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at the same place,
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Witness: URABE Katsuma

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Translation by FUJII Kotaro

① 支那共産党 959+1
The outline of the communist movement
in China and Manchuria

The Asiatic Bureau of the Foreign Department

Chapter 3 Criticism of the communist
movements in China and Manchuria (excerpt)

However, internal disturbances or the confusion
of social order in itself was not ~~the~~ ^a sufficient
cause to give rise to the communist movement;
in addition, leadership assumed by The
Comintern was ^{necessary} ~~the essential~~ factor.

This is evident from the fact that the social
movement in China in the days before such
leading communists as BOICHINSKY, LOFFE,

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KARAKHAN, GARON and BORODIN were despatched to China, were far from assuming the character of ^{or} ~~the~~ communist movement.

In the days when the Kuomintang admitted Communism, ^{within its ranks} the Political Bureau of The Comintern ⁱⁿ ~~at~~ MOSCOW led the Chinese communist party in everything. Above all, as the first step toward the Bolshevization of the laboring class of the Chinese, it planned the ~~strike of the Foreign and Domestic Cotton Company~~ ^{strike} and the May 30th Incident and organized the strike committee, which was supplied

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with the huge amount of funds necessary for the strike through the Soviet Embassy at PEKING and the Consulate-General in SHANGHAI. In addition, it made LI LI-SAN, chief of the executive committee of the SHANGHAI Labor Union, assume leadership in the strike behind the scenes. The result was that ^{or} ~~the~~ strike on a modern scale unprecedented in Chinese history, broke out. The above testifies to the ^{results} ~~fact~~ that leadership assumed by the Comintern ^{obtains} ~~go a long~~ way ⁱⁿ ~~toward~~ developing the ^{Communist} ~~Bolsheviks~~ (See Chapter I, Article 2, Paragraph 4, Clause 5)

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movement. Afterward, the national government suppressed the communist Party and ~~destroyed~~ ^{destroyed} completely various organs of the communist party. Consequently, the communist movement was on the verge of destruction at that time. ~~If,~~ ^{Suppose} ~~that~~ at this time, the Sixth Chinese Communist Party Convention had not been held and ~~and the condition of the Chinese communist party had been left as it was,~~ ^{the convention had ~~not~~ neither} ~~instead of having,~~ laid down the famous ten ~~platforms~~ ^{political articles} ~~and having~~ made such leading members as

⑤ HSIANG ^{Chung - Ja} ~~CHUNG - FA~~ and LI ^{Li - san} ~~LI - SAN~~ engage
 in the reorganization of the Chinese
 Communist party which had already
 been active ⁱⁿ ~~under~~ ~~the~~ so-called
 underground movements. ^{Suppose, further,} ~~the~~ ^{the Comintern}
 had ^{neither issued} ~~not issued~~ ^a ~~the~~ detailed directive
 concerning the reorganization of the
 Communist party on the basis of the
 recommendation of the Far Eastern
 Bureau ^{not} ~~had~~ ~~not~~ ^{either} ordered the
 reorganization of the central department
 of the party in order to enable the
 Communist party to play an active part
 in its movement on a international basis.

後ノ頁カラコミヤル

⑥ ^{not} and had ~~not~~ assumed leadership in establishing the Chinese-Soviet Delegation's Meeting and the Chinese-Soviet Provisional Central Government. ^{the} at ~~a~~

time when internal stripes ^{continually} ~~successively~~ arose within the Chinese Communist party and the party split into factions as the result of mistakes committed by LI ^{Li-San} LI-SAN, such as the failure of the CHANGSHA Incident, ^{that} when the Manchurian Incident and the SHANGHAI Incident broke out, ~~if~~ ^{neither} the Comintern had ~~not~~ endeavored

Suppose, finally, that

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to strengthen the Red Army and to develop the Soviet district by taking advantage of the distress of the Kuomintang ^{not} ~~and had~~ left the compromise to be effected

between the Red Army and the Kuomintang. ^{If such suppositions were the case,} the communist movement in China ^{could} ~~would~~ ^{conceivably} not have been successful as it is now. That leadership assumed by the Comintern is ^{an} ~~the~~ ^{indispensable element in} ~~integral~~ part of the development of the communist movement in China is clear all the more from the fact that many Chinese ^{organizations} communities, such as pirates and various legal ^{as well as} ~~or~~ secret

