

*Checked by Court Interpreter*

At the time of December, 1932.

THE OUTLINE OF THE COMMUNIST MOVEMENTS IN CHINA AND MANCHURIA

*Ref Doc A 959 E*

*Bureau of*  
The Asiatic Affairs Department  
FOREIGN OFFICE

Chapter One:

Section Two:

*Item*  
~~Article~~ Four: The Red Labour Movement (*Excerpt*)

No.5 May 30th Affair.

*Thus* it is a natural ~~influence~~ *tendency* that ~~there have been~~ *the* frequent strikes ~~broken out~~ *as labour movement developed* ~~following the development of the labour movement.~~ *were* The

numbers of ~~the~~ *that they had from* strikes which had gone into effect during a period since

*from* 1918 till the "May 30th Affair" in 1925 are as follows:

<u>Numbers of strikes</u> <u>taken place</u>	<u>year</u>
25 ... ..	1918
66 ... ..	1919
46 ... ..	1920
49 ... ..	1921
91 ... ..	1922
47 ... ..	1923
56 ... ..	1924
183 ... ..	1925

*these*  
Of ~~the above~~, the following strikes can be mentioned as

*major*  
~~important~~ strikes

~~The~~ *S* strike of railuan mine Works ..... October, 1922

~~The~~ *S* strike of seamen at Hongkong ..... January, 1923

Def Doc<sup>2</sup> 9595

<sup>S</sup> the strike of Peking-Hankow Railway ..... February, 1923

2 (The two-seven Affair or the  
Water Front Affair.)

<sup>F</sup> The first strike of Shanghai spinning Companies. February, 1925

<sup>S</sup> The strike of Tsingtao spinning companies April, 1925.

Especially after the second Labour Convention, the labour movements rapidly reached <sup>its</sup> ~~their~~ climax as the result of ~~the~~ control by the General Labourers Association and made a remarkable progress towards the political conflicts. <sup>zill</sup> And finally, in May, 1925, <sup>there took place</sup> ~~they call~~ the "<sup>as it is called which is</sup> May 30th Affair" ~~which was~~ the most important in the history of the Chinese Labour Movements <sup>caused</sup>.

The "May 30th Affairs" <sup>originated in</sup> started with the strike in February, 1925, by the labourers working in the 9th plant of the Naigai <sup>Cotton</sup> Spinning company which was established by the Japanese residents in Shanghai.

The strike of this plant <sup>came</sup> ~~originated~~ from the comb-out of its bad workers. <sup>The strike</sup> It took place on 9 February, <sup>with</sup> demanding <sup>for</sup> increase of wages, <sup>recognition</sup> ~~improvement of treatment, acknowledgement~~ of labour union, etc., and <sup>the Cotton</sup> was immediately spreaded to the plants of Nikka spinning, Toyoda <sup>Cotton</sup> Spinning and Taiko <sup>Cotton</sup> Spinning. <sup>Cotton companies</sup> Though the operations of these plants were resumed for <sup>a</sup> ~~one time~~ <sup>(as a result)</sup> ~~by means~~ of strong <sup>the</sup> ~~attitudes~~ <sup>(taken by the)</sup> of each <sup>of each company</sup> company authorities, the strikers again acted positively as soon as a strike

Cotton

was called at the Tsingtau Spinning Company in April. These positive <sup>action on the part of the workers together</sup> <sup>the authorities of</sup> acts, ~~mingled~~ with the strong attitudes of each company authorities, <sup>quickly aggravated the</sup> brought about ~~more and more worse situations~~, so that <sup>all</sup> each company <sup>ies.</sup> closed their plants simultaneously.

However, on 15 April, more than seventy workers who were gathering <sup>in front of</sup> ~~before~~ the gate of <sup>the</sup> 7th Plant of Naigai Cotton Spinning Company in opposition to the closing of the plant clashed with the Japanese and Indian policemen ~~who were~~ guarding there, and by the firing of the Indian policemen, 26 workers were wounded, and one of <sup>whom</sup> ~~which~~ soon died. <sup>was that</sup> ~~The result of this affair,~~ the situations rapidly grew

worse. Furthermore, with <sup>actual</sup> the participation of students in the strike <sup>also by their</sup> and ~~with the holding of demonstration by them,~~ the situation became more and more <sup>acute.</sup> ~~keen.~~ <sup>and taken before</sup> on 24 May, five students were arrested <sup>by</sup> the

Municipal Council on the charge of having distributed propaganda leaflets. <sup>and</sup> ~~on~~ learning that these students <sup>were</sup> ~~should not be~~ released as the result of <sup>at the</sup> a trial on 30 May at Huishenyamen, labourers, students and <sup>masses</sup> ~~other large group~~ <sup>started</sup> began all out demonstrations <sup>throughout</sup> ~~extending all over~~

the city. A band of the demonstrators clashed with ~~the~~ policemen on guard at Nanking Road and <sup>with the</sup> ~~finally~~ it resulted <sup>that</sup> in four killed and 10 <sup>more</sup> ~~or~~ <sup>so odd</sup> ~~and~~ wounded by a volley of <sup>from</sup> the Indian policemen.

On account of the outbreak of the <sup>this</sup> above-mentioned incident, the resentments of <sup>the</sup> revolutionary elements <sup>among</sup> of labourers, students and <sup>masses</sup> ~~groups of every classes~~ reached <sup>at its</sup> their climax. Then, on 1 June, calling a general strike <sup>throughout</sup> ~~all over~~ the city of Shanghai, <sup>(masses of people)</sup> ~~large groups~~ clashed with the policemen of the <sup>e</sup> concession everywhere in the city, <sup>and as the result</sup> ~~on the same~~ day, over twenty strikers were again killed and wounded at Chekiang Road. <sup>(on the same day.)</sup> <sup>that night</sup> On the night of the same day, near the New World, there was another clash, causing one killed and more than ten wounded <sup>in</sup> ~~among~~ the <sup>crowd.</sup> ~~groups.~~ Clashes of this kind ~~had~~ <sup>took</sup> constantly ~~taken~~ place till about 10 June, <sup>mean</sup> while, until 13 June, strikes <sup>were</sup> ~~had been~~ called as follows:

	Numbers of strikes secured	Number of participants - Personnel took part in strikes
a. Undertakings under Japanese management	39	63,000
b. " " British "	24	36,000
c. " " <sup>the</sup> Municipal Council "	8	3,600
d. various plants <sup>connected with</sup> <del>related to</del> foreigners.	35	27,000
e. Plants under Chinese management	11	26,000
Total	117	155,600

<sup>(so called)</sup> ~~They call,~~ the "May 30th Movement", which aimed at the Anti-Imperialist <sup>tic</sup> Strike that was caused by the "May 30th Affair", ~~had been~~ spread <sup>where</sup> over every ~~places~~ under the leadership of the All China General Labourers Association, and in such cities as Hankow, Nanking, Chiuchiang and Chungking, <sup>serious</sup> ~~miserable~~ clash <sup>as</sup> affairs were brought about. In Peiping

959E-5-

and Tientsin, there were frequent demonstrations with labourers <sup>at</sup> ~~as~~ their <sup>in the</sup> center.

