

The Communist Party, the Army  
and the Relation between the  
Kuomintang and the Communists

(Weekly Report No. 197, published on July 24, 1936)

by the Cabinet Information Board:

The present setup of the party and its leaders.

The position of the Communist Party in China as a propelling power behind "militant China" has lately become more and more weighty. On the occasion of the Hsian Incident in December, 1936, the Year before the outbreak of the China conflict, the party which had only a single poor soviet district and not more than 70 or 80 thousands troops altogether attained a lawful position in consequence of the Marco Polo Bridge Incident on July 7 of the following year and of the coalition with the Nationalist Party. In addition to this, the party was enabled to maintain and enlarge its military force at the expense of the National Government which had been an enemy but yesterday, through the reorganization of its army into the 8th Route Army of the National Revolution Army, and was able to set about the establishment of a firm stronghold under the name of the "Outlying District Government" which does not permit the Chungking Government to meddle with its affairs.

For the past three years, the party has grown stronger and stronger like a snow-ball, and the so-called "specific gravity" at the anti-Japanese front has become so great that it seems now as if <sup>had elapsed since</sup> an age we saw it last. Some people even regard the party as having more influential than the Chungking Nationalist Party. Whatever one may say, it is an undeniable fact that



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the position of the party is gradually getting close in upon the Nationalist Party. Such an increase in the influence of the party inevitably causes the friction with the Nationalist Party on the anti-Japanese front. Sure enough, dissension between the Nationalist Party and the Communist Party has been reported continually. However, under the present international situation in which British and French aid to Chiang has ceased, leaving the U. S. S. R. as the sole stay of "militant China", we can not imagine that the Chungking Nationalist Party will break its coalition with the Communist Party and bring the Soviet aid to naught. On the other hand, we have to think of the rising enthusiasm for peace which might make the Chungking Nationalist Party take a decisive step towards an anti-Communist coup d'etat. Even in such an eventuality, we can't imagine that the party, its army and its outlying districts will be exterminated at one blow. They will remain an enemy to the new order of East Asia for a long period of time, occupying one corner of north-west China as heretofore. -- This is why we should not be lazy in scrutinizing the party, its outlying districts, its army and its relationship with the Nationalist Party.

The present organization of the Communist Party in China has the Political Bureau as its supreme organ with CHANG Wen-tien as its General Secretary. It has the following 16 committee members who are regarded as the highest leaders of the party;

MAO Tse-tung, CHU Te, CHOU En-lai, CHEN Shao-yu, CHIN Fang-hsien,  
LIN Fo-chu, FENG Te-huai, LIN Pao, LIAO Ching-yun, LI Fu-chun,  
CHAO Yung, HO Ko-chuan, YEH Chien-ying, WANG Chia-hsiang, YEH Ting,  
HC Lung.



It is said that according to this party the country is divided into the following 4 districts, each district having a bureau and each bureau having its secretaries.

Designation.	The spheres of jurisdiction.	Secretary.
a. Manchou Bureau,	Entire Manchoukuo.	Yang Ching-yu
b. Northern Bureau,	North of Huang-Ho, Shansi, Shantung, Hopei and Chaher.	TEN Pi-shih YANG Shang-kun.
c. Central Bureau,	South of Yellow River, North of Yantze-kiang, east of Hanshui, and west of the Tientsin-Fukow Railway line.	LIU Shao-ko.
d. Southern Bureau.	The region along upper and lower reaches of the Yantze-kiang, Canton, Kuanghsi, and Fukien.	TUNG Pi-wu.

Under the Southern Bureau, there is the special South-eastern Branch Bureau with HSLANG Ying for the supervision of the lower Yantze-kiang zone as its secretary. There is the Outlying District Committee (with KAC Kang as its Secretary) in the Shensi-Kansu-Ningsia District, the headquarters of the party, and there are the "Ferferated Line Committees" in the large cities in central and south China Occupied by Japanese forces. The organizations under the local bureaus seem to vary according to local conditions and to be not always uniform. Roughly speaking, there is a province committee in each province, and under it there are hsien (county) committees, district committees, chapter and Borough sections. Besides the above, there is a municipal committee in a city and an administration department of the guerilla force in a guerilla district. Under the Central Political Bureau, there are the Outlying



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District Government (with LIN Fo-chu as its President), the Secretariat, the Administrative Bureau, the Publicity Department, the Military Committee (with MAO Tse-tung as Chairman), the Young Men's Committee, the Women's Committee, the Artizans' Committee (with LIU Shao-ko as Secretary), etc. The National Suffrage Council established in 1939 is an elementary public organ on which the Communist Party exerted its utmost efforts and MAO Tse-tung, CHEN Sho-yu, CHING Fang-hsien, LIN Fo-chu, WU Wang-Chang, TUNG Pi-wu and TENG Ying-chao, seven in all are listed as councillors of this organ.

