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The History of the Chinese Communist Party
 (July 7); The Progress in the Northern Attack
 and the Separation of the national Party
 from the Communist Party (p. 184 - p 186)

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 Jap 支那共産党史 (昭和7.7)
 北伐の進展と國共分離 p. 184 - p 186

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昭和二十二年 三月十四日

於東京

林

馨

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

浦部

晴

馬部

昭和七年七月

支那共産黨史

外務省情報部

中央

秘 555

北伐の進展と國共分離

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四・一ニ反動の報道に接して、コミンテルンに大震駭した。トロツキイ派は、それは是たニトガと幹部派を攻め立てた。そこで五月十八日から二十日まで中委會を用いて討論の結果、以下の通り五月決議を發表し、今後の方針として農民運動の徹底を主張し、土地の沒收及び國有を主張する。この共産黨がその指導權を握ることと決議した。討議及び決議の内容は、大略左の通りである。

五月決議の内容は、(一)支那革命の意義、(二)國民革命の危機と新形勢、(三)支那革命の部分的敗北と反革命派の主力、

(四)労働者農民の組織と支那共産黨の根本使命、(五)支那共産黨と國民黨、(六)武漢政府の政權問題、軍隊及び支那共産黨の使命、(七)並西の革命政策、(八)各國共産黨と支

那革命の八項の合規、(九)支那革命のシエニの務言した通り、果して女界の帝國主義の打撃する最も重要なファクターとなつたとして、コミンテルン内部及びアムステルダム派社會主義者トオマス

英國マクドナルド等、支那革命を五月に内乱と化するの誤謬を攻撃し、次いで蔣介石上海クーデター以後の危機に因しては、

「資産階級は反革命派と帝國主義者を、則ち廢逐した。その結果支那に於ける階級間の相互關係は根本的變化を起すに至った」とトロツキイ派の反対論の中心である。支

那革命に於ける資産階級との提携は、ついで一九二六年の十二月決議を繰り返して、その正當であつた事を辨じ

北伐の成功は、何よりも如實にこれを證明するもので

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ある。但し資産階級より提議^携と同時に彼等の中途半端な態度を摘発しブルジョアが必然的に帝国主義者側に傾くべきを豫期して労働運動民衆に充分の用意あるべきを指命した。しかるに今や支那革命は其の最高潮に入り農村革命が反帝国主義運動の中心となりブルジョアは去って反革命派の側に走った。支那共産黨は其の作戦方法を根本的に改変しなければならぬ。又武漢に於いても動搖と背叛の必然避くべからざるを豫期しなければならぬと説き改める支那共産黨に對して左の指令を與へた。

(一) 農村及び都會に於ける多數民衆運動の展開を図ること。

(二) 労働者及び農民を武装すること。

(三) 左派國民黨を以て農民組合労働組合手工業組合等を包含する大民衆組織に轉化せしむること。

(四) 共産黨は其の階級戦線に於ける陣容を堅固すべきこと。

(五) 國民黨内に共産黨員を残留せしめること。然らざれば革命に於ける労働者の指導を握ることが出来ぬ。

(六) 武漢政府及び國民黨を化して労働者及び農民の革命専制機関となすこと。

(七) 北伐軍を援助すると同時に農民革命の徹底を図り又蔣介石軍の背後の潰類に努め時機を見て武力を用ひても同軍の倒潰を期すること。

(八) 労働者農民及びブルジョアの戦線を堅め大衆運動の指導者たらしむること。

(九) 共産黨内の結束をばじめ労働組合その他の団体組織の

の中に鞏固なる秘密機関を設ける事。

次に「何故上海の労働者をしりぞけて反抗させられたか」といふ
トロツキイ派の反対論に対し「あの場合上海労働者には成算が
なかった。如何なる場合にも叛起せよとはしエミニの戦略に反す
る。若しあの場合廣く戦陣を張ったならば支那プロレタリア
の花たる上海労働者は、蔣及び帝国主義者の聯合武力
に屠殺されたであらう」と答へ、最後に各国共産黨に對す
る援助が不十分であつた事を責め、今後各自國の対支武力干
渉を阻止せんことを要求してゐる。

この決議に基いて六月初旬、コミンテルンから臨時漢口滯
在中の印度共産黨首領ロオイに宛て有名で農民武装
の空電が送られ十五日ロオイがこれに汪兆銘に内示した事
に依り、武漢政府の反共産決定を見るに至つたのである
が、その後は叙述することとし、次にこれを叙述を急ぐ
るに農民運動の展開を一瞥せう。農民問題こそ國共分
裂の最重要の原因であるから。