~~central elements.~~ <sup>a</sup> Almost all works and plants managed by foreigners

sustained strikes, <sup>W</sup> without <sup>any</sup> exception <sup>throughout</sup> ~~all over~~ China. During

this period, there ~~also~~ <sup>were</sup> constant financial struggles in the main

plants managed by the Chinese. Thus the General Labour Association of

Shanghai, which was virtually the centre of that movement extending all

over China, not only gained <sup>control</sup> ~~the commanding powers~~ over all the labour-

ers in Shanghai, but also became an important centre <sup>er</sup> of the <sup>n</sup> revolution-

ary movement extending to all China.

The above is the <sup>external</sup> ~~ostensible~~ development of the May 30th Affair. <sup>if internal affairs are observed, it is plain</sup>  
~~If you observe~~ <sup>the internal</sup> ~~you will learn~~  
Furthermore, the survey of <sup>inside</sup> ~~inside~~ affairs ~~tells us~~ that the labour

<sup>dispute</sup> <sup>Cotton Spinning</sup> <sup>of</sup>  
~~troubles~~ of the Naigai ~~menka~~ Company on 8 February which was the very

origin of the May 30th Affair was, indeed, not a simple affair <sup>that arose</sup> ~~outbreaked~~

<sup>of itself</sup> ~~voluntarily~~ from the inside, but <sup>it was</sup> ~~had been~~ carried out systematically

<sup>in investigating</sup> ~~and~~ <sup>through instigation</sup> ~~agitatively~~ from the outside as a part of the plan which had

previously ~~been~~ prepared according to the instructions <sup>from</sup> of the Comintern

for Bolshefying Shanghai and causing riots <sup>there</sup> ~~in it~~.

~~That is to say,~~ Chen Tu-hsiu, who, at that time, was the head

of both the Chinese Communist Party and the Socialist <sup>tic</sup> Young Men's

Association, had been <sup>making plans</sup> ~~making~~ plan <sup>up to</sup> in Shanghai till 20 January of the

same year, keeping <sup>in touch</sup> ~~connections~~ with the <sup>Comintern</sup> Headquarters ~~of Comintern~~ at Moscow. <sup>It</sup> The ~~private controlled~~ <sup>is a private institution</sup> Szechwan University of Shanghai, which <sup>was</sup> established by <sup>from</sup> the subsidy of the Soviet government, and <sup>other</sup> various labour schools, <sup>As soon as</sup> ~~simultaneously with the outbreak of strike of the Waigai~~ cotton spinning company, <sup>went on strike</sup> ~~developed into~~ various labour associations and <sup>became</sup> ~~late~~ headquarters of strikes. Professors, students, etc., of these schools took part in the strikes in succession and, supporting and <sup>encouraging</sup> ~~agitating~~ the strikes, <sup>were</sup> ~~was~~ successful in turning them into <sup>rioting</sup> ~~riots~~.

In addition to these, the <sup>the</sup> Anti-Imperialism League, which had hitherto been keeping silence, <sup>+</sup> supported the strikers to the best of their <sup>utmost</sup> powers, ~~by~~ holding a meeting of its executive committee on 22 February at the Central Park of Shanghai to organize strike-support <sup>ing</sup> associations in all <sup>over</sup> ~~parts of~~ China, <sup>and</sup> ~~by~~ collecting contributions for the associations, etc. Moreover, the Red Labour International Comintern of Moscow ~~made~~ <sup>jacked up its branches over the world to send</sup> ~~each of its branches in the world get up~~ subscriptions and ~~send these~~ <sup>and send</sup> ~~subscribed funds~~ to the strikers.

In the <sup>Ma</sup> ~~meanwhile~~, the Soviet Ambassador to China, Karakhan, made an effort in propaganda by sending the diplomatic circles ~~station-~~ <sup>ed</sup> ~~ing~~ in Peiping circular letters in which he supported the <sup>demand</sup> ~~ery~~ of the Chinese Nation. On the other hand, ~~the truth of the movement of the~~

*manoeuvres*

<sup>the</sup> Soviet Consulate-general in Shanghai (which is virtually the Far East Bureau Branch of the Comintern) <sup>was strictly guarded, and from</sup> could not easily be grasped. Only the fact

~~that there were some schemings being in progress could be speculated~~

~~by the strict guard of the building,~~ frequent <sup>conferences,</sup> ~~holdings of meetings,~~

increase of members, increase of the Chinese <sup>visitors have the entrance of to</sup> who ~~accessed it,~~ increase

<sup>as well as contact</sup> ~~of traffics~~ of these Chinese <sup>with</sup> between there and the strikers, <sup>the</sup> activities

<sup>it could only be guessed that some manoeuvres were in progress, ~~and~~ <sup>though</sup> ~~the~~ #</sup> of 'Cheka' (former name of <sup>the</sup> G.P.U.), etc.) However, the real state of

<sup># truth could not easily be grasped</sup> ~~it had finally become clear~~ <sup>through the agency of the</sup> by the function of the police <sup>attached to</sup> of our Consu-

late-general. ~~in which it was received and what it related to~~

<sup>Fact is that</sup>

~~That is to say,~~ <sup>attached to</sup> the Police Station of the Imperial Consulate-

general in Shanghai <sup>secured one</sup> received a part of the <sup>answering letters</sup> reply which 'Chierukasofu',

the chief of the Propaganda Section of the Comintern in Shanghai,

<sup>at</sup> despatched in the end of February, just in the midst of the struggle

of the Naigai Spinning Company, in answer to <sup>enquiries</sup> an enquiry from Peiping

about the strike. According to this <sup>letter</sup> reply, it is obvious that the

strikes had previously been planned in accordance with the instruction

from the Political Bureau of the Comintern in Moscow. It is stated

in the <sup>letter</sup> reply that the politicians <sup>affiliated with</sup> by the Kuomintang <sup>party</sup> clique, pressmen,

students, etc., were coached by the Chief of the Propaganda section and

<sup>had</sup> organized the strike committee. ~~And~~ the Chief described in detail a

~~muddling progress~~ of the fact that <sup>(while he remained in)</sup> ~~he himself was in~~ <sup>ground</sup> ~~the back and~~  
~~he personally~~  
~~directly~~ coached these people. In this reply, names and addresses  
of the ~~relative~~ <sup>concerned</sup> Japanese were also <sup>given</sup> ~~stated~~ and all of these ~~statements~~  
corresponded to the fact. In the same letter, it is also stated that  
the above strike was the first trial in China and it was not too much  
to say that this strike opened the way for the organized labour movement.  
~~Moreover,~~ <sup>I</sup> the same letter <sup>revealed</sup> ~~also stated~~ that the reason why the Japanese-  
controlled plants were selected was only for convenience' sake. Now  
<sup>since</sup> ~~that the~~ <sup>process by</sup> ~~course in~~ <sup>this letter</sup> which it was received and what was stated in it  
completely corresponded to the truth, <sup>there</sup> ~~it~~ is no doubt that the letter  
was not a forgery.

