

在海拉爾日本領事館

備シ彼ヲ監視スルト共ニ其意ニ國民政府ニ對シ政府ノ救護ヲ要求シ  
 タ爾東政府ハ通牒ナク對日宣戰ヲ布告ス可キヲアル、中國共產黨  
 ソビエツトハ之ニ對シ全權ノ協力を與フ可シ此事件ヨソハ根本的ニ  
 日本ノ勢力ヲ壓迫シ日本ノ救護下ニアル北滿ヲ解放スルモノヲナケ  
 レバナラス張學良ノ反政府行動コソハ反日救國行動ノ宣戰ト見ナケ  
 レバナラスソビエツトト政府同盟ヲ結成シ進カニ對日宣戰ヲ布告ス  
 ルモノト信セラルル爾東ハ戒嚴令ヲ發カレテキル  
 右報告ス

本領事館送付也

外務大臣

奉天、哈爾濱、齊齊哈爾、滿洲里

電信課長

大臣

次官

東亞 歐亞 米洲 通商 條約 情報 文化 調查 人事 文書 會計 秘書官

寫送先

昭和11 二五二八一 平

香港

本省 十二月十八日後着

情、亞

有田外務大臣

第一五六號

英字紙中西安事件ニ關シ論評セルハ「モーニング、ポスト」ノミナ  
 ルカ其ノ要旨左ノ通

張學良ノ「クーデター」ハ國內統一ニ依リ贏チ得タル支那ノ國際威  
 信ヲ失墜セリ蔣ノ失踪ハ支那ノ致命傷ニハアラサルモ國內混亂ヲ誘  
 發スヘキ惧アリ又先頃露支密約ノ噂傳ヘラレタル處對日戰線ニ關ス  
 ル張ノ主張ヲ實行スルコトハ支那ハ勿論露西亞ニ取りテモ迷惑ニテ  
 世界的ニ不祥ナル結果ヲ齎スヘシ

外務省

張學良今回ノ行動ハ彼ノ現地位ニ對スル不滿ノ爆發ナルヘク露西亞  
 カ日本ニ對シ起タサル以上自ラ莫穴ヲ掘ルモノト言ハサルヘカラス  
 或ハ各地反蔣運動ノ勃發ヲ惧ルル者アルモ此ノ際各地方將領カ中央  
 擁護ノ態度ヲ執ルコトニ依リ國家的損失ヲ最小限度ニ止ムルコト支  
 那ノ爲最モ望マシク獨裁者ノ地位モ結局國民ノ輿望ニ負フモノナル  
 コトヲ覺ラシムルコトヲ得ハ今回ノ事件モ亦支那ノ樂トナルヘシ  
 支ヘ轉電シ、南京、廣東、台灣外事課長ヘ轉報セリ  
 支ヨリ上海ヘ轉報アリタシ

外務省

電信課長

大臣  
次官

東亞 歐亞 米洲 通商 條約 情報 文化 調查 人事 文書 會計 祕書官

寫送先

昭和11 二五二八五 平 本省 十二月十八日前着 情

有田外務大臣

特情 紐育第一五一號

**特情**

井上總領事代理

十七日ノ「ニューヨーク、ヘラルド、トリビューン」ハ「支那ニ興  
 味ヲ持ツ隣國」ト題シ左ノ如ク論シテ居ル  
 今度ノ事件ニ付日蘇兩國カ共ニ之ヲ重大視シ互ニ蔣介石カ東亞ノ舞  
 臺カラ去ルコトホド自國ニ取り悲シムヘキコトハナイト主張シ事變  
 ノ責任ヲ互ニ相手方ニ歸セント努メテ居ルコトハ一見不可思議ニ見  
 エルカスル宣傳戰カ起ルトイフノハ蘇聯ハ蔣介石ノ寢返リテ苦イ目  
 ニ遭ヒ日本ハ蔣介石ノ巧妙ナ回避政策テ其ノ野望ヲ遂ケル邪魔ヲサ  
 レ兩者共ニ蔣介石ノ下ニ支那カ統一サレルノヲ好マナイヲテ今度ノ

外務省

張  
かま

事件ハ日蘇何レカ策動シテモ不思議ハナイ張學良ノ裏ニ蘇聯カ手ヲ引テキルトノ證據ハ未タ何モナイカ蘇聯邦政府トシテハ蔣介石ノ没落カ良イ氣味テアルハカリテナク共產軍カ加ハツテ内亂トモナレハ日本ハ之ヲ良イ口實トシテ大干涉ヲ爲スヘク從ツテ獨逸ト一緒ニナツテ西比利亞ヤ外蒙古ヲ窺フヨウナ暇ハナクナル譯テアル張學良ノ裏ニ日本アリトノ蘇聯ノ主張モ何等證據ハナイカ南京政府トノ交渉モ緩遠問題ノ發生ト共ニ失敗シタ今日張學良カ共產軍ト共ニ叛亂ヲ起シ政府軍カ敗レルヨウナコトニナレハ日本ニ干涉ノ口實ヲ與ヘルコト故大イニ蘇聯ノ歡迎スル所テアル然シ或ハ結局今度ノ事件ハ何國ノ使喚ニ依ルモノテモナク我儘テ強情ナ張學良カ衝動的ニ行ツタモノテアルト言フコトカ判明スルノテハナイカト思ハレル

外務省

張  
分  
送  
別

電信課長

大臣

次官

東亞 歐亞 米洲 通商 條約 情報 文報 調查 人事 文書 會計 秘書官

寫送先

昭和11 二五二七六 平 本省 十二月十八日前着

有田外務大臣

井上總領事代理

特情 紐育第一五二號

**特情**

十七日ノ紐育「タイムス」ハ西安事變ニ關シ左ノ如ク論シテ居ル日本カ蔣介石監禁ノ背後ニアリトスル說ハ馬鹿ケテ居ル張學良ハ心カラノ日本ノ敵テアルシ日本カ蔣介石ノ没落ヲ望ムカトウカハ大イニ疑問テアル又蘇聯カ張學良ヲ動かシタト言フ說モ眉唾モノテ蘇聯ハ實ノ處蔣介石ノ對日態度硬化ヲ喜ンテ居タ支那統一ノ方法ニ關スル蔣介石及張學良ノ意見カ根本的ニ異ルノニ加ヘテ張學良ハ其ノ討伐ニ行ツタ西北ノ共產軍ト親シクナツテ居ル事實アリ之ニ對シ蔣介石カ懲戒處分ヲ取ラウトシタノテ張學良カ怒ツタトイフノカ真相ヲ

外務省

發送済

寫送先

東亞 歐亞 米洲 通商 條約 情報 文化 調查 人事 文書 會計 秘書官

大臣 次官

電信課長

シイ(了)

外務省

張  
お玉  
論  
洞

昭和11 二五三四八 略 プエノス 十八日後發 情、亞  
本省 十二月十九日前着

有田外務大臣

寺嶋代理公使

第二〇〇號

西安事變ニ關シ

當地諸新聞ハ十三日以來各地ヨリノ關係電報及解説記事ヲ多量掲載  
シ目立チテ取扱ヒ十五日東京發「ハバス」電報ハ貴大臣ノ閣議席上  
ニ於ケル聲明ヲ報道シ居レリ今日迄注意ヲ惹ク論評ナキカ特ニ蘇聯  
ノ後押明カトナル場合ニ於ケル日本ノ態度ニ付テハ一般ニ深甚ノ關  
心ヲ持チ居ルヤニ見受ケラル(了)

外務省

電信課長

大臣  
次官

東亞  
歐洲  
通商  
條約  
情報  
文化  
調查  
人事  
文書  
會計  
會社  
秘書  
官

寫  
送  
先

昭和11 二五三四六 暗

伯林 十八日後發  
本省 十二月十九日前着

情、亞、歐

有田外務大臣

第二八八號

武者小路大使

往電第二八六號ニ關シ

其ノ後モ各紙ハ一齊ニ學良ノ裏面ニ蘇聯邦ノ在ル旨ヲ大々的ニ報道  
シツツアリ但シ從來兎角支那ニ同情的ナリシ「シエフア」(「タ  
ーゲブラット」)、「ストレーベ」(「アルゲマイネ」)ノ兩社  
ハ日本ハ蔣ノ監禁ヲ喜ヒ居ル如シトカ張ト赤露トノ共同説ハ眞偽不  
明トカ厭味ヲ並ヘ居ルモ之亦當國一般言論界大勢ト現在日獨關係ニ  
氣兼セルモノノ如ク遠慮勝チナリ

英、米、佛へ暗送セリ

外  
務  
省

平  
外務省

情報部

第一課長

昭和三年四月八日 機受

普通公文三九三番

昭和十一年拾二月十八日

後

在リッゾアール

領事 野田実之助

外務大臣 有田八郎殿

蒋介石拘禁事件に関する新聞論説二篇に件

蒋介石拘禁事件の南シ報拾二月十八日「アイリソン」の  
イム紙の在りて、論議欄に於て、支那の進出に  
概要大記題曰「支那の進出」  
支那政局の混乱中、在リッゾアールに在りて得る事ハ  
日本が漸次支那に勢力を擴張シテアルトシテ、其

在リッゾアール日本領事館

終止と云ふ事、歐洲人に見慣れ又人名地名は格等西  
派の主張に當るべきは、彼等以下下支支の起リソ、  
丁ニ事案一真相ヲ確メテト、何故ニ南京政府ヲ  
陳述省ニシテ、乃一軍隊ヲ送リテ、カヲ悉ク、  
困難ヲアル、(池)ヲ展望良軍隊一隊反、蔣介石ノ  
拘禁ヲ展望良、対日強硬意見等ヲ付録述シテ  
以テ、日本ノ対支政策ハ、二週間前、行進トシ、  
封鎖、侵略ノ阻、並ニ、敵ヲ下シ、然レ、  
反北、日本、難局ヲ打開シ、結果トシ、  
一、華産的、  
解、  
洲、  
蔣、

在リッゾアール日本領事館

取立設計ヲアツト進めんとす。其初米産量ノクナレド運  
ツタフヲオク結果ハ日本ノ米各産地ツクテオツタ日  
本ハ亦道他運上ノ反共協定ヲ結ビ何國カ  
之運上ノ領ヲ承認セシメ政府ニ對シ多數ノ要亦ヲ  
提出シタガ以テ米價ノ高水ナ米販トオツタ日本ハ其地  
位ヲ及んた産地ノ權ヲカハシ日本ノ領有上米價果  
トナリヨハ爾后右ノ用ト深ク政策ノ多ク日本ノ運上  
ヲ阻シズ結果トオツタ從テ日本ハ大ニ憤慨シ日  
本ノ販米者セシメテ政府上ノ危機ヲ現出スルニ至  
タ皆以此時ニ即ニ反札ヲ起テ其即ノ不統一ニ事  
業ヲ奉獻シ爾后右ノ形ハ蓄積ナリ日本ノ取リ手  
涉リ理由ヲ出テ其張學良ヲ買収セラレテ反札ヲ  
起シテ大ニ和協出テ又ト其ナイカ事案ヲ真相ハ免

在リツアプール日本領事館

又商販ノ反札ハ日本方見シテ恐トテ夫レトセテ(其  
テアレ

左報告ス

本信譯送付先 在葉木便

在リツアプール日本領事館

手

普通公文書

昭和十一年拾月十八日

在リッヅアール

領事 野田実三郎

外務大臣 有田八郎殿

蒋介石拘禁事件に関する新聞論説二篇送付

蒋介石拘禁事件の閉じ括三月十八日、アイリランド  
イギリス紙「イングリッシュ」論説欄に於て、支那の謎はト  
ル根要大起轉百々述ラるル

支那政局の混乱中、在リッヅアール有田八郎領事ハ  
日本が漸次支那に勢力を擴張シテ、ソノ結果トシテ、

在リッヅアール日本領事館

他ト云フに、歐洲人は見慣レヌ人、故に其様子を  
派ノ主張ニ當テ、彼等ニ目下支那に起リワ  
下ニ事案ノ真相ヲ確メ、ト何故ニ南京政府ヲ  
陝西省ニシテ、ソノ軍隊ヲ送ソカケルニカ、極メテ  
困難ナル、(此ヲ見学長軍隊一隊反、蒋介石ノ  
拘禁ハ見学長ノ対日強硬意見等ニ付、述レタ  
レ後)日本ノ対支政策トハ、追前ノ行詰リトシ  
討支侵略ト阻止セシメ、然レニ見学長ノ  
反乱ハ日本ノ難局ヲ打開シテ結果トシタ、見学長  
ノ意圖的ニソレ反目的謀反ノ真相ハ遠ホカ、良ク  
解ラヌカ、派ハ支那ノ宿弊トシテ、一頭目ヲ端  
洲事件ノ際大金ヲ持ツテ、遠退シテ者ナル、派カ  
蒋介石ヲ拘禁シテ、人南宗カラ資金ト権カトヲ強

在リッヅアール日本領事館



取ルニ欲シテラアツトモハレシ、又邦米産軍ノシメニ陪  
 ツタニトテナク結案ハ日本ノシメニ違ツタケトナシタ日  
 本ハ亦近ニ他途トシ反共協定ヲ結ビ何國ノア  
 ビンテシテ領ヲ承認シ又邦政府ニ対シ多数ノ要ホヲ  
 提出シタカ以テ案ハ案ヲ重木ナ米販トナシタ日本ハ其地  
 位ヲ強クシテ存ラ置シカハ日本ノ貿易上大損米  
 トナリ又蔣介石ノ用ニ深ク政策ノシメ日本ノ建康  
 ヲ阻スルニ結果トナシタ從テ日本ハ大ニ憤慨シ日  
 本ノ般ハ米穀シシタメニ政治上ノ危機ヲ現出スルニ至ツ  
 タ惜ニ此時ニ又邦ニ反乱ノ起リ支那ノ不統一ニ事  
 案ヲ暴露シ蔣介石ノ影ハ薄クナリ日本ニ取リテ  
 涉ノ理由ヲ出サタ張學良ヲ官收セラレテ反乱ヲ  
 起シテト又想像出サタトナイカキ案ノ真相ハ免

在リヴァプール日本領事館

又角 張ノ反乱ハ日本ヲ見レハ殆ト天祐ト云フ(キ  
 テアハ  
 左報告ス

本信ヲ送付先 在英大使

在リヴァプール日本領事館

兼 郵 副

亞米利加局

第三課長

CONSULATE OF JAPAN, PORTLAND, OREGON, U. S. A.

青通第二四八號  
昭和十一年十二月十八日

第一課長

昭和十一年一月拾日接受

別紙添付

在ポートランド

領事 鶴見

外務大臣 有田 八郎 殿

蒋介石監禁問題ニ關スル論調報告ノ件

蒋介石カ西安ニ於テ張學良ノ爲虐殺セラレタリトノ報道ハ逸早く東京發同盟通信トシテ本月十二日當地オレゴンジャーナル紙ニ掲載セラレタルヲ始メトシテ其後各紙共一齊ニ東京上海及南京等各地通信ヲ連日第一頁重要欄ニ掲載シ一般ノ注意ヲ惹キ居レル處十二月十六日オレゴン紙ハ本事件ニ關シ左記要領ノ論說ヲ掲ケタリ  
蒋介石ハ數週前迄ハ日本側ノ強硬ナル要求ニ對シ讓歩スルノ態度

CONSULATE OF JAPAN, PORTLAND, OREGON, U. S. A.

