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昭和十二年一月二十二日

在米

特命全權大使 齋藤

外務大臣 有田 八郎 殿



昭和十二年一月廿日接受

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西安
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soon as Mr. Donald had arrived here on Dec. 14 and the generalissimo had recovered somewhat from his natural indignation and reluctance hitherto to talk, he calmly enough discussed the problems confronting us all and by the 15th had agreed in principle with the points we had in view for the adoption of a defined national policy and the effecting of changes permitting the nation to develop logically and freely politically and materially.

Welcomed Any Emissary

"I therefore telegraphed on the night of the 14th, welcoming any one to come from Nanking to hear the generalissimo's views and arrange with him for the necessary safeguards to prevent the development of civil war.

"The generalissimo naturally vigorously demanded that he be released and proceed to Nanking, but while I personally had full confidence that he would carry out his promises, it was impossible to risk his being persuaded after his arrival in Nanking to continue the warfare his colleagues there had launched and which they undoubtedly would desire to keep going in preference to materializing active defense against Japan."

Further stressing that it was strange Nanking had not sent any emissary, Chang Hsueh-liang closed his statement with the declaration that he was ready to proceed to Nanking, stand trial before the nation and accept punishment.

That a virtual impasse has developed in Nanking is evidenced by the fact that although Chang Hsueh-liang has been pardoned he is kept under surveillance by the Military Affairs Commission and also that while Chiang Kai-shek is in retirement at Fenghua, armies have been ordered to march through Shensi and occupy Sian and Lanchow, Kansu's capital.

This military movement is deplored by those who feel that military pressure now will probably result in having Chang Hsueh-liang's and the other armies involved in the Sian coup join with the Communist forces.

Pretext for Japan Seen

Any such development would give Japan the desired pretext for drastic action, it is asserted, and this is believed by certain circles to be precisely what the Nanking "ca-

bal" was aiming to achieve when it sought to launch a punitive expedition against Sian.

The upshot of the Sian affair, according to the version now presented, has been that Chiang Kai-shek did not find enemies to the continuance of his power in Sian but his most dangerous enemies in his own capital.

In his retirement at his ancestral home at Fenghua the generalissimo today must be fighting probably the gravest battle of his whole career. He must decide whether to compromise with the reactionary clique in his own capital or whether to oust them, by force if necessary. Then he might proceed rapidly toward founding a popular constitutional government and rallying all the country's patriotic forces to his support for resistance against Japan and war if necessary as the only way of saving China's self-respect.

Evil Motives Denied

Wireless to THE NEW YORK TIMES.

SHANGHAI, Jan. 11.—Deploping hints published in a British-owned daily in Shanghai, Yeh Chut-sang, secretary general of the Kuomintang's central executive committee, declares that the Sian outbreak confronted the government with the double duty of rescuing Generalissimo Chiang Kai-shek and upholding law and order.

"Groundless criticisms and malicious conjectures defamatory to the central authorities" is the way Yeh Chut-sang characterizes the newspaper's suggestions that a punitive expedition was ordered because of evil motives by any clique or that any attempt had been made to seize power while the generalissimo was detained. In defense of the government's action, he states:

"After careful consideration it concluded that the twofold duty could not be carried out in a better way than by taking stern, swift measures to deal with the situation and by ordering a punitive expedition against the rebels.

"It was felt that only by means of stern measures could it hope to prevent further aggravation of the situation and that only military pressure could hope to bring about the speedy rescue of the generalissimo.

"Furthermore, to parley with the rebels would not only have meant putting a premium on military rebellion but also would have caused the rebels to intensify their demands and would have led to protracted negotiations and unexpected developments."

ANTI-CHIANG PLOT IS LAID TO NANKING

Clique That Insisted on Punitive Expedition to Sian Held to Have Sought His Death.

VERSION ABSOLVES CHANG

Coup Called Sincere Attempt at Unity, Not a Mutiny—Suppressed Message Bared.

Wireless to THE NEW YORK TIMES.