Though the <sup>process</sup> ~~course~~ and <sup>final receipt of</sup> ~~the~~ <sup>fact</sup> that this letter was received  
in the hands of our consulate-general must be guarded as a diplomatic  
<sup>yet since</sup> ~~secret,~~ as it is <sup>a</sup> very <sup>excellent</sup> <sup>materials</sup> for learning the truth of  
the May 30th affair, which was one of the most outstanding <sup>no</sup> ~~phenomenon~~  
in the history of <sup>the</sup> Chinese Communist movement, and for disclosing the  
<sup>the</sup> ~~plot~~ of the Comintern and the Soviet, I will show the ~~translation~~ of  
this letter as follows:

THE TRANSLATION.



959E

Sir:

In reply to your enquiry about the progress and the details of the Chinese Labourers' strike, I have the pleasure to report its outline for the present to you. Especially <sup>since</sup> it is professionally difficult for me to lead <sup>take direct</sup> ~~everything~~ <sup>in anything</sup> directly, I was obliged to refer them to Mr. Juribenko. However, in the near future, I will let you know in detail, together with Mr. ..., about the progress of the business of the Agitating Section. In this report, I am informing you of the start and the progress <sup>made by</sup> of the Agitating Section which brought about the ~~strikes~~. In accordance with ~~the orders~~ and instructions from the Political Section, I hurriedly made the Chinese Labour Union draft the prospectus of <sup>a</sup> the Strike Committee, and it was materialized shortly. Together with this, ~~the specially despatched agitators~~ <sup>started</sup> ~~agitated~~ commenced the establishment of the strike committee. And though ~~it was~~ not so <sup>in</sup> big amount, funds were advanced and the agitating movement progressed steadily. And ~~they were~~ <sup>it was</sup> successful <sup>by</sup> in making <sup>ed</sup> an impression on Chinese labourers' <sup>minds</sup> memories that, in case of (the carrying out of) <sup>a</sup> general strike, the labourers <sup>could</sup> would be able to expect the support and that particularly the strike committee would furnish them with financial aid. Though <sup>at the outset</sup> the Chinese and <sup>others</sup> (the like) had some doubt <sup>as to</sup> against the

strike committee at the outset, after they were convinced, the works of the agitators began to <sup>meet great success with</sup> extremely rapid progress with a large success.

A kind of party <sup>unit called</sup> by the name of "Ten Men Party" was formed with <sup>out of</sup> each ten labourers, and each one senior labourer <sup>was</sup> appointed the chief of the

<sup>such unit</sup> party. And it was decided to make each chief <sup>attend</sup> watch closely <sup>the</sup> wishes and <sup>his</sup> so on of each party members.

Thus all the technical preparations had been made. Now we were

<sup>in</sup> in the stage of only waiting for the result and of sounding <sup>out</sup> the crowd.

<sup>Whereas</sup> while I obtained informations that labourers had gradually entered on

<sup>a</sup> the state of uneasiness at the Japanese controlled plants, there were

many people who asked <sup>for</sup> support <sup>from</sup> to the agitators, saying that they were

willing to carry out <sup>a</sup> strike. <sup>Labourers</sup> The direct proposals of their wishes for

strikes by labourers to the strike committee also <sup>became frequent</sup> became of frequent

occurrence. So the committee told them that it would give them

sufficient support for the strike. Apart from these, other groups also

<sup>to join in leading</sup> promised with us to lead the labourers in the strike. Then I need <sup>did not</sup> not

<sup>any longer</sup> to wait for opportunity <sup>an</sup> any more. I thought, if I <sup>should</sup> was hesitating <sup>at</sup>

that time, it would <sup>make</sup> let the Chinese labourers to have a feeling that

our promise would be different from what we actually would do, creating <sup>this</sup>

bad impressions. So I proposed this problem to the local committee

meeting - "Mestcom" - which was held recently. After the discussion at  
2 the meeting, <sup>the strike decision</sup> it was passed unanimously. As I <sup>have</sup> already sent you the  
minute<sup>s</sup> book of that meeting, I think <sup>they are</sup> it is already in your hands now.

The next day, the strike committee received the order to start  
<sup>the</sup> strike. This order was not issued simultaneously but was conveyed in  
succession to each plants, because we thought this method was important.

The first day of the strike was very successful because the  
labourers were <sup>standing</sup> holding solid as the result of sufficient preparations by  
the Chinese labourers. Especially, ~~the fact~~ that the strike committee  
gave the labourers subsidy on the evening of <sup>that very</sup> the same day created strong  
impressions upon them, which aroused <sup>ing</sup> their ardour so much that the  
labourers of the remaining plants also took part in it on the second and  
third days.

Also from the plants where there had not yet been <sup>any</sup> strike committee,  
some commissioners visited us and asked <sup>for</sup> to support, but I absolutely  
refused such proposals, telling them that till they <sup>should</sup> would have established  
strike committee <sup>of their own</sup> with them, according to the principles of the party,  
we <sup>should</sup> would be unable to take any steps for them. An unsystematic plan,  
after all, is rather apt to place obstacles in the way of <sup>all</sup> our <sup>whole</sup>  
businesses; so I disposed of <sup>this business this way</sup> it like that. This was a very necessary

disposal. For example, on the second day, the students of the Kuomintang commenced the propaganda of their nationalism and very much instilled their principle, which resulted in the participation of unnecessary passionate elements and had very bad effect upon the plan for all the strikes. Their method now has already reached so senseless stage that finally it caused the interferences of both foreign and Chinese polices. Then I immediately gave an order with the purpose of paralyzing them by the method of the propaganda of the following nature. That is to say, I made the strikers set forth a straight demand and, at the same time, had let them distribute the leaflets in which were stated the fact that Japanese guards and managers made an improper use of their authorities against women. I also collected enough documentary evidence regarding this. The police made round-ups for several times and arrested the labourers who were stirring up. Some of our agitators were also taken into custody. This is, however, a commonplace appearance and we cannot avoid it. However, this fact can also be regarded as an unexpected fruit, because such incident will show the Chinese labourers that the Chinese agitators are entirely powerless and the earlier their agitators act in concert with us, the more they will become the master of the present situation. What I have to mention particularly is that

the groups of students helped us greatly, and that they selected <sup>me</sup> agitators among them <sup>and</sup> <sup>themselves</sup> took an active part, keeping close connections with us.

However, as stated above, a part of <sup>the</sup> students made propaganda of their nationalism. This is, in short, an evidence that the discipline of the

Communist Party among the students is still lacking. However, such <sup>feature</sup> appearance will soon disappear.

As the funds of the strike committee <sup>were</sup> ~~is going to be reduced~~ to almost <sup>nothing</sup> none, I was forced to deliver three thousand dollars to the committee. In addition to this, the committee is asking for an appropriation of five thousand dollars, for which I am asking an expression of <sup>from</sup> opinion to (Mr. Poremarenko).