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societies and many quasi-religious bodies existing in various districts, which are outside of the sphere of influence of the Comintern, ~~are not~~ ^{have not yet been} Bolshevised, yet, even ^{though} ~~if~~ ^{there has} been the possibility of their being Bolshevised. What relations exist between the activities of the Comintern in China and those in Europe, ^{the} Middle East ^{and} India is not clear; yet, ^{the} failure of The Comintern's activities in Europe, ^{often} tended to be followed by ~~the~~ more and more energetic activity ^{on the part} of the Comintern in ~~active movement~~ ^{other hand} India and China. On the ~~contrary~~, if the

⑧ Comintern failed in its movement in China, it tended to concentrate its energy on its activities in Europe. This, together with the fact (refer to the Introductory remarks in Chapter 1) that the rise and fall of the communist movement in China were closely connected with the Russo-Chinese diplomatic relations, can be easily shown.

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Thus, it can be demonstrated that the rise of the communist movement in China was attributable ^{as well as} to the confusion of social order or internal disturbances, ~~as well as~~ to the plots of the Comintern. However, broader observation will show that the above two conditions are not sufficient to give rise to the communist movement. One more important condition is requisite; that is, "the firm belief of the Chinese masses that the state and society cannot be saved except by communism." Even if the internal administration

⑪ is in disorder and the propaganda of the Comintern ~~are~~ ^{is} carried out by taking advantage of such ^a state of affairs, the ~~Bolshevik~~ ^{Communist} movement cannot ~~be~~ developed, so long as the masses or the leading class ^{oppose or} have doubts as to communism ~~or are~~ ^{though} ~~against it~~. On the other hand, even if internal disturbances are not so severe and the propaganda of the Comintern ~~are~~ ^{is} suppressed considerably, if the nation at large, dissatisfied with the central government, comes to believe that the revival of China

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will be impossible of attainment except by communism, that belief alone will go a ^{far} long way toward ^{bringing about the communization} ~~the Bolshevization~~ of China. This is psychological phenomenon and is apt to be overlooked all the more because ^{it} ~~this~~ is ^{an everyday} ~~common~~ commonplace. If we are to make a safe and accurate forecast concerning the ^{to} Bolshevization of China, we may say that "only when the bulk of the Chinese thinking world approves of Bolshevism ^{to} ~~is~~ ^{by the same token} ~~China~~ will be Bolshevized; on the contrary, when ^{the masses come to} ~~they~~ disapprove of it, ~~China~~ will get rid of Bolshevism."

For instance, it was at a time when the first revolution led by SUN YAT-SEN

(13) ended in a failure because of the local military clique and he, while leading an obscure life, ^{but} ~~deeply sympathized~~ ^{sympathizing} with Leninism in view of his past experience ~~and thus~~ made up his mind to cooperate with ^{Lenin} ~~him~~, that a large section of Chinese public opinion ^{favored} ~~was for~~ admission of communism. As a result, steps taken by SUN ^{Yat-sen} ~~YAT-SEN~~ led up, at a marvellous speed, to ^{the} growth of tendency to unify Central China and South China and to complete

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the subjugation of North China. It is still fresh in our memory that at that time the whole world believed that the unity of China would be realized at no very distant date. However, it was by taking advantage of the general ^{trend} ~~tendency~~ of the times, such as the division of public opinion or the ~~opposite~~ stand against communism taken by some section of the nation, that CHIANG KAI-SHEK, who had ^{had} ~~had~~ doubts about communism, came to suppress it. Since then the leading class of the Chinese thinking world ^{has been} ~~was~~ divided into two classes, ~~viz~~ pro-communism and anti-communism. At the same time,

(15) the communist movement ^{lost some} ~~came to~~
~~be not so active as at its initial stage.~~
of the activity of
If, at that time, CHIANG ^{Kai-shek} ~~KAI-SHEK~~, in
addition to his unique drastic policies,
had had as much understanding of
communism as SUN ^{Yat-sen} ~~YAT-SUN~~ had, the unity
of China might have ~~already~~ been realized
~~in those days~~. The sharp division of
public opinion ^{of} ~~as to~~ communism brought
about not only the opposition between
the Kuomintang and the

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Communist party, but ~~even~~ ^{also} some
~~Communists~~ came to have doubts
^{among Communists}
as to the policy of the Communist
Party. Consequently, the Communist
Party was divided into many factions,
such as the Orthodox faction, the TROT^S & KY faction, the
third party, the cancellation party
and the like. This in turn led,
more and more, to the decline ~~of~~ ^{in the}
influence of the Communist party. The
above serves to testify to the fact
that the firm belief in Communism
of the nation at large exerted a

(17) practical and
a ~~practically~~ profound effect upon
the ~~Bolshevik~~ ^{Communist} movement.