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ニ出テ居タルモ廣東派ノ失脚及蔣ノ五十回誕生日後彼ノ日本政府ニ對スル態度ハ一變スルニ至レリ其ノ誕生日ニ當リ蔣ハ米國ヨリ購入セル多數ノ飛行機ヲ贈ラレタリ又當日ハ未タ曾テ見サル強力ナル軍隊ノ示威運動南京ニ於テ行ハレタリ  
日本側ハ從來支那ニ於ケル共產黨討伐ニ對シ日本軍ノ參加ヲ要求シ來レルカ蔣介石ノ監禁又ハ虐殺ハ前記要求貫徹ニ理想的口實ヲ與フルモノナリ從テ今回ノ事件ニ付日本側ニ對スル嫌疑ハ濃厚トナルヘシ  
最近未タ曾テナキ強力ナル政府ヲ組織セル蔣介石ハ日本ノ北支ニ於ケル行動及中南支ニ於ケル要求ニ對シ武力ヲ以テ反抗セントスルノ決意ヲ示セルカ蔣ノナキ後ニ於テハ再ヒ支那ハ不秩序ニ陥ルヘシ  
蒋介石監禁問題ニ關シ張學良ノ行動ノ裏ニ日本側ノ使喚アリトスルノ莫斯科電報當地新聞ニ報道セラレ又前記オレゴン紙論說ハ日

本側ニ對シ疑惑ノ眼ヲ向ケ居ル等ノ事情アリシヲ以テ本官ヨリオレ  
 ゴニアン紙ト競争ノ立場ニアルジャーナル紙記者ニ對シインタヴ  
 ユーヲ與ヘ「蔣介石ニ比シ遙カニ激シキ排日家タル張學良ヲ日本側  
 カ使嫉スルカ如キコトハ殆ト想像シ難キ所ニシテ張學良カ蔣監禁後  
 蘇聯トノ協力及抗日ヲ聲明セルノ事實及陝西省地方カ共產軍ノ  
 ナルノ事實ニ鑑ミテモ莫斯科第三インタナショナルノ使嫉アリト  
 爲ス想像ノ方遙カニ事實ニ近カルヘキ旨又日本ハ今回ノ事件ヲ利用  
 シ支那ニ對シ要求カマシキ態度ニ出ツルカ如キコト無カルヘク日本  
 ハ極東ノ安定勢力タルコトヲ以テ其ノ責務ト爲シ居リ支那ノ混亂ヲ  
 希望スルモノニアラス蔣介石カ虐殺セラレ又ハ其ノ地位ヲ失フ場合  
 ハ支那ハ當分不安ノ状態ニ陥ルヘク斯ル事態ハ日本側ニトリ政治的  
 ニモ經濟的ニモ利益ニアラサルコト勿論ナリ支那カ統一アル國家ナ  
 リト多クノ外國人ハ考ヘ居ルカ如クナルモ右ハ大ナル誤ナリ今回ノ  
 事件ハ之ヲ證明シ居レリ支那ノ~~専~~腦者ハ其ノ政敵ヲ監禁シ又ハ虐殺

スルコトヲ常習ト爲シ居リ嘗テ張學良楊宇霆ヲ麻雀ニ招待シ之ヲ虐  
 殺シ又蔣介石モ糾漢民其ノ他ノ要人ヲ多數監禁セルコトアリ今回ノ  
 事件ノ如キモ支那ニトリテハ別ニ珍ラシキコトニハアラス」云々ト  
 説明シ置ケル處夕刊「ジ」紙ハ十二月十六日別紙切抜ノ通り當地支  
 那領事ノ蔣虐殺説ヲ否定セル談話ト共ニ前記本官談話ヲ掲載セリ  
 次ニ支那ノ無秩序ニ關シ十二月十七日オレゴニアン紙ハ「將軍曉ニ  
 死ス」トノ題下ニ左記要領ノ論説ヲ掲ケタリ  
 將軍曉ニ死スト題スル活動寫眞ニ對シ先般支那政府ハ右寫眞ニ現  
 ハレ居ルカ如キ事件ハ最早ヤ支那ノ實情ニ則セストノ理由ノ下ニ  
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DAILY JOURNAL, PORTLAND, OREGON

In the Far East



十一月十五日  
シヤリナレ

REEL No. A-0869

0326

アジア歴史資料センター

# Chinese Here Receive Word Chiang Alive

By Sterling F. Green

General Chiang Kai-shek is not dead at the hands of his mutinous "young marshal," but is alive and on his way to Nanking, a brief dispatch received at Chinese Nationalist party headquarters here late Tuesday afternoon reported.

The dispatch, sent by cablegram from party headquarters in Nanking, seemed to hint at rescue by one of young Marshal Chang Hsueh-liang's subordinates who was in sympathy with the kidnaped head of state.

"General Chiang Kai-shek, head of the Chinese Nationalist government, was released and is on his way to Nanking by airplane," an almost literal translation of the dispatch read, "through the help of Lieutenant Liu Doo-sien, a subordinate of Marshal Chang Hsueh-liang."

Substantiating the report that Chiang lives but not the news of his release, a message from the Nanking government was received today by Su Shang Chi, acting Chinese consul here saying the report of the generalissimo's death is "entirely false and without foundation."

**Support Chiang**  
The dispatches caused hopes to soar among Chinese citizens here, who are deeply in accord with the "strong man of China's" slow and sure policy of building up the Chinese military until it is powerful enough to resist Japan. The first message was relayed through party headquarters in San Francisco.

What reason the young marshal may have had for broadcasting an announcement of assassinations that did not take place the local Chinese headquarters could not guess, but they credited the Domei (Japanese) news agency with spreading the report with ulterior intent.

They charged the chaotic conditions resulting from the news would be employed as a smoke screen for further Japanese penetration of Sui-huan in the guise of "protecting Japanese interests."

**Reason Is Given**  
They said there is no doubt the generalissimo was kidnaped, however, by his unruly underlord. The reason, it was said, was an attempt to force on General Chiang a policy of active resistance against Japan.

Hard feeling between the two has been evident since 1932, when Chang Hsueh-liang, lost Manchuria, his "three Eastern provinces," because of General Chiang's counsel that he remain inactive in the face of Japanese penetration.

While the Japanese and other accusations flew between Russia and Japan for responsibility for the mutiny, Portland's Japanese consul, Ken Tsurumi, advanced the view that Japan would hardly have inspired the young marshal to rebellion when it is well known he is more violently anti-Japanese than the kidnaped General Chiang.

**Russia Suspected**  
"Do you believe Russia may have backed Chang's rebellion in an effort to prod China into war with Japan?" Consul Tsurumi was asked.

"That is a most reasonable guess," said the Japanese representative. "It is impossible to think Chang Hsueh-liang could take such a drastic step unsupported."

"Moscow has said Japan is sponsoring the uprising, but according to newspaper reports, Chang is advocating immediate war against Japan and a union with Russia. It is true also that there are many soldiers with leanings to the Third International at the station where the young marshal was posted."

Consul Tsurumi said Japan has no intention of taking advantage of China's turmoil to make demands. His statement was later substantiated, in cable reports, by a similar friendly declaration by the Japanese ambassador to China.

**Must Be Strong Man**

"Japan aims at being the stabilizing factor in Asiatic affairs," Tsurumi explained. "We are sorry that China is in a chaotic condition. If Chiang Kai-shek has been killed, or loses power, the chaos will last for many years, and that is not to Japan's interest diplomatically or commercially. There must be one strong man in China."

Consul Tsurumi does not believe the young marshal is powerful enough to supplant Kai-shek.

"Marshal Chang inherited great lands and many troops from his father, Chang Tso-lin, the Manchurian warlord, but he is not a strong character personally."

"His father was clever enough to keep his power and still appear to get along with Japan. The marshal is not. His father's policy was to stay north of the Great Wall and never to penetrate China proper. Marshal Chang let himself be induced into China by Chiang Kai-shek, and the latter quickly dimmed Chang's luster. The one-time lord of all Manchuria became a deputy commander under the head of state, a more or less empty honor, and in other ways his power was withdrawn."

"There must be personal reasons inspiring the present mutiny. However, I think it is impossible for him to grasp control. He cannot succeed, for China is not a unified nation."

"Foreigners still make the error of thinking of China as a solid, unified country. Apparently Chiang Kai-shek made the same mistake. He made a journey into the deep interior, and found himself kidnaped."

The tactics of kidnap, imprisonment and political murder are not new to either principal in China's current crisis. Consul Tsurumi said. The young marshal in 1929 invited to his home Yang Yu-ting, an underlord who was becoming powerful. Instead of dinner and mah-jong, Yang found death at the hands of his host.

Generalissimo Chiang Kai-shek has also used the method of political detention. For a long period last year he imprisoned Hu Han-min, a strong leader of Canton and Kansai and a close friend of Sun Yat-sen, first president of the Chinese republic. Heart-broken, Hu Han-min died shortly after his release.

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Chiang Kai-Shek

"My government has overcome the twin menaces of communism and disunion. We can wholly dismiss any insinuation that some exterior great power is needed to help China maintain order within her own borders."—Statement of Dictator Chiang Kai-Shek, on the occasion of his fiftieth birthday, early in November.

It is possible that this statement, the equivalent of a declaration of independence against Japan, holds the secret of the more recent developments in China—of the revolt of Marshal Chang Hsiang-shang, the kidnapping and execution of the dictator, and the plunging of China back into disorder?

It is a serious suspicion to hold, and yet the facts dovetail so nicely that suspicion is unavoidable. Until a few weeks ago, Chiang Kai-Shek was still following the policy of giving way to every determined Japanese demand. Then suddenly, following the collapse of the Cantonese rebellion and coincident with his fiftieth birthday, Chiang's tone toward Tokio completely altered. His birthday cake was covered not with candles but with models of aerial bombers bought in America and presented to the generalissimo in place of new neckties and gloves. Through the streets of Nanking paraded the Inner regiments of the dictator's personal army, in the most pretentious display modern China has known.

All this, climaxed by the rebuffs encountered by Japanese envoys, who were accustomed to fear and acquiescence on the part of the Chinese officials, cannot but have had its effect in Japan. In fact, Japanese propaganda against communism was suddenly redoubled, and the signing of the anti-communist pact with Germany followed a few days later.

Now should it be forgotten that one of the principal Japanese demands, not only in the past, but that Japanese troops be allowed to participate in the internal Chinese wars against communism. The kidnapping of Chiang, and his slaying—now admitted—give the ideal excuse for such interference. That working out of the situation, from the Japanese standpoint, puts Japan under suspicion.

None of Chiang Kai-Shek to China is a serious blow. A little man, a native of Nanking, who had received military training in the Japanese military school at Tokio, he began his spectacular rise to the stature of Chinese dictator when he marched northward from Canton in 1926, at the head of an army largely financed and inspired from Moscow. Within five years he had most of the country under his thumb, but this had involved a seemingly complete break with the soviet union. Some of the sub-warlords, still giving lip-service to communism, had retreated westward, leaving Chiang with headquarters in Nanking.

The years since have seen Chiang carrying on persistent campaigns against these western rebels, and at the same time holding Japanese advances in the north to what he considered the minimum. His free time and his free energies have been given up to arming the Chinese people and to efforts to build up the army, construct roads, organize a commissariat. He married a Chinese girl who was a graduate of Wellesley and himself became a Southern Methodist, saying:

"I feel the need of a God such as Jesus Christ."  
His was the strongest government China had had in more than a generation. There was every indication in the past few weeks that he at last was ready enough and desperate enough to make armed resistance, if that were necessary, to the latest Japanese bludge into north China and the latest demands upon central and southern China. With him gone, disorder once more sweeps those unhappy lands.

FRIDAY, DECEMBER 18, 1936

Will Duty Still Call Though the Dead Be Alive?

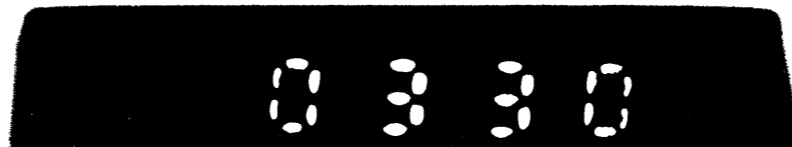


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**"The General Died at Dawn"**  
 China's national government made protest a while back against the motion picture issued from Hollywood under the title "The General Died at Dawn." Such a picture, said the protest, gave an inaccurate view of the present-day situation. Such things didn't happen any more.  
 When the producing company, Paramount, refused to withdraw the film, the Chinese government issued a ban against all films from that company. At that same time it ordered its diplomatic and consular agents in all parts of the world to make protest against the showing.  
 And now, shockingly, the general actually has died at dawn, or maybe at sunset or high noon. That is, he has died, if the statement issued by young Marshal Chang is to be credited. In any case, the actual happenings in connection with Chiang Kai-Shek's kidnaping are at least as bizarre and melodramatic as those conceived of in the film. So Paramount comes out of the incident justified. It has been a case of art following life rather than of life following art.

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REEL No. A-0869





情報部

第一部長

附屬添附

第三部長

普通公第七九二號

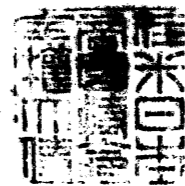
昭和十一年十二月十八日

昭和十一年一月拾貳日接受

東亞局

在米

特命全權大使 齋藤



外務大臣 有田 八郎 殿

亞米利加局

蔣介石監禁ニ關スル新聞情報送付ノ件

十三日蔣介石監禁ノ報道當地ニ傳ハルヤ各方面ニ多大ノ衝動ヲ與ヘタルカ如ク新聞モ亦競ツテ右ニ關スル支那方面ノ通信ヲ掲載セルノミナラス殆ト連日論說ヲ掲ケテ蔣ノ運命乃至支那ノ前途ヲ憂ヒ或ハ張學良ノ無謀ヲ戒ムル所アリ在支通信員ノ記事ハ大体ニ於テ事實ノ真相ヲ捕ヘントスルニ努メ居ルカ如ク今日迄ノ處特ニ注意ヲ要スルモノナキカ如シ、尙我方ニ於テ學良ト赤軍トノ關係ニ言及シ惹イテ日獨協定ノ緊

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ニ付委細右ニ依リ御承知相成度シ  
本信寫送付先 在支大使及南京

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REEL No. A-0869

0332

アジア歴史資料センター

# China Storms Chang City to Save Chiang

## Troops Besieging Sianfu in Desperate Hope of Rescuing Dictator After Captor Balks Mediation

## Japan May Back Insurgent Cause

## Joyous at Nanking's Dilemma Despite Marshal's Call for War on Tokio

By Elizabeth Keen

From the Herald Tribune Bureau  
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SHANGHAI, Dec. 16.—Giving up hope for peaceful release of Generalissimo Chiang Kai-shek by his captor, Marshal Chang Hsueh-liang, the National government at Nanking issued a mandate today, following a decision by the Central Political Council, ordering the immediate launching of a punitive expedition against Chang. General Ho Ying-chin, War Minister, was appointed commander-in-chief of the expeditionary forces.

Following a report to Nanking from W. H. Donald, emissary of the government who earlier this week conferred with both Chiang and Chang at Sianfu, Shensi Province capital, that the young marshal was reluctant even to discuss the release of the Nanking dictator, the government pinned its hopes on its battalions of bluecoated, tin-helmeted, goose-stepping, German-trained crack troops to rescue Chiang, indicating that negotiations had broken down completely.

The government is taking a desperate chance that Marshal Chang will not kill the Generalissimo in the face of superior attacking forces.

**Nanking Troops Besiege Sianfu**  
Late tonight it was learned that the Nanking forces had arrived at the suburbs of Sianfu and were digging in preparatory to an extended siege, while fighting of an unimportant nature had begun outside the

wall of the city. Troop-trains had reached a point close to the Sianfu station, it was said.

Military observers estimate the rebellious troops at about ten divisions, not presenting a serious problem from a military standpoint.

The government is informed that Marshal Chang has assumed the office of "Commander in Chief of the Northwestern Army Group of Chinese Anti-Japanese Forces."

A confidant of Chang's told the correspondent that the marshal was aiming at the recovery of his former glory in Manchuria, where he and his father before him were supreme war lords. This hope is shared by a large part of his followers. Hating Emperor Kang Teh, the Japanese puppet on the throne of Manchukuo, as a usurper, Marshal Chang is consumed by desire to regain the Tiger Throne from his former Mukden palace.

**Tokio May Help Chang**

Paradoxically, it appears that Chang is unlikely to realize his dream unless the Japanese make concessions to him in repayment for his present revolt, which ostensibly is anti-Japanese in nature. Despite the marshal's avowed desire for a stronger stand against Japanese imperialism, such a development is not improbable.

The Japanese are unable to conceal their joy over the present precariousness of China's one-man government, which lately thumbed its nose at Tokio.

Meanwhile, so far as can be ascertained, the Generalissimo is still alive and still a captive in Sianfu. Mrs. Chiang Kai-shek today received a telegraph message from Colonel J. L. Huang, executive secretary of the Moral Endeavor Society and an old friend of Chiang, who accompanied Donald to Sianfu early this week. Huang said that the Nanking government chief was well.

Donald, who was instructed by the government to cancel his second scheduled trip to Sianfu as a mediator, was expected in the capital tonight by train. His plane had made a forced landing at Pngpu, midway between Suchow and Pukow, because of bad weather. He was expected to bring additional details of the Sianfu situation.

T. V. Soong, former Finance Minister, announced tonight that he had been requested by the government to proceed to Nanking from Shanghai. He will leave here tomorrow morning. He said he had received a telegram from Marshal Chang asking him to proceed to Sianfu as mediator, but he did not know if he would go.

Meanwhile, taking advantage of the Sianfu rebellion, Manchukuo irregulars were expected momentarily to launch a counter-offensive against the Chinese forces in eastern Suiyuan Province, according to a telegram received at Nanking by General Yen Hai-shan, vice-chairman of the Military Affairs Committee, which Chiang

heads, Prince Teh Wang, pro-Chinese Mongol leader, arrived at Sianfu accompanied by ten airplanes and an artillery battalion. Enemy planes flew over the government lines at Hungkehertu, dropping approximately twenty bombs.