The outline of the progress of the strike is as stated above.

As I think you already know well from newspapers about the agitation, I do not <sup>tell</sup> ~~inform~~ you of it. But, as I <sup>have</sup> employed usual <sup>methods towards</sup> means to the Japanese newspapers, the articles which are necessary for us will all be printed.

With regard to this, I <sup>§</sup> devised a suitable means when I negotiated with (Mr. Murata, No.17, Hasukel Road), for which Mr. Murata swore his support.

Regarding the fee to him, it is to be paid from the expenses of the branch.

TAKAHAMA

- 14 -

As for the trial of the arrested, we expect a sufficient aid <sup>from</sup> of the Chinese judges, <sup>there is</sup> But ~~it has~~ much of financial nature. If so, it is thought to be necessary to give much "medicine" to the national pressure which is due to the illegal treatment and slaughter, by the Japanese supervisors (of Chinese labourers).

The representatives of the Nippon Dentsu and the press ( . . . etc.) <sup>on</sup> called me yesterday when <sup>W</sup> I assured them that I had not been concerned with the movement, and made them a present. Both of them then promised me to give a proper report in the papers. As for the Chinese papers, I think it needless to say anything.

In short, our movement has been much more solidified, and it may safely be said an organized labour movement has already been launched in China. Why, you may ask, have I started the movement with the Japanese plants? I simply thought it convenient. But the movement should be started from the lines <sup>with</sup> where is least resistance. As the next blow is <sup>expected</sup> supposed to be more easily noticed by foreigners, it will bring about a serious disturbance; consequently, it will become harder for us to carry on the movement. Moreover, it is understood that lately a stricter watch has been kept in the foreign factories and our agitators find it most difficult to "work" in such factories, although this is a matter for

the future. Therefore, our next step will be to make the factory owners ~~to~~ make concessions. It depends solely upon the issue of this step whether the Chinese will become fully aware that, as the outcome of their thorough collaboration, they have got all of ~~what are~~ <sup>that is</sup> necessary for them. We are now studying how to induce some of these factory owners to make concessions. And for this we are now using third persons in the negotiation, for which I think it will be necessary to pay some amount of money.

And next you may ask why we should give so big a pecuniary assistance to (the Shanghai Press). The fact is that there are many Japanese secret agencies in that press, and we gave them money through (Mr. Ito). These Japanese take on the printing work according to our instructions.

The above is all that I can report to you. I think now you are well aware of the present situation. About its development in future, I will inform you without delay. Here I have one thing further to say. There are certain Chinese labourers at Shanghai who blindly obey the instructions of our leaders. I suggest you ~~will~~ send some proper leaders to them.

Yours truly,  
From one of your comrades.

(Note) This letter <sup>e</sup> is typewritten in Russian, consisting of 6 pages, and the parenthesized parts are written <sup>1</sup> purposely in pencil (See Photo

1) <sup>(above)</sup> 959-E (Translated by Yokomizo)  
As the letter shows, the dispute was led by a  
systematic ~~movement~~ <sup>plan</sup> plotted by the

directives from the Comintern. The chief of  
the propaganda section of the Soviet General

Consulate organized a committee of strikers  
(later it became clear that he  
and led it by himself. Had made secret

communications with Peiping, and supplied

funds <sup>to</sup> and had meetings with the Japanese

comrades. The amount that the Soviet General

Consulate disbursed for this dispute and the

following May 30th incident <sup>as</sup> for the walk-out funds

for similar or the like red movements, reached to \$430,000

before the middle of June. Of <sup>this</sup> which

\$200,000 was received by the <sup>G</sup> general <sup>C</sup> consul

Ozornin



2)

(on June 11)

from Karahan, when the former went into Peiping secretly to report the situation. \$30,000 was given to the representatives of students on June 1, and the remaining \$240,000 was handed to the Federation of Industry and Commerce. These facts were revealed <sup>as a result of</sup> ~~by the~~ police inquiries of our <sup>&</sup> general Consulate. The funds seemed to have been sent to the Shanghai Strikers' Organization from the Profintern, <sup>In connection with</sup> ~~about the~~ <sup>shameful</sup> ~~in~~ <sup>in</sup> May 30<sup>th</sup> ~~accident~~, there was something ~~in~~ <sup>in</sup> the attitude of Japanese capitalists. One example <sup>is</sup> was that they tried <sup>a</sup> lockout in order to boost up the price of cotton cloth at the moment of its heavy decline.

3

After the May 30th<sup>d</sup> incident, the General  
(immediately)  
Industrial Society of all China held a secret  
meeting for the preparation of <sup>an</sup> anti-British boycott.  
As a consequence, a general walkout was started  
in Hongkong on June 19, and the workers left  
<sup>for</sup> Canton (one after another). The British autho-  
rities took up a counter-movement against this  
action  
(by stopping the export of foods, gold and silver  
bars and paper currencies. Meanwhile, on June  
23, the British authorities in Shamên Settlement  
fired machine guns against the peoples' demonst-  
stration. 52 were killed and a <sup>few</sup> little more than  
170 wounded in the accident. <sup>it</sup> It was ~~called~~ <sup>called</sup>  
A afterwards the Shamên <sup>in</sup> accident.

4)

~~The~~ accident intensified the anti-British ~~by~~  
this in

boycott in Canton more than ever. The workers

motivated by the May 30th accident, produced a  
held a Hongkong Strikers' Conference and organized

an independent effect on the British trade supremacy  
a Strikers Council. By taking these steps, they

over China. As a result of continuing conflict, ~~they~~  
tried to go through the ~~ending~~ battle. In the

meanwhile, however, as the northward movement of

the National Revolutionary Army went on, they  
thus renounced their former policy. In spite of

were obliged to change their attitude in carrying

on the anti-British movement. On the pretext

of adopting new measures in the ~~intensification~~ <sup>(course of the intensifying</sup> of

economic breach, they <sup>stopped</sup> put an end to all the

actual movements ~~which~~ <sup>heretofore</sup> in operation.

In response to the

5)

Meanwhile, the anti-British movement, backed by the Comintern, namely the Soviet Union, and motivated by the May 30th <sup>In</sup> accident, produced a tremendous effect on the British trade supremacy over China. As a result, the British government finally <sup>made</sup> ~~announced~~ the well-known <sup>pronouncement of</sup> ~~statement~~ to ~~take up~~ a liberalistic policy toward China, and thus renounced <sup>ing</sup> her former policy. In spite of this action, the movement was more than ever intensified after the inauguration of the National Revolutionist diplomacy, and it instigated at last to the outburst of ~~the~~ <sup>in</sup> accident <sup>of</sup> in the forcible regaining of <sup>the</sup> Hankow British settlement at the beginning of January, 1927. In response to the

6)

new situation, <sup>the</sup> government issued the  
on Jan. 27, 1927,  
second announcement with the same purport  
as the former one <sup>to</sup> ~~and~~ clarified her attitude.