Going a step further, if we examine why such apparently commonplace psychological phenomena exerted such an important effect ^{upon} ~~with~~ regard to Bolshevism, we shall find that this was ^a ~~the~~ delicate result arising from the fact that international communism and exclusive nationalism are compatible with each other on some points. That is to say, if the leading class of China accept communism with sympathy, this

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is primarily not because of the
fascination of the doctrine of ^{Marxist}
~~destraying~~ ~~destructing~~ the capitalist class ~~which~~
~~Marxism stands for~~, or being allied
with the Soviet Union politically or,
realizing land revolution, but because
of the recognition that communism
is, or may be, conducive to the
unity of China. It is in this very
sense that communism and nationalism
are compatible with each other. If,
in this way, these two principles
are taken as being compatible with
each other by politicians and

(19) revolutionists, these principles assume such a firm religious character that even the leading Powers are not in a position to oppose them. On the contrary, where these two principles are ~~not~~ⁱⁿ compatible, nationalism prevails over internationalism.

This can be demonstrated by ^{sub-citing} past examples.

Such^a psychological phenomenon is, in a great measure, influenced by

the psychological tendency^{ies} of the authorities concerned. Generally

speaking, idealists and revolutionists (such as SUN ^{Yat-sen} YAT SEN) lean toward ^{accepting} the

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compatibility of these two principles.
On the contrary, realists and constructionists
(such as CHANG ^{Kai-shek} KAI-SHEK) lean not
so much toward internationalism as
toward nationalism. In the same way,
such ^a phenomenon is ^{affected greatly} ~~very much~~ influenced by
the trend of thought, ^{that is,} ~~is~~ whether ^{the trend} ~~it~~
is progressive (national crisis period
or world-wide destruction period)
or reactionary (as during a
constructive period or
steady period). Viewed in this light,
it was the ^{skillful} policy of the Comintern
~~that~~ after the outbreak of the Manchurian

(21) Incident, ~~it~~^{to} ascribed the outbreak of the Incident to the weak-kneed conciliatory policy which had been followed by the national government and ~~as~~^{as} the first step toward resisting the imperialism of foreign Powers, ^{to} insist~~ed~~ that the national government which was responsible for having brought about such results should be overthrown, ^{The Comintern} thereby intend~~ed~~^{ed} to convert the struggle with foreign Powers into^a domestic struggle. In short, the fact that the origination of the Bolshevnik

(22) movement was due, in part, to ~~the~~ a psychological phenomenon means that the success of the movement is determined by the trend of thought or the mental attitude of the authorities concerned. ~~You should~~ ^{should be given} ~~pay~~ Due attention ~~to~~ this fact.

The above is the first principle ^{of} ~~concerning~~ the ^{origin} ~~origin~~ of Communism. If the Bolshenik movement thus started is to develop into ~~being established in~~ the shape of ^{an established} ~~the~~ system and regime, it must go through a definite process. Temporarily, I call this the second principle. This process is as follows:

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The Bolshevization of cities, viz. the organization of the Red labor movement.

(2) The Bolshevization of the farmers, viz. the establishment of the Soviet regime.

(3) The Bolshevization of the Army and the formation of the Red Army.

Originally, the Soviet system, which is the political organization ^{representing} represented by Communism, viz. ^{i.e.} the Revolutionary Soviet Army's Committee System, is ^a ~~the~~ gathering ^{having} ~~with~~ factory labours (including mines, transportation and communication workers) as its centre and ~~with~~ farmers as its outer block. Thus, the

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~~very~~ factory laborers formed the backbone of the communist movement. Such leaders as BORODIN and GARON were truly right when they concentrated their energy on the expansion of the Red labor movement as well as on the movement ~~of~~ anti-imperialistic as the first step toward the Bolshevization of China.

The policy followed by BORODIN and others ~~was~~ ^{was} effective, and, as ~~the~~ ^a result, the SHANGHAI May 30th Incident broke out. Ever since the origin~~at~~^{is} of the communist movement in China, the tendency ~~of~~ ^{toward} Bolshevization was at its highest pitch at the time when the same Incident broke out.