The official text of the radio speech delivered by Marshal Chang on Monday evening, as released by the central radio station today, proved that dispatches were in error in alleging that it contained an admission by Chang that he had assassinated Chiang.

**Japanese Urges China-Tokio Pact**

PEIPING, Dec. 16 (AP).—China should seek an accord with Japan against communism, Major Takeo Inai, assistant Japanese military attache in China, declared today. He said the Tokio government was ready to assist Chinese officials in suppressing Communist activities in northern provinces.

His statement was viewed with concern in official circles, where fear was expressed that pressure might be exerted on China to join the Japanese-German agreement against communism.

**Hopel Head Dodges Parley**

PEIPING, Dec. 17 (Thursday) (UP).—Chinese said today that General Sung Cheh-Yuan, chairman of the Hopel-Chahar political council, had sought refuge in a hospital on the pretext of illness to avoid seeing representatives of the Japanese army who had renewed pressure on him to agree to stronger measures for "China-Japanese co-operation."

**Chang Demanded Soviet Tie-up**

NANKING, Dec. 16 (UP).—Marshal Chang Hsueh-liang demanded union with Russia and war against Japan in exchange for the release of Generalissimo Chiang Kai-shek, according to a transcript of his speech broadcast from Sianfu, as issued today by the government.

The marshal, according to the transcript, demanded coalition of the governmental Kuomintang party and the establishment of a national defense government in place of the present one. "We want to fight," Chang was quoted as saying.

It was this speech which was the basis for a report disseminated from Tokio yesterday by the official Domei News Agency of Japan that the young marshal had executed the generalissimo and a group of his aides, held at Sianfu. On the contrary, as issued here, the young marshal's speech gave firm guarantees for the generalissimo's safety.

It was asserted that a full report of the speech was taken down at the government's broadcasting station here and that no mention was made of any execution. But the transcript as issued showed that the marshal seemed firm in his demands. It quoted him as saying:

**Wants Government Overthrown**

"The central government has not been sincere in carrying out resistance against Japan. This has been shown by lengthy negotiations and the suppression of patriotic movements. So we must gather our forces, overthrow the central government and expedite the national salvation."

"China should consider an immediate anti-Japanese military expedition her only national task at present."

Therefore we could not wait longer. We want to fight.

"Sun Yat-sen in his will said that China should unite with peoples who treat us on a basis of equality. We must realize that union with Russia is the only course left in the sphere of international co-operation."

"In order to consolidate our strength we must unite all patriotic forces and public bodies in a common struggle against Japanese imperialism. Therefore, the leading political parties of China, namely, the Kuomintang (Government) and Communist parties, should unite for the common good."

"Anti-Communist military operations should be stopped and all the country's guns should be directed against Japan."

"A national defense government should be established for the purpose. The present Kuomintang government should be abolished."

"It is regrettable that Generalissimo Chiang Kai-shek still opposes our ideas. So long as he remains opposed he shall remain at Sianfu in order to think it over at his leisure. I personally guarantee his safety and hope he will agree with our policy."

**New Negotiator Named**

SHANGHAI, Dec. 16 (UP).—The Nanking government today named an additional negotiator, Moh Teh-hui, to deal with Marshal Chang Hsueh-liang for the release of Generalissimo Chiang Kai-shek.

In explaining the appointment it was said that W. H. Donald, former adviser on European affairs to Marshal Chang and his father and lately an attache of the Nanking government, had been acting as the "personal representative of Mrs. Chiang Kai-shek. Moh, it was said, will be the official Nanking representative."

He was en route from Peiping to Nanking today to confer with Dr. H. H. Kung, acting head of the government, before proceedings to Marshal Chang's headquarters.

Marshal Chang has been deeply indebted to Moh since 1928-29, when the diplomat extricated him from his unofficial war with Soviet Russia, brought on by Marshal Chang's action in seizing the then Soviet-owned Chinese Eastern Railway in north Manchuria.

No word has been received here of forty to fifty foreigners residing in Sianfu, most of whom are missionaries. The others are in trade or officers attached to various government services. The China Inland Mission has a branch there, and there are several Italian Catholic missionaries in the Shensi capital, including twelve foreign nuns.

Likewise, there is no word from foreigners at Lanchow, in Kansu Province west of Shensi, which also is cut off from all communications.

Dr. Kung will broadcast to the United States over an NBC hook-up from 10:45 to 11 a. m. (Eastern standard time) tomorrow. He will be introduced by John R. Morris, Far East manager of The United Press, and will outline the position of the Nanking government in the present crisis.

**Yu Named to Shensi Post**

SHANGHAI, Dec. 16 (AP).—Yu Yu-Jen, veteran Nationalist party leader and chairman of the Control Yuan of the Nanking regime, was appointed pacification commissioner for Shensi today. He was expected to go to the center of trouble immediately.

Nanking hoped his appointment would influence some of Marshal Chang's wavering followers to desert his cause, since Yu is held in high esteem by some of the rebel commanders who have been his political disciples, and also by some of the Chinese Communist chieftains in the Northwest.

Military authorities at Nanking disarmed an artillery brigade stationed there which was formerly commanded by Marshal Chang. This was in precaution against possible mutiny, Chinese sources said.

**American Aviator "Detained"**

HANKOW, China, Dec. 16 (AP).—Royal Leonard, of Glendale, Calif., pilot attached to the Hankow Airport, has been "detained" at Sianfu, Julius Barr, director of the aviation station, reported today.

Barr said national government troops had seized the Hankow field, which belongs to Marshal Chang Hsueh-liang. Barr, a resident of Pittsburg, said five Americans had been thrown out of work by the troops' action and twenty Chinese mechanics and students arrested.

**Pilot for Chang and Chiang**

WACO, Tex., Dec. 6 (AP).—Royal Leonard, American pilot reported detained by troops in China, said in a letter to the Rev. J. J. Grier last week that he was flying for Marshal Chang Hsueh-liang and frequently piloted Generalissimo Chiang Kai-shek on trips. Leonard is a native of Waco.

# Japanese Navy To Aid Nationals In China's Crisis

Tokio, Fearing Civil War, May Order Residents to Quit Interior for Coast

By Wilfrid Fleisher

*By Wireless to the Herald Tribune*  
Copyright, 1936, New York Tribune Inc.  
TOKIO, Dec. 13. — The Japanese Navy Ministry was prepared tonight to ask the Foreign Office to order all Japanese residents in China to withdraw from points in the interior to coastal cities, such as Shanghai and Tsingtao, where they can receive the protection of the Japanese Navy in the event of civil war breaking out in China in the wake of the capture of Generalissimo Chiang Kai-shek, chief of the Nanking Central government, by the rebel Marshal Chang Hsueh-liang.

Instructions were dispatched by the Navy Ministry to Vice-Admiral Kiyoshi Hasegawa, newly appointed commander of the Third Fleet, to prepare to extend protection to Japanese residents in China. Authorities here believe that if Generalissimo Chiang has been slain it will be impossible for the Nanking government to retain control of the whole of China and that disturbances will break out in various localities.

The decision to have the Japanese fleet in China in readiness to protect

Japanese nationals was reached at a conference today among Vice-Admiral Isoroku Yamamoto, Vice-Minister of the Navy; Soetake Toyoda, chief of the Naval Affairs Bureau, and other high officials of the Navy Department.

Officials of the Foreign Office decided today to co-operate with officials of the War and Navy Ministries in adopting measures to cope with the "great confusion" which they fear will develop in China as a result of the clash between the forces of the Nanking government and the rebel troops of Marshal Chang.

Foreign Minister Hachiro Arima met today with Kensuke Horinouchi, Vice-Minister of Foreign Affairs, and with Kazuo Kuwahara, chief of the East Asia division of the Foreign Office, to discuss the situation. After their meeting instructions were cabled in all Japanese consular officials in China to be prepared to take measures for the protection of Japanese nationals and property.

Domel, the Japanese semi-official news agency, quoted comment of Japanese diplomatic authorities as follows:

"If the situation in China develops into civil war, endangering the lives of Japanese residents and property, Japan will have to take the necessary counter measures.

"Japan does not like to see China's domestic situation thrown into disorder, as this country is especially anxious to adjust Chino-Japanese relations. It is hoped, therefore, that the present incident can be solved

quickly, thus preventing further activities by Communists.

Chang "Badly Treated"  
"Marshal Chang Hsueh-liang has been badly treated by the Nanking government, and nursed a grudge against Generalissimo Chiang Kai-shek. He has been watching for a chance to revolt, and it is supposed that the recent reassertion of the influence of Communist troops in China and the vigorous activities of the Comintern (Communist International) encouraged Marshal Chang to oppose Generalissimo Chiang.

"It is most important for Japan to watch the Red influence behind the revolt. It is feared that if civil war develops it will precipitate a serious crisis for the Nanking government, and that, even if Nanking succeeds in subjugating the revolt, there will be a great shake-up in the Nanking government.

"It is quite possible that the 200,000 troops under Marshal Chang in Shensi Province will turn Communist and establish their influence over the northwestern district of China."

The newspaper "Asahi" charged that the influence of a "certain power"—the obvious reference to Soviet Russia—was visible behind Marshal Chang. If the Nanking government accepts the proposal of Marshal Chang to save the life of Generalissimo Chiang, said "Asahi," it would mean its downfall. An immediate declaration of war against Japan, an attempt to reconquer Manchuria and the adoption of Comintern police by China, as reportedly demanded by Marshal Chang, would, "Asahi" added, "have a revolutionary effect on Chino-Japanese relations."

Refers Again to Russia  
"Asahi" said it believed it to be impossible for the Nanking government to accept the terms, but declared that if it should the Japanese government would take "the necessary counter-measures." The newspaper concluded by charging that "a certain power has begun to show its true policy, stimulated by the recent conclusion of the German-Japanese treaty."

The coup d'etat in China came as a severe shock to Japanese officials and Japanese opinion. Marshal Chang is bitterly hated in Japan, where his administration of Manchuria has been blamed for conditions which, it is said here, led to the outbreak in 1931, resulting in the formation of the Japanese-supported state of Manchukuo. His alleged maladministration of Manchuria was cited in Japanese documents presented to the League of Nations in Japan's effort to justify her invasion of Manchuria.

The coup d'etat in China occurs at a time when the Japanese public has been voicing dissatisfaction with the recent breakdown of Chino-Japanese negotiations and the failure of Japan to obtain what she was after. Not only were the Japanese demands whittled down but the Chinese refused even the few points upon which an agreement at first seemed possible, thus angering Japanese officialdom and public alike. The advent of Marshal Chang to power with a more positive anti-Japanese policy would render the failure even more marked.

Reds Seen Behind Revolt

TOKIO, Dec. 13 (P).—The Japanese naval high command today received reports from commanders in China waters that Communists had a hand in the revolt in which Marshal Chang Hsueh-liang on Saturday seized Generalissimo Chiang Kai-shek.

Japanese leaders feared the situation in China might develop along lines similar to the Spanish civil war because of the Communist elements involved. In that event, they said, the peace of the entire Far East might be

involved, making action by Japan necessary.

The Japanese garrison in North China, based at Tientsin, reported that unrest was mounting rapidly and

there was danger of a nation-wide conflagration in China.

The Shanghai correspondent of the Tokio "Nichi Nichi" telegraphed that Marshal Chang had organized an independent government at Sianfu with the support of the Soviet, with which the "young marshal" was said to be concluding an offensive and defensive alliance.

Kwangsi Counted In

The correspondent asserted also that the coup was carried out with the full knowledge and co-operation of the disaffected militarists of the southwestern province of Kwangsi, who have been keeping in close contact with the Communists of China.

Marshal Chang, who took Generalissimo Chiang captive at Sianfu in Shensi Province Saturday, was believed in some sources to be seeking support of Communist-irregular armies in that area.

Dispatches from Shanghai, Peiping, Tientsin and Nanking indicated that Chinese authorities rapidly were losing hope that the head of their government might still be alive. Nanking's action in ordering punitive measures against Marshal Chang before negotiating with the rebels for release of the generalissimo gave rise to the belief he had been killed, Chinese dispatches indicated.

General Chen To-chun, associate of Generalissimo Chiang, was slain in cold blood by the rebels, Chinese sources stated. They cited this as indication that the government-military leader also might be dead. There was no confirmation of reports that Chiang had been slain, but it was believed by many Chinese that he was killed shortly after the mutiny Saturday morning.

Hsu Shih-ying, Chinese Ambassador at Tokio, declared he had been informed from Shanghai that Generalissimo Chiang was believed to be still alive and that negotiations were under way for release of the general.

# MOSCOW ACCUSES JAPAN IN UPRISING

Thinks Chinese Revolt Aims to Weaken Nanking and Open Way for Aggressions.

AGAIN DENIES ALL CHARGES

Says Rebel Gen. Chang Is Not Kind of Man With Whom Any Government Would Treat.

By HAROLD DENNY

Special Cable to THE NEW YORK TIMES.  
MOSCOW, Dec. 14.—The Soviet press in the revolt of General Chang Hsueh-liang in China and his capture of Generalissimo Chiang Kai-shek not an anti-Japanese and pro-Soviet movement, as it was at first represented to be, but another Japanese manoeuvre designed to weaken and disorganize China at a moment when she is at last beginning to assert herself against Japanese aggression.

Because the Soviet, for obvious strategic reasons, wishes a strong, united China, the new turn of events is viewed with deep concern here.

Soviet officials this evening amplified their formal denial, issued earlier, of assertions that General Chang was supported by the Soviet Union and had concluded an offensive and defensive alliance with it. They said that even if the rebel general had proposed any form of alliance with them they would have rejected it, if for no other reason because he was not the kind of person with whom any serious government would treat.

The confusion with which the fragmentary and conflicting reports were received here yesterday had cleared somewhat today, and though wishing fuller details, officials were able to define their position. They declared that General Chang's past performances had been highly dubious and that, far from being a champion of Chinese integrity against Japanese aggression, he, as Governor of Manchuria, had virtually turned over his province to the Japanese.

They charged openly that his purported movement against Japan now was a "fake," inspired by former Premier Wang Ching-wei under Japanese instructions to insure that Japan be not confronted by a strong China in renewed military operations, which Japan is believed here to be contemplating.

"The immediate result of General Chang's action can be only a new outbreak of civil war, which can be used by Japan for further aggression against China," says the newspaper Ivestia editorially. "The thing most to be wished for China, in the light of the new events, is the earliest possible liquidation of the rebellion, which is so manifestly in contradiction to China's interests."

Brisk diplomacy has been carried on here for the past week between the new Japanese Ambassador, Mamoru Shigemitsu, and Foreign Commissar Maxim Litvinoff in an effort to iron out difficulties that became acute when the Japanese-German agreement was made public. At that time Japanese and diplomatic officials here had completed long and wearisome negotiations for renewal of the Japanese fisheries concession in Siberian waters. The Soviet representatives withheld their signatures at the last moment when the anti-Communist agreement was announced.

Fish from Soviet waters are an

important part of Japan's food supply and there has been a great outcry in Japan over the breakdown of the negotiations. Mr. Shigemitsu has been pressing hard in repeated visits to induce the Soviet to reconsider. The Foreign Office announced tonight that Mr. Litvinoff had informed Mr. Shigemitsu that the Soviet did not intend to deny to Japanese rights to fish in Russian waters—which right was bestowed by the Treaty of Portsmouth and confirmed by the Peking agreement of 1925. He made it clear, however, that the Soviet would not be bound necessarily by the conditions to which the diplomats agreed before the Japanese-German agreement, giving rise to belief that less favorable terms might finally be given.

Discussions were also had on Soviet-Manchukuoan border incidents and the question of a boundary commission, but without concrete result.

## CHIANG IS REPORTED SAFE IN CAPTIVITY; CHINESE IN BATTLES

Nanking Dictator, Held in Sian,  
Said to Be Well, but His Chief  
Aide Is Declared Slain.

### ROYAL TROOPS IN ADVANCE

Government Gets Pledges of  
Loyalty From Leaders in  
Many Parts of China.

### JAPAN CONSULTS GERMANY

Acts Under the 'Anti-Red' Pact  
as Press Accuses Moscow—  
Soviet Sees Tokyo Plot.

### Chinese Developments

PEIPING—Generalissimo Chiang was reported by his captor, General Chang Hsueh-liang, to be safe in Sian, China. Government troops converged on Shensi Province, where he was held.

SHANGHAI—Persistent reports told of a counter-revolt in Sian. There was an unconfirmed rumor that China's dictator had been freed.

MOSCOW—The Soviet again denied Japanese allegations that it had instigated the Chinese crisis and made the counter-charge that Japan had sought to create chaos in China. Page 18.

TOKYO—Japan consulted Germany under the recently signed "anti-Communist" compact, the press accusing the Communist International of being responsible for the coup in China. Page 18.

