

*Previously rejected**R. 18419*

Excerpts from  
 Prosecution Witness JOHN B. POWELL's Book  
 "MY TWENTY-FIVE YEARS IN CHINA."

\*\*\*

(New York, The MacMillan Company, 1945)

Factional Troubles of the 1920'sPages 132 and 133

The Chinese Communists, who were admitted to membership in the Kuomintang on an equal basis as a result of a conference of delegates in Canton on January 20, 1924, had from the first endeavored to exert pressure on the party. The first indication of serious trouble between the Kuomintang and Communist factions was given early in 1926.

Four young military officers, all graduates of the Whampoa Academy, organized an anti-communist movement. The four men, all destined to become prominent in the next few months in the military drive to the Yangtze Valley, were Li Tsung-jen, Li Chi-sheng, Chu Peh-teh and Ho Ying-chin. General Chiang Kai-shek, head of the Central Military Academy, steered clear of the Kuomintang-Communist controversy, but his trip to Russia in 1924 caused him to be suspected of pro-Red leanings. A record of his activities in Russia, however, indicated that he had been cold to Soviet blandishments. As a result of pressure by the four young military officers, General Chiang, on March 24, 1926, issued a statement that he would follow the teachings of Dr. Sun's Three Principles (see preceding chapter), and would discontinue all connections with the Communist wing.

General Chiang Kai-shek's disinclination to side with the Communists was due to two factors: First, his birth and environment in industrialized, conservative Chekiang Province and his association with the banking and commercial elements from that province which dominated Shanghai business; second, the advice of a fellow provincial, Chang Ching-kiang, an almost mythical character who had become immensely wealthy in the silk and curio trade between China and France in the latter years of the Ching Dynasty. (Many of the rare Chinese works of art purchased by American millionaires came to this country by way of France.) Chang Ching-kiang, the curio dealer, espoused the revolutionary cause and contributed large sums to Dr. Sun's war chest. He participated in the conferences preliminary to the formation of the Nanking Provisional Government, but refused to accept office. Two years later he again helped Dr. Sun in opposing Yuan Shih-kai's monarchist plot, and as a result was proscribed, along with many others, by the Yuan regime. Chang Ching-kiang fled to Paris, where he opened a profitable curio and art store and also a popular restaurant where Chinese foods, particularly soya-bean products, were sold. After the passing of Yuan Shih-kai, Chang returned to Shanghai, where he further increased his fortune in the stock and gold-bar exchanges. It was here that he became acquainted with Chiang Kai-shek, and assisted him financially. In 1925 he went to Canton and became a member of the Constitutional Government. He accompanied General Chiang Kai-shek on the military advance to the Yangtze, and after the split between the Kuomintang and Communist factions he joined the Nanking Government. In his later years his health failed, and it became necessary for him to travel about in a wheel chair. But there was no impairment of his opposition to the Communists.

*ST*

*29/4/47  
 Rejected  
 again*

Pages 133, 134 and 135

Hu Han-ming, civilian leader of the right-wing Kuomintang group, also opposed the Communists, but Wang Ching-wei, the other civilian contender for the position held by the late leader of the party, Dr. Sun Yat-sen, sided with the Reds and in company with a number of the Russian and American advisors of the Canton Government departed for Hankow.

By the summer of 1926 the Nationalist army, under the command of Chiang Kai-shek, started its northward advance from Canton. As a result of the anti-imperialist propaganda inspired by the Communist faction of the Kuomintang, foreigners, particularly missionaries residing in the interior of the country, were seriously affected by the Nationalist Revolution which was sweeping northward. Mission schools, churches and residences were looted and thousands of missionaries were forced to flee to Shanghai.

But the most dramatic developments of the revolution took place at Hankow, Nanking and Shanghai, where the smoldering hatred and intrigue for power between the Kuomintang and the Communists broke out in furious internecine conflict. General Chiang Kai-shek's charge that the Communists had sent secret emissaries into the cities for the purpose of seizing control prior to the arrival of his troops, was borne out by developments at both Hankow and Shanghai. In both cities Communist activity originally was directed at the control of student and labor organizations.

