日抗戦は不可能である。之即ち部分的利益を全體的利益に又階級的利益を民族的利益の前に放捨せしむるの意である。

(13)

る。國內各政黨個人は均しく此大義を明確に認識するを要す。共產黨は決して自己の觀點を以て、一階級又は一時的の利益に束縛するものに非ず、我等は常に全國民族の利害に對し關心を拂ひ、從來の階級闘争に關しては次の如き見解を發表するものである。

一、資本家、地主は財力權力を有する故に彼等こそ、第一に民族利益を尊重して、工農の生活と待遇改善に努力す可きである。若し資本家、地主にして工農を搾取せんか、工農は生活し能はず、然らば抗日は全く不可能なり。故に良心ある資本家、地主は愛國民を啓發して、抗日工作の爲工農の生活改善と政治生活の向上に賛意を表す可きである。

二、中國に於ける工、農プロレタリアートは、財力も權力も有しないが、抗日救國の主要力量である。抗日挑戦に彼等の參戰なくば絶対に勝利なしと斷ずるものである。若し彼等の經濟的並に政治的生活を改良せば、彼等の反資本主義運動は直に減少するであらう。我等中國共產黨の提出する内容は實に愛國主義の性質を充分に具有するものであつて敢て國民黨の主張に劣らざるものである。將に祖國防衛は目下の急務である。茲に於て我等は國民黨と提携して日本に抗戦すると共に更に國際主義を以て世界大同運動を主張するものである。

三、世論共產黨と國民黨とは實際上提携不可能と説くも然らず。共產黨に於ける幹部、朱德、周恩來、彭德懷、劉伯承、賀龍、林彪、葉劍英、徐向前等は既に國民黨の領導幹部たりし者であり、

(14)

更に林白渠、吳玉章、革秘武、謝覺哉、董惟健は國民黨中央委員たりし事がある。この關係を觀ても提携の可能なる事を知り得るであらう。

四、抗日戰爭の勝敗に就いては次の如く確信するものである。即ち中國の莫大なる資源と自然條件は長期戰爭を支持し得べし。紅軍の過去十年に於ける戦史は明かに之を裏書きするものである。日本は既に獨伊兩國の同盟國を獲得した。素より中國のみを以て日本に當り得るも我等も亦友軍を求む可きである。我等は英米佛ソの諸國と共に太平洋聯合陣を結成して一舉日本及獨、伊の侵略國家を攻撃せば勝利は絶対確實である。」

(15)

毛澤東は右の如き所信を開陳したが、之に呼應するが如くコミンテルンは三月上旬ボロツキー、コルスキト及中國共產黨秘書長李、蘇飛、政治部主任、石佛遵を代表として南京に派し、孫科を通じて

一、中央軍に於ては共產黨圍剿計畫を取消す事。

二、中央側は反共產主義の宣傳を中止する事。

三、共產黨は抗日軍として改編す。

四、甘肅、寧夏、新彊を共產黨の根據地とする事。

五、賀龍、徐向前、徐海東を剿偽匪豫備隊とする事。

六、張揚部隊を東方へ移動する事。

七、日本の權利を一切否認する事。

を提出せしめたが、この返答として三月中旬、國民政府側は賀衷寒、張中、嚴笠、鄧文儀等を陝西に派して共産軍に對し綿衣十萬着を送り、毛澤東に會見して

一、共産黨の主張する連合、抗日は素より賛同する所であるが、共産軍は今後中央の命に従ふ事。

二、中央は今後即時内戦を停止し、且剿共の口號を取消す。

三、東北軍に懲罰を與へず、安徽、河南を與へ、改編せる共産軍に對しては中央軍と同様に待遇給與する。

四、西北共産黨の軍需品は西安行營主任顧祝同と協議し供給を受ける事。
を解答した。

更に又三中全会に於て汪兆銘は個人として「一國一政府、一國一軍主義の下に共産軍の存立を許さず」と演説したが、政府要人中には、宋慶齡、馮玉祥、孫科、李烈均等の根強い容共抗日派が居り、蔣介石としては其の政權行使上之等一派の存在を絶対必要とし、西安事件に於て共産派の調停に對して或る種の妥協條件を與へた爲、事實共産軍の存在を許したのみならず月々十萬元の軍費を支給し、陝西省附近の十數縣を與へて彼等の駐屯地たらしめ、國軍としての改編を加へる事を約し、同會に對して送つた通電の事項を承認して、毛澤東に對し