### Safety of Chiang Assured

Wireless to THE NEW YORK TIMES.  
PEIPING, China, Tuesday, Dec. 15.—A telegram from the Rebel General Chang Hsueh-liang at Sian, capital of Shensi Province, to General Sung Cheh-yuan, chairman of the Hopel-Chahar administration, said today that Generalissimo Chiang Kai-shek was being held at Sian and that General Chang would be responsible for the safety of China's dictator, whom he seized last Saturday.  
General Sung called a conference

of high officers of the Twenty-ninth Army, the provincial chairman of the Hopel-Chahar régime and the Mayors of Peiping and Tientsin, after which a member of the council expressed belief that the Sian revolt would cause a restoration of conditions existing a decade ago in temporary strengthening of the Communist movement.  
The spokesman said he expected a rapid decentralization, with the springing up of many new local governments in China.

### Dictator's Wife Notified

By HALLETT ABEND  
Special to THE NEW YORK TIMES.  
SHANGHAI, Tuesday, Dec. 15.—Mrs. Chiang Kai-shek, the dictator's wife, last night received a telegram from Sian signed by the generalissimo assuring her of his personal safety, advising her that his health was good, urging her not to worry and acknowledging receipt of her telegram dispatched Sunday.

The message revealed nothing concerning the political or military situation in Sian, where W. H. Donald, General Chiang Kai-shek's personal adviser, is reported to have arrived yesterday afternoon to make an effort at mediation. Mr. Donald left Loyang late Monday morning in a passenger plane sent by the revolting Chang Hsueh-liang.

The War Ministry reports that advancing government forces have reached the town of Weinan, forty-five miles from Sian, claiming a sixty-mile advance along the railway within two days. They are said to have met little resistance, many units of Chiang Hsueh-liang's army submitting to being disarmed.

Chang Hsueh-liang's Nanking representative yesterday took refuge in the foreign area of Shanghai as his Nanking office was being seized and searched.

Two sensational reports were exciting the public in Shanghai and Nanking last night, neither of which has any official confirmation.

Firstly, it was persistently reported that there had been a counter-revolt in Sian, freeing Generalissimo Chiang Kai-shek, and secondly, that General Chang Hsueh-liang's younger officers, fearing that he might negotiate a compromise with the Central Government, had revolted against his authority and were holding both the generalissimo and his captor under restraint.

The supposed counter-revolt was reported to have been led by General Yang Fu-cheng, Shensi Pacification Commissioner, who was said to have quarreled with Chang Hsueh-liang, used a portion of the Shensi troops to seize Sian and liberated the generalissimo.  
Government observation planes

reported street fighting in Sian yesterday and also a severe battle at Sianyang, fifteen miles northwest of Sian, between a government detachment and rebels.

Chang Hsueh-liang telegraphed the Military Affairs Commission at Nanking, reporting that the generalissimo's chief aide, General Chien Ta-chun, had committed suicide, but the government believes he was killed by rebels.

It is learned that General Fan Sung-tu, commanding a government division that is pushing into Shensi Province from Tungkwang, has received a report from one of his officers that a regimental commander of General Chang Hsueh-liang's troops had approached the advancing government forces under a flag of truce and asked for a parley. At the parley, he said:

"Why should we fight when the generalissimo is already freed?"  
The regimental commander's plea is disbelieved and interpreted as a mere ruse designed to deter a government attack.

Missionary circles in Shanghai are giving some credence to an unverified report that both Chiang Kai-shek and Chang Hsueh-liang managed to escape from Sian and have already entered government lines. This is also discredited, since the presence of Chiang Kai-shek in the midst of the Rebels constitutes their only insurance against a devastating attack by government airplanes.

Japanese sources in Tientsin report that General Yen Hsi-shan is moving eight divisions of Shansi Province troops from Suiyuan Province to Shansi's southern borders, adjoining Honan and Shensi. This move is interpreted as a protective measure to prevent hostilities from spreading into Shansi and also to bar defeated forces from entering that province.

The War Ministry at Nanking announces receipt of a telegram from General Li Tsung-jen pledging the loyalty of all Kwangsi Province commanders.

Finance Minister H. H. Kung reveals that the government has been remitting 1,700,000 Chinese dollars monthly to Chang Hsueh-liang for the support of his army but says he thinks the general possibly pocketed a portion, leaving his troops unpaid.

### Kwangtung Stays Loyal

Wireless to THE NEW YORK TIMES.  
HONGKONG, Dec. 14.—Kwangtung Province's Governor, Huang Mu-sung, and General Yu Han-mou issued a joint circular telegram today pledging loyalty to the central government and declaring they would preserve peace and order in Kwangtung.

Emergency measures taken in Canton include calling out of additional police and soldiers to patrol the streets and placing of heavy guards on government buildings and the homes of high officials.

### Nanking Still Hopeful

By ARCHIBALD STEELE  
Wireless to THE NEW YORK TIMES.  
NANKING, China, Tuesday, Dec. 15.—Hopes continue high in the na-

tion's capital that Generalissimo Chiang's release can be accomplished by the traditional Chinese methods of political and monetary bargaining and propaganda, although the massing of troops along the Shensi frontiers is progressing at an accelerated pace.

The government is quietly proceeding in its attempt to undermine Chang Hsueh-liang's position by the same methods that were brilliantly successful in frustrating the Kwangtung-Kwangsi revolt last Summer.

Authorities here think various subordinates can be easily won over. It is generally believed that the key to the dilemma lies in the answer to the question whether the Communists or Chang Hsueh-liang are controlling the situation in Sian. If it is the latter, officials are confident in the generalissimo's eventual release through bargaining, but it is feared the Reds are not amenable to the financial and other usual means of persuasion.

The government has not learned whether the Red army and Chang Hsueh-liang's troops have actually joined forces, but one of its major strategic aims will be to drive a military wedge between them. At present the government is devoting its efforts to consolidating its military position around Shensi. The railways are choked with troops and supplies and Chiang Kai-shek's crack divisions, hitherto garrisoned in the Shanghai-Nanking area, are streaming northward night and day, wearing German trench helmets, thousands of which have just arrived.

Patriotic elements here are said to be demanding the ejection from office of all militarists who hitherto were in anyway linked to Chang Hsueh-liang. No articulate demand has arisen in government quarters favoring a united front such as Chang Hsueh-liang's manifesto demands, although it is well known that a small minority secretly holds such a view.

Telegrams continue to pour in from many parts of the country denouncing Chang Hsueh-liang in

most violent terms as the nation's "Traitor No. 1." General Ho Chien of Hunan and General Yen Hsi-shan of Shansi, whose loyalty has given some concern to the government, both emphatically joined in the chorus of endorsement of the government's policy against Chang Hsueh-liang.

## Chang's Coup May Disrupt China's Newly Won Unity

Seizure of Generalissimo Viewed by Simms as Raising Question  
of Peace or War With Japan

By WILLIAM PHILIP SIMMS

WITH the peace of Asia no less than that of Europe already on exceedingly shifting sand, Marshal Chang Hsueh-liang's capture of Generalissimo Chiang Kai-shek to make him bow to Communism and fight Japan is a development of exceptional gravity.

The Generalissimo is virtually dictator of China. The Marshal is his second in command. The Marshal has had some 120,000 Manchurians as well as a large number of Chinese troops under his orders. Unless these have recently been taken from him, therefore, what has just happened in the heart of China is not a "mutiny," as some call it, but a major revolt.

This could easily bring the question of peace or war with Japan to an early showdown. For if the Generalissimo yields to his subordinate, he will lose face. Loss of face means his retirement. The Marshal would likely be his successor, and that would mean prompt conflict with Japan—unless the Marshal, too, suffered a fatal loss of face.

### MAY UPSET UNITY

In any event, Marshal Chang's coup may split China's newly won unity wide open. As recently as last summer the Nanking government was in a state of war with Canton and its hinterland provinces of Kwangtung and Kwangsi. There, a "Southwest Political Council" was clamoring for war with Japan and threatening to overthrow the Generalissimo if he did not comply. By a series of bold politico-military moves, and by making it plain that force would be used, if necessary, to stop Japanese aggression, Nanking made peace with the south. The Southern Political Council, or government, went out of existence and Chinese unity at last seemed at hand.

Now there is a new, and perhaps more serious, threat in the north. The Generalissimo was captured in Shensi Province. Immediately to the north of Shensi lies Suiyuan, where at this moment a small-scale war is going on between Japanese-supported natives and Manchukuoans, and the Chinese. Shensi is the gateway to China from the west. It is of the utmost strategic importance.

### LINK WITH OUTSIDERS

It is altogether conceivable that Marshal Chang's dramatic coup is another move in the game Russia and Japan are playing in preparation for the war which both are convinced is imminent and inevitable. Japan is systematically setting up a chain of "independent" buffer states between China proper and Russian-dominated Outer Mongolia. If the Soviet Union, thru Marshal Chang, can get control of the territory south of the buffer states, it will have outplayed and outflanked Nippon.

Sian-fu, capital of Shensi and scene of the capture of China's Strong Man by his subordinate, is the eastern terminus of highly important routes from the west. It is also the head of a railroad into cen-

tral China, where it connects with the trunk-line between Hankow and Peiping.

Chang's grievance against his superior dates back to Sept. 18, 1931. He was then virtually king of Manchuria, having succeeded the "Old Marshal," Chang Tso-lin. When the Japanese overran Manchuria, the "Young Marshal," as he had long been called to distinguish him from his father, received no help whatever from the Generalissimo at Nanking.

### HAVE LONG MEMORIES

After Shanghai, I talked with Gen. Tsai, commander of the famous 19th Route Army which defended that port against the Japanese. He was bitter against Generalissimo Chiang for the latter's alleged failure to support him. The Young Marshal almost certainly shared that sentiment. The Chinese have long memories.

However, the Young Marshal—even now he is only 38—was sent on a "mission" to Europe. Upon his return he was made vice commander of the Chinese forces and sent into the northwest country, where he is now, after native communists.

Of late there have been rumors of the Marshal's disaffection. Troops loyal to Nanking have been quietly moving in on his flank. His own command has been split, but to what extent is not known here. It may be he now lacks sufficient followers to win the upper hand.

It was to have a personal look at the situation that Chiang went to Shensi and Sian-fu where, apparently, he fell into a trap.

### China's New Crisis.

The reported kidnaping of Chiang Kai-shek, generalissimo of the Nanking government's armies, is a sensational development of first-rate importance. It bears within it the seeds of danger both to the peace of the Far East and the internal stability of China.

A parallel would be if Hitler were suddenly placed in "protective custody" by Gen. Goering or Mussolini became the prisoner of Gen. Badoglio. For in fact, if not in name, Chiang has been dictator of China. That has never been more true than during recent months.

What happened at Sianfu, in far-away Shensi Province, is not entirely clear. It is apparent, however, that the usually cautious Chiang, by getting too far away from his own troops, placed his head in a noose. The rope ends are now held by his erstwhile ally, Chang Hsiao-liang, former overlord of Manchuria.

There can be no doubt that anti-Japanese sentiment has been rising in China. Chinese war lords are fully cognizant of that trend and are trying to turn it to their own advantage. The military leaders of Kwangtung and Kwangsi provinces employed the same tactics last spring, but were outwitted by Chiang. Now Chang Hsiao-liang is similarly raising the banner of anti-Japanism. No doubt this objective, in part at least, is to win over Chinese public opinion in his struggle with Chiang.

In the present case, however, an added factor is Chang's smarting from the humiliating defeat he suffered at the hands of the Japanese. Soon after they seized Mukden, they unceremoniously kicked him out of Manchuria, which he, and his father before him, had ruled for years. While Nanking gave the young marshal shelter in North China, Chang Hsiao-liang has never abandoned the hope of some day returning in triumph to Mukden. With Chiang in his custody he undoubtedly has a unique opportunity to put pressure on the Nanking government.

It is doubtful, however, whether Nanking will be so foolhardy as to engage in a war for which it is not yet prepared. Chiang's Fabian policy of retreat recently was abandoned in favor of more active resistance. The fruits of this are to be seen in Suiyuan, where an invading force of Japanese-Mongols and Manchukuoans was recently routed, and in Japan's withdrawal of the extreme demands made on Nanking.

But the most dangerous aspect of the Sianfu coup d'etat is not in its immediate bearing on Sino-Japanese relations. It is in the circumstance that Chiang can hardly emerge from this experience without loss of face. He has been the one leader of his time who has succeeded in giving China a measure of unity it has not hitherto possessed. Should he disappear from the scene or, through loss of prestige, be relegated to a secondary position, China may be faced by a new period of confusion that would give the Japanese militarists precisely the opportunity they are seeking to extend their aggression on the mainland.



## DRAMATIC COUP IN CHINA

China and the whole of the Far East may be affected by the dramatic coup of General CHANG HSUEH-LIANG. The young marshal's declaration that the seizure of CHIANG KAI-SHEK is intended to coerce China's virtual dictator to alter drastically the policy of the Nanking Government toward the Chinese Communists and toward Japan, is symptomatic of a powerful popular movement for the subordination of all domestic differences to the formation of a united China capable of ending Japanese encroachments.

The three points of CHANG HSUEH-LIANG's ultimatum to his captive and to the Central Government are extraordinarily revealing. They show the conditions on which CHANG and those who share his views feel that they can appeal for the support of the military leaders and the politically conscious masses against the cautious foreign policy of CHIANG KAI-SHEK. The price of his release is:

1. An immediate declaration of war against Japan.
2. A pledge by the Nanking Government to recover all lost territories, including Manchuria.
3. Reorganization of the Kuomintang [Nationalist party] to readmit Communists to membership on the basis existing before the anti-Communist purge began in 1927.

The first two demands reflect the deep suspicion that even now CHIANG KAI-SHEK, despite an appearance of firmness during recent months, has not really reversed his earlier policy of compliance to Japan. His critics do not accept the explanation that he has been postponing adoption of an unyielding attitude only until he had built up his military resources to a point at which China might reasonably hope to resist Japan successfully in war. All Chinese recognize the very great advance in military power in recent years under CHIANG KAI-SHEK's leadership, but many fear that he is still concerned more in using these modernized and mechanized forces for the purpose of subduing the whole of his country to his personal rule than of calling a definite halt to Japanese expansion in North China. Perhaps it was the suspicion that the Nanking troops, recently massed in the north ostensibly to defend Inner Mongolia, were intended to crush the young marshal that led him to strike first by seizing the generalissimo.

The third point in the ultimatum is a demand that CHIANG KAI-SHEK subordinate all domestic issues—even his differences with the Communists—in order that all Chinese may unite in a militant campaign to force Japan out of China, including Manchuria.

It is, of course, possible that CHANG HSUEH-LIANG is, in his turn, really playing military politics. But irrespective of motive, the young marshal, by holding CHIANG KAI-SHEK hostage and by demanding as ransom the adoption of a militant policy toward the Japanese, has startled Japan and the Western World into a clearer awareness of the incalculable potentialities for an explosion in the Far East.

## CHIANG KAI-SHEK

CHIANG KAI-SHEK imprisoned, as when heading his troops, still dominates the Chinese scene. The consternation felt throughout the world at the report on Tuesday that the head of the Nanking Government had been killed by his captor, the rebellious General CHANG HSUEH-LIANG, was a spontaneous tribute to CHIANG'S unique strength. The alarm lest his elimination open the way to the disintegration of China through prolonged civil war, bringing in its wake the danger of international complications in Eastern Asia and possibly even in Europe, is a measure of his importance.

Since the establishment of the republic, CHIANG KAI-SHEK has been China's strongest man. It was appropriate to the circumstances and quite in accord with what is fashionable for dictators that on CHIANG'S fiftieth birthday, Oct. 29, his admirers should have presented him fifty military airplanes. He alone of all the leaders who strove for power since the overthrow of the Manchu dynasty in China has been able to establish a central authority, whatever its weakness, whose writ runs through nearly all of China not under Japanese control.

To achieve this formal unification of the country—and his critics add, to advance his personal power—CHIANG has sacrificed, at least for the time being, the fundamental principles of social reform which he and the other Kuomintang leaders professed as the basis of the Nationalist movement. By compliance in the face of aggression of the Japanese, he facilitated their conquest of Manchuria and their increasing penetration in the five northern provinces. Under the guise of fighting communism, CHIANG has found it convenient to crush other opposition as well. Local and provincial war lords have either been eliminated or bribed to make formal declarations of loyalty. "By one means or another, seizing whatever expedients were suited to the opportunity that arose, CHIANG has pushed ahead almost with glacial persistence."