Not only Britain, but other powers also were  
compelled to modify drastically their policies,  
<sup>as outcome</sup>  
~~at the occasion~~ of the May 30th <sup>in</sup> accident. The

reason was that the Comintern had well planned  
to take advantage of the special situation in China,  
where the capitalist classes were fully in the control  
of foreign capital, and ~~that~~ they succeeded  
in the amalgamation of communism and nationalism.  
Thus, there was  
~~it caused~~ the renewal of racial consciousness  
and the development of <sup>the</sup> mass movement. In

7)  
considering these <sup>facts</sup>, we cannot but attribute  
all the results to the successful diplomacy  
of the Soviet Union. However, the later breach  
between the Soviet and China, owing to <sup>the</sup>  
<sup>(carried out)</sup>  
oppression <sup>of</sup> upon the communists by the National  
Government, indicates that the policy  
of the Comintern <sup>made</sup> <sup>(an effect)</sup> ~~was~~ too strong not only upon  
China but <sup>upon</sup> other powers. On the other hand,  
it is noteworthy that the May 30th <sup>do</sup> accident  
which was initiated by the anti-Japanese move-  
ment and <sup>was</sup> afterwards transformed into the anti-  
British movement, made its appearance after  
the restoration of Russo-Japanese friendship.  
These characteristics also may have important  
consequences on the recent problem of the Russo-

8)

of the Russo-Chinese relations,  
bearing on the recent problems of the

Russo-Chinese relations.

243

Title

Eng

Jap

支那及滿洲之共產運動概況 (7.12)  
白色勞働運動之拔萃  
China

Phase

Requested by

Kan'yaku

Def Doc No.

959-F

J.D.C. No.

1093-F

Certificate

attached

~~not attached~~

Assigned to translator

Assigned to checker

Assigned to prossor

The Outlook of Communist Movement in China and  
Manchuria (as of December, 1932)  
Excerpt from "The Red-International Labour  
Movement."



Ref Doc 959-E

文書ノ出所竝ニ成立ニ關スル證明書

(三號)

自分、林 馨 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書カレ 九 頁ヨリ成ル 支那及滿洲ニ於ケル共産運動概況ト題スル書類ハ日本政府(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 十四日

於東京

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

林 馨

Doc No 959-E

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

第一章第二節第四款 赤色労働運動(沿革)

第五 五卅事件

(一七頁—一八九頁)

以上労働運動、進展ト共ニ罷業ノ頻發スルニ至レルハ自然ノ勢ナルカ一九一八年以來一九二五年五卅事件ニ至ル迄ニ於ケル罷業數ヲ見ルニ次、如シ

一九一八年	二五件
一九一九年	六六件
一九二〇年	四六件
一九二一年	四九件
一九二二年	九一件
一九二三年	四七件
一九二四年	五六件
一九二五年	一八三件

右ノ中重要ナル罷業トシテハ

- 開灤炭坑罷業 一九二三年十月
- 香港海員罷業 一九二三年一月
- 京漢鉄道罷業(五卅事件) 一九二三年二月
- 第一回上海紡績罷業 一九二五年二月
- 青島紡績罷業 一九二五年四月

TSINGTAO

等ヲ舉ケルコトヲ得ヘク殊ニ第一回労働大會後ハ總工會ノ統制ニ依リ労働運動傾ニ高潮ヲ呈シ政治闘争ニ向ツテ著シキ進歩ヲ示シ遂ニ一九二五年五月ニ至リ支那労働運動史上最モ重要ナル所謂五卅事件ヲ誘起スルニ至レリ

五卅事件ハ一九二五年二月、上海ノ邦人企業内外棉紡績第九工場労働者ノ罷業ニ淵源ス右罷業ハ同工場不良職工淘汰ニ端ヲ發シ賃銀ノ増加

Ref. No. 889-2

待遇ノ改善・組合承認等ノ要求ヲ以テ同月九日開始セラレタルモノナルカ直々ニ日華紡績・豊田紡績・大康紡績ノ各工場ニ波及シ會社側ノ強硬ナル態度ニ依リ一時復業ヲ見タルモ四月青島紡績ノ罷業アルヤ再ヒ積極的行動ニ出テ會社側ノ強硬ナル態度ト相俟テ形勢險悪トナル爲各社一斉ニ工場ヲ閉鎖セリ

然ルニ四月十五日内外棉某セ工場門前ニ於テ工場閉鎖ニ及テシ集合中ノ職工七十餘名ハ警戒中ノ日本人及印度人巡查ト衝突シ印度人巡查ノ發砲ニ因リ職工ニ二六名ノ負傷者ヲ出シ内一名間モ無ク死亡セル事件ヲ生レタル結果形勢頓ニ悪化シ更ニ學生之ニ加ハリテ示威運動ヲ起スニ及ヒ事態ハ層尖鋭化シ五月二十四日宣傳「ヒラ」撒布ノ爲工部局ニ引致セラレタル學生五名カ同三十日會審衙門ノ裁判ニ於テ釋放ヲ許サレタルヲ知ルテ勞働者・學生其他ノ群衆ハ全市ニ亘リ盛ナル示威運動ヲ開始シ其一隊カ南京路ニ於テ警戒中ノ警官ト衝突ヲ来レ遂ニ印度人巡查ノ一斉射撃ヲ成リ死者四名負傷者十餘名ヲ出スニ至レリ

右事件ノ發生ニ依リ勞働者・學生及各階級ノ革命群衆ノ激昂其ノ極ニ達シ六月一日上海全市ニ亘リテ罷市ヲ行ヒ群衆ハ到處ニ租界警察ト衝突シ同日浙江路ニ於テ再ヒ二十餘名ノ群衆殺傷セラレ同夜新世界附近ニ於テ又々衝突ヲ演ジ群衆中ニ死者一員傷者十餘名ヲ出セリ而シテ此種衝突ハ六月十日頃ニ至ル迄間斷無ク發生シ一方六月十三日迄ニ

- (一) 日本人經營事業 三十九ヶ所 六萬三千人
  - (二) 英國人經營事業 二十四ヶ所 三萬六千人
  - (三) 工部局事業 八ヶ所 三萬六百人
  - (四) 其他外国人關係諸工場 三十五ヶ所 二萬七千人
  - (五) 支那人經營工場 十一ヶ所 二萬六千人
- 總計 百十七ヶ所 十五萬五千六百人

ノ罷業ヲ見タリ

五世事件ニ依リ諸發セラレタル反帝國主義罷業ヲ目標トスル所謂五世

運動ハ全国總工會指導ノ下ニ各地ニ傳播シ漢口南京九江重慶ニ於テハ  
慘澹タル衝突事件ヲ惹起シ北京天津ニ於テハ労働者ヲ中心トスル示威  
運動連發シ外国人経営ノ工場ハ全国ニ亘リテ殆ント例外ナク罷業ニ遭ヒ  
支那人工場ノ主ナルモノニ在リテモ此間不斷ニ經濟闘争行ハタルカ以上ノ全  
国的運動ノ事實エノ中心タリシ上海總工會ハ俄然全上海ノ労働者ニ対スル  
指揮權ヲ獲得シタルノミナラス全国ニ亘ル革命運動ノ一重要中心ヲ成スニ  
至レリ