(25)

If we now examine the reason why the May 30th Incident marked the decline of the Bolshevick movement in China, we will find that it was directly due to ~~the~~ suppression on the part of the national government. ^{However,} ~~But~~ the indirect reason ~~for the effectiveness of~~ ~~why~~ the suppression was made effective was that the national government, realizing deeply ^{feeling} the importance of the labor movement, prohibited the Red Labor Union, ~~and~~ replaced it by the Yellow Labor Union and appointed members of the Kuomintang to its posts, thereby enabling the Kuomintang to

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assume leadership in the labor movement. On the other hand, the communist party, thinking that the failure to Bolshevize China was due to ~~the inactivity of~~ ⁱⁿ ~~movement of~~ Bolshevizing the farmers and the Army and to the ^{insufficiency of} ~~insufficient~~ military forces and bases ^{with which} to resist the suppression of the Kuomintang, concentrated its energy on the organization of the Red Army and the establishment of the Soviet Regime. However, it took ^{an} extremely cool attitude toward the labor movement. The result was that ^{Li-San's} LI LI-SAN's faction, believing that ~~the splits of~~ ^{splitting up} the complicated lack of unity among

nonconductive

(27)

organs of the communist party was
^{nonconductive to}
~~inconvenient~~ for the outbreak of ~~the~~
^{a large-scale riot}
~~the riot on a large scale~~, cancelled the
^{between}
divisions of many organs, such as
Communist party, the Communist Young
Men's Association, The Revolutionary
Mutual Aid Association, the Anti-Imperialism
Alliance and the Red Labor Union. ^{this} ~~It~~
^{action} placed them ^{all} under the control of one
^{Li Li-san}
Executive committee, thereby expect^{ed}
to make ~~the~~ action brisk and unified.
As a result, the influence of the Soviet
Regime and the Red Army expanded to

(28) 8594

a remarkable degree. However, because of the failure to Bolshevize important cities, the ~~deeply~~ ^{well} laid plan of occupying HANKOW ended ^{only} in ~~occupying~~ ^{the occupation of} ~~no more~~ than CHANGSHA, ~~and soon~~ ^{which} it was attacked again and recaptured by the Kuomintang Army.

Jap ^{no 3} 支那及滿洲之共產運動概況 (7/12)
「支那及滿洲之共產運動批判」抜萃

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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

浦部

Sp. 1959 1-1

昭和七年十二月現在

293. 支那及滿洲ニ於ケル共產運動概況
外務省亞細亞局

第三章 支那及滿洲ニ於ケル共產運動批判(按萃)(三六頁—三頁)

然レトモ内乱乃至社會狀態ノ紊乱夫レ自身ノミニテハ未タ共產運動ヲ發生セシムルニ足
 ラス必ス「コミンテルン」ノ指導アルコトヲ要ス以上ノ事理ハ「ウオイケンスキー」「ヨフフエ」「カ
 ラン」「カロン」「ホロティン」等有力共產黨員ノ渡支以前ニ於テハ支那ニ於ケル社會
 運動ハ殆シト共產運動ト稱シ得ヘキ態型ヲ備ヘ居ラサリ一ニ依モ明ナリ國民黨
 ノ容共時代ニ於テ在莫斯科「コミンテルン」政局局ハ事々ニ中國共產黨ヲ指導スル所アリ
 シカ就中労働赤化ノ第一着手トシテ内外棉ノ争議並五卅事件ヲ計畫シ上海ニ
 罷業委員會ヲ組織セシメ在北京大使館及在上海總領事館ヲ通シ莫大ノ罷業
 資金ヲ融通シ當時上海總工會執行委員長タリ李五三等ヲ使用シ裏面ニ在
 リテ罷業ヲ具體的ニ組織指導シ其ノ結果當時ノ支那ニハ不似合ナル近代の勞
 働争議ノ發生ニ成功セル事實(第一章第五節第一四段第五參照)ノ如キハ「コミンテルン」ノ指導カ赤
 色運動ノ發展上如何ニ効果的ナルカラ證スルモノト謂フヘシ其後國民政府ノ共產
 黨大弾圧行ハレ各種ノ共產黨機關カ根底ヨリ破壊セラレ共產運動カ將ニ潰滅
 ニ瀕シタル秋ニ際シ若シ莫斯科ニ於ケル第六次中國共產黨大會開催セラレ同
 大會ニ於テ新ニ有名ナル十大政綱ヲ定メ向忠發・李五三ノ如キ有力ノ黨員ヲ
 シテ所謂潜伏期ニ入ル中國共產黨ノ再建設ニ從事セシムルヲテ之ヲ成行ニ放
 任シ又長沙事件ノ失敗等所謂李五三路線ノ錯誤ノ結果中國共產黨ニ内
 訌繼起シ各派支離滅裂ノ狀態ニ陥リタルニ際シ若シ「コミンテルン」ニ於テ極東局
 ノ建言ニ基キ之カ是正ニ関スル詳細ナル指令ヲ發シ党中央部ノ改選ヲ命ジ以テ
 國際路線上ニ壹ヲ復軌シ進ニテ中華蘇維埃代表大會並ニ中華蘇維埃臨時
 中央政府ノ樹立ニ迄指導スル所ナク更ニ滿洲事變ノ上海事變事件ノ勃發ニ際シ
 紅軍實力派ノ國民軍トノ妥協論ヲ放任シ之ヲレテ國民軍ノ困憊ニ乘シテ紅軍
 並「ソライエト」区域ノ發展ニ任セシムル所無カリトセハ支那ニ於ケル共產運動カ今