The actual condition of the Shensi-Kansu-Ningsia Outlying District.

The Shensi-Kansu-Ningsia Outlying District, which is the headquarters of the Communist Party in China as well as the rear stronghold of the Communist Army, is the revival of the TUO Soviet districts, viz., the Shensi-Kansu Outlying Soviet District and the North Shensi Soviet District which was established by LIU Tzu-tan, the chieftain of the Communist Party in Shensi and others in 1930. When the Communist Party in Kiangsi and its army arrived in this district in 1935, they established the North-Western Branch of the Soviet Central Government by amalgamating these two districts, but in December, 1936, after the Hsian Incident, this was reorganized into the Outlying District Government. Upon the outbreak of the China Incident in 1937, in consequence of the conference between the representatives of the party and CHIANG Kai-shek, the Outlying District Government was placed under the immediate jurisdiction of the Executive Yuan, and on and after September 6 of the same year, it won its formal recognition. The present district is said to cover, Yenan in the north, Shensi as its centre, 16 hsien in Shensi, 6 hsien including



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Chingyang in Kansu and Yenchih in Ningsia, 23 hsien in all with a population of 2,500,000. Though the greater part of the district consists of loess and prairies, the land in 18 hsien including Yen-an is arable and yields foodstuff beans, cotton, petroleum, salt, live stock and other products, and produces coal and iron enough to support the population. Thus LIN Fo-chu of the Outlying District Government boasts of his district. Though the district is nominally placed under the jurisdiction of the Executive Yuan, it forms in substance a central soviet district which does not permit the Chungking Nationalist Party or the Chungking Government to meddle with its affairs. The Communist Party appointed LIN Fo-chu, a veteran of the party, as President of the Outlying District Government concurrently with the Chief of the Financial Board and the President of the District Bank, and afforded him an authority to execute administration at his will, entirely disregarding the administrative officials of the Chungking Government, to appoint and to dismiss heads of Hsiens, to issue District Bank notes for circulation within the district and to impose taxes on the people. As to the taxation, more than 20 bad taxes such as the "anti-Japanese" tax, Patriotic dues, the wealth tax, the land tax, etc. are being levied. (tax revenue totals about 1,400,000 yuan).

What the party has been striving most at is the educational undertaking. The educational institutions operated by the party are such colleges and higher technical schools as the Anti-Japanese Military Administration University (with LIN Hsiao as its Chancellor and LO Jui-ching as senior-professor) known as "Fighting University," the North Shensi Public School (its principal being CHENG Fang-wu who has been a literary critic and a member of the Creation Society formed by KUO Mo-jo and others), the LU Hsun Art Academy, the Marx



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School, the Lenin School, the Practical Science Laboratory, besides, 706 primary schools (with 16,000 school children) and 6,000 Literary Societies (organizations to teach the rudiments of reading and writing, with about 40,000 members). Through these organs, Bolshevik education is being pushed forward step by step.

Other operations are roughly as follows;

(a) Mobilization of the people.

Mobilizing 80,000 youths within the district, the party replenished the 8th Route Army. Young men and boys mobilized for the Youth Spearhead Column totalled 28,000. Both figures are from the latest two years' statistics.

(b) Organization of the self-defence army. The party proclaimed the Self-defence Army Ordinance for the purpose of arming all the people and assign to all of them, regardless of sex, the responsibility for the defence of the outlying districts. The army consisting of the forces 23,000 strong is commanded by the District Peace Preservation Headquarters.

(c) Operations at the rear.

In order to render assistance to the families of soldiers<sup>of</sup> the Communist Army, the party organized a farming aid corps and presented for the comfort of officers and men 60,000 pairs of socks and 100,000 vests made of wool. At the same time, organizing a company for the extermination of recalcitrants, the party disbanded 41 bands of local bandits and captured 1,200 rifles.

(d) Relief of the poor.