HONGKONG, Jan. 11.—Another version of the Sian coup of Dec. 12 has been received by this correspondent. According to it, the detention of Generalissimo Chiang Kai-shek was not actually mutiny and the generalissimo's life was far more endangered by the government's punitive expedition and the government's aerial bombers than by his captors.

Moreover, this version has it, a small but powerful Nanking cabal actually posed behind the legalistic statement that the mutiny must be suppressed and was seeking to put an end to Chiang Kai-shek's life. Events proved, it is declared, that these men had long been entreaching themselves against his possible death and had even apportioned offices and territories among themselves.

Documents Support Version

A series of documents supporting this version has come under the writer's observation. Entirely contradicting previous widely publicized versions of the Sian affair, they indicate that General Chang Hsueh-liang, instead of typifying the worst characteristics of Chinese politics, which for years have blocked the country's unification, in reality acted desperately, hoping to force reforms at home and sturdier policies abroad.

The Sian coup, it is declared, also established the fact that the old-style treacherous political militarism has become strongly entrenched in certain inner circles of the government.

These revelations, if true, doubtless presage drastic changes in high government circles if Chiang Kai-shek is to retain his paramount position and startling alterations in foreign policy would also follow.

Chiang Kai-shek, according to the latest version, was not detained at Sian because a plot existed for his overthrow, nor was he held as a means of forcing millions of dollars from the government or his family. Chang Hsueh-liang for weeks before the crisis endeavored time and again to induce the generalissimo to listen to his pleas for various reforms and changes of policy and finally seized the person of his superior officer solely, it is asserted, as a means of gaining a hearing.

Elad for Consideration

Remarkable scenes ensued after

Chiang Kai-shek was taken to Sian under heavy guard. The young "marshal" repeatedly stood before him hours on end, refusing to be seated in the presence of his chief, while he pleaded for dispassionate consideration of his proposals.

From Dec. 14 onward Chang Hsueh-liang sent the government repeated telegrams reiterating his pacific intentions and expressing his readiness to release the generalissimo if the government sent a suitable emissary. Chiang Kai-shek's release, according to this version, could easily have been effected within four days after the coup, but instead the crisis was prolonged until the close of the fourteenth day.

It is now said that many of the telegrams from the "young marshal" were entirely suppressed, the Sian situation was misrepresented and T. V. Soong, former Finance Minister, and Mrs. Chiang Kai-shek were actually forcibly prevented from leaving Nanking for Sian.

During this period intensive propaganda was carried on representing Chang Hsueh-liang as "the supreme traitor of 10,000 years" and Chinese public opinion was wrought to the highest pitch of excitement, while Nanking rang with declarations that "the prestige of the government exceeds in importance the welfare of any individual."

Although urgent representations were made to the effect that the advancing punitive expedition and aerial bombing of Sian endangered Chiang Kai-shek's life, military preparations were rushed ahead and aerial bombings were ordered despite protests because the planes designated for use for this purpose were a portion of those that the Chinese public had presented to Chiang Kai-shek on the occasion of his fiftieth birthday last October.

Pilots Avoided Bombing

In some cases pilots loyal to the generalissimo merely flew from Loyang beyond Tungkwang Pass, dropped their bombs upon open fields and returned, reporting they had bombed Sian. This occurred while Mr. Soong, Mrs. Chiang Kai-shek and W. H. Donald, Chiang Kai-shek's Australian adviser, were in Sian arranging for the generalissimo's release.

Regarded as illustrative of the basic issues underlying the Sian coup is an explanatory statement addressed to the general public in China, the United States and Europe which Chang Hsueh-liang telegraphed from Sian Dec. 19. This remarkable statement was suppressed in its entirety, allegedly by the Nanking cabal, which is said to have insisted upon a punitive expedition, announcing its readiness to use aerial bombers to "wipe Sian from the face of the earth."

Chang Hsueh-liang began his statement by declaring that he realized confirmation of his action was worldwide, because of lack of knowledge of the circumstances leading to the generalissimo's detention. Admitting that the forceful detention of any one was virtually indefensible, the young marshal denied cherishing personal ambitions, also denied attempting to extract personally advantageous terms, and then said:

"The detention came from a simple effort to have assurance that China's policy would be revised definitely to take up arms in defense of our country and to have a positive end put to the tremendous annual wastage of millions in Chinese money, Chinese lives and Chinese property involved in incessant civil wars and the perpetual pursuit of so-called bandits.

"These so-called bandits are still

Chinese despite their views, at the worst are not a menace to their country, as are the Japanese, and have in them, if the authorities would take the trouble to ascertain, patriotism, reason and reform of the spirit which might be utilized in the country's service."

Stresses Japanese Inroads

Chang Hsueh-liang then declares that while vast sums have been spent in chasing the so-called bandits, approximately one-eighth of China's area has been allowed to fall into the grip of the Japanese and the central government has thus far failed to do one thing openly and courageously to uphold national interests or even plainly to intimate to Japan that her predatory policies must cease.

"The world has often enough stood amazed at the apparent cowardice of China and has been horror-struck that she lifts not one hand to defend herself, her sovereign rights or her people," the statement continues.

"I have been blamed and I have not shirked responsibility, but I am not the central government and therefore I am unable to permit this country to war. But I want to be ordered by the generalissimo to fight the Japanese and to see this country nationally engaged in an open effort to protect its and what I see instead is the suppression of public opinion and public thoughts regarding this vitally important national question.

"When such a condition exists it is obvious that changes must be made, and all that I and my associates want is the development of a resolute national policy to defend our country, to initiate and carry out reforms devised to have China properly developed and to give protection to the lives and the properties of the people.

"We want by any means possible to end the passive resistance on the part of certain officials who contrive to frustrate efforts at reforms of a progressive nature and who indeed are responsible for the non-fulfillment or practical failure of plans initiated by the generalissimo himself."

Would Fight Foreign Foe

Above all, Chang Hsueh-liang's statement proceeds, he and his associates want China's armed forces used against the invading foreign foe and not against the Chinese people.

"The national army has not moved one step against Japan, but swift as thought we see it being mobilized against me now while our enemy is within our country, fattening at will upon its riches," it goes on.

"The world has been presented with a spectacle the like of which has not hitherto disgraced history, and we are trying to prevent the recurrence of such a spectacle forevermore. That, in fact, is to be the end of all this effort, to get the generalissimo to abandon the ideas of officials who militate against the very life of China."

The statement adds that the young "marshal's" group desires the continuance of Chiang Kai-shek's leadership and does not wish to curtail his powers but wants them marshaled on behalf of the broad interests of China, not in the narrow interests of selfish and unpatriotic cliques. The statement continues:

"The generalissimo's prolonged stay here is not of our doing. As

**NEW CRISIS ARISES
IN NORTHERN CHINA**

**Shensi Generals Send Further
Demands to the Government,
Which Bars Acceptance**

RED INFLUENCE IS SEEN

**Situation Is Held Dangerous
Unless Way Is Found to End
Communist Propaganda**

By ARCHIBALD STEELE
Wireless to THE NEW YORK TIMES.

NANKING, China, Tuesday, Jan. 19.—Once again the government is reported to be on the eve of launching a punitive expedition against rebellious Sian, in Shensi Province. It is reported that Jan. 15 had been secretly set as the date upon which General Yang Fu-cheng must agree to accept the government's orders and that this date was later extended to last midnight.

On Jan. 16, General Yang telegraphed his acceptance, but yesterday he formulated new and unacceptable demands. The government again holds that General Yang has proved rebellious; hence, the central armies are ready to strike.

It is intimated here that arrangements have been made with a majority of General Chang Hsueh-liang's forces, who will surrender and escape chastisement, while General Yu Hsueh-chung is reported to have agreed to hand over command of his 40,000 men to the Central Government generals, leaving Yang Fu-cheng, the Communists and a small portion of the former Manchurian soldiers as allies.

General Chang Hsueh-liang's report to have petitioned for a new garrison area for the tractable portion of his troops, suggesting Hunan, Anhui or Kwangtung Provinces. It is understood that Anhui is