Students of the Chinese Nationalist Revolution whose sympathies have been on the side of the radical or communist factions have purposely ignored the developments at Hankow which tell the most significant story of the failure of Chinese Communists, and their foreign advisers, to accomplish their ambitious plan of seizing control of the Nationalist movement and establishing communistic government in China. They blame "foreign capitalist-imperialist influence," "new militarism" and native "banker-landlord influence" for their lack of success, but while these elements did contribute, there were other and more fundamental causes.

Of the many causes for the failure of the Red regime at Hankow not the least was the action of the leaders in preaching class warfare and catering to radical student-labor groups in a society which was predominantly agricultural and where there had never been any classes, except the old educated or "literati" group which was, theoretically at least, open to all youths of ability who could pass the official examinations. After the capture of the Wuhan cities, which had been accomplished largely by the military strategy of General Chiang Kai-shek, the leftist Chinese leaders and their foreign advisers staged a veritable "Roman holiday" in celebration of their victory over "capitalistic imperialism." There was a trial of two "war prisoners" staged in the Russian manner, the culprits being two northern generals who were captured at Wuchang. Thousands of laborers employed in the mines, factories, and processing plants (Hankow is popularly known as the Pittsburgh of China) ceased work, and led by radical elements spent the days and nights in speech-making, parades, and demonstrations. Streets were filled with marching students and laborers carrying banners inscribed with slogans, "Down with Capitalists and Imperialists," "Support the World Revolution," "Workers of the World, Unite," and similar sentiments. Thousands of young peasants from Hunan Province, where an intense Red propaganda had been conducted for a considerable period, flocked into Hankow to join the festivities.

Pages 135, 136 and 137

The industries of the Wu-Han area were forced to close down: press-packing plants where native products were prepared for foreign markets; manufacturing industries, including cotton spinning and weaving mills; vegetable-oil pressing plants, hundreds of small native-owned industries, the great Han Yeh Ping coal and iron interests (controlled by Japan), large cigarette factories owned by Britons and Americans, the shipping industry operating large sea-going steamers on the lower Yangtze and smaller but more powerful steamers capable of negotiating the rapids of the Upper Yangtze, and an enormous junk trade operated by the Chinese on the great canal system and lakes of central China. Thousands of workers, who had been spending their days celebrating the revolution by holding parades and demonstrations, suddenly found themselves without meal tickets.

Since the Government had catered to the radical elements and encouraged the strikes, the student-labor groups naturally turned to it for support. The Government thus found itself in a vicious circle of its own making, and had to adopt the suicidal method of issuing floods of paper money in order to purchase rice for the hungry multitudes. Prices for food, particularly rice, shot up to prohibitive heights.

In order to save the Government itself from retaliation by the hungry crowds, propagandists attempted to turn the revolutionary sentiment against the foreigners. More parades were organized, with banners denouncing foreign imperialism, and the British Concession was over-run. No attempt was made to invade the Japanese Concession, which was bristling with machine guns. The British Concession was guarded only by a small naval contingent and a local volunteer corps and police force. Unable to cope with the excited demonstrators who stormed the borders of their Concession, and fearing a debacle, the British Consul-General, an Irishman named O'Malley, ordered the British population to withdraw to British ships in the harbor which was accomplished without incident. Possessed of more political sagacity than most of his compatriots, Consul-General O'Malley immediately entered into negotiations with the radical Foreign Minister, Eugene Chen, and the outcome was the sensational Chen-O'Malley Agreement whereby Great Britain agreed to return the British Concession at Hankow to China. The official release from the Foreign Office in London stated that the action "accorded with Britain's long-existing intention to return her Concessions to Chinese control."

When the Chinese found themselves in possession of the British Concession calmer counsels prevailed, the excitement died down, and the paraders returned to their quarters.