Out of 100,000 yuan subsidized by the Chungking Government, the party appropriated 30,000 yuan for the poor relief fund for immediate use, and spent 70,000 yuan on handicraft enterprises for the purpose of relieving



the poor. In addition, the party established a children's relief society with a fund of 5,000 yuan, endowed by SUNG Mei-ling.

(e) Popular Election held.

The party established the outlying district councillor system and carried out a secret ballot poll.

(f) Increase of farm lands.

The total area of farm lands in 1939 was 8,900,000 se (T.N. about 220,340 acres). The party increased this farm land by 560,000 se (about 13,725 acres) in three years.

(g) Public enterprises.

These are as follows:

1 spinning mill, 1 petroleum refinery, 3 coal mines, 3 printing shops, 1 machine repair shop, 3 chemical plants, 2 farm tool factories, and soap factories, celluloid factories, flour mills etc.

The true strength of the Communist army.

What is the source of the power of the Communist Party? Needless to say, it is the Communist Army. Through the diversion of the Communist Army a minor soviet district <sup>was</sup> formed, and through the convergence of minor soviet districts, led to the formation of a major soviet district and then finally the Soviet Central Government came into being. The party also employed its army for the extension of the soviet district. Such has been to usual practice of the Chinese Communist Party and is characteristic of the Chinese communist movement which is quite different from that of other countries. Accordingly, it is inconceivable to outsiders how highly the Chinese Communist Party values its Communist army.



The Communist army was in all its glory in 1933, and the military strength at that time was said to be about 300,000. After that, with the rising power of CHIANG Kai-shek in suppressing the Communist army, the influence of the army gradually declined, and at the time of Hsian Incident in 1936, its strength was only seventy or eighty thousand. At the time of the Hsian Incident the reason why the highest leaders of the party were in favor of sparing CHIANG's life, restraining the radical elements who demanded that CHIANG should be killed, was because, though it was an order of the Comintern, there was a deep-laid plot to preserve the potential of its army and to form an invincible Communist army with redoubled energies. Therefore, upon accomplishment of the second coalition between the Nationalist and the Communist parties, the party contrived to wax at the expense of CHIANG Kai-shek by reorganizing its army into the Eighth Route Army of the National Revolutionary Army (with CHU Teh as Commander-in-Chief and FENG Te-huai as his vice). In 1938, the following year, the party dissolved the guerilla corps which had been <sup>reserve</sup> in the Kiangsi and Fukien districts and reformed it into the New Fourth Army (with YEH Ting as its Commander and HSIANG Ying as Vice-Commander). (The Eighth Route Army was later renamed the 18th Group Army.) Thus the party enlarged its army at the expense of CHIANG Kai-shek. At present, the Eighth Route Army consisting of about 300,000 is spreading its forces in the provinces of Shensi, Shansi, Shantung, Hunan and Hpeii, and the New Fourth Army consisting of 100,000 is manoeuvring in the districts of Anhwei and Kiangsu. In spite of the total strength of its army which number 400,000 and exceeds the number of troops in the golden age of 1933, the party, not being satisfied with this, is making a dash toward the goal of one million troops. Furthermore, the party is utilizing the military expenses given by CHIANG Kai-shek in order to extend its military strength without appropriating



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it exclusively for the maintenance of troops; and yet the party is incessantly requesting Chungking to increase the subsidies on the pretence that "the sum of 2 yuan 72 cents, the monthly allowance for each soldier of the Eighth Route Army, is worth only 67 cents as a result of the depreciation of legal tender." Therefore, in a way, the cunning of the party surpasses that of CHIANG Kai-shek.

Friction between the Nationalist and the Communist parties.

A complaint arose in Nationalist army circles against the measures taken by the Communist army that had been strengthening itself by taking advantage of the anti-Japan attitude and yet was planning to preserve its power by refraining from Nationalist Army and the Communist army have repeatedly taken place since last year. Thus friction between the Nationalist and the Communist parties has come to attract public attention. Such friction, however, is very natural, since this coalition of the two parties whose policies are essentially different, was based on mutual exploitation. This is the reason why the conflict between the heads of the two parties, the burning-down of the Communist press organ, etc. were so frequent within a few months after the coalition was effected three years ago. CHIANG Kai-shek was, however, well aware of the coalition being an axis of the anti-Japanese front and whenever trouble arose, he preferred to concede to the Communist party and banned the activities on the part of the Nationalist party. Similarly, the leaders of the Communist party well understood the real intention of the Comintern and also attached major importance to the maintenance of the anti-Japanese front as their first principle. So that the friction between