It is this determination of the generalissimo to crush all domestic opposition—not foreign intrigue—that helps to account for the clash with General CHANG. The suggestion that Japan is responsible for CHIANG KAI-SHEK'S arrest is fantastic. The rebel general is known to be bitterly anti-Japanese. He has never forgotten that when he was war lord of all Manchuria the Japanese Army sent him into humiliating exile. It seems inconceivable that he would have been chosen as an instrument of Japanese policy. Moreover, it is extremely doubtful that the Japanese desire the elimination of CHIANG KAI-SHEK. Likewise,

there is no proof nor much likelihood that Soviet Russia was behind the young Marshal's seizure of his chief. As a matter of fact, Moscow has watched with growing satisfaction the apparent recent stiffening of CHIANG KAI-SHEK'S attitude toward Japan. The explanation—aside from the fundamental differences of view between the rebel general and the generalissimo as to methods of unifying their country—probably lies in CHANG'S resentment at his superior's evident purpose to penalize the Manchurian commander and troops for fraternizing with the Communist forces they were sent to subdue.

In answer to the charge made by the rebel general of ruthless dictatorial rule which sacrifices the essentials of China's advancement for the appearance of unity and the reality of personal aggrandizement, CHIANG KAI-SHEK'S defense is impressive. Unity was the essential first step. That could be secured only by methods effective among war lords. Unrestrained popular agitation for radical reform could only weaken the united front he was seeking to establish. Concessions to the Japanese were necessary if the whole of China were not to be laid open to Japanese attack. But while yielding, he has steadily been building up a modern military organization, with an eye to the day when successful resistance would be possible.

This favorable construction of CHIANG'S program has won for him, during the last two or three years, the support of most of China's leading liberals. They regret the postponement of the realization of their hopes for fundamental reforms, but have convinced themselves that political unity and adequate military preparedness are the first requisites, for which all else must be sacrificed, to salvation of the Chinese people. But CHIANG KAI-SHEK'S fullest vindication is the relief now expressed by China and the rest of the world at the news that the generalissimo may be spared.

TUESDAY DEC 15 1936

**A Dictator Captured**

**T**HE chess game Chiang Kai-shek had been playing with Japanese negotiators has been interrupted by seizure and reported assassination of the Nanking generalissimo. The logical captors would be the Japanese. They could get no satisfaction out of Chiang. He would not give in to their demands; would not say no; and he kept them continually guessing. Meantime he went on developing China and building up an army against, apparently, a day of reckoning. Little, however, that is Occidentally logical occurs in China: The captor happens to be one of Chiang's staunch aides, Chang Hsiao-liang!

The question has been asked: Can Chang Hsiao-liang be a tool of Japan's? Surely not. This Chang will be remembered as the overlord of Manchuria before the Japanese turned it into Manchoukuo. Since that time he has been one of the military supports of the Nanking Government in the Yangtse valley. In Chinese fashion he has been permitted to retain control over his Manchurian army. Both he and they still nurse a hatred for Japan, and look to a day when they may wrest Manchuria away from the Japanese. No, Chang surely cannot be a tool of Japan's.

The Manchurian, indeed, is said to be so anti-Japanese that he has become tired of the crafty chess game tactics conducted by the Nanking Dictator. He wants action. Only one faction in China can promise action, and that is the Communist army. Nobody knows just how much territory the Chinese Communists control. But, apparently, they have a far-flung influence in northwestern China, and are pushing north and east, with the view of trying conclusions with the Japanese.

This might explain the Manchurian's reported flirting with the Communists. He would simply be following the example of thousands of his men. For a long time it has been a joke in China that, whenever Chang Hsiao-liang, in behalf of the Nanking Government, sent troops against the Communists, they joined forces instead of issue with the enemy. The Nanking generalissimo this time went north with the Manchurian to stop this fraternization. He chose a time when the Manchurian leader himself was ready for his own march to Damascus. The trap in which Chiang Kai-shek was caught appears to have been the result of this fortuitous coincidence.

If, as reported, the Manchurian is holding Chiang Kai-shek till Chiang comes out for war against Japan, he will no doubt be responding to the desire of many Chinese. The chess game may have been going

in China's favor. But the Japanese have not stayed their aggression while negotiations over past aggressions have been under way in Nanking. North of Shensi Province, where Chiang Kai-shek has been held prisoner, is Suiyuan Province, adjoining Mongolia. Here the Japanese, pursuing a drive to cut a continental swathe between China and Russia, are making trouble. Sober-minded Chinese, in consequence, are becoming very impatient. In their view, the Communist punch seemed far more desirable than Chiang Kai-shek's table tactics.

The nearness of Suiyuan and Shensi has persuaded Soviet Russia that the coup against Chiang has been engineered in Tokyo. That is not impossible. Nothing is impossible in the Far Eastern situation. It will be recalled that the Japanese had more than a hand in the last rebellion against Nanking in southern Kwangsi, stage-managed, as this is supposed to have been, to make Chiang Kai-shek fight Japan. But, till some of the obscurity is removed, it is difficult to see the Japanese connection in the present case. The Manchurian leader and the Communists are the persons least likely to be tools of Japan. Less unlikely is the Japanese counter-charge that the Soviet itself, already known to be supporting the Chinese Communists, had a hand in the coup. It is the tragedy of China that even a seemingly domestic revolt is always suspect of having emerged out of an international caldron.

**LOYAL ARMY RACES  
CHINESE RED FORCE  
TO CAPTIVE CHIANG**

**Government Troops Fear That Dictator Will Be Murdered if Foes Reach Sian First.**

**PARLEYS ARE ABANDONED**

**Nanking Sanctions Civil War to Suppress Revolt, Despite Added Jeopardy to Leader.**

**OFFICIAL CIRCLES GLOOMY**

**Canton Recalls Troops, Seeing Peril in Mutiny—Peiping Is Under Stricter Guard.**

**The Chinese Situation**

**NANKING**—Chinese Government forces and a Chinese Communist army were racing for Sian, Shensi Province, where Generalissimo Chiang was held in captivity. Nanking feared that if the Communists reached the city first they would murder the dictator. The government officially abandoned negotiations with the rebel General Chang and sanctioned punitive measures as a national policy.

**TOKYO**—Japanese circles declared it was illogical to believe either Moscow or Tokyo had instigated the Chinese crisis, as both stood to lose through it. Page 20.

**HONGKONG**—Cantonese troops were recalled to Canton from neighboring areas as a precautionary measure. Meanwhile, the press of China urged unqualified support of the Central Government and denounced General Chang. Page 20.

**Armies Racing for Sian**

**By ARCHIBALD STEELE**

Wireless to THE NEW YORK TIMES.  
**NANKING, China, Thursday, Dec. 17.**—Government troops in considerable force and a Communist army were engaged today in a race toward Sian, Shensi Province, where Generalissimo Chiang Kai-shek, China's dictator, is held captive by General Chang Hsueh-liang.

The government forces hoped to surround the city before any Communist troops entered. Fear was expressed in many quarters in Nan-

king that, if the Communist army reached Sian first, the generalissimo's life would be in the most serious danger. The Communists are extremely hostile to Chiang Kai-shek because he has campaigned against them for many years.

Meanwhile, the government leaders here met and decided to give official sanction as a matter of national policy to the punitive campaign against Chang Hsueh-liang. Thus was ended the uncertainty over whether force should be resorted to only to the extent necessary to rescue the dictator.

**Chang Called a Madman**

"It is too early to entertain any optimism over the situation, for it is evident we are dealing with a madman. Representative opinion in Nanking holds that only a madman would have adopted a course leading so remorselessly to ruin. It is for this reason that we hold a pessimistic view of the situation. We believe a man who can be so regardless of consequences can be capable of anything, even murder."

An official delegation from Loyang, arriving in Nanking late last night, said it had talked with W. H. Donald, Australian aide to Chiang Kai-shek, after he returned from Sian, where he had made a fruitless effort to negotiate the Generalissimo's liberation. The delegates paint a somber picture of the prospects.

They say Mr. Donald reported that the Generalissimo was kept under a heavy guard in simple but fairly comfortable quarters, but was surrounded by desperate men who would not listen to reason.

**New Peril for Generalissimo**

**By HALLETT ABEND**

Wireless to THE NEW YORK TIMES.

**SHANGHAI, Thursday, Dec. 17.**—The declaration of a punitive expedition against Chang Hsueh-liang and reluctant abandonment of all efforts to settle the revolt by negotiation and compromise gravely imperils the safety of Chiang Kai-shek.

The government's momentous decision was adopted only after the Central Executive Committee at Nanking had given careful consideration to formal pleas advanced by friends of Chiang Kai-shek and by a spokesman representing his wife. As phrased by one representative of the national government in Shanghai:

"The decision was reluctantly reached that the government could not allow the interests and prestige of the State to be jeopardized by consideration of one man's welfare." In other words, the Nanking

leaders have become convinced that any further evidences of vacillation might have a disastrous effect upon domestic stability. Prolongation of the crisis through fruitless negotiations was likely to have been interpreted as a sign of weakness by various militarists and politicians who have hitherto this year shown signs of restlessness.

Indicating utter abandonment of all hopes for successful negotiations, W. H. Donald, instead of flying to Sian again yesterday, decided to return to Nanking. Bad weather forced his plane to land at Pengpu, Anhwei Province, whence Mr. Donald is proceeding to Nanking by rail.

Before the punitive expedition was ordered, which action was tantamount to formal admission of the existence of a state of civil war, government airplanes circled over Sian dropping thousands of leaflets offering the "best of rewards" for the generalissimo's rescue. The leaflets stated:

"To rescue Chiang Kai-shek is to rescue the Chinese race. Those who save him will be heroes, with their good names known for a hundred centuries."

**New Version of Demands**

A new version of Chang Hsueh-liang's demands is that they include:

First, government adoption of a policy of stout resistance to Japanese military and economic demands and launching of a war for recovery of lost territory.

Second, abolishing of the Kuomintang's position, the only legal political party, and granting of true democracy, with guarantees of civil liberties and release of political prisoners.

Third, organization of a national defense government with full representation for all political parties, the armies and the masses.

Fourth, ending of the war against the Chinese Communists and acceptance of the Red armies' offer of a united anti-imperialist front.

Fifth, conclusion of alliances with Russia and with other nations

granting equal treatment to China to combat the effects of the German-Japanese treaty.

No word has yet been received concerning the fate of foreigners trapped in Sian and elsewhere in Shensi. There is the keenest anxiety for these and for the foreign community in Lanchow and other Kansu cities.

**General Wu Will Head Expedition**

**By The Associated Press.**

**SHANGHAI, Thursday, Dec. 17.**—Yu Yu-jen, veteran Nationalist party leader and chairman of the Control Council of the Nanking regime, was appointed Pacification Commissioner for Shensi yesterday. He was expected to go to the center of trouble immediately.

Nanking hoped his appointment would influence some of General Chang's wavering followers to desert his cause, since General Yu is held in high esteem by some of the rebel commanders who have been his political disciples and also by some of the Chinese Communist chieftains.



## SON OF CHANG TSO-LIN

Chiang Kai-shek, the Chinese dictator, has been taken prisoner at Sian-fu by the troops of Chang Hsiao-liang. Marshal Chang has let it be known that he will agree to release Generalissimo Chiang only if the latter will for his part agree to declare war on Japan. Some observers believe that the "Young Marshal" is sincerely desirous of making war upon the Japanese, but others think that he has resorted to this extreme measure as a means of setting himself up as the *tu-chun* of all China.

Chang Hsiao-liang (or Chang Hsueh-liang, as his name once was spelled) is the son of Chang Tso-lin, the ex-bandit who in the twenties made himself the war lord of Manchuria. The "Old Marshal" for years "co-operated" with the Japanese in ruling Manchuria, but he was not Japan's puppet, for he looked out first of all for the interests of Chang Tso-lin. His downfall came when he moved his capital out of Manchuria to Peiping (then Peking). The Japanese found that they could deal more effectively with the subordinates Chang had left behind in Mukden, and so when the "Old Marshal" attempted to return to Mukden, having been forced out of Peking by the victorious Nationalists, he was assassinated by means of a bomb that exploded either in or under his railway car.

His son, the "Young Marshal," became the *tu-chun* of Manchuria. He further developed and enlarged the Manchurian army until it became the finest fighting force in China. More than that, he openly defied the Japanese and raised the flag of Nanking at Mukden. But he, too, succumbed to the lure of Peking, taking the larger part of his army with him. Whether he did so because he wanted to cooperate more closely with Chiang Kai-shek or because he hoped to displace the Nationalist dictator and was maneuvering himself into a position to attain that end has never been determined. At any rate, while he was in Peking, the Japanese took Mukden and Manchuria.

Despite his admittedly large and powerful army, Marshal Chang made no move to resist the invading force, whose size was but one-fifth of the size of his own army. Some writers have attributed this to a lack of courage on Chang's part. Others have blamed Generalissimo Chiang because he refused to lend any aid to Chang, while still others have said that the "Young Marshal" held back because Foreign Minister Wang insisted that the whole matter be left to the League of Nations. Whatever the reason, Manchuria was taken and Chang became an underling in the Nanking régime, later being transferred to the northwestern provinces "to fight the

Communists." He was on this duty when his troops seized Chiang Kai-shek.

Time alone will reveal Marshal Chang's real motive. Perhaps he really wants to fight the Japanese. Certainly he has never been one to toady to them. On the other hand, he is an ambitious man and, like so many of Chiang's opponents, knows that the slogan, "war with Japan," has a great popular appeal. It seems more than possible, therefore, that by his arrest of the dictator he is making an audacious bid for power for himself.

## Chaos Is Predicted for China Following Capture of Chiang

### Petty Warlords Expected to Create Conflict With Demands for New Territory; Japan, Germany May Use Incident for Attack on 'Communists.'

By Mark J. Ginsbourg.

Special Correspondent of The Post.  
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Shanghai, (Wednesday), Dec. 16.—The capture by mutineers of Gen. Chiang Kai-shek, virtual dictator of the Chinese Nationalist government, is certain to give rise to a most serious crisis throughout China and to intensify foreign rivalries which are already acute here.

The abduction of the leader who during the last decade has done so much to unify China, will inevitably be followed by major internal repercussions. The probable storm centers are widely scattered. They include:

The far southwest, still smarting from the extension of Chiang's control last summer; the semi-autonomous provinces of northern China, where Japan is steadily strengthening her grip; remote Szechuan, well on the way to Tibet, and half a dozen intermediate points where minor war lords will be stirred by present confusion to renewed activity.

From the viewpoint of the outside world, the crisis spells serious and immediate increase in the tempo of foreign antagonisms on the Chinese stage.

This totally unexpected develop-

ment, precipitated by the relatively unimportant son of the former ruler of Manchuria, has stunned Tokyo as much as Nanking. Despite the breakdown of Sino-Japanese negotiations the Japanese government has hoped to reach a peaceful settlement of the many problems it has outstanding with China. With the latter country split internally, Japan will be forced to deal with numerous local administrations, some of which are openly hostile to Tokyo.

The appeal of Marshal Chang Hsueh-liang for the formation of a "popular front" against Japan went out to Communists as well as Nationalists. Japanese circles here apprehend a revival of active anti-Japanese movements in North China and elsewhere.

These apprehensions are the more vivid because it is now generally recognized that Japan is openly preparing for war against Russia. With Tokyo anxious to gain Chinese support, and to maintain the recent rapid development of Sino-Japanese trade, eclipse of the moderate and stable leadership of Chiang Kai-shek is seen as a

serious blow for Japanese policy. Both Nanking and Tokyo openly accuse Moscow of pulling the strings which have let loose this sensational development. Tempered observers here are highly dubious as to the justification of accusing Russia of any complicity in the plot. Nonetheless there is no doubt that the upheaval will prove favorable to Russia's plans for opposing Japanese strategy in China.

Last year the Chinese Communist army apparently under instructions from Moscow, moved out of southern China to the north and west and has recently formed a buffer between Sinkiang Province, controlled by Russia, and the Japanese-dominated sections of northern China. The coup d'état staged by Chang Hsueh-liang, who was supposedly checking the eastward push of the Chinese Communists, seems destined to assist the Russian effort to block an advance of the wedge which Japan is trying to drive into Inner Mongolia.

It is not believed here Tokyo will take advantage of the recently concluded treaty with Germany to send her armies into the inaccessible districts where Chang Hsueh-liang has his troops. But the anti-Communist pact, made with Berlin may easily be invoked to justify an extension of Japanese military control over the Shantung Peninsula and indeed all the provinces of northern China which are within relatively easy reach.

It could be claimed such a movement is necessitated by the accession of Communist strength afforded by Chiang's death.

Aside from China herself the chief victim of this crisis is Great Britain, which during the recent extended visit of Sir Frederick Leith-Ross, chief economic adviser to the Baldwin government, had apparently concluded an effective co-operation agreement with Chiang Kai-shek.

British officials here recall that only a fortnight ago Leith-Ross, at a dinner of the Chinese Association in London, delivered an obviously inspired address urging British loans to the Nanking government. In recent months the ties between Nanking and London have been strengthened by negotiations looking toward British exploitation of the southwest provinces. Present developments suggest the inside track Great Britain was establishing with Chiang Kai-shek, particularly in the Yangtze Valley, may be subjected to stronger rivalry from other powers.