以上ハ五卅事件ノ表面的經過ナルカ更ニ之カ裏面ノ事情ヲ觀察スルニ同  
事件ノ抑々ノ發端タル二月八日ノ内外棉花労働ノ爭議ハ實ハ單ニ内部  
的且自發的ニ生セル事件ニ非スレテ豫テ「コミンテルン」ノ訓令ニ基キ準備  
セラルル上海赤化運動<sup>暴</sup>計畫ノ一部トシテ外部ヨリ組織的且煽動的ニ實  
施セラレタルモノトシテ知ル

即チ當時中国共產黨及社會主義青年團ノ兩團體ノ首領タリシ陳獨  
秀ハ莫斯科「コミンテルン」本部ト聯絡シツテ同年一月二十日迄上海ニ於テ  
画策スル所アリ又勞農政府ノ補助金ニヨリ成立セル上海ノ私立大慶厦大  
學ヲ始メ其他ノ各種労働者學校ノ内外棉花罷業發生ト同時ニ各種ノ  
工會ニ變レ罷業團ノ本據トナリ是等ノ學校ノ教授學生等ハ相踵テ罷業  
ニ参加シ之ヲ援助煽動シ其ノ暴動化ニ成功セリ又從來沈黙ヲ守レル及帝  
国主義聯盟ハ二月二十二日上海中央公園内ニ執行委員會ヲ開キ全国ニ向テ  
罷業應援會ヲ組織シ寄附金ヲ募集スル等極力罷業團ヲ應援シ又  
莫斯科赤色労働「インターナショナル」ハ世界各支部ヲシテ寄附金ヲ募集セ  
レメ之ヲ罷業團ニ送付セリ

其ノ間駐支蘇聯邦大使「カラハン」ハ北京外交團ニ対シ支那民族ノ要望  
ヲ支持セル回章ヲ發スル等宣傳ニ努ム所アリシカ一方上海ニ於ケル蘇聯  
邦總領事館(事實上「コミンテルン」極東局)ハ嚴重ニ警告セシ頻繁ナル  
會議ノ開催會員ノ増大出入支那人ノ増加並是等支那人ノ罷業團トシテ  
復「チエカ」(「ゲバウ」前身)ノ活躍等ニ依リ儘カニ何等カノ策動行ハレ居

ルコトヲ推定セラルルニ止マリ容易ニ之カ真相ヲ把握スルコト不可能ナリシ處我  
總領事館警察ノ機能ニ依リ遂ニ其間ノ實相判明スルニ至レリ

即チ上海帝國總領事館警察ニ於テハ内外棉爭議ノ最中即チ二月末上  
海「コミンテルン」宣傳部主任「チエルカソフ」カ同爭議ニ関スル北京ヨリノ問合セニ  
對シ發シタル回答ノ一ヲ入手セルカ之ニ據リハ同爭議ハ在莫斯科「コミンテルン」  
政治局（「ホリトビエロー」）ノ訓令ニ基キ豫テ計畫セシタルコト明ニシテ右回答  
書ニ同主任カ先ツ国民党系政客新聞記者學生等ヲ指導シテ同  
盟罷業委員會ヲ組織セシメ自ラハ裏面ニ在リテ直接指導シタル曲折経  
緯ヲ詳細記述シテアリ而シテ右書面中ニハ本邦人關係者ノ姓名宿所等モ  
記載セシ居ル處何レモ事實ニ符合シ又同書面中ニハ前記爭議ニ支那  
ニ於ケル最初ノ試ニシテ組織セシタル労働運動ノ端緒ヲ開キタルモノト云フモ  
過言ニ非ストシ且邦人工場ヲ撰ヒタルハ單ニ便宜ノ問題ニ過キタルコトヲ記載  
シテアリ同文書ノ偽作ニ非ヤルコトハ其入手ノ経路並記載事項カ事實ト完全  
ニ符合スルコト等ニヨリ疑ノ餘地無キモノナリ

本件書信カ我總領事館ノ手ニ入りタル経緯並入手ノ事實ハ外交上ノ機  
密ニ附スヘキ所ナルモ支那共產黨運動史上最モ顯著ナル事象ノ一ナル五  
廿事件ノ真相ヲ知り且「コミンテルン」及蘇聯邦側ノ密謀ヲ明カニスル好箇  
ノ資料ナルヲ以テ左ニ之カ譯文ヲ提出セムトス

譯文

「拜啓

支那労働者ノ同盟罷業ノ経緯並顛末ニ関スル貴問ニ對シ茲ニ不取敢大体ノ報  
告ニ止メ置キ候殊ニ小生ハ職掌柄直接總テヲ指揮シ難キヲ以テ（「ソビエツク」氏）ヲ  
煩ハスノ餘儀無キ次才ニ有之候尤モ近キ將來ニ於テ友人、君ト共ニ煽動  
部ノ事業ノ経過ニ付貴下ニ對シ詳細ノ報告ヲ提出可致候務勞々本報告ニ於  
テハ同盟罷業ヲ惹起セシメタル煽動部ノ事業ノ發端ト経過ヲ報告申スヘク候  
政治局ノ訓令及指示ニ從ヒ噪急トシテ支那労働組合ヲシテ同盟罷業委員  
會ノ創立趣意ヲ起案セシメ候處聽テ之カ實現ヲ見ルニ至レ候之ト共ニ特別

Ref. No. 959 E

派遣煽動員、同盟罷業委員會、設立ニ著手シヨ願ニ非サルモ資金、融通ニ出  
未煽動運動ハ着々トシテ進展シ支那人労働者、腦裡ニ總同盟罷業決行、  
場合ニ彼等ハ應援ヲ期待シ得ヘク殊ニ同盟罷業委員會ハ彼等ニ對シ金錢  
上ノ援助ヲ爲シ得ヘキコトヲ知覺セシムルニ至リ候

當初支那人等ハ罷業委員會ニ對シ懷疑ノ念ヲ懷キ居リタルモ彼等ヲ信服セ  
シムルニ及ヒ煽動員等ノ事務ハ極メテ迅速ニ且多ク成功ヲ以テ進捗シ始メ候勞  
働者十名ヲ以テ十人團ナルモノヲ組織シ各團體ニ古參者一名ヲ團長ニ任命シ各團  
長ヲ以テ所屬團體ノ意嚮其他ヲ注視セシムルコトト致シ候