Another element which had a calming effect on the situation at Hankow was the receipt of alarming reports from Nanking, some four hundred miles down the Yangtze, stating that American gunboats had been forced to fire on a mob of demonstrators, including troops, which were attacking the American community, with officials of the American Consulate and their families. Suddenly realizing the seriousness of the complications in which they had become involved, Foreign Minister Eugene Chen sent a wire to the State Department disavowing responsibility for the Nanking outrages but offering remuneration for damages suffered by foreigners at the hands of Chinese radical elements.

Pages 137 and 138

The Chen-O'Malley Agreement providing for the return of the British Concession at Hankow to Chinese control, and the official telegram from the radical Chinese regime at Hankow to the State Department, marked the high point in the strange career of Eugene Chen, who had figured prominently in Chinese politics for a decade. Born in Trinidad, British West Indies, of a Chinese father and a Trinidad woman, Chen was educated as a British barrister in England and had been admitted to practice in Inner Temple, London. But the pull of his Chinese blood was too strong, and he returned to China, along with thousands of his compatriots from the Seven Seas, to participate in the revolution. Having a fair classical education in English (he could neither read nor speak Chinese), Chen naturally gravitated into newspaper work and on occasion stirred the sluggish English communities in the Far East to white heat with his editorials, filled with classical quotations from English literature. He edited radical papers in Shanghai and Peking, and once when the Chinese authorities in Peking arrested him and threatened him with execution, he remembered his British nationality, through birth in Trinidad, and appealed to the British Minister to save his life. Sir John Jordan, the aged, kindly, and influential British Minister, asked the Chinese authorities to release Chen--who, upon obtaining his liberty, fled to the sanctuary of the International Settlement at Shanghai. Later, Chen went to Canton and joined Dr. Sun Yat-sen's revolutionary Government and participated in the northern advance as a member of the radical faction, becoming Foreign Minister of the Hankow Government.

There was an illuminating incident in connection with the British evacuation at Hankow which was prophetic of later developments in British Far Eastern diplomacy. When the British were evacuating their nationals from the Concession to their ships in the harbor, the British Indian community, consisting largely of Sikhs, was overlooked. After the white Britons were safely aboard the ships someone thought about the Sikhs, most of whom had been employed as policemen or guards and watchmen by the various foreign and Chinese business houses and manufacturing establishments. Some had become wealthy as money lenders. One of the consular officials went ashore to rescue the missing Sikhs, who had disappeared completely. While returning to his ship the British consular official stopped to observe a parade which had been organized by the students to celebrate the taking over of the Concession. At the end of the procession, also carrying banners denouncing foreign imperialists, were the missing Sikhs. They had "gone over" to the Chinese and Communist revolutionist

The reaction of the little group of British Indians in joining the Chinese revolutionists was prophetic of events to come: events in 1941-42, when British Indian troops at Hong Kong, in Malaya, and in Burma, and the Congress Party in India, either refused to support Great Britain or adopted an attitude of non-cooperation with respect to the war with Japan in the Far East.

The acquisition of the British Concession at Hankow enhanced considerably the prestige of the radical branch of the Kuomintang, but this could not be exchanged for the wherewithal to feed the hordes of unemployed laborers who had been encouraged to strike and agitate against the imperialists and capitalists. With adversity came treachery within the ranks of the radical factions. Wang Ching-wei, who already had a reputation for treachery, grew cold toward the radical Chinese and Russian elements.

Pages 138, 139 and 140

Mao Tse-tung, spokesman of the radical faction, attributed the failure of the Red regime at Hankow to the weakness or treachery of another Chinese leader, Chen Tu-hsiu, who allegedly compromised on fundamental policies concerning land redistribution. Mao was quoted in Edgar Snow's "Red Star Over China" as charging the Russian Adviser Borodin and a British Indian radical named Roy, a delegate of the Comintern, with joint responsibility with Chen Tu-hsiu, the party dictator, for the collapse. According to Mao, Borodin, the official representative of the Moscow Comintern, had ceased being an "advisor" and had become a dictator of the Kuomintang Party. Chen Tu-hsiu had concealed the real situation from the party leaders, but Borodin's activities allegedly were exposed by the Indian delegate Roy. This is said to have caused the defection of Wang Ching-wei and the split in the Hankow Left Wing Government which facilitated the victory of Chiang Kai-shek and the Nanking faction over the Radical-Communist branch.