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「兄等の誠忠を感謝す、機あらば兄等を重要なる地位に登用す可し」と返電したと傳へられた。

因に三中全会に對して中國共産黨が送つた電文は次の如くである。

「中國々民黨全會諸先生謹啓。西安問題が和平的に解決せるは國を擧げて祝する所なり。今後も和平統一團結禦侮の方針を以て國家民族の幸福を實現し得可し。日寇猖獗して中華民族の存亡一髮千鈞の際我黨は長堂三中全会が次の各項目を以て國策を定められん事を切望す。

一、一切の内戦を停止して國力を集中し一致日本に當る事。

二、言論、集會、結社の自由を一切の政治犯人、抗日英雄を釋放する事。

三、對日抗戰の一切の準備仕事を迅速に完成する事。

若し貴黨三中全会が果して能く毅然として以上の國策を確立さるゝならば、我黨は團結禦侮の誠意を表示する爲貴黨三中全会に對し次の如き保障をなすに吝ならず。

一、中華ソヴェート政府を中華民國特別區政府と改名し、且紅軍を國民革命軍と改名し、直接中央政府並に軍事委員會の指導に従ふ。

二、地主の土地沒收政策を中止す。

三、抗日民族統一戰線の共同綱領執行を確約す。

國難日に旺なる時、我等は中國の爲忠誠を盡す事を天日に誓ふ。諸先生か我黨の誠忠を容れ、全

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共産軍の編成		合計
晋西紅軍指揮……徐海東 山西省政府主席……蕭克強 中央紅軍總司令……彭德懷 同 政 委……毛澤東 同 參謀長……蘇 洸如	中央紅軍陝甘枝隊 總司令 彭德懷 副司令 毛澤東 政 委 王稼祥 政治部主任 李 德 第三國際代表 林 彪 第一從隊司令 蔡 榮 同 政 委 鄧 發 第二從隊司令 蔡 富 同 政 委 彭 富 第三從隊司令 李 富 同 政 委 劉 紫 晋西紅軍第一路指揮 高 紫 同 第二路指揮 王 宗 同 第三路指揮 王 宗 晋豫邊區遊擊司令 鄧 繼助	第二十五軍々長 徐海東 第四十一師長 張士謙 第七十三師長 不 第七十五師長 明 補充師長 兵力 三、五〇〇
合計		一三、五〇〇

國民族の救亡統一戦線を實現されん事を切望す。

我等は等しく黄帝の子孫たり、同じく中國民族兒女たり、國難に當り、一切の成因を抛棄し、親密に合作し、共に中國民族の最後の解放、打倒日本の偉業に赴かん。

茲に謹んで電達して明教を待ち、並に民族革命の敬禮を致す。

(中國共產黨中央委員會)

以上の如き經過の後四月十四日西安に於て、南京代表顧祝同と共產黨代表周恩來とが會見し、次の諸項に對して正式調印を行つたのである。

- 一、共產黨は中央軍の編成、整備を採用、三ヶ師(十二團)に改編する事。
- 一、師長は共產黨側より、團長は國民黨より任命する事。
- 一、各團隊には政治訓練所を設け、處長は國民黨より出す事。
- 一、軍費は南京政府より支給し月額十萬元以上とす。
- 一、駐屯地は綏遠、陝西、及甘肅省とす。

以上が事變前に於ける中國共產黨と國民政府との妥協提携の概略であるが、この間に於てコミンテルンがボロツキ、ホルスキー等を派して一切の指導を與へ、今後の方針に就いて打合せを行つた事は最も注目すべきものと謂はねばならない。改編された紅軍は青天白日旗を軍旗として進軍する事になつたが、中央軍として改編前の紅軍の編成は次の如くである。

B 事變直後の活動

北支事變勃發するや駐支ソ聯大使館武官補佐官コンスタンチノフは飛行機にて天津に向ひ廿九軍との折衝を行つた事が探知され、駐支ソ聯大使ポゴロフは十日南京政府軍首腦を訪問し、ソ聯邦は支那の味方である事を述べ適當なる方法に依つて援助する事を提案したと傳へられた。