For the United States, interested in a stable China for both political and commercial reasons, the present crisis is similarly disturbing. In so far as Chiang's administration meant internal peace and economic progress his assassination is clearly an event which will be highly disturbing to Washington.

It is not believed here that Chang Hsueh-liang is sincere in his statements in behalf of a "popular front" government in China and, if necessary, an alliance with Russia to stop Japanese aggression. The "Young Marshal" is regarded as being before all else anxious to restore his greatly diminished popularity. He believes this can best be done by taking advantage of the general anti-Japanese sentiment, no matter how recklessly.

For the past nine months his troops in central China have been fraternizing with the Communist army. Recently Nanking ordered that they be transferred to the sea-coast province of Fukien. That order doubtless paved the way for the drastic action which the son of the late Chang Tso-lin of Manchuria has seen fit to take. The consequences of that action are clearly world-wide import.

# Nanking Speeds Troops To Get Chiang or Avenge Slaying in Red Mutiny

Marshal Chang's Rebels, Who Seized Dictator, Have Executed Him, Says Report in Tokio

Big Cities Placed Under Martial Law

Civil War Similar to That in Spain Feared; Red Flags Flying on Shensi Area Buildings

By Elizabeth Keen  
From the Herald Tribune Bureau  
Copyright, 1936, New York Tribune Inc.  
SHANGHAI, Dec. 13.—Faced with a grave crisis, the Central Chinese government at Nanking today dispatched thousands of troops toward Shensi Province in an attempt to quell the revolt of the forces of Marshal Chang Hsueh-liang, one-time warlord of Manchuria, who, on Saturday, seized Generalissimo Chiang Kai-shek, chief of the Nanking government.

Unofficial reports said that fighting already had broken out between Marshal Chang's rebels and government troops north of Sianfu, the capital of Shensi Province, where Generalissimo Chiang is being held prisoner.

Chiang Reported Slain  
[An Associated Press dispatch from Tokio said that many Chinese believed that Generalissimo Chiang had been slain, and suggested that unless the Nanking government definitely knew Generalissimo Chiang to be dead, it would have negotiated for his release before beginning hostilities against the rebels. The Associated Press also told of reports that the red flag was flying from public buildings in Sianfu and that Marshal Chang was seeking the support of Chinese Communist irregular armies in the area. It added that Japanese leaders feared the situation in China might develop along lines similar to



Herald Tribune photo—Acme  
Ho Ying-chin, head of the army



Associated Press photo  
H. H. Kung, civil government head

the civil war in Spain because of the Communist elements involved.—Ed.]

The Nanking government was reorganized hurriedly today to fill the gaps left by the capture of its virtual dictator. General Ho Ying-chin, the War Minister, assumed the chairmanship of the Military Affairs Commission in Generalissimo Chiang's stead and undertook the task of directing the military preparations against Marshal Chang's rebels. A second powerful post that had been held by Generalissimo Chiang, the chairmanship of the Executive Yuan (council), was filled by Dr. H. H. Kung, the Finance Minister.

Indicating that the Nanking government is not cowed, its Central Political Council today voted to strip Marshal Chang of all military authority and titles, and ordered that he be turned over to the Military Affairs Commission for trial on charges of leading "a rebellion aimed at the overthrow of the national government."

Troops Supersede Freight

Heavy movements of Nanking government troops toward Shensi Province necessitated suspension of freight service on the Lunghai railway, the east-west trunk line from the coast which penetrates Shensi, and on the north-south railway which runs from Tientsin to a junction at Pukow with the Lunghai railway. Passenger service on both lines was curtailed severely.

The Nanking local garrison was reinforced by the arrival of two divisions of troops. Martial law was declared not only in the capital but in Hankow, Wuchang and other large cities of the interior. Large-scale fighting was believed inevitable, for Marshal Chang is estimated to have a force of 200,000 soldiers.

Marshal Chang's coup came after Generalissimo Chiang, who was on a tour of Shensi Province, had expressed dissatisfaction with the former Manchurian warlord's conduct of the anti-Communist campaign he had been ordered to undertake. Many of Marshal Chang's troops were reported to have fraternized with the Chinese Reds instead of exterminating them, and Generalissimo Chiang had determined to transfer Marshal Chang's command to General Chang Ting-wen, military leader of Fukien Province.

Chiang was seized on Saturday at Huachengchi, a hot springs resort twenty miles from Sianfu, and was reported to have been taken under guard to Sianfu, where he is held incommunicado. Other high officials of the Nanking government seized with Generalissimo Chiang include General Cheng Chen, Vice-Minister of War; General Chiang Tso-pin, Minister of the Interior; General Chiang Tung-wen, to whom Generalissimo Chiang had planned to transfer Marshal Chang's command; General Chen Chi-chen, pacification

commissioner for the borders of Honan, Hupeh and Shensi Provinces, and General Yu Hsueh-chung, a former henchman of Marshal Chang, who opposed the revolt.

Expressing determination to fight the foes of China and denouncing what he termed the "maladministration" of the Nanking government, Marshal Chang listed the following demands as his price for the release of Generalissimo Chiang:

1. National resistance to Japanese encroachments on China's territory, including a war to regain the four Manchurian provinces which Marshal Chang himself lost to Japan's armies in 1931 and which now constitute the Japanese-supported state of Manchukuo.
2. A truce with the Chinese Communists, their admission to a role in the national government, and efforts toward an alliance with Soviet Russia.
3. Establishment of a constitutional national government for China and

abolition of Generalissimo Chiang's dictatorship.

Some observers here thought that two subordinates of Marshal Chang, Generals Lul To-shan and Chang Tan-hsi, who are the spearheads of the northeastern army, were the prime movers in the rebellion. One report said that Marshal Chang gave the order to arrest Generalissimo Chiang only under extreme pressure. The wife of Generalissimo Chiang, nervous and distraught, sought this morning to leave Nanking by airplane for Loyang (Honanfu), in Shansi Province, 200 miles from Sianfu. W. S. Donald, the Australian who is the Generalissimo's personal adviser, planned to accompany her, and to proceed from Loyang to Sianfu in an attempt to negotiate Chiang's release. At the last moment, however, friends persuaded the mto give up their plan. Mme. Chiang, a graduate of Wellesley College in 1917, is the former Meilung Soong and a sister of the widow of Dr. Sun Yat-sen.

**A Generalissimo in Pawn**

Chang Hsueh-liang's announcement to the Nanking government that he, vice-commander in chief of China's armed forces, has seized the person of Chiang Kai-shek, commander in chief of the same forces and would-be Chinese Mussolini, and intends to hold him in the remote city of Sianfu until he agrees to declare war on Japan, is the most sensational news that has come out of China for a long while. This message is addressed to a government that has been carefully organized over a period of years to leave to the chief all important decisions and all the responsibility for them. The seizure of General Chiang is, therefore, an effectual decapitation of the government, and must be paralyzing in its effect.

Fully as disturbing to this government as the loss of its head will be General Chang Hsueh-liang's reported suggestion that it "recognize Communism" and incorporate the Red forces in western China into an anti-Japanese army. Nanking's concurrence in any such entente with "the Red bandits" would be promptly interpreted in Japan as a cordial invitation to the Japanese army to intervene on a big scale and the army would have no difficulty in getting unanimous Japanese popular support for a campaign that would take it to the borders of Turkestan.

It is not difficult to understand why General Chang Hsueh-liang, his Manchurian officers, and his army in exile in poor, dusty, depressing Shensi, should have been desperately dissatisfied with the decidedly elastic resistance which "Dictator" Chiang Kai-shek and his government have been making to Japanese encroachment. Chang Hsueh-liang, former satrap of Manchuria, and the best units of the force that he now commands in northwestern China, were expelled from Manchuria by the Japanese in 1931 and were again overwhelmed by the Japanese steam roller in Jehol two years later. They have not hesitated to complain ever since that Chiang Kai-shek gave them no support whatever in those crises and that he has since shown no disposition to recover Manchuria for China but has been edging closer and closer to formal recognition of that territory's alienation. When they were sent up into the northwest two years ago to crush the Communist armies they felt that they were being diverted from their one legitimate mission—the recovery of Manchuria—and they were by no means satisfied with the support which they received from Nanking.

For six months past there have been warnings that General Chang Hsueh-liang and his men were on such excellent terms with the Reds (whom they were supposed to be fighting) that Chang might be expected to join with them, declare his independence of Nanking and proclaim an anti-Japanese crusade at almost any time. Since the publication of the German-Japanese understanding, and as a result of the Sino-Japanese negotiations in Nanking where "co-operation" against the Reds was under discussion for a time, the resentment of the exiled Manchurians against what seemed to them Chiang Kai-shek's do-nothing policy became so

feverish that General Chiang very rashly determined to go to Sianfu himself and have it out with Chiang Hsueh-liang. And now he is a hostage.

What is to emerge from this strange situation it is impossible to say. China is, of course, in no position to declare war on Japan. Whatever one thinks of Chiang Kai-shek, it must be admitted that he has followed the only possible course. While trying to prepare his country one day to resist Japanese aggression, he has been affording the Japanese as few excuses as possible for armed invasion, putting as many obstacles in their way as possible without openly challenging them and sparring very adroitly for time. If Chang Hsueh-liang were better informed, he would know that the Japanese Army has found these tactics far more irritating than they have been to any Chinese faction.

Nanking now reports that it is hurrying troops to the generalissimo's rescue; but if Chang Hsueh-liang is not prepared to resist them he can retreat as far into Central Asia as he likes, taking the "dictator" with him. The Japanese are already on their toes. It is not unlikely that anti-Japanese organizations of students and others will take advantage of the government's bewilderment to do some provocative whooping. The Kuangsi chieftains may try to foment a nation-wide anti-Chiang movement, which

might start an epidemic of independent anti-Japanese gestures which would give much more satisfaction than annoyance to the Japanese army. In whatever direction the prophet lets his imagination run it is impossible to see, however, how this astounding coup can be anything but a disservice to China and a source of worry to every Occidental people with a stake in the Far East.

**Russia Denies Backing Chang In Chinese Coup**

**Calls Japanese Story of Its Pact With Rebel Chief a 'Malicious Invention'**

**Fisheries Talks Pending**

**Tokio Still Hopes Moscow Will Renew Convention**

*By The Associated Press*

MOSCOW, Dec. 14 (Monday).—An official denial of Japanese press reports that Soviet Russia conspired to bring about the present Chinese crisis was issued today by Tass, the Soviet news agency. It said:

"In connection with the insinuation of the Japanese newspaper, 'Nichi Nichi,' sent out by the Domei news agency, that Marshal Chang Hsueh-liang is supposed to be organizing a government supported by the U. S. S. R. and concluding a defensive and offensive alliance with the U. S. S. R., Tass is authorized to declare that this information is without foundation and is a malicious invention."

Japan has not yet abandoned hope that Soviet Russia will sign a new fisheries convention extending Japan's fishing rights in far eastern Russian territorial waters to replace the old agreement expiring at the end of the year, authoritative sources here said today.

The new convention, extending rights gained by Japan by the Treaty of Portsmouth, which ended the Russo-Japanese war of 1904-5, was reported ready for signature in November, but when the Japan-Germany anti-Communist pact was revealed the Moscow government refused to sign.

Mamoru Shigemitsu, the new Japanese Ambassador at Moscow, was awaiting further word from Maxim M. Litvinov, Foreign Affairs Commissioner, following their meetings of last week. At that time Litvinov told the Japanese envoy that the whole matter, one

of the most important items of Russo-Japanese relations, was under review by the Kremlin.

Japanese circles here indicated their hope that the Soviet Union would renew the fishing rights and yield to Shigemitsu's efforts to improve relations between the two powers.

On the Russian side, however, there was no indication that the situation has changed.

# CHIANG LIVES, SAYS NANKING; AIDE IS SEEKING TO FREE HIM; CHINA ORDERS MARTIAL LAW

## DEATH RUMOR BROADCAST

But Australian Reports  
Seeing Generalissimo  
in Trip to Shensi.

## DICTATOR BARS PARLEYS

Insists That Captor Negotiate  
With Government—Progress  
Toward Release Is Seen.

## TROOPS CLOSING ON SIAM

Loyal Forces Approaching in  
5 Columns—Nanking Firm  
for Crushing Rebellion.

By HALLETT ABEND

Wireless to THE NEW YORK TIMES.  
SHANGHAI, Wednesday, Dec. 16.  
—A report was circulated here today that General Chang Hsueh-liang, captor of Generalissimo Chiang Kai-shek, had broadcast from Sian, Shensi, an announcement that the dictator and several of his aides had been put to death. Reliable Chinese sources declared the report was untrue.

[A dispatch from the correspondent of THE NEW YORK TIMES at Tokyo said a purported broadcast from General Chang had actually been heard. A later one, however, said that the Domei News Agency reported this (Wednesday) morning that the Nanking government had declared the generalissimo was still alive. Its authority was W. H. Donald, who had gone to Sian.]

Despite bad weather, W. H. Donald, Australian aide to Chiang Kai-shek, flew back from Sian and landed at Loyang, Honan Province, late yesterday evening, whence he telephoned Nanking assuring Mrs. Chiang Kai-shek that her husband was alive and in good health. Whatever news about the prospects of liberating the generalissimo and set-

ting the revolt Mr. Donald communicated to Nanking was a carefully guarded secret, but it was understood he probably would fly back to Sian today.

This report gave rise to hopes that the negotiations were not terminated and there was still a chance of success.

It is understood that after conversing with Mr. Donald over the long-distance telephone, Mrs. Chiang opposed using force to effect her husband's rescue and suppress the rebels.

### Chiang Refused to Talk

From the time of his seizure Saturday morning until Monday afternoon, Chiang Kai-shek kept his lips stubbornly sealed, said Mr. Donald, and despite many visits and pleas by Chang Hsueh-liang for discussion of the situation, the generalissimo steadfastly refused to say one word to his captor, who formerly was his trusted aide.

When Mr. Donald visited the generalissimo at his place of detention in Sian on Monday afternoon Chang Hsueh-liang accompanied him and renewed his entreaties that the generalissimo break his silence and discuss the impasse. Then for the first time the generalissimo replied, declaring it was impossible for him to accept any of Chang Hsueh-liang's demands under existing conditions and adding that even if the demands should prove to the nation's best interests, they could be considered only by the Central Government.

The generalissimo's long silence had proved extremely discomfiting to his captors.

It is understood he negated Mrs. Chiang's plans to fly to Sian.

The present situation means that Chiang Kai-shek will not personally arrange any terms for his release but is leaving settlement of the problem to the national government, which, apprised of the situation in all the provinces and of the temper of the public, can act in the nation's best interests.

An encouraging factor was seen in the fact that the telegraph lines to Sian were again operating today.

The strangest drama in China's last decade of troubled revolutionary struggle thus entered its fifth day with the leader to whom the people have lately rallied with unprecedented enthusiasm still a prisoner inside the ancient walled city of the young, hereditary warlord who has never yet been victorious in any battle and who lost the Man-

churian provinces after a series of ignominious defeats.

The city of Sian, which is located in an area generally conceded to be the cradle of the Chinese race, was considered so remote and inaccessible thirty-six years ago that when the court of the dowager Empress fled thither after the Boxer rebellion the foreign allied armies did not even attempt pursuit. Sian is now within only a few hours' airplane flight from China's new capital, Nanking, and is also accessible by the railway along which government troops have advanced more than 120 miles in the last few days.

The main punitive force is within fifteen miles of Sian's outer walls, while the government armies had succeeded this morning in completing a vast encircling movement around the seat of the revolt. Unless Chang Hsueh-liang escaped during the night with his dozen or more important political prisoners into the trackless, arid plains and gullied foothills of Shensi Province, a period of jockeying is now likely to begin. With Sian surrounded and the government holding absolute control in the air it is probable that the ranks of the Rebels will soon begin thinning through desertions and changes of allegiance induced by fear or money.

### Leadership Is Lacking

Unless some seasoned commanders of the Communists forces with whom Chang Hsueh-liang is reported to have allied himself are in Sian, the rebel troops there probably are entirely lacking in able leadership, for the unwieldy army of General Chang never distinguished itself in any campaign, and thus far in the present crisis the government advance has met almost no resistance.

If any other disgruntled militarists were apprised in advance of Chang Hsueh-liang's daring plans for revolt they have not made any open moves to support his challenge to the government. It now appears likely that if the plot is widespread the government is playing in luck, as has so often occurred in the last decade and that potential allies of Chang Hsueh-liang, by waiting overlong to gauge his measure of success will lose their opportunity.

Time and again, notably last Summer, on the occasion of the attempted southwestern rebellion, lack of confidence and cohesion among Nanking's opponents has given the government the opportunity to overcome them one by one, thereby gradually extending its power and control.