Another unexpected element in the situation was that the collapse of the radical Hankow Government had serious repercussions in Moscow and contributed considerably to the collapse of Trotsky and advocates of world revolution. Stalin and his group seized upon the failure of the China adventure, which had cost the Soviets large sums of money and great effort, to discredit Trotsky and the whole group of advocates of "permanent world revolution." Borodin returned by a tortuous overland trip to Moscow in disgrace and became editor of the four-page English-language MOSCOW DAILY NEWS.

Sun Fo, son of Dr. Sun Yat-sen, who participated in the Hankow Government, but later withdrew, also confirmed Mao's statements, particularly the reference to the "dictatorial attitude of the Russians." Chen Kung-po, an American returned student and graduate of Columbia University, New York, who had specialized in economics and had served as secretary to Wang Ching-wei, wrote a series of articles (published in the CHINA WEEKLY REVIEW shortly after the collapse of the Hankow Government) in which he analyzed the causes of the collapse of the Hankow Red regime. He concluded by advocating a system of state capitalism and state ownership of industries as a means of surmounting the complications which develop when privately owned industrial establishments suspend operations and throw laborers back on the Government for support. Chen argued that only through the development of state capitalism could the Chinese Government hope to cope with powerful foreign interests established in the country, which in times of crisis usually are able to marshal the support of the large native Chinese industrial and banking interests in opposition to socialistic experiments. Chen Kung-po, formerly a political associate of Wang Ching-wei, later became head of the Japanese puppet Government at Nanking, following the death of Wang Ching-wei in Tokyo in 1944. Chen Kung-po was the only Chinese student, educated in the United States, who voluntarily joined the Nanking puppet. No Chinese student of any American university, to the writer's knowledge, ever joined the Chinese Communist faction. Thousands of American returned students are members of the Kuomintang.

27

検事側証人ジャック・ビー。ボロウエル著

「吾在支二十五ヶ年」抜粋

(五〇頁、五一頁)

一九二〇年代の日共紛争

一三二頁、一三三頁

一九二四年一月二十日廣東における代表者會議の結果として、對等の立場で國民黨への席次を許容された支那共産主義者は當初から黨に對して壓迫を加へるために努力を注いだ。國民黨と共産黨との重大な軋轢がはちめて現はれたの一九二六年初頭であつた。

四人の青年時節留學校でいづれも若浦士官學校の卒業者が反共運動を組織した。この四名は續く數ヶ月間にわたる楊子口河谷への軍事行動で有名になつた人々で、李宗仁、李濟、朱培德、何應欽の人々であつた。中央士官學校の校長だつた蔣介石將軍は日共紛争に巻き込まれなかつたが、一九二四年ロシアに旅行したことが原因で親共傾向ではないかと疑念を抱かされた。

しかし彼がロシアで活動した記録には、彼はソヴェットの甘言に對しては冷淡だったことが示されてゐた。蔣將軍はこの青年將校による壓迫の結果、一九二六年三月二十四日、蘇州を發して孫中山の三民主義を踏襲し

〔前章参照〕共產主義者はすべて關係を斷絶する旨を發表した。

蔣介石將軍が共產主義者に左擔するのを好まないのは二つの原因に在りてゐた。一は彼が工業化した保守的な浙江省の出身でその環境に育つたこと、と同時に上海實業界を掌握してゐた同省出身の金融、商業界の分子と交友關係にあつたためであつた。第二は張人傑といふ同省人の勸告によつたものである。この人は清國末期支那とフランス間の絹及び骨董品貿易で巨大な財産を築き上げた、不思議な性格の人物であつた。ヘアメリカ富豪が購入した珍しい支那美術品の多くはフランスを通つてアメリカに來てゐた。一骨董商の陳人傑は革命の目的に賛助して巨額の金を孫逸仙の軍費に寄附した。彼は南京臨時政府の成立のための進借會議に参加したが、同政府の陳は辭くことは拒絶した。二年後彼は袁世凱の清國獨立運動に反對す