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the two parties has been regarded as peripheral strife. However, the attitude of Chungking has lately undergone a slight change. Even CHEN Cheng who has been supposed to be the greatest sympathizer with the Communist party among the generals of the CHIANG Group went so far as to comment, "The Eighth army is idle at all times, and never fights. There is not a single soldier wounded in Yen-an." Furthermore, the HU Tsung-nan Army which remained at the north-western district in order to watch the Communist party and its army (the army is said to be the cream of all forces under CHIANG's direct command and his treasured force, which has never engaged in the anti-Japanese campaign) has slashed the Shansi New Army of the Communist party in one operation. In spite of the strong protest made by the Communist army against this, CHIANG remained unperturbed. At this juncture, a document entitled "Outline of the Illegal Actions of the Chinese Communist Party and the Truth about its Warfare Sabotage" under the name of the Political Section of the Military Committee Chairman's Headquarters at Tientsin (the Chief of the headquarters being CHENG Chien first and CHU Shao-liang later) was suddenly published last April. Though such documents as anti-Communist telegraphic communications sent by generals of the Nationalist party or other material of the same sort have frequently been published heretofore, there is no comparison between them, and this literature published by the Tientsin Headquarters is of great importance. Presumably it may be regarded as the first open anti-Communist declaration by Chungking. The document consisting of 22 pages is divided into 9 sections viz., (a) Introduction, (b) the actual condition of the so-called Shensi-Kansu-Ningsia Outlying District, (c) the facts about the destruction of the administration setup, (d) the action to liquidate the allied army, (e) the



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actual phases of the guerilla operation, (f) the facts about the slaughter of and tyranny over innocent people, (g) the Shansi Province New Army's action to aid rebellion, (h) the facts about an unlawful increase of the army and the disturbance of finance, (i) Conclusion. In its contents, the Communist party and its army are thoroughly and bitterly reprehended.

In face of this open accusation, the Communist party did not keep silent and furiously refuted it through its mid-May number of the "Weekly Emancipation." Taking up each section mentioned in the Tientsin Headquarters document, the party stated that there had been no such facts as those of which it had been accused, and revealed that the Nationalist party should be flamed instead of the Communist party. So the party disclosed the fact that after the war, more than 1,400 officers of the Eighth Army as well as several thousands of families of officers and soldiers of the New Fourth Army have been murdered at North China by obstinate anti-Communist elements. We may draw a conclusion that the friction between the two parties has been transferred from the periphery to the core as judged from the above exchange, but we may not be able to presage that the two parties will split. This is because the suspension of the British and French aid to CHIANG increased the necessity for reliance for fighting upon the U. S. S. R. as we have mentioned at the beginning of this article.

Thus, as the increase of the Communist influence of China brings about an obstacle to the settlement of the China Incident and to the establishment of a new order in East Asia, we should feel grave concern on this point and at the same time must prepare for the future.



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C E R T I F I C A T E

Source and Authenticity.

I, HAYASHI, Kaoru, who occupy the post of Chief of the Archives and Documents Section, Foreign Office, hereby certify that the document hereto attached, written in Japanese, consisting of 2 pages and entitled "The Communist Party, the Army and the relation between the Kuomintang and the Communists" is an exact and authorized excerpt from an official document in the custody of the Japanese Government.

Certified at Tokyo,  
on this 3rd day of March, 1947

/S/ HAYASHI, Kaoru (seal)

I hereby certify that the above signature and seal were affixed hereto in the presence of the Witness.

At the same place, on this same date  
Witness : /S/ S.ITO, Takegoro (seal)

TRANSLATION CERTIFICATE

I, William E. Clarke, of the Defense Language Branch, hereby certify that the foregoing translation described in the above certificate is, to the best of my knowledge and belief, a correct translation and is as near as possible to the meaning of the original document.