斯クテ技術的方面ノ諸準備ハ整ヒ此ハ唯其結果ヲ俟テ群衆ノ意嚮ヲ窺フノ  
ミト相成リ候小生ハ漸次日本人ノ所有ニ屬スル工場ニ於テ労働者カ勸導ヲシ始メタルノ  
報ニ接スルニ至リ且屢次同盟罷業ヲ決行シタキヲ以テ何令ノ援助アリキ旨煽動員  
ニ申出ツル者アリ又同盟罷業委員會ニ對シテモ直接労働者カ同盟罷業ノ希望  
ヲ申出之者頻繁トナリタルヲ以テ委員會ハ之ニ對シ充分援助スヘキ旨告ルル所有之

候コノ外他ノ團體ニ於テモ同様事件ニ關シ労働者ヲ指揮スヘキ旨約諾スル所有之候  
茲ニ於テ小生ハ最早時機ヲ待ツノ必要無ク且此際躊躇逡巡セカ及那労働  
者ハ約束ト事實ト相違ストノ感ヲ懷キ彼等ニ對シ惡印象ヲ與フヘシト思惟致シ  
候仍テ小生ハ本問題ヲ最近催セラレタル地方委員會「メストコム」會議ニ提出  
致シ候處討議ノ結果金會一致ヲ以テ採決セシ候同會議ノ議事録ハ既ニ貴下

ニ送付済ナルヲ以テ御落手ノ事ト存シ候  
其翌日同盟罷業委員會ハ罷業ヲ開始スヘキ旨ノ命令ヲ接受致シ候尤モ右命  
令ハ一時ニ發セシス順ヲ逐ヒ各工場ニ對シ向ケラレタルモノ有之蓋シ如斯方法ハ肝要ト存  
セシ候

同盟罷業ノ第一日ハ支那人労働者カ充分ニ準備ヲ爲シタル結果労働者ノ結  
束定ニ固キモノアリ成功ヲ博シ候殊ニ同日夕刻同盟罷業委員會カ罷業ヲ労働  
者ニ對シ補助金ヲ交付セル事ハ彼等ニ對シ強ク印象ヲ與ヘ益々氣勢ヲ添ヘ第二日

及第三日ハ残余ノ工場モ之ニ參加スルニ至リ候  
未タ同盟罷業委員會ノ設置無キ工場ヨリモ委員未訪シ援助ヲ求め未リ候得共小

其右申出ニ對シテ、壹ノ綱領ニ基テ彼等ノ間ニ罷業委員會ノ組織セラルルニ至ル迄ハ何  
等措置スヘカラストシテ之ヲ絶対ニ拒絶致シ候蓋レ組織的ナラサル計畫ハ却テ全事業ニ  
對シテ支障ヲ來スヘキヲ以テ斯ク取計ヒタル次オハ候右ニ誠ニ不得止措置ニシテ案上ノ世キハ  
國民黨ノ學主ハ、國民黨ノ宣傳ニ著手シ大ニ主義ヲ鼓吹シ不要ナル熱情的分子ヲ加入  
シ全罷業ノ計畫ニ甚キ悪影響ヲ與ヘ目下既ニ常規ヲ逸スル迄ニ至リ之カ爲メ  
外國及支那警察ノ干涉ヲ誘起スルニ至リ候仍テ小生ハ直ニ左記性質ノ宣傳方法  
ヲ以テ麻痺セシムルカ爲メ命令ヲ發シ候即チ純然タル經濟的要素ヲ爲シタル共ニ日  
本人ノ監視人及管理人カ婦人ニ對シテ職權ヲ濫用セル内容ノ傳單ヲ撒布セルノ之ニ関ス  
ル證據書類モ充分蒐集致シ候警察ニ數次ノ檢舉ヲ行ヒ煽動セル等カ働者ヲ拘  
引シ又我方ノ煽動員モ若干名抑留セシ候但レ右ノ通常ノ現象ニシテ避ケ難キ所  
ニ有之候然レトモ或ハ此事實ノ思ハル收穫トモ認メシ候何トナレハ斯ル事件ハ一般  
支那人等カ働者ニ對シテ彼等支那人煽動者カ全ク無力ナルコトヲ示シ彼等煽動員カ吾  
人ト步調ヲ一スルコト早ケレハ早キ程彼等ハ現事態ノ主人公トナルヘキモ有之候爲メ  
御座候茲ニ特記スヘキハ、學生團カ吾人ニ援助シタルコト多ク大ニシテ彼等ノ中ヨリ煽動者選  
ハレ吾人ト密接ナル連絡ヲ保チ活動セルコトニ有之候但レ一部ノ學生カ、國民黨ヲ宣傳  
セルハハ前述ノ通りナルカ右ハ要スルニ未タ學生間ニ於ケル共產黨ノ規律不備ナル證據左ニ候  
知レ共慮カラス 如斯事ハ無キニ至ルヘク候

同盟罷業委員會ノ資金殆ト皆無ナラトスルニ至リ且レテ以テ小生ハ不得已三千年ヲ  
交付致シ候尚五千年ノ支出方願出居ルモ小生ハ此件ニ関レ「ボノマレンコ」君ノ意見ヲ求メ置  
キ候

同盟罷業ノ経過ハ大要前記ノ通り有之候處新聞ノ煽動ニ付テハ既ニ御承知ノ事ト  
存シ候ハ報告ニ差控ヘ候但レ日本新聞ニ對シテハ例ノ手段ヲ講シ置キ候間吾人ノ  
必事トスル記事ハ全部掲載セルヘク本件ニ関シテハ「ハスケル」路一七号村田氏ト交渉  
ノ際適當ノ處置講シ置キ候處同氏モ助力ヲ誓ヒ候同人ニ對スル報酬ハ支部費  
用ヨリ支出スルニ至ルヘクト存セシ候

被逮捕者ノ裁判ニ関シテハ吾人ハ支那側裁判官ヨリ充分ノ掩護ヲ期得シ候處萬  
事經濟的性質ヲ有スヘク果シテ知ラハ日本人管理人ハ支那労働者ニ對スル不法ノ取

扱及虐殺ニ基ク国民的ノ壓迫ニ対シ多量ノ投葉ヲ要シ候

昨日日本電報通信及新聞ノ代表者(、、、等)ハ小生ヲ来訪シタルニ付小生ハ本件運動ハ吾人カ全ク関係無キコトヲ保證シ彼等ニ贈物ヲ呈シ置候兩人モ適當ナル通信ヲ新聞ニ掲載スヘキコトヲ小生ニ保證致シ候又那新聞ニ付テハ述フル必要無之候ト存シ候

之ヲ要スルニ吾人ノ活動モ愈々堅固ナルモノト相成リ又那ニ於テ組織セラルル労働運動ノ端緒ヲ開キタルモノト云フモ過言ニ非スト存シ候何故ハ日本人経営ノ工場ヨリ始メタリヤトノ御質問有ラント存シ候處右ノ單ニ最モ抵抗クテキ方面ヨリ始ムルヲ便宜トナレタル為ニ外ナラズ候次回ノ打撃ハ外国人ニ対シ一層感知セラルヘキモノナルヘク候處右ノ單上ニ多大ノ騷擾ヲ来タスヘキヲ以下一層困難トシヘク且外国人工場ニ於テハ近未監視嚴重トナリタル為煽動員カ是等ノ工場ニ活動スルコト至難トナリタルハ事實ナルモ此事ハ將來ノコトニ屬シ候