を孫逸仙を再び援助し、その結果、他の多くの人々と共に袁世凱から追放を受けた。張人傑はパリに逃亡し、そこで利益の多い骨董美術品店と支那料理、特に大豆製品を賣り捌く大衆料理店を開いた。袁世凱が逝つてから張人傑は上海に舞い戻り、そこで株式、金塊爲替相場で巨額の財産を加へた。ここではおぼめて彼は蔣介石と知合になり彼を財政的に援助した。一九二五年彼は廣東に赴き憲政 政府の一員になつた。彼は楊子江向作戦にも蔣介石を帯同し、同共分裂後は南京政府に合流した。晩年彼は健康を害して、車椅子で歩き廻らねばならなくなつた。しかし彼の共産主義者に対する排撃は少しも劣へることはなかつた。

一三三頁—一三四頁—一三五頁

國民黨右翼派の民間指導者たる胡漢民もまた共産主義者を排撃したが、前黨指導者たる孫逸仙博士の地位をねらつてゐた同じ民間指導者たる汪精衛は共産派に傾して廣東政府の多数のロシア及びアメリカ顧問と共に漢口に向つて出發した。



一九二六年の夏には国民党は蔣介石指揮の下に廣東から北方に向つて追撃を開始した。国民党内共産派の煽る反共主義宣傳の結果として、外國人等に口内奥地に存在する宣教師は北方に押しよせる国民革命によつて甚大な影響を受けた。ミツシヨン・スクール、教會、宿舍等は掠奪され、數千の宣教師達は上海に逃避せざるを得なくなつた。しかしながらこの革命中最も劇的な發展は漢口、南京、上海で生起した。

国民党と共産黨間にくまどつてゐた機軸に對する憎悪と陰謀とが激烈な政策的紛争となつて勃發したからである。共産主義者は各都市に密偵を送つて黨軍が到着前に都市の機關を奪取しようとしてゐたと蔣介石が攻撃した事實は、その後の漢口及び上海での軍事の發展によつて證明された。この両市において共産主義者の活動は學生及び労働団體を手中に入れることに向けられた。

支那国民党の研究者で急進的黨派に同情してゐたものはこの漢口における發展を故意に無視してゐる。しかるにこの事實こそ支那共産主義者

ならびにその外口人脈が口口革命運動を略取して支那に共産政府を樹立しようとした野心の遂行が失敗したことを最も明瞭に物語るものだった。共産主義者等は「外口の資本主義的、帝國主義的影響」とか「新軍口主義」とか主着「金口、地主的影響」等が不成功の原因だとしてあるが、それ以外の諸要素の影響は事實あつたにせよ、その他にも更に根本的な原因があつたのである。

口口赤色政權の失敗に関する數ある原因としては、農業が支配的に有力で、政府試行に合格出来るほどの青年にとって少くも理論的には誰にも開放されてゐた舊知識階級もしくは「文化人」階を除いては全然無階級の社會において、その勞働者、學生群に對して指導者が階級闘争を教へ込み、これに迎合したとてである。

武漢三鎮の攻略が主として蔣介石陣營の略略によつて完遂された後、左翼指導者とその外人顧問等は、「資本主義的帝國主義」に對する彼等の勝利を祝賀して、ほん暫くのローマ式お終」を俾した。そこには

二人の同時捕虜がロシアの裁判方式の下に、禁固を受けた。囚人は武器で囚はれた二人の北方軍門の武將だった。嶺山、工場、製鍊所（漢口は支那のピッツパーキとして有名である）に雇はれてゐる数千の勞働者は仕事を休み、急進分子に率ひられて、演説、や行列、や示威運動に日夜を費した。街上は「資本家帝國主義者を打倒せよ」、「世界革命を支持せよ」、「萬國の勞働者団結せよ」等同じ様な感情を述べしめた。ローガンを記した旗を携へて行進する學生や、勞働者で溢された。長年熱烈な赤色宣傳の行はれてゐた河南省の農村青年は數千となく漢口に蜂集して祝祭に参加した。