又コミンテルンは滿洲に於ける黨員に指令し、軍資、武器を給與して共產匪の増強を圖り一萬全滿鐵道従業員の怠業を煽動し

「日本は北支を侵略し、更にその戈をソ聯邦に向け、全滿を復び砲火の巷に導くであらう。」と宣傳した。

果して十二日よりモスクワ新聞は何れも北支事件を以て日本側の計畫的行動なりとし、日本を攻撃し、支那に同情的評論を掲載した。「北支に於ける日本の煽動」なる見出しの下に多大の紙面を割き、上海、北平、東京、倫敦よりのタス電報を公表したソ聯新聞の要旨は次の如くである。

「蘆溝橋事件は日本側が突然支那兵を射撃した事に端を發したもので、事態は頗る重大である。

日本側の該事件の平和條件は頗る苛酷であつて、蘆溝橋を日本側へ明渡す事を要求してゐる。且日本側は追加的に非武装地帯の設立に關する要求も提出してゐるが、右は北寧鐵道をも同地帯に包含せしめやうとする魂膽である。日滿陸軍及空軍は續々北支へ移動されてゐるから、日本は武力

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で北支を占領するに違ひない。之は明らかに我々が警告したところの帝國主義の侵略戦争である。」
且上海に於けるソ聯機關紙チャイナ・デーリー・ヘラルド紙、背後の資金關係を疑はれて居るイヴニング・ポスト、チャイナ・プレス兩紙及雜誌「中國呼聲」は一勢に抗日挑戦、舉國決戦を煽動し始めたのである。

更に事變直後、コミンテルンは指令を以て蘆溝橋事件に中國人民青年團護綏工作團、反帝同盟、及中國共產黨有力分子を以て冀東除偽團なる秘密結社を結成せしめ、北支に在る支那各軍に對して抗日戦争を煽動してゐた事が判明した。

かゝる時、蔣介石は七月九日、周恩来（共產黨第一線の闘士）を蘆山に招致して次の事を協議した。

(イ) 國民大會の職責は憲法の制度のみによらず、公正なる民主々義自由の權利を保證するものとする。

(ロ) 且民主中央政府を組織し抗日民族統一綱領を通過せしめ、全民族の對日抗戰意志を代表せしめる事。

(ハ) 國民大會の代表も特權階級のみの指定的のものとせず、各黨各派を以て隨意競争選挙に参加せしめる事。

(ニ) 共產黨員は個人として國民黨に入黨し、委員として加盟し得る事。

(21)

之は將來の支那の行政に共產黨の參與を保證する會談として注目されるものであり、蔣介石と共產黨とが完全に手を握つた事を實證するものである。北支事變は實に共產黨にとつては豫期以上の收穫である。今後日支問題が圓滿に解決するにせよ、共產黨は支那を赤化し煽動し、更にソヴェートの前衛として日本に對峙するであらう。

北支事變勃發するやコミンテルンは、西安事變の爲に支那に歸國中であつた中國共產黨駐ソ代表王明をして陝西省層施にある支那共產黨本部とソ聯共產黨本部を往復せしめ、コミンテルン本部の意向なりとし、中國共產黨を通じ蔣介石に次の内容を提議した。即ち

- 1、ソ聯は中國共產黨を通じ、極力國民政府を援助する。
- 2、支那共產黨は速に義勇軍を組織して陝西、甘肅、山西諸省の諸軍と協同して西北地區に活動する
- 3、滿洲朝鮮及日本の共產黨と協同して、日滿鮮内に暴動を起す。
- 4、在支日本紡績會社等に暴動を起す。

蔣介石は之等の提議を盡く容れたと云ふ事であるが、朱德、毛澤東等は蔣介石に對して、

「日本に對しては國民等しく憤慨する處、吾等は至誠を以て一致團結之に當らんとす。されば貴官に於ては早速抗戰命令を發せられよ。吾等は所屬部隊を率ゐて、盡忠報國、國防の第一線に立たん。」と通電し七月八日には毛澤東、朱德、彭德懷、賀龍、林彪、徐向前、劉伯堅の連名を以て宗哲元、張

(22)