中共 53

Defence 95911

日アラ得タクトハ到底想像スルヲ得ス

更ニ「コミンテルン」ノ指導カ如何ニ支那ニ於ケル共產運動ノ發展ニ疑缺クヘカラ
サル條件ナルカハ現在支那ニ於ケル社會現象中尙共產化ノ餘地存シテカラ「コミ
ンテルン」ノ手ノ及ハサルカ爲メテ共產化スルニ至ラサルモノ多敷アルニ想ホ到セハ一層明瞭
ナリ例ヘハ海賊ノ如キ合法又ハ秘密結社タル各種(幫)ノ如キ其他各地方ニ存
在スル幾多ノ宗教類似團體ノ如キ是ナリ而シテ「コミンテルン」ノ支那方面ニ対スル活
動ト他ノ方面例ヘハ西歐・中亞・若クハ印度ニ於ケル活動トノ間ニ如何ナル關係ア
リヤハ明瞭ナラサルモ「コミンテルン」カ西歐ニテ失敗セルトキハ支那又ハ印度方面ノ赤化
加ハリ之ニ及レ支那ニ於テ失敗セルトキハ西歐ノ方面ニ力ヲ注ク傾向無キニ非ス是亦
支那ニ於ケル共產運動ノ消長カ蘇支外交關係ト密接ナル關係アル事實(才一五年序
ト共ニ其一證左ト爲レ得ヘ)

以上ノ如ク支那ニ於ケル共產運動カ其ノ社會狀態ノ紊亂乃至内亂ニ端ヲ發シ
之ニ「コミンテルン」ノ(魔)手加リタル結果ナルコトハ容易ニ論證シ得ル所ナルカ更ニ
詳細ニ觀察スルトキハ右ニ條件ノミニテモ未タ共產運動ヲ發生シムルニ充分ナラス
他ニ重要ナル一條件ヲ存スルヲ發見スルニ至ルヘシ「共產主義」ニ非サレハ國家・社
會ヲ救済シ難シトスル民衆ノ確信也即チ是ナリ

蓋シ如何ニ内政紊亂レ之ニ乘シ「コミンテルン」ノ宣傳行ハルトモ民衆乃至指導
者階級ニ於テ共產主義ニ疑問ヲ懷キ又ハ之ヲ否認スル限リ赤化運動ノ發展
ハ望ナキト同時ニ假令内亂左程甚シカラス「コミンテルン」ノ宣傳相當彈圧セラルトモ
一般國民ニテ中央政治ニ屈服セス共產主義ニ非サレハ支那ノ更生不可能ナ
リト信スルニ至ラズ支那ノ未化ハ夫レノミニテ既ニ相當ノ進境ヲ示スニ至ルヘシ右ノ事
心理的現象ニ屬スト且ハ其ノ事理ノ卑近ナル爲却ツテ看過セラルル傾向ナキ
ニ非ス然レトモ支那ノ赤化問題ニ関レ最モ安全ニテ且的確ナル豫見ヲ爲サム
トセハ「支那思想界ノ總意カ赤化主義ヲ承認セル秋支那ハ赤化シ之ヲ否
認セル曉肅正セルヘシト謂フヲ得ヘ