/S/ William E. Clarke (seal)

Tokyo, Japan

Date 16th May, 1947



黨現在の組織と首腦

「抗敵支那」の推進力として、中國共産黨の地位は最近いよいよ重きを加へて來た。支那事變勃發の前年、昭和十一年十二月の西安事件の際には一つの貧弱なソヴェート區とかき集めてやつと七八萬の共産軍を擁するに過ぎなかつた黨は翌年七月七日の蘆溝橋事件、續いて國民黨との合作成立によつて合法的地位を取得しただけでなく共産軍を國民革命軍第八路軍に改編することにより、昨日までの敵である國民政府の賄ひて兵力を保存擴張することが出来るやうになりまた「邊區政府」の名の下に重慶側に一指をも染めさせない鞏固な根據地の建立に着手することが出来たのであつた。

それから三年、黨は雪達摩のやうにますます太る一方で抗日戦線に於けるいはゆる「比重」は三年前とは隔世の感があるほど重くなつてゐる。



人によつてはすでに重慶國民黨よりも重くなつてゐるとみる向きもあるほどで漸次國民黨の地位に迫りつゝあることは何としても否定するわけにはゆかない。かゝる黨勢力の増大は必然抗日戦線内部に於て國民黨との摩擦を生ぜずには置かない。果然國。共相剋の報は齒の齒を引くやうに達してゐるが、しかし英佛の援將が一應終熄して「抗戰支那」の支柱としてはソ聯一本脚を剩すのみとなつた今日の國際情勢下に於て重慶國民黨が共產黨との合作を破りソ聯からの援助をフイにしようとは思はれない。だが一方、重慶政府内部に於ける和卒熱の昂揚といふことも考へねばならず、それは或ひは重慶國民黨をして反共クイターを執行させるかも知れない。けれどもさうなつたとして黨。軍。邊區が一舉に絶滅しようとも考へられない。依然として西北支那の一週に割據して相當長期に亘り東亞新秩序の敵として強るであらう。……黨。區。軍及び國共關係の檢討を怠るべからざる所以である。中國共產黨現在の組織は政治局が最高機關であり張聞天をその總書記とし委員に左の十六人を擁して居り、これが黨の最高幹部とされてゐる。



毛澤東、朱德、周恩來、陳紹禹、秦邦憲、林伯渠、彭德懷、林彪、  
 廖慶雲、李富春、趙容、何克全、葉劍英、王德祥、葉建、賀龍、  
 全國を次の四區に分ち、各區に局を置き書記をして統帥させてゐると  
 いはれる。

三〇二) 遼洲局

遼洲國全部

管轄區城

書記

中二二) 北方局

黄河以北、山西、山東、河北、察哈爾

任弼時

(三) 中原局

黄河以南、長江以北  
漢水以東、津浦以西

劉少奇

(四) 南方局

長江上下流及び廣東、廣西、福建

董必武

南方局の下に特に東南分局があり、張英を書記とし長江下流一帯を管轄さ  
 せてゐる。これから黨の本據である陝甘寧邊區には、邊區委員會（書記  
 高崗）があり、日本軍が占據せる中兩支の各大都市には點線委員會を置  
 いてゐる。地方各局の下の組織は、その地方々々の事情を參酌して定め  
 必ずしも劃一してゐないやうだが、不體省には省委員會、以下順次に縣  
 委、區委、支部、小組となつて居り市には市委員會、遊擊區には遊擊軍



政治部がある。中央政治局の下には邊區政府（主席林伯渠）、書記處、組織部、宣傳部、軍事委員會（主席毛澤東）、青年委員會、婦女委員會、工人委員會（書記劉少奇）等がある。昭和十四年成立の國民參政會は、共產黨側が最も力を入れた初步的民意機關であるがこの會の參政員として毛澤東、陳紹禹、秦邦憲、林伯渠、吳王章、董必武、鄧穎超七人が數へられてゐる。

#### 陝甘寧邊區の實情

中國共產黨の本據であり、共產軍の後方根據地である陝甘寧邊區は一九三〇年陝西共產黨の首領劉子丹等によつて創建された陝甘邊ソヴェート陝北ソヴェートの二ソヴェート區の後身である。一九三五年江西の共產黨。軍がこの地方に到着するや、この二ソヴェートを統合し、ソヴェート中央政府西北辦公處を設立したが一九三六年十二月の西安事件後改めて邊區政府を設立したのである。三七年支那事變勃發するや黨代表は蔣介石と會見しその結果邊區政府は行政院の直轄に歸することとなり同年九月六日から正式にその存在が認められた。現在邊區の範圍は陝西北部