D、D、2021H P、52

武漢地区の諸産業は林轉の止むなきに到つた。即ち外國市場向けに國內生産物の新造りを行なう壓搾新造工場も、木棉紡績工場を含む各種製造工業も、植物搾油工場、數百に上る中國人所有小工業、大漢冶萍鐵廠公司、日本の管理下にあるものも、英米人所有の大煙草製造工場も、揚子江下流の大形汽船及小型ながら上流の早瀬を乗り切り得る割合強力な汽船を動かしてゐた航運業も、中國人が中支の大運河水系及湖上に於いて經營する大規模なジャンク船業も止まつてしまつた。數千の勞働者——彼等はその少し前に祝賀行列や示威行進を行なつて革命祝賀の日を送つたのであるが、今や俄かに彼等自身の食糧切符を貰えなくなつたのである。

従來、政府は急進分子に向つて煙を呈し煙業を奨励して來たのであるから、學生、勞働者グループは當然のことながら、政府に向つて援助を求めた。斯くして政府は自ら作り出した惡循環に巻きこまれ、餓えた多數民衆のための米を買付けるために無幣の洪水を起す。さういふ自殺的措置を執ら

ねずならなかつた。食糧價格、特に米價は天井知らずの高さに逆飛び上つた。煽動者たちは、政府自身を倒えた大衆の復讐から救うために、革命的氣勢を外国人に向けさせよう企てた。

外國帝國主義排斥の旗をかざして、既に多數の示威行進が組織され、その人波が英國租界を殺戮した。然し地獄の垣を作つてゐた日本租界に向つては亂入の企てが一つも行なわれなかつた。英國租界は、少數兵力の海兵一個分遣隊、居留民義勇隊及警官隊の手で警護されていかに過ぎない。英國總領事はオマレイというアイルランド人であつたが、彼は英國租界の周邊を練り廻る熱狂せる示威者に對抗することが出来ず、その亂入を恐れて、英國人居留民に對し波止場の英國船内に引寄せよとの命令を發した。この命令は別段事故も起らずに遂行された。他の多數英國居留民よりも政治的に聰明であつたオマレイ總領事は時を奪さず、急進派に屬する陳友仁外交部長を相手に交渉を開始した。その結果、彼のセンチシヨナルな陳。オマレイ協定、即ち英國は中國に對し漢口英國租界を返還するさういふ協定が成立したのである。

ロンドンの英国外務省が發表した公式説明によれば、右の返還措置は英國租界を中國の管理下に還付せんとする英國多年の宿望と一致するものであつた。」

中國人が自ら英國租界の主人となると共に、次第に冷靜な思慮分別が續がつて行き、興奮が沈まり、示威者の群は中國人居住地帯へと引揚げた。

漢口の狀勢を鎮める效果をもたらしたもう一つの原因は、揚子江下流約四百哩にある南京から驚くべき報道が達したことである。それによれば、米領事館員とその家族を含む米居留民團を襲撃中の暴民示威者の群——その中には正規兵も入つていた——に對し、米口砲艦が止むなく砲撃を加えねばならなかつた、と云うのである。外交部長陳友仁は彼等自身に累を及ぼして來た複雑な事態の重大性に氣付き、米國務省に宛てて打電した。その内容は、南京騷擾に對して責任を負うことは出來ないが、外國人が蒙つた損害は中國急進分子から賠償するといふのである。