自忠、劉汝明、馮治安宛左記要旨の通電を發した。

「第二十九軍の英雄的抵抗を聞き、義憤に燃ゆる紅軍將士は隨時移動費軍に追隨し一戰を決す。全軍勇躍殺敵、此の通電に共鳴せよ。」

北支に於ける日本軍を諸方面より包圍して之を殲滅せんとする事は彼等戰略であり、前述の陝西、甘肅附近にあつた朱、毛軍の一部は事變勃發と共に急遽北上を開始し、綏遠省内に入つた。彼等は自ら宣言する様に綏遠熱河方面より日本の背後を襲はんとしたのである。

尙此戰略と共に、彼等は北支にバルチザン戦法を行ひ大包圍戦に相呼應せんとしてゐるのである。これに關しては前述せる陰謀工作に於て詳述したところである。情報に依れば事變を機として北支赤化並に共產軍抗日義勇軍組織指導の爲め浦鹽から數名の駐在員が派遣され、第廿九軍では三百名を超える將校が赤化されてゐたと謂はれてゐる。

共產黨の北支に於ける戰略は中國共產黨軍事委員會の責任者の參考に供せられた文書中に發見されたもので次の如き内容を有してゐる。

「全國人民は抗日救國なる呼聲の中に於て、現在人民力量の一大團結を進行すると同時に、華北を武装保衛す可く戦はんと準備しあり。」

(23)

即ち現在中國人民は一切の武力的力量を集結展開し、華北の前線に在る日本軍を包圍して日本軍と大規模の作戦を敢行し、一舉日本軍の陣勢を瓦解せしめ、其の南下を阻止せんとする作戦と、日本軍を華北内地に誘ひ長期の戦闘をなさんとする作戦とを考慮しつゝあり。
吾人は明言す。吾人は前者の殲滅的主要作戦を探り、決して後者の失敗主義的戦略を探る可きに非ずと。

即ち一度抗日戦争開始されんか、全國陸、海、空軍の現有する一切の武装力量を華北の邊境と一般抗日戦線とに向つて動員集中し、地方人民の普遍的武装とに依つて殲滅的戦略の前途に多大の光明を與ふ可し。

人民の普遍的武装と全國陸、海、空軍の現有する一切の武装を華北の邊境に集結せる結果に於ける武装力量の總數は、日本軍に對比して絶對的に優勢の地歩を確保すべく、而も革命方面が人民の指導的地位に立たんか、中國人民武装の數量上に於ける優勢は必然的に質量の優勢にまで發展す。其の場合關東軍、天津軍が如何に精銳の武器を有すと雖も、南京及諸軍閥が平素人民の膏血を絞りと貯藏せる大量の軍器及中國人民の武装力量、即ち精神的、物質的總動員との綜合に依つて、數量上の優勢より質量上の優勢まで到達し得ることは更に疑ふ餘地なく、此數、質上に於ける武装力量の優勢は吾人をして抗日戦争に於て完全に日本軍を華北に於て殲滅し得る自信を有す。

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ソ聯邦赤軍の軍事専門家は、曾て赤軍の戦術精神を「作戦の迅速化」と「攻撃の強化」とに在りと指摘せり。中國人民武装の設備及其の訓練はソ聯邦赤軍と日を同うして語る可らずと雖、中國人民は其の民族的自覺と團結とに依つて、作戦上に於ける勇氣と決意並に人和と地利とを表現し得るものなれば、ソ聯邦赤軍の最も正確にして最も堅確なる指揮だにあらば、此種の「作戦の迅速化」と「攻撃の強化」とを實現することは極めて容易にして、此ソ聯戦術を取入るゝことは、正に中國人民の進行せんとする抗日殲滅戦の前途を勝利に導くことを表示せるものなりと謂ふ可し。
加之、吾人は殲滅戦と同時に、一切の必要なる方面に於て遊撃戦を進行して吾人の主力の殲滅戦に配合することに因て、吾人の殲滅的勝利を助長し得可し。

即ち若し吾人の全國の總動員と總武装とが既に相當の廣度と深度とに到達し、全國の陸、海、空軍が人民の壓迫下に於て抗日戦線に集結せば、基本上吾人は殲滅戦を探るに躊躇するの理なく、寧ろ進んで敵の進攻を挫き延長戦の苦痛を減せんとするものなり。

故に吾人の目前の急務は、殲滅戦を探るを主要戦略として、先づ華北を武装報衛し華北の滅亡を救ひ、人民抗日の社會的集結と、言論並武装との絶對的自由の獲得を實現し、且一切の賣國的獨裁政策に反對するに在り。」

(25)

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