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Translation Certificate

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I, Charlie S. Terry 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/ *Charlie S. Terry*
Charlie S. Terry

Tokyo, Japan

Date April 25, 1947

Stencil
Checked
Corrected

Translated by
Sadako Ohki

960-I

July, 1932

Secret
No. 555

The History of the Chinese

Communist Party

Board of
The Information Bureau,
Foreign Office

The Progress ^{of} in the Northern ~~Attack~~
~~Expedition~~
and the ~~Severance of Relations between~~
~~Separation~~ of the Nationalist Kuomintang
and
Party from the Communist Party.

(P. 184 - P. 186)

(reactionary movement of)

When informed of the April 12th reaction,

the Comintern was astounded. The TROTSKY

faction ^{group} ~~group~~ ^{attacked} ~~attacked~~ the ^{leaders' faction} ~~leading~~ group saying

this served them right. Therefore, as the

^D ~~result of~~ ^{held by} deliberations in the central

committee meeting held from May 18th to 30th,

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resulted in

the so-called May Resolution, ^{strength} ~~was issued;~~

which laid down

~~it was decided~~ (as the future policy) ^{action} ~~to insist~~

~~on a thorough promotion~~ ^{the} of the farmers'

movement, ^{until} ~~to carry it on~~ to the confiscation

and nationalization of land, ^(are achieved) ~~and that~~

the Communist Party ^(being given the leadership) ~~control leadership~~

^{+ this movement.)} ~~in achieving this~~

~~government~~

A summary of contents of the discussion

and the resolution ^{as follows:} is ~~given~~ in the following.

The ^{important} ~~contents~~ of the May Resolution ^{lies} is in eight items

divided into 8 items: (1) Significance

of the Chinese ^{revolution} ~~revolution~~; (2) crisis ^{caused by} of the

^{outset the revolution} national revolution and a new general ^{(As LENIN had predicted, the}

situation; (3) partial ^{collapse} ~~defeat~~ of the Chinese

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revolution and the main ^{strength} ~~power~~ of the
anti-revolutionary ^{faction} ~~group~~; (4) the
organization of laborers and farmers
and the fundamental mission of the
Chinese Communist Party; (5) ^{the} Chinese
Communist Party and the ^{Kuomintang} ~~Nationalist~~ Party;
the question of the administrative authority of
(6) the WU-CHANG-TIANKOW Government; the problems
of political power and the mission ^{of the} ~~of the~~
armed forces and of the Chinese Communist
Party; (7) the present revolution^{ary} policy;
(8) the communist parties ^{of the various} in all countries
and the Chinese revolution. At the
outset the Resolution
beginning, it states; "As LENIN ~~had~~ predicted, the
The Chinese revolution
has become the most important factor ^{opposing} ~~in opposing~~

"the world imperialism" as ~~LENIN~~ predicted;
 and, ^{proceeds to} attacked ^{some} ^{within} ^{the} Comintern, ^{members}
^{namely} Thomas, ^{socialist} of the Amsterdam school,
 MacDonald of Britain, and others, for their
 mistakes in regarding the Chinese revolution
 as a civil war. ^{Regarding} ~~As to~~ the crisis after
 CHIANG Kai-shek's coup d'état in SHANGHAI,
 it says "The propertied class went over to
 the side of ^{the} anti-revolutionists and the
 imperialists; consequently, interrelations
^{among social} ~~between the~~ classes in China have undergone
^{fundamental} a change". In regard ^{to} ~~with the~~ ^{collaboration} ~~cooperation~~
 with the propertied class in the Chinese
 revolution, which was the ^{very cause} ~~center~~ of the ^{objection} ~~opposite~~