の延安を中心とし同省十六縣、甘肅の慶陽等の六縣寧夏の鹽池、合計二十三縣といはれ、人口二百五十萬を有してゐる。大部分は黄土草原であるが延安等の十八縣はそれでも耕作に適し食糧、豆、棉花、石油、食鹽畜産等があり石炭、鐵も自給に足ると邊區政府林伯渠は自費自證してゐる。名義だけは行政院の管轄となつてゐても事實上には重慶國民黨及び重慶政權に一切をも染めさせず儼然たる中央ソヴェト區を形成してゐる。黨の元老林伯渠を邊區政府主席兼財政廳長、邊區銀行長とし重慶政權系の行政官を一切無視し勝手に行政を行ひ縣長を任免し邊區銀行紙幣を發行流通させ抗日捐、救國公糧、富戶捐、土地捐等二十數種の惡税を人民に課してゐる（稅收約百四十萬元）

最も力を注いでゐるのは教育事業で「抗大」の名を以て知られる抗日軍政大學（校長林彪、教育長薩瑞卿）陝北公學（校長成仿吾、もとは文藝批評家で郭沫若等の創造社一派である）魯迅藝術學院、マルクス學校（レーニン學校、實用科學研究所等の高等專門學校の外七百六の小學校（就學兒童一萬六千）、六千の識字組（簡單に讀み書きを教へる組織、組員約四萬）がある。これらの機關によつて赤化教育が着々進められてゐる。



るのである。その他の各種工作はほゞ左の如くである。

(一) 民衆動員 邊區内の民衆壯丁八萬人を動員して第八路軍の補充に充てた。少年先鋒隊に動員した青少年二萬八千。右いづれも最近二年間の統計である。

(二) 自衛軍の編成 全民武装を目的とする自衛軍條例を發布し、性別を問はず邊區保衛の責を課した。

軍の兵力二萬三千邊區保安司令部の指揮を受けてゐる。

(三) 後方工作 共產軍兵士の家族を優待するため代耕隊を組織し將士への慰勞として靴下六萬足、手袋十萬對、毛織チョッキ十萬枚を送つた。除奸組を組織して土匪四十一組を肅清し一千二百挺の小銃を獲得した。

(四) 難民救済 重慶政府からの交付金十萬元を基礎とし、中三萬元を直接救済に七萬元を難民救済の手工業に用ひた。宋美齡寄附の五千元を基本金とし児童救済院を設立した。

(五) 平等選舉の實行 邊區參議員制度を創設し無記名投票を實行した







## 共産軍の實力

共産黨の有する力の根元は何であるか？いふまでもなく共産軍である。共産軍の遊撃によつて小ソヴェートが出来、それが寄り集まつて大ソヴェート区となり、終にソヴェート中央政府が出来る。また共産軍を用ひてソヴェート区を擴張する。これが中國共産黨の定石である。他國の共産運動とは、はるかに類を異にし、支那共産運動の特徴を成してゐる。従つて中國共産黨の共産軍を大切にすることは局外者の想像以上である。一九三三年が共産軍の全盛期であつたが、當時の兵力は約三十萬と稱されてゐた。その後の蔣介石の共産軍討伐が進捗するとともに、漸次降り坂となり、一九三六年の西安事件當時には、やつと七八萬しかなかつた。西安事件に於て、蔣を殺せといきまく急進派を抑へて、黨の最高幹部が蔣の助命を主張したのは、コミンテルンの命令でもあつたが、一面共産軍の實力を保存し、港土重來、一六共産軍を結成しようといふ魂膽でもあつた。だから國、共第二次合作が成立すると、逸早く共産軍を國民革命軍第八路軍（總指揮朱德、副指揮彭德懷）に改編し、蔣介石の賄



ひで、ヌクヌクと太る算段をした。翌一九三八年には、江西、福建地方に残して置いた游撃隊を解散して新四軍（軍長葉挺、副軍長項英）に改編したのである。（第八路軍は後第十八集團軍と改名）さうして蒋介石から軍費を貰ひ、セツセと軍隊を擴張し、目下第八路軍が約三十萬、これが陝西、山西、山東、河南、河北に分散し新四軍十萬が、安徽、江蘇地方に游撃してゐる。合計四十萬で、すでに一九三三年の全盛時代の兵力を突破してゐるのであるが、彼等はこれを以て足れりとせず、百萬計を目標して猛進してゐる。蒋介石から貰ふ軍費を現在兵員の給養にのみ充當せず、これを兵力擴張に利用しながら、重慶に對し「八路軍の兵士給與月額二元七角二分は、法幣暴落の結果六角七分にしか當らない」と稱し、その増額を引つきりなしに請求してゐるのである。その狡猾見やうによつては蒋介石以上である。