之ヲ從來ノ経過ニ徴スルニ支那國民ノ總意カ赤化是認ニ最モ傾キタルハ蓋シ
孫逸仙カ其ノ才一改革命カ地方軍閥爲ニ失敗ニ歸レ不遇ノ裡ニ在リテ過

玄ノ經驗ニ顧ミ深クローニン主義ニ共鳴レ之ト提携セムコトヲ決心セル當時ナルヘシ
其ノ結果孫逸仙執レル方策ニ警異的速度ヲ以テ中南支ノ統一ト北伐完
成ハ後運ニ迄進展レ中外ヲ以テ支那ノ統一近キニ在リトノ感ヲ懷カレタルハ吾人
ノ記憶ニ猶新ナル所ナリ知ルニ其後蔣介石カ共產主義ニ疑ヲ抱キ之ニ彈
圧ヲ加ヘタルハ正ニ赤化問題ニ對シ國民ノ總意ニ龜裂ヲ生レ又ハ心境ニ赤化
ヲ来レタル當時ノ風潮ニ乘レタルモノニシテ爾來支那思想界ノ指導的階級
ハ明ニ共產主義ト及共產主義ニ合シ之ト同時ニ共產運動ハ其ノ当初ノ銳鋒ヲ
失フニ至レルカ若シ當時蔣介石ニシテ其ノ獨特ノ果斷政策ニ加フルニ共產主義
ニ對シ孫逸仙ト同等ノ理解ヲ有レタラズハ恐ラク支那統一ノ業ハ當時既ニ達成
セラリシナルヘシ而シテ國民ノ總意カ赤化問題ノ前ニ分裂シタル結果獨リ國民黨
ト共產黨ト對立ヲ来レタルニ止ラス共產主義者中ニ於テモ共產黨ノ政策ニ疑問
ヲ懷ク者ヲ生スルニ至リ党内部ニ正統派ト「トロッキー」派・第三黨・取消派等幾
多ノ分野ヲ生シ益々共產黨ノ勢力減衰ヲ促セリ以上ノ事實ハ共產主義ニ
對スル國民ノ確信ノ有無カ如何ニ赤化運動ニ對シ實際的影響ヲ
及ボスヤヲ證明レテ余アリト謂フヘシ

然ラハ一見卑劣ニ見ユル如上ノ心理的現象カ何故ニ赤化問題ニ因レ斯ル重大
ナル影響ヲ及ボスヤヲ更ニ探索スルニ右ハ一國際的ナル共產主義ト排他的ナル
民族主義トカ支那ニ於テハ或真ニ於テ融合スルコトアル事實ヨリ生スル微妙ナル
結果ナリ即チ支那ニ於ケル眞劍ナル指導者階級ノ認識中ニ共產主義カ
同情ヲ以テ迎ヘラルルコトアリトセハ夫ハ第一義的ニハ「マルクス」主義ノ唱道スル資
本階級ノ打倒乃至政治上ニ於ケル蘇聯邦トノ同盟又ハ土地革命ノ實現ト云
フカ如キモノノ魅力ニ非スレテニ共產主義カ現實ニ支那ノ統一ニ役立チ居リ
又ハ役立チ得ルモノナルカ如ク認識セラルル場合ナラサルヘカラス共產主義カ民族主
義ト融合スルヲ見ユスハ實ニ此莫ナリ而シテ如斯ニシテ兩主義カ爲政者又ハ革命
家ノ心理中ニ融合セラルル時ハ宗教的ノ力ヲ發揮シ特ニ列強ト雖モ眞正面目ヨリ
及對シ得サル場合アルト云之ニ及レ兩者カ互ニ兼離スル場合ハ民族主義カ國際
主義ヨリ優越ナル地位ニ立チ得ルモノナルトハ過去ノ事例ノ證明スル所ナリ而シテ