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opinion ^{by} of the TROTSKY's ^{faction} group, ^{at the}
^{resolution} reiterates and justifies the December
(and tries to justify the ^{collaboration} cooperation by)
1926 Resolution, asserting "the success
of Northern ^{expedition} attack bears a most eloquent
testimony ^{it} witnesses to this fact. Simultaneously with ~~the~~
~~co-operating~~ ^{operating} with the propertied class,
we pointed out ^{was} its half-hearted attitude
and ^{instructed} ~~orders~~ workers ^{and masses} to be sufficiently
prepared in anticipation of ^{the} bourgeoisie's
inevitable inclination toward ~~the side~~
of imperialists. ~~The~~ Chinese revolution
has now reached ^{its} the climax; ~~the~~ revolution
of the ^{nearby} farming villages has become the
centre of the anti-imperialistic movement;

and the bourgeoisie has gone over to the side of the anti-revolutionists. The Chinese Communist Party must ^{effect a} fundamentally change ^{its} tactics; and in WUCHANG and HANKOW, it ~~we~~ must anticipate ^{unavoidable} disturbances and ^{uprisings} rebellions! Again the Chinese Communist Party ^{was} given ^{afresh} the following ^{directive!} instructions:

1. To ^{plan} ~~aim at~~ the development of various popular movements in ^{agitation} farming villages and cities;
2. To arm workers and farmers;
3. To convert the ^{left wing} leftist nationalists into a large popular organization

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including farmers' associations, ^{labor}~~workers~~
~~unions~~ and ^(unions) unions of handicraftsmen

4. To have the communist party ^(itself) strengthen its ^{organization} ~~formation~~ ^{for} in class war

5. To ^{have} retain ^{some} ^{Party remain} ~~some~~ communists ^{within} the Kuomintang ^{the Communist Party} ; ^(best to lose its) otherwise it cannot control leadership ^{of} for workers;

6. To convert the WUCHANG-HANKOW govern-
ment and the ^{Kuomintang} ~~Nationalist Party~~ into a ^{sole}
revolutionary ^{dictating} organ for
workers and farmers;

7. To plan ^{for} the ^{attainment} ~~thorough achievement~~
of the farmers' revolution, while assisting
the ^{Expeditionary} North^{ern} ~~Attacking~~ Army, ^{and} ^(strive) to ~~make~~ efforts

for the disorganization of the rear line of the
to ruin (CHANG Kai-shek's army's rear line

at an opportune moment for
the rear, and to take the opportunity
the complete destruction of
of destroying the same army even
with the use of armed
by using force, reveal under

8. To solidify the fighting front
of workers,
farmers and petit-bourgeois to make

established
them leaders of mass popular movements;

To unify
9. Not to speak of the unity within

the Communist Party, and establish

(powerful) secret agencies within labor

Unions and other organizations and

systems.

in response to the criticism of

and next, the answer for the opposite
opinion of TROTSKY's group, (that is, Why were

not the workers in SHANGHAI made to
the resolution

~~the~~ answers:
resist CHIANG?" ~~is~~ " On that occasion

workers in SHANGHAI had no hope of

success. To rise in revolt under

any circumstances, ^{whatsoever} is ^{contrary to} ~~against~~ LENIN'S

tactics. If a ^{extensive fighting front} ~~broad formation~~ had been
established

spread in that ^{instance} ~~case~~, the workers in SHANGHAI,

the flower of ^{the} Chinese proletariat, would

have been annihilated by the combined

force of CHIANG'S army and ^{the} imperialists."

Finally, ^{criticizes} ~~it blames~~ the resolution
~~in~~ insufficient assistance

for the communist parties ^{of} in all countries
for their insufficient support of the Chinese Communist party).

and requests ^{them to prevent respective countries} each country's (armed interference
ⁱⁿ ~~with~~ China on the part of their respective countries.

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Based on this resolution, the famous, secret ^{telegraphic directive to} telegram for arming farmers was ^{despatched} ~~sent~~ from the Comintern in the first ^{ten days} decade of June to the ROY (?), the leader of the Indian Communist Party, who was then ~~(then staying)~~ in HANKOW. The fact that ROY secretly showed this to WANG Chao-ming resulted ^{in the} WUCHANG-HANKOW Government's decision ^{to adopt anti-communistic policies.} ~~of opposing communists.~~ ^{(however,} This) will be described later. ^{now} ~~Let us glance~~ at ~~the development of the farmers' movement,~~ which ^{not} ~~had been~~ ^{touched upon} ~~neglected~~ in the foregoing description. ^{Since} The questions concerning ^{are} ~~problem of~~ farmers ~~is~~ the most

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important ^{cause} ~~reasons~~ of the ^{(severing of relations} ~~secession~~
^{between} of the Nationalist Party ^{and} ~~from~~ the Communist
Party, let us now glance at the
development of the farmers'
movement, which has not yet been
touched upon in the foregoing
description.