The gravest danger in the present situation is that some faction of the beleaguered rebels in Sian may, in desperation, resort to assassination. As long as the generalissimo is to be alive the attackers will not dare resort to the use of aerial

bombers or artillery but may resort to siege, hoping that hunger inside the walls prove a potent factor for compromise.

By ARCHIBALD STEELE

Wireless to THE NEW YORK TIMES.

NANKING, China, Wednesday, Dec. 16.—As a result of W. H. Donald's report from Loyang, it is believed here that Chang Hsueh-liang is still in complete control of the Shensi revolt, aimed to force a declaration of war on Japan. This fact brings relief that the Communists have not gained ascendancy in the reported alliance.

Although an official announcement was lacking today, it was learned that a definite basis for negotiations had been established, with Chang Hsueh-liang's terms called surprisingly easy of adjustment considering the terrible risk he is running by revolting and detaining the generalissimo.

It is understood the generalissimo is detained in the army headquarters and is guarded by Chang Hsueh-liang's troops.

It is conceded here that if the negotiations for the generalissimo's release are successful, the generalissimo's wife will be credited with much of the success for the parleys. She has been tireless since the revolt occurred daily and has received more than fifty emissaries daily from all factions, conducting all conferences with remarkable tact and patience.

Military leaders here admit that the Kansu Province situation has taken a dangerous turn. Lanchow, the provincial capital, is under attack by the rebels. German advisers of the army are informed that three divisions of Chang Hsueh-liang's forces near Lanchow have joined in the revolt, seized the city's airport and detained a plane of the Eurasia Aviation Corporation in which Germans hold a 49 per cent interest. Mystery surrounds the fact that another Eurasia airplane is detained in Ningsia Province.

Nine government observation planes circled Sian repeatedly yesterday. The fliers report quiet inside the walls.

### Son Hears Chiang Is Safe

BERLIN, Wednesday, Dec. 16 (AP).—Chiang Wei-ko, son of Chiang Kai-shek, understands that his father is still alive, close friends of the son said today.

Young Chiang, a student at the University of Berlin, declined to make further comment on reports that his father had been slain.

By The Associated Press.

NANKING, China, Wednesday, Dec. 16.—The government continued today to move powerful loyal forces on Sian, center of the rebellion.

From Honan, Hupeh, Szechwan, Kansu and the Nanking divisions were completing their cordon around the Shensi capital. Reports from near-by Loyang, in Honan Province, said there had been fighting at many points on the Honan-Shensi border between government and rebel forces.

# CHIANG KAI-SHEK IS PRISONER OF MUTINOUS SHENSI TROOPS, DEMANDING WAR ON JAPAN

SUNDAY DEC 13 1936

## MANCHURIAN IN REVOLT

Chang Hsueh-liang for  
Return of Communists  
to Nanking Regime.

## LOST TERRITORY SOUGHT

Generalissimo Seized in Midst  
of Preparations to Discipline  
Those Friendly With Reds.

## STUDENTS PLEAD FOR WAR

Peiping Anti-Japanese Rallies  
Arouse Angry Embassy Call  
for Their Suppression.

By HALLETT ABEAD

Wireless to THE NEW YORK TIMES.

SHANGHAI, Sunday, Dec. 13.—Generalissimo Chiang Kai-shek has been seized by General Chang Hsueh-liang, according to reports received by high Chinese officials, in an effort to force the Nanking Government to declare war against Japan.

General Chang, former Manchurian commander, guaranteed the life of the generalissimo in a telegram to military leaders throughout China. The telegram also carried these demands:

1. An immediate declaration of war against Japan.
2. A pledge by the Nanking government to recover all lost territories, including Manchuria.

3. Reorganization of the Kuomintang [Nationalist party] to readmit Communists to membership on the basis existing before the anti-Communist purge began in 1927.

### Seizure Follows Mutiny

The arrest of Generalissimo Chiang followed a mutiny yesterday at Sian, the capital of Shensi Province. Part of the former Manchurian forces commanded by General Chang Hsueh-liang and part of the Shensi provincial troops commanded by General Yang Fu-cheng mutinied and presented demands for immediate cooperation with the Chinese Communists and military action to stop Japan's encroachments on China's territorial and administrative integrity.

Following the mutiny General Chang, his executive officers and General Yang sent an urgent telegram to the executive Yuan at Nanking advocating cooperation with the Communists and formal approval of a policy of armed resistance to Japan.

When the mutiny started the generalissimo was resting at the hot springs twenty miles from Sian. When informed of the turmoil in the provincial capital he disregarded personal danger and hastened there, hoping to regain control.

For many months a dangerous situation existed in Shensi, where Gen-

eral Chang's troops had been fraternizing with Communist armies. General Chang's former Manchurian troops, about 120,000 strong, had been exiled from their native land since September, 1931. Since then they have been bitterly anti-Japanese and were ready listeners when Communists began propaganda in favor of war against Japan.

### Mutineers Reported Orderly

Apparently the mutiny was as orderly as such a movement can be, because the telegrams from Sian declared there was no looting and made no reference to loss of life. If no violence occurred there probably was a settlement through negotiation and persuasion.

Many divisions of Generalissimo Chiang's own army are in Shensi, whither they were sent to assist in the anti-Communist campaign. Many more are eastward across the Yellow River in Shansi, whither they were sent since the beginning of the Suiyuan disturbances.

Train traffic into Shensi over the Lunghai line, the only railway, has been interrupted at Tungkwan, a strategic pass at the Honan-Shensi border, and telegraph lines are down.

Japanese sources seek to minimize the anti-Japanese character of the mutiny, declaring the mutineers objected to an order to move into Fukien Province, whither part of General Chang's forces were reported sent recently when the ex-

tent of their fraternization with Communists was discovered.

### Peiping Students Urge War

Wireless to THE NEW YORK TIMES.

PEIPING, Dec. 12.—Another dangerous anti-Japanese student demonstration occurred in Peiping this afternoon when 2,000 students, including 300 girls, seized control of part of Peihai Park formerly part of the "Forbidden City."

The students attempted a parade in the morning, distributing handbills and shouting anti-Japanese slogans, but were peaceably dispersed. Late in the afternoon they gathered in Peihai Park, entering in small groups. Suddenly they unfurled anti-Japanese banners and began speeches urging war on Japan.

General Sung Cheh-yuan, head of the Hôpei-Chahar Political Council, immediately sent 100 special military guards to aid the police and the meeting was dispersed without violence at 6 o'clock.

Meanwhile students from Tsinghua University, which is supported by American Boxer funds, and from Yenching University, which is supported by American missions, marched upon the city but the gates were closed. They returned to their campuses where they met and voted formal demands, including the breaking of diplomatic relations with Japan, the sending of General Jung Cheh-yuan's army to assist in the campaign against Manchukuoans and Mongols in Manchuria and Chahar, the abolition of Yin Jukeng's independent East Hôpei régime, opposition to Japan's imperialism and the recovery of Manchuria.

Denjiro Kato, first secretary of the Japanese Embassy, called on General Sung at 7 P. M. and made a harshly-worded protest, demanding suppression of student agitation.

Chiang's Release Demanded  
TOKYO, Sunday, Dec. 13 (AP).—

SUNDAY DEC 13 1936



CHINESE LEADER

Times Wide World Photo.  
General Chiang Kai-shek

With the Executive Yuan of the Nanking Government in emergency session to deliberate on the crisis, and a state of alarm declared, throughout the country, the government refused to accept the mutineers' demands until Generalissimo Chiang was released.

Marshal Chang, the leader of the rebels, was ruler of Manchuria's four provinces until the Japanese Army in 1931 drove him from his domain and established therein the "Independent State" of Manchukuo under Japanese protection. Recently he has been in command of forces in Northwestern China operating against Chinese Communist concentrations in Northern Shensi and Kansu Provinces. Marshal Chang has vowed to regain Manchuria for China.

From Nanking the Domei News Agency reported that the mutineers first rose at Sian, then marched to Hsueh-chi, a hot springs about twenty miles from Sian where the head of the Nanking Government

was staying, and seized him. Then they marched back with him to Sian, where he was reported held incommunicado.

On receipt of the telegram containing the mutineers' demands the Chinese Government at Nanking was said to have replied:

"The National Government fully appreciates the Young Marshal's proposals, but the National Government first desires the immediate release of Chiang Kai-shek, after which it will discuss emergency measures in connection with the Young Marshal's demands."

The Japanese reports, however, said the rebels had guaranteed the overlord's safety. They related that the Nanking officials had lost all touch with Generalissimo Chiang following the revolt.

Domei's dispatches stated the mutineers first seized control of the Sian rail and traffic communications, disrupting rail service on the Lunghai line to the west. Then, the dispatches continued, they marched on the Sian military headquarters and later "detained" the generalissimo and his aides.

Quoting Ho Chen-chung, Pacification Commissioner of Hupeh Province, Domei said only a part of Marshal Chang's forces, those under General Yang Fu-chang, were involved in the mutiny.

The mutineers' demands were transmitted to the central government at Nanking through the Shensi provincial government.

Rigid censorship was imposed at Shanghai on telegrams abroad. The censorship does not prevent communication between Shanghai and Tokyo, because Japanese Government and other facilities operate outside Chinese control.

### Attack on Rebels Planned

NANKING, Sunday, Dec. 13 (AP).

The Chinese Government will send "powerful units" of Honan provincial troops against mutinous Shensi troops, military officials predicted today. Their statement came as central government officials convened in an emergency session to consider demands from Marshal Chang Hsueh-liang.

### The Chinese Puzzle.

Even keen students of Oriental politics will have difficulty in fathoming the true inwardness of the latest turn of the Asiatic kaleidoscope. The mutiny of troops in China's Shensi Province, commanded by Gen. Chang Hsueh-Liang, former "little marshal" of Manchuria, followed by their seizure and imprisonment of Chiang Kai-Shek, generalissimo of the Nationalist government, presents a Chinese puzzle utterly without parallel. Pending clarification of the circumstances which produced it, only one thing is certain—that it plunges the whole Far Eastern situation into incalculable confusion. That it may hasten war between China and Japan is the first and natural conclusion which will be drawn, with imminent peril of that general conflagration in Asia, for which conditions have so long been ripe.

Marshal Chang professes to be actuated by a patriotic desire to liberate China from the Japanese yoke. After his capture of Chiang Kai-Shek, the mutinous general called upon the Nanking government, besides declaring war on Japan, to pledge itself to recover all lost territory, including Manchuria, and to readmit Communists to the Nationalist party on terms of former equality. The government's reply was to strip Chang of all authority and declination to consider any of his demands until Chiang Kai-Shek is liberated. Refusal to comply will result in a drive to suppress the mutinous leader as a common traitor.

Chiang Kai-Shek has been engaged in a progressively successful effort to re-establish Nanking's authority in the northwest. It was essential, for this purpose, to eliminate Marshal Chang, whose loyalty was gravely questioned,

especially since his troops were reported to be fraternizing with the Chinese Communists they were supposed to fight. Chiang himself planned to lead government forces against the mistrusted marshal and went to Sian, capital of Shensi, on that mission. There, on Saturday, he was surrounded by Chang's men and "kidnaped," together with a group of his principal aides.

Curiosity is widespread as to the subterranean role Japan may be playing in this weird business. When the Japanese began their Manchurian adventure in 1931, Chang held the province with 250,000 efficient troops, who were ejected without resistance by three Japanese divisions. During the intervening years Chang has worked in more or less good faith with Nanking, which gave him various posts of responsibility and opportunity to rehabilitate himself.

Chiang Kai-Shek's disappearance from the leadership of the government at this time would be a calamity for China. He has succeeded to a remarkable degree in unifying the Nationalist spirit and making it possible for the Chinese to show their teeth to Japan recently in a manner that has not been without effect in Tokio. The suspicion is bound to arise that it is more than a mere mutiny by Marshal Chang that has brought about the suppression of the man who has come to be the chief thorn in the side of Nippon's war lords.

### China's Tragic Loss.

The brutal murder of Chiang Kai-shek at the hands of an irresponsible subordinate is a shocking event fraught with possibilities of evil for China, the Far East and the entire world.

Whatever his shortcomings, Chiang Kai-shek had rendered enormous service to his nation during the past decade. In very large measure the stability which China has begun to reveal and the strength it was displaying in its relations with Japan were attributable to him. Given another decade of power, Chiang might well have been able really to unite China. But as a consequence of his untimely death, all the progress which China recently made is threatened. Her enemies may proceed with their ambitious plans to dismember the unfortunate republic, with certain danger to the unstable structure of world peace.

As a military leader Chiang's capacities were notable. The great march of the Nationalists from Canton to the Yangtze was made under his leadership and he created, with the aid of foreign advisers, the finest army China has ever possessed. But his later campaigns against the Chinese Communists were no masterpieces of strategy.

In the end, though he forced the Reds out of South Central China, he was unable to prevent them from escaping to the northwest. It was this failure, in a sense, which cost the life of the Nationalist leader. For it was the infiltration of Communist ideas in the ranks of Chang Hsueh-liang's forces which was indirectly responsible for the kidnaping of Chiang and his subsequent murder.

It was as a political leader that Chiang made his greatest contribution to China. Indeed, many of his military victories, over recalcitrant war lords, were largely achieved through astute political methods. In this manner he managed bit by bit to extend Nanking's authority while giving an ever-increasing area a more efficient and honest administration than China had ever before possessed.

His opportunism, which enabled him to survive for so many years despite sharp opposition, was best seen in Chiang's policy toward Japan. Realizing that China stood to gain nothing and to lose everything by open hostilities with the island empire, he steadily pursued Fabian tactics. Though it left him open to the charge of pro-Japanism, though it enraged the more ardent of the Nationalists, it nevertheless saved China from being swallowed up. And by progressively increasing China's military power and political stability he was clearly

reaching a position to resist Japan more firmly than had been possible in the past.

With his disappearance China confronts chaos. There are at least as many candidates for supreme power as there were for the mantle of Yuan Shi-kai. The latter's death was followed by a prolonged period of civil war which wasted the nation's substance. A similar situation is a real possibility now. Yet the sense of nationalism which China did not possess in 1911 has begun to have in increasing measure in our day. Chiang's death may unite rather than divide the nation. All in this country will hope that such may prove to be the case.



MONDAY DEC 14 1936

**Prosperity in China**

China is now enjoying a relatively high degree of prosperity, available reports from that country indicate. Bumper crops, the largest during the present generation, and prevailing higher commodity prices are chiefly responsible. The rice crop is estimated to have exceeded last year's by 20 to 30 per cent, while the wheat output is believed to have been 30 to 40 per cent higher. The Chinese cotton crop was almost double that of 1935. Farm income rose by some 3 to 4 billions of Chinese dollars.

Her abundant crops have enabled China to increase her exports substantially in a year when poorer crops elsewhere enabled her to sell the surplus abroad freely at attractive prices. Exports during the first nine months of the year amounted to 508,000,000 Chinese dollars, as compared with 397,000,000 Chinese dollars during the same period a year ago. Imports, on the other hand, decreased in value from 720,000,000 Chinese dollars in the first nine months of 1935 to 685,000,000 in the corresponding period this year. Thus, the country's adverse

trade balance fell from 324,000,000 Chinese dollars to 177,000,000 during this period.

A contributing factor in the improvement has doubtless been the depreciation of the Chinese dollar and the increase in currency circulation, which checked the deflationary tendencies that had previously weighed down heavily on the country. However, with about 1,000,000,000 Chinese dollars of currency in circulation, there is little evidence of monetary inflation, in view of the withdrawal of silver coins and metal.

Good crops in one part of China in the past did not affect other sections much. Improved transportation facilities, however, have made the country as a whole more sensitive to the benefits of large crops in particular areas, as has also the relative political stability that has existed this year in most parts of China.

China is primarily agricultural, so that the welfare of the nation is closely tied up with crops and farm prices. Hence, favorable agricultural conditions this year should exercise a stimulating influence for some time to come. The new crisis precipitated by the kidnaping of Marshal Chiang Kai-Shek may inaugurate another period of external and internal conflict, but if it does not China may take her place among the relatively more prosperous nations of the world.

WEDNESDAY DEC 16 1936

**The Amazing Chang Hsueh-liang**

If young Chang Hsueh-liang is himself a free agent, if he is not taking orders from the Communist chieftains with whose soldiers his own troops have lately been fraternizing, the report that he has executed Chiang Kai-shek, Chiang Tso-pin and other high military officers simply does not make sense. When the Chinese government and the entire Chinese press seem to be fully persuaded that the news which Nanking received of the generalissimo's death came directly from Chang Hsueh-liang himself it is hard to think of any good reason for doubting its accuracy, and yet it is hard to accept for a number of reasons.