斯ノ如キ心理的現象ハ當局者ノ心理的傾向ニ支配セル所大ナルモナリ概シテ
理想家・革命家(孫文ノ如キ)ハ兩者ノ融合ニ傾キ實際家・建設家(蔣介石)ハ
國際主義ヨリハ寧ロ民族主義ニ傾クモノノ如シ之ト同様ニ時代ノ思潮カ急進的
(例ハ國難期又ハ世界ノ破壞期)ナルト反動的(例ハ建設期又ハ鎮靜期)
ナルニ依リ左右セル所同殊尠ラス此ノ意味ニ於テ滿洲事變勃發後「コミンテルン」
カ銳意同事件ノ發生ヲ國民政府カ從來踏襲シ来セル軟弱互妥協政策ニ
歸シ外來ノ帝國主義ノ侵略ニ對抗セカ爲ニ先ツ以テ斯ル結果ヲ招来セル國
民政府ノ打倒ヨリ始メナルヘカラスト爲シ對外鬭争ヲ對内鬭争ノ野ニ遷スル
レツツアルハ蓋シ巧妙ナル政策ト謂ハサル可ラス要スルニ共產運動勃發ノ一要素カ
心理的現象ニ係ルコトハ同問題カ當時ノ思潮又ハ當局ノ心境如何ニ依リ左右セ
ラルトナリ意味スルモノニシテ此ノ其ハ相違注意ノ要アルヘシ

以上ハ共產主義ノ勃發ニ関スル第一原則ナルカ斯クシテ一旦發生セル共產運動カ
進ニテ形態ヲ整ヘ制度乃至政權トシテ確立セルル迄ハ是亦一定ノ過程ヲ踏
ク要スルカ如シ假リニ之ヲ第一原則ト稱セムトス右過程トハ

- (一) 都市ノ赤化即チ赤色勞働運動ノ組織
- (二) 農民ノ赤化即チ「ソウヴェエト」政權ノ確立
- (三) 軍隊ノ赤化即チ紅軍ノ成立

是ナリ

元來共產主義ノ表現的政治組織ナル「ソウヴェエト」制度即チ勞農兵革命
委員會制度ハ工場勞働者(鑛山・運輸・通信等勞働者等ヲ含ム)ヲ中心ト
シテ其ノ周圍ニ農民ヲ聚合セルモノニシテ共產運動ノ骨子タルモノハ實ニ工場勞
働者ナリ「ボロディン」ガロン」等ノ指導員カ支那赤化ノ第一歩トシテ及帝運動ト
共ニ先ツ赤色勞働者運動ニ力ヲ注ケルハ正ニ其ノ所ナリト謂ハサル可ラス「ボロディン」等
ノ政策ハ忽チ効果ヲ奏スレ遂ニ上海五卅事件ニ迄發展セルカ支那ニ於ケル共產
運動勃發以來赤化ノ機運ノ高潮ニ達セルト同事件ノ當時ヲ以テ最ト爲ス
而モ五卅事件ヲ機トシ支那ノ赤化運動カ凋落スルニ至レル原因ヲ今日ニ於テ考ル
ニ右ノ直接ニ素ヨリ國民政府ノ彈圧ニ因ル所ナルモ右彈圧ヲシテ永ク効ヲ奏セルメ

タル間接ノ原因タルヤ国民政府カ際ノ勞働運動ノ重要性ヲ認識シ赤色工會ヲ禁止シ
之ニ代フルニ黄色工會ヲ以テレ而モ国民党員ヲ以テ之ヲ充實レ国民党部ノ手ニ勞働運動ノ
領導權ヲ把握セルカ爲ニ外ナラス一方共產党側ニ於テハ支那赤化ノ失敗ハ其ノ當時迄
農民並ニ軍隊ニ對スル赤化運動之ニ伴ハス国民党ノ彈圧對抗スヘキ武カト根據地ヲ有
セザレリ結果ナリトシ銳意紅軍ノ建設トソウイエト「政權ノ確立ニ努メタルモ勞働運動
ニ對シテ極メテ冷淡ナル態度ヲ採リ遂ニ李三一派ハ全国總暴動實現ノ爲ニ共產
党系ノ複雑ナル機關ノ分科ヲ不便ナリトシ共產党共產青年團革命互濟會及
帝同盟ヨリ赤色工會ニ至ル迄ノ各機關ノ區別ヲ取消シ之ヲ一個ノ行動委員會ニ統
レ以テ行動ノ機軸ト統一トヲ期セリ其ノ結果ソウイエト「政權並ニ紅軍ノ勢力カ著シ
ク増大セルモ肝心ノ都市カ赤化セザリシ爲其ノ深謀タル漢口占領計画モ僅カニ長沙ヲ
陥レルニ止マリ而モ忽チ政府軍ノ爲ニ逆襲奪回セラルルニ終レリ