漢口ノ英租界ヲ支那ノ支配下ニ返還スルニトモ專横メテ隨ニマリーヤリ協  
定並ニ漢口ノ急進支那政体ヨリ國務省ニ宛テカル公電ハ十年ノ支那政治ニ  
傑出セル頭角ヲ顯ハセル頃ユイダン（薩友仁）ノ一風變ツク世海ノ最高潮  
時ヲ物語ルモノデアツタ。英西印度トリニダットニ於テ支那人ヲ貸トシ、  
トリニダット人ヲ母トシテ生レタ陳ハ英國辯護士ノ教育ヲロンドンニテ受  
ケロンドン、マンチー、テンプル（辯護士協會）ノ資格檢査ヲ得テ開業ヲ  
許サレテ居ツタ。然レテ支那人トシテノ血ノ引カハ餘リニモ強ク革命ニ  
加ハル爲世界到處ヨリ引揚ル數千ノ同胞ト共ニ支那ニ歸還シタ。英語ノ  
純古典的教養ヲ受ケ、後ハ支那語ヲ讀ミ或ヒハ話スコトガ出來カッタ。  
陳ガ新聞業ニ没頭シテ行ツタノニ不忌諱ハ無カツタ。ソシテ古典的ナ美文  
學ヲ引用シタ社説ニヨリ鈍重ナル極東ノ英國人社會ヲ極度ニ疑ガセクリシ  
タ。彼ハ上海並ニ北京ニ於テ急進的ナ新聞ヲ編輯シタ。ソシテ且テ支那官  
憲ニヨリ北京ニ於テ逮捕サレ死刑ヲ宣告サレルヤ彼ハ英國ノ國籍ヲ想起シ

タ則チトリニダツトニ於テ生レタル事實デアル、ソシテ英國公使ニ助命ヲ  
 訴ヘタ、既ニ年輩ノ親切ナル且勢力アル英公使ヂヨン、ヂヨードン卿ハ支  
 那官憲ニ陳ノ放免ヲ願ツタ此ノ時陳ハ釋放サレルヤ上海共同租界ノ隱レ家  
 ニ逃走シテ居ツタ、後ニ陳ハ廣東ニ到リ孫逸仙博士ノ革命政府ニ加ハリ漢  
 口駐在ノ外交部長トナリ急進体ノ一員トシテ北進ニ參加シタ、英國ノ漢口  
 撤退ニ關シテ色々ノ事ヲ明ルニサラケ出ス様ナ事件ガ起ツタガソレハ英  
 國ノ極東外交ノソノ後ノ成行ヲ暗示スルモノデアワタ英人ガ租界カラ同船  
 ヲ港内ノ船ニ引込ゲツツアツタ時大部分シーク人ヨリ成ル英印度人達ハ見  
 捨テラシメカノデアアル、英人ガ安全ニ乗船シタ時シーク人ノ事ハ思ワ走ラセ  
 タ者ガアツタ、シーク人ノ大部分ハ各種ノ外國ヤ支那ノ商館及ビ工場ニ警  
 官トシテ又ハ監視人、見張トシテ居ツタ、或者ハ金管トシテ裕福  
 ニ成ツテ居ツタ、領事館員ノ一人ガ行方ノ知レヌシーク人達ヲ救出スル爲  
 ニ上陸シタガ全然居所ガ分ラナカツタ、其ノ英領事館員ハ船へ歸ル途中租  
 界ノ讓受ヲ祝フ學生ニヨツテ組織サレタ行列ヲ見ル爲ニ立止ツタ、其ノ行  
 列ノ後方ニ行方ノ知レナクナツタシーク人ガ他ノ者同様ニ外國ノ帝國主義



者ヲ非難スル旗ヲ持チナガラ加ツテ居ツタ彼等ハ既ニ支那人及共產黨革命員ニ轉向シテ居ツタノデアルヲ

此ノ小サナ英印度人ノブルジョアノ支那革命黨員ニ加入セル行動ハソノ後ノ出來事即チ香港、馬來、ビルマノ英印度軍並ニ印度會議派ガ極東ニ於ケル日本トノ戦争ニ關シ大英帝國ヲ支持スルコトヲ拒絶スルカサモナクハ不協力的態度ヲトルニ至ツタ千九百四十一年カヲ二年ノ出來事ヲ暗示スルモノデアツタ。