With Chiang Kai-shek alive in his hands, the "Young Marshal," as he is still commonly known in China, was in a position to haggle almost indefinitely for anything that Nanking had the power to give him—appointments, revenues, territories and supplies. With Chiang Kai-shek dead on his hands, he has nothing whatever to offer the national government as the price of a change in national policy, peace for his following or the security of his own head. Despite all the reports of great national forces converging on Sianfu to annihilate him, without concern for the generalissimo's safety, he is too shrewd a Chinese to have believed that Chiang Kai-shek's wife and other highly placed relatives in the Nanking government would have permitted any military unit to get close enough to Sianfu to endanger the generalissimo's life. If Chiang Kai-shek is dead he can be just as sure, however, that every ounce of military strength which Nanking commands will be thrown wholeheartedly into the task of avenging the dead; and that once such a campaign starts in earnest he will have few subordinates who will not be wondering how they can secure their own necks and jobs by betraying him. It is hard to understand, moreover, why Chang Hsueh-liang should let W. H. Donald, on whose fatherly advice he has relied for many years, return to Loyang on Monday afternoon to assure the world of Chiang Kai-shek's safety and comfort and to inaugurate with Nanking that bargaining for terms which is the national sport in China, and should then on Tuesday morning put an end to all discussion of all questions, national or personal, by shooting all his hostages.

These remarks are not meant to suggest that the cultured, urbane and accomplished young Chang Hsueh-liang would be incapable of shooting his captives in cold blood, if he had anything to gain by it. Shortly after his father's death in 1928 this young man had two of his father's most able lieutenants, who were also two of his own closest associates, shot on the steps of his Mukden residence to insure his own undivided inheritance of his Manchurian empire. The point is, however, that in this case he insures himself nothing by a ruthless act but a feud to the death against enormous odds.

In the improbable event the report of Chiang Kai-shek's death is confirmed, the execution then immediately becomes a major political conundrum. For the solution of it we may not have long to wait, however. The likeliest explanation of such an act would be that Chang Hsueh-liang had abruptly found himself in a position where he had to shoot his prisoners to save his own life, and the only element in western China that would be bold and purposeful enough to dictate such a course would be Mao

Tze-tung's "Central Soviet Government of China," which has, as Chang Hsueh-liang's earlier demands indicated, been gaining more and more influence over the Manchurian officers and men with its appeal for a "United Front" against Japan. If Chang Hsueh-liang is in such hands his explanations of his conduct will very shortly reveal his inspiration. In that event Nanking will have to move with all the more speed and determination to forestall Japanese intervention.

## The World's Biggest "Kidnaping"

GEN. CHIANG KAI-SHEK seized Saturday, has been reported executed near Sianfu, province of Shensi, by soldiers mutinying under the inspiration of Gen. Chang Hsueh-liang. Although the execution later was denied the kidnaping may be the most important in history. It is the biggest news story breaking as this is written.

We newspaper men have surely been favored in this year of 1936, now closing. It hasn't been necessary to rely on bathing beauty contests, love nests, Omnipotent Ooms and such to keep circulation up. A series of tremendous news stories has attended to that—Ethiopia, Hauptmann's execution, Hitler's Rhineland remilitarization, the war in Spain, the Presidential campaign, the Roosevelt landslide, Mrs. Simpson, the abdication of Edward VIII and accession of George VI, and now, right on the heels of the royal ruckus, the snatching of North China's dictator by China's outstanding war lord. For the newspapers, it has been some year.

The Chiang Kai-shek snatch may shake the world.

Chiang is far more valuable to Chang Hsueh-liang alive than dead. Chang wants certain provinces assigned to him as a "homeland," according to the most recent news from the Far East. He also wants his army put on the national payroll; and he wants the national government to pitch into the Japanese and drive them out of China.

It should be a history making fight—because Russia will probably be in it actively on the Chinese side, and Germany will probably lend more than moral support to Japan.

CHANG'S kidnaping of Chiang Kai-shek is logical enough, in the light of the two men's life histories.

Chang is the son of the late Chang-Tso-lin, Manchurian war lord who was killed in June, 1928, when his special train was blown up near Mukden by a bomb alleged to have been of Japanese manufacture. The Japanese, then intriguing for the Manchuria grab of 1931-32, hounded the son, Chang Hsueh-liang, out of the country, decorating him with a gossip-bred reputation as a vicious, perverted, opium-eating, Eastern-potentate type of undesirable. Henry Pu Yi, now Kang Teh, was in due time eased onto the throne of Manchukuo.

Chang later turned out to be an excellent tennis player, a good golf player, and to have been educated in a missionary school as a boy. He seems to have done some brooding over his treatment by the Japanese. During the last eight years, he has been fighting and war-lording around in North China's outer provinces, while Chiang Kai-shek has

ruled in Nanking, doing nothing to halt the Japanese penetration of China. Chang, while not a Communist, has made some Communist friends toward the Russian border; and it now looks as if Chiang Kai-shek will have to accept Russian help of various kinds if he consents to go to war against Japan.

The recently concluded Japanese-German treaty must have inspired Chang to bring about this crisis—or have inspired Russia to inspire Chang. The threatened war will resemble the Spanish fight between Communism and Fascism. It will include, most probably, a civil war in China in addition to the Japan-China fight, and other nations—Russia and Germany—will be helping officially or unofficially.

\* \* \*

THE local Reds are already telling us that we should sympathize with the Chinese in this fight, just as they have been telling us we ought to sympathize with the Spanish Red Government in the Spanish fight.

We ought to ignore both of these pieces of advice. The Asiatic fight is no more our fight than is the Spanish fight. It is as important for us to stay neutral toward the Asiatic fight as toward the Spanish fight—more so, because this promises to be a bigger fight.

There is only one side for the United States to be on; and that is on this side of the Pacific, and on this side of the Atlantic.

(From the New York Daily News)



東亞局  
機密 第三五七號

第一課

昭和十一年十二月十八日

昭和十一年十二月廿六日接受  
別紙添附

歐亞局

在海拉爾

領事後 藤 祿 郎



外務大臣 有田 八 郎

件名 張學良ノ「夕イダ夕イ」ニ對スル海關券「夕イダ夕イ」報道ニ關スル件

昭和十一年十二月十八日附 機密第五八〇號在 請 大 使 宛

公信寫別紙送附ス

寫

普通第五八〇號

昭和十一年十二月十八日

在 海 關 署

領 事 後 藤 祿 郎

在 館

特命全權大使 植 田 謙 吉 殿

張學良ノ「夕イダ夕イ」ニ對スル海關券「夕イダ夕イ」報道ニ關スル件

十二月十五日午後七時海關券夕イダ夕イ放送局ハ今回ノ張學良ノ「夕イダ夕イ」ニ關シ左記ノ如ク報道セリ

海關券放送局申述ス

在海拉爾日本領事館



普通第四十七號

在海拉爾日本領事館

普通第四十七號

第一線

昭和十一年十二月廿六日



昭和十一年十二月十九日

在浦潮斯德

總領事 杉下裕次



外務大臣 有田 八郎 殿

張學良ノ「クーデター」ニ關スル當地新聞報ニ關スル件

西安ニ於ケル張學良ノ「クーデター」ニ關シテハ當地機關紙ハ本月十五日ノ紙上ニ

(一) 學良ハ其通電中ニ抗日運動ノ徹底化、共產黨トノ提携ヲ要求シ居ル處南京政府側ハ學良ヲ以テ叛徒ト宣言セリト爲シ且國民黨政治部並南京政府政治委員會ノ緊急會議ノ決定事項ヲ擧ケタル十三日上海發「タス」及ヒ

(二) 學良ノ擧兵ハ多數軍閥領袖就中西南派ノ支持ヲ有スル旨ヲ報シ

在浦潮日本帝國總領事館

情報部

三二

タル上、西安事件ノ報道發表以前ニ同盟通信上海特派員カ南京政  
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右報告ス

本信寫送付先 在「ソヴィエト」聯邦大使

在浦潮日本帝國總領事館

全國各界救國聯合會 當面、時局ニ関スル緊急宣言

十二月十二日ノ西安事件ハ全國及全世界ヲ震撼セシメタ。我  
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救亡ノ主張ヲ実行セラレンコトヲ希望スルト同時ニ張學良楊虎城  
蔣軍ハ一面ニ於テハ蔣先生ノ自由ヲ恢復シ一面ニ於テハ東北ト陝西ト健兒

ヲ統率シテ紛遠ニ出動シ我カ紛遠、山西ノ將士ヲ援助シテ事實ニ於テ失地奪回ノ主張ヲ表示セラレンコトヲ希望スルモノテアル。我等ハ飽ク迄モ自ラ相殺戮スル内戦ニ反対スルモノテアリ特ニ現在ニ於テハ我カ向錫山、傅作義、領導下ノ山西紛遠、健兒カ勇敢ニ抗敵シテ失地奪回ニ努メテ居ル時テアリ東北義勇軍モ亦敵ト抗爭シテ屢々敵ノ氣勢ヲ挫キツ、アルノ時テアリ我カ全國民衆カ紛遠ヲ援助ニ奮起シテ居ル時テアツテ如何ナル内戦モ結局敵ノ侵略ヲ容易ナラシメ自ラ我カ中華ヲ亡スモノテアルコトヲ自覺シテ居ル際テアルカラ我等ハ如何ナル方面ノ暴動スル内戦ニモ反対スルモノデアル張、楊諸將軍カ若ト武カヲ用ヒテ輕ミレク事端ヲ醸シ其ノ抗日救國ノ主張ヲ頷ミサルナラハ我等ハ言フ迄モナク飽ク迄モ之ニ反対スルモノテアル。同時ニ若レ中央當局カ武力討伐ノ方式ニ依ツテ現下

(5)

ノ紛糾ヲ解決セントスルナラハ我等ハ之ニ反対シテ之ニ飽ク迄モ反対スルモノテアル。

(4)

我等カ今日要求スル處ノモノハ諸氏カ全國民衆ノ意見ヲ尊重シテ平和的折衝ニ依ツテ勉メテ眼前ノ内戦ヲ回避シ察哈爾紛遠ノ抗敵ヲ拡大セラレン事テアル。我等カ張學良、楊虎城將軍ニ告ケントスルモノハ中央ノ過去ノ政策ニ関シテハ我等ハ暫ク之ヲ言ハナイ最近數ヶ月ニ於テ中央ハ既ニ屢々宣言ヲ發シテ救國ノ主張シテ居リ紛遠ノ抗敵ニ事實ニ上テ奮勵セラレテ居ルノテアル。斯ル時機ニ於テ全國民衆ト各方面実力派ハ只ダ中央ヲ督勵シテ自主的立場ヲ確保シ各方面ト聯合シ民衆組織ヲ開放シ武裝抗敵ヲ拡大スヘキテアツテ絶体ニ中央反対ヲ言フヘキテハナイ。

故ニ張揚諸將軍ノ主張ニシテ若シ眞心カラ抗敵スルコトニ在ツテ  
私見ヲ挾マサルモノナラハ必然的ニ全國人民ノ支持ヲ獲ルテアラ  
ウカ若シ只タ抗日ニ名ヲ藉ツテ私私ヲ曰ラントスルモノテアルナラ  
ハ必ス々天下後世ノ唾棄スル處トナルテアラウ

(5)  
同時ニ我等カ中央当局諸公ニ告ケントスルモノハ中央方面カ若シ事  
實ニ於テ孫中山先生ノ遺教ヲ実行シ一再ナラス宣言セル領土  
主權ヲ保持スルノ主張ヲ實現スルナラハ此ノ緊張セル局勢ノ下ニ  
於テ更ニ眞正ナル抗日ノ段階ニ依ツテ一切ノ内戦ヲ停止シ救國運動  
ヲ保護シ民衆ノ愛國的言論ト組織ヲ開放スヘキテアリ、斯クスル  
事ニ依ツテ始メテ眞心ヨリスル救國運動ヲシテ信頼スヘキ保障  
ヲ獲得セシメ脚心ヲ抱ク救國的分子ヲシテ亦施スヘキ術ナカラ  
シムルデアラウコトテアル。

(6)  
窟深ク事ハ急テアル此ノ民族存亡ノ最後ノ危機ニ当リ何人モ亦  
一切ノ偏見ト過去ノ感情ヲ除キ全民族ノ利益ニ服従スヘキテアツ  
テ内戦ヲ起ス者ハ何人テアツテモ夫レハ敵ノ「スパイ」テアリ民族  
ノ罪人テアル。

陝西事件發生後ニ於テ日本帝國主義ハ更ニ中國ニ内戦發生ノ  
可能性アリトシテ在留日本人ノ生命財産ニ対スル適切ナル保護  
ヲ爲スヘキコトヲ口實ニ更ニ積極的ニ軍隊ヲ増派シテ西北ト華  
北ノ併吞ヲ実行セントシテ居ル。日本ハ更ニ悪辣ニモ防共ヲ名  
トシテ我ニ内戦進行ヲ慫慂シ少数ノ親日分子々亦其辭ヲ誇  
張シテ全國民衆ノ視線ヲ轉向セシメ我紛遠ノ前線ニ在ル抗敵  
健兒ヲシテ精神的及物質的支援ヲ失ハシメ我勇敢ナル將士ヲ  
熱血ヲ枯渴セシメテ奪回シタ百靈廟大廟ニ頭顱ヲ並ヘ多論ノニ

ノ舞ヲ演セシメントシテ居ル

我等ハ飽ク迄モ内戦ニ反対シ抗戦ヲ拡大スルコトノ大旗ヲ押  
樹テ、全國人民ニ呼掛ケ即時ニ總動員シテ前線將士ノ援助ト  
一切ノ内戦解消運動ヲ強化セントスルモノヲアル。

我等ハ政府ニ対シ即時民衆ノ救亡組織ヲ解放シ公肉的ニ救國運  
動ヲ保護スヘキコトヲ要求スル。

我等ハ一切ノ資産アル中國人ハ商錫山將軍ノ

(17)  
〔其家産ヲ破ツテ國難ヲ救フノ意ニテ商錫山カセキナ万弗ヲ寄附  
セシヲ言フ〕ニ倣ヒ一切軍隊ノ將士ハ傳作義孫長勝等ノ民族英  
雄ノ奪戦ニ倣ヒ一切ノ知識アリ特殊技能アル教授學者ハ曾昭  
倫教授ノ前線ニ於ケル活動ニ倣ヒ一切ノ愛國志士ハ北平學生ノ  
戦斗参加ニ倣フヘク一切ノ救國タルコトヲ欲セサル中國人ハ

(18)

向断ナク前線將士ヲ援助シ救済スヘキテアル、我等ハ一日工廠一  
百分ノ収益ヲ全部救國基金ニ寄附スル運動〕ニ満足セズ我々ハ  
引續キ日日寄興スル處カナケレハナラヌ。

我等ハ一切ノ現存ノ内戦ヲ停止スル事ヲ要求シ一切ノ新内戦ニ  
反対ス

我等ハ綏遠ノ抗戦ヲ全國的規模ノ抗戦ニ拡大セネバナラヌ。

我等ハ各所ニ全國民ノ民意ヲ尊重シ陝西向類ヲ平和解決スル  
コトヲ要求スルト同時ニ張揚諸將軍ニ直クニ蔣先生ノ自由ヲ  
恢復シテ中央ト折衝シテ抗日ヲ実行スル大計ヲ協議スルコトヲ  
要求スル

一切ノ力量ヲ集中シテ日本帝國主義ニ對シ

全國各界救國聯合會

中華民國二十五年十二月十五日



電信課長

大臣

次官

東亞 歐亞 米洲 通商 條約 情報 文化 調査 人事 文書 會計 秘書官

寫送先

昭和11 二五四六五 平 紐育 十二月廿日後着

有田外務大臣

特情 紐育第一五三號

**特情**

井上總領事代理

情

十九日ノ「ニューヨーク、タイムス」紙ハ「戦争ノ宣言」ト題シ左ノ如ク論シテ居ル

蔣介石ノ監禁及之ニ對スル張學良ト南京政府トノ交渉等ノ事實ヲ契機トシテ現在支那國內ニハ單ナル抗日ハカリテナク即時對日宣戰ノ希望ト決意力増大シタト傳ヘラレテ居ル、從ツテ假令正式ナ宣戰カ行ハレナクトモ日本軍ニ對スル事實上ノ戦争行爲カ起ルカモ知レヌ斯クテ支那カ日本ニ宣戰シタ場合戦争ヲ宣言シタ方カ不利ナコトハ普佛戦争、南阿戦争、世界大戰等歴史上ノ例ニ照シテモ明カタカ

外務省

張  
おしゆ

起シタ支那青年連ニハ斯ル考慮ヲ拂フ餘裕ハアルマイ、然シ少クトモ彼等ハ實際ニ敵對行爲ヲ始メル前ニ先ツ落着イテ其ノ對價ヲ計算スヘキテハナカラウカ

外務省