仍テ来ルヘキ吾人ノ目的ハ工場主側ヲシテ讓歩セシムルコトニ存シ又那人カ其結束ノ結果必要ナルモノノ總テヲ獲得シタルコトヲ徹底的ニ彼等ニ知ラシメ得ルト否トハ一前記工場主側ノ讓歩ノ如何ニ係リ候吾人ハ工場経営者ノ中若干名ヲシテ讓歩ノ舉ニ出テシムル種対策中ニシテ之カ為ニ第一着ヲ交渉ノ任ニ當ラシメ居候或ハ若干ノ支給ヲ必要トスルニ至ラムカトモ存セシ候

次ニ何故ハ(上海新聞)多額ノ援助ヲ為スヤトノ貴問ニ有之候處抑々同所ニ吾党ノ密偵タルモノヲ日本人居リ(伊藤君)ヲ經テ彼等ニ支給シラル關係也有之候之カ為日本人ハ吾人ノ指圖ニ從ヒ日本字ノ印刷ヲ引受ケ居リ候

以上ハ小生カ貴下ニ報告シ得ヘキ總テニ有之候小生現今ノ展望カ貴下ニ總テ總明カトルコト存シ候又將來生スヘキ変化ニ関シテハ小生ハ遲滞ナク貴下ニ通報スヘク候尚最後ニ上海ノ某々又那人労働者ハ必要ノ場合ニハ盲目的ニ指導者ノ命ニ服從スヘキ筈ニ有之彼等ニ對シ其指導者ヲ與ヘラレシコトヲ貴下ニ申述候

頓首

貴下ノ僚友ヨリ

(註)本書面ハ露語「タイプライター」ニテ打テ六枚ニ亘ル釋文中( )内ノ部分ハ特ニ鉛筆ニテ改記入セシ居レリ(寫真第一四参照)



以上ニ依リ内外棉爭議ハ「コミンテルン」ノ訓令ニ基キ計画的ニ組織セラル  
モニレテ蘇聯邦總領事館内ノ宣傳主任ハ親シク罷業委員會ヲ組織シ  
之ヲ指導シ之ニ関レ北京ト機密信ヲ往復スルト共ニ其ノ手ヨリ資金ヲ支出  
レ日本人関係者トモ會見セルト明カトナレカ蘇聯邦總領事館カ同事件ヲ  
始メ其後發生セル五卅事件ヲ通シ又出セル罷業資金其他ノ赤化資金ハ六月  
中旬迄ニ四十三萬弗ニ達シ内二十萬弗ハ六月十日總領事「オズルニ」カ北京ニ潛  
行シ事情報告ノ際「カラハン」ヨリ受取リ三萬費弗ハ六月一日學生代表者ニ交  
給シ二十四萬弗ハ工商學聯合會ニ支給セラルト亦我總領事館警察ノ探  
査ニ依リ判明セリ而シテ是等資金ハ莫斯科赤色勞働組合「インクスター」ナル  
「プロフィンテルン」ヨリ上海罷業團ニ送付セラルモノナルカ如シ尙五卅事件ニ関  
レ日本人資本家ノ態度ハ相尙非難セルヘキモノアリ殊ニ綿布暴落ノ際ニ之  
ヲ利用シテ「ロウクアット」ヲ敢行シ綿布吊上ヲ策セル事實ハ如キ其一例ナリ  
五卅事件後中華全國總工會ハ直チニ秘密會議ヲ開キテ對英「ボイコット」ノ  
準備ニ着手シ其ノ結果六月十九日以來香港ニ於テ總罷業開始セル勞働  
者ハ續々廣東ニ引揚クルニ至レルヲ以テ香港英國商局ハ廣東ニ對シ糧食  
金塊、紙幣ノ輸出ヲ禁止シテ之ニ對抗セリ然ルニ六月二十日沙面ニ於ケル民  
衆ノ示威運動ニ對シ同租界英國商局ハ機關銃ノ射撃ヲ行ヒ死者五  
十三名負傷者百七十餘名ヲ出シ所謂沙面事件ヲ惹起セリ  
廣東對英「ボイコット」ハ右事件ニ因リ一層激化セル勞働者側ハ省港罷工  
々人代表ヲ開キ罷業委員會ヲ設ケテ一箇年以上持久戰ヲ續ケタルカ一九二六  
年七月國民革命軍ノ北伐開始ニ伴ヒ自ラ對英鬭爭ノ方式ヲ変更セサル可ラ  
サルニ至リ一九二六年十月經濟絶交擴大ノ新形式採用ヲ名トシテ一切具體的  
運動ヲ停止セリ

然レトモ「コミンテルン」即チ蘇聯邦ヲ背景トシ五卅事件ヲ發端トシテ起レル  
排英運動ハ英國ノ對支商權ニ甚大ナル影響ヲ及ホシ英國政府ハ遂ニ一  
九二六年十二月二十六日有名ナル對支自由政策ニ関スル聲明ヲ發表シ其ノ政  
策ヲ一変セルカ右ニ拘ラス排英運動ハ國民革命外交ノ出現ト共ニ益々猖獗

ヲ極メ遂ニ一九二七年一月初頭ノ漢口英租界武力回收事件ヲ誘起セリ右事  
態ニ對シ英國政府ハ一九二七年一月二十七日前記声明ト同趣旨ノ第二次声  
明ヲ發シ其ノ態度ヲ明カニスル所アリタルカ獨リ英國ノミナラス他ノ列強モ五卅事  
件ヲ期トシ著シク其ノ對支政策ヲ変更スルノ己ニキキ事態ニ陷レリ  
右ハニ資本階級ガ外国資本ニ領導セラル支那獨特ノ事態ヲ利用シ  
「コミンテルン」カ計畫セル政策固ニ當リ共產主義ト民族主義トヲ合致セシムルニ  
成功セル結果民族意識ヲ新ニシテ群眾運動ヲ興隆セシメ得ルコトニ歸着ス  
ルモノニシテ深ク其ノ淵源ヲ訊ヌルトキハ勞農外交ノ成功ト云ハサルヲ得ス但シ  
其ノ後國民政府ノ共產黨彈圧ニ因リ遂ニ蘇支斷交ヲ招クニ至ルハ「コミンテルン」  
ノ政策カ獨リ支那側ニ對シテノミナラス列國側ニ對シテモ效キ過キタルノ結果ト  
見ラレ得サルニ非ス之ト共ニ當初排日ニ始マリ遂ニ排英運動ニ轉換セル五卅事  
件カ日露國交恢復後ニ起レルコトモ注意ヲ要スル点ナルヘシ之等ノ点ハ又最近ノ  
蘇支復交ニ付暗示スル所多シト謂ハサル可カラサルナリ