#### 國共摩擦問題

抗戦を利用して兵力の擴張を圖り、一方日本軍との衝突を回避して既存兵力の保存を策するといふ共產軍のやり方に對しては、主として國民黨



軍の側からの不安が勃發し、昨年來國、共兩軍の衝突が頻々として起つた。いはゆる國共摩擦問題はかくして世人の注目を惹くに至つたのであるが、元來主義を異にする兩黨の、相互利用に發した提携であるから、摩擦は當然のことである。故に一昨々年合作成立するや否や、數ヶ月を出でずして兩黨黨部の衝突、共產黨機關紙の斃打事件等が頻發してゐるのであるが、合作が抗日戦線の樞軸たることをよく知つてゐる蔣介石はその都度、むしろ共產黨のいひ分を以て國民黨側の策動を封じて來た。共產黨幹部に於ても、コミンテルンの眞意を体し、抗日戦線の維持を第一義として來たため、摩擦は未梢に於てとあると見られて來たのである。ところが最近になつて重慶側の態度が少し變つて來た。

蔣系の將領で最も共產黨側に同情を持つてゐるといはれた陳誠までが「八路軍は遊んで寝たず。延安に一人の傷兵なし」などといひはじめたのである。共產黨及び軍に對する目附役として、西北地方にヂツとしてゐる胡宗南軍（蔣直系軍）の最精銳で、まだ抗戰に一度も參加して



い虎の子軍隊であると言はれてゐる)が、共產系の山西新軍を抜く  
 一見せずパツサリと解決してゐるのである。共產軍の躍起となつての  
 一見にも拘はらず、蔣は平然と構へてゐる。と見てゐるうちに軍事委員  
 員長天水行營主任はじめ程潜、後朱紹良)政治部の名で「中國  
 一黨の不法行爲及び抗戰破壞事實の概要」と題する文書が、去る四月  
 一に發表されたのであらう。從來でも國民黨系將領の反共通電の類は、一再な  
 り發表されたのであるが天水行營の同文書はその重要性に於て同日の  
 際でなく、恐らく重慶側から發表された最初の公然たる反共聲明と目す  
 べきものであり、且つ又その内容に於ても全文二十二頁を(一)緒言、  
 (二)いはゆる陝甘寧邊區の實情(三)行政破壞の事實(四)友軍の消  
 滅行爲(五)游擊工作の真相(六)善良なる民衆の慘殺と壓迫の事實、  
 (七)山西省新軍叛亂援助行爲(八)濫りに軍隊を擴大し且つ金融を攪  
 亂せる事實(九)結論の九項に分ち共產黨、區軍を完膚なきまでに痛烈  
 に非難してゐるのである。

この公然たる非難に對し、共產黨側も黙してゐず、機關誌「解放週刊」



の五月中旬號に於て痛烈な反駁を試み、天水行營文書の各項を取上げて  
さる事實なしと辨明し罪は却つて國民黨にあるとて、抗戰以來頑固反共  
分子が、華北に於て慘殺した第八路軍幹部の數一千四百人以上、新四軍  
將兵家族の慘殺されたもの數千人に上る事實を暴露してゐる。摩察が末  
梢から中樞へ移つたことは、右の兩黨應酬を見て断定出来るが、分裂ま  
では改斷し得ない。冒頭に述べたやうに、英師援蔣の中絶が、抗戰のソ  
聯への依存の必要を増加させたからである。  
かくの如く、支那に於ける共產勢力の増大は、支那事變並びに東亞新秩  
序の建設に障礙をもたらすものであるから、この點に我々は重大な關心  
を持つと共に今後に處する備へを整へねばならぬ。



文書ノ出所竝ニ成立ニ關スル證明書

自分、林鏗ハ外務省文書課長ノ職ニ居ル者ナル處、茲ニ添付セラレタル日本語ニ依ツテ警カレ九頁ヨリ成ル共產黨。軍及び國共關係（週報一九七號所載）ト題スル警類ハ日本政府（外務省）ノ保管ニ係ル公文書ノ拔萃ノ正確ニシテ眞實ナル寫シナルコトヲ證明ス

昭和二十二年三月三日 於東京

林

鏗

右署名捺印ハ自分ノ面前ニ於テ爲サレタリ

同日於同所

立會人 佐藤武五郎