漢口英租界ヲ接收ハ若シク國民黨ノ急進派ノ威信ヲ高メタ然レ此ノ事ハ帝國主義者並ニ資本家ニ對シスルライキヲ爲シ煽動ヲ爲スコトヲ鼓舞サレテ居ツタ失業労働者群ヲ養フ資力ヲ得ルコトトハ別問題ダツタ。吾境ガ加ハルニツレ急進派ノ間ニ真切者ガ出テ來タ。當時既ニ真切デ知ラレテ居ツタ汪精衛ハ此ノ急進的支那人並ニコシヤ人ノ分子ニ對シ冷淡ナル態度ヲ採リ始メタ。

資料集證二〇二一日續

頁五四。

(頁一三八、一三九、一四〇)

過激派のスポークスマン毛澤東は漢口に於ける赤色政権の失敗を土地再分配に關する差本的政策を主観的に妥協したもう一人の支那人首領陳獨秀の誤謬性と裏切のせいだとしてゐる。エドガー、スノウ著の「支那の上空の赤い星」の中にロシア人顧問ボロジンとコミンテルンの代表である英印過激派のロイを漢口赤色政権崩壊に關し黨の獨裁者陳獨秀と共同責任がある人々として毛澤東が非難してゐると書かれてゐる。毛澤東の申立によればモスコ、コミンテルンの公式代表ボロジンは「顧問」としての立場を解消し、國民黨の獨裁者に成つたと言ふ事である。陳獨秀は黨の領首連に對し實情を隠匿した。併しボロジンの活躍は印度代表ロイに依り暴かれたと云ふことである。これが汪精衛の脱黨及漢口左翼政府の分裂の原因となつたと言はれてゐる。これにより蔣介石及南京派はより容易に過激共產黨支部に打勝つたのである。

此情勢下に於ける今一つの懸念せざる要素とも言ふべきものは、漢口過激派政府の崩壊がモスコに重大なる反響を呼び起しトロツキイ及世界

革命唱導者達の崩壊を著しく助長したことである。スターリン及その一  
 黨はソビエツトが巨費と大努力をかけた支那に於ける冒険の失敗を  
 トロツキイと「永遠世界革命の唱導者」の全部の名目をそこねる爲に悪  
 用した。ボロジンは汚名を着て大陸を迂迴しモスコイに歸つた。さうし  
 て四頁の英字紙「モスコイ日報」の編輯長になつた。漢口政府に参加し  
 てゐたが後に脱退した孫逸仙博士の息子、孫科は亦毛澤東の書いた事を  
 確認した。特にロシアの獨裁的態度に關する點を確認した。ニューヨーク  
 のコロムビア大學出身で經濟を専門とする米國歸りの學徒であり、汪  
 精衛の秘書をしてゐた陳公博は數々の記事を書いた。(これは漢口政府  
 崩壊後間もなくチャイナ、ウキークリー、レヴィユーで公にされた)こ  
 の中に同氏は漢口政府崩壊の原因を探討してゐる。氏は国有産業施設  
 が作業を停止し、扶養の無勞働者を政府に任す時に起る煩雜性を克服す  
 る方法として國家資本主義及産業施設の国有組織を主唱して計畫を結むで  
 ゐる。寧ろ國有資本主義の發達を通じてのみ支那政府は支那に設立され  
 てゐる強力なる外國利益に對策を講ずる事を望み得ると説じてゐる。  
 この主義は危局の場合一般に社會主義的實驗に反して巨大なる土着支那

産業權益及銀行權益の支持を得ることが出来るものである。以前は汪精衛の政治仲間であつた陳公博は汪精衛が昭和十九年に東京で死ぬたので其後南京に於ける日本の偏支那政府の主席になつた。陳公博は自ら南京傀儡政府に身を投じた米國で教育を受けた只一の支那人學徒である。著者の知る限りに於て米國大學出の支那學徒で支那共產黨に参加した者は一人もない。數千の米國歸りの學徒は國民政府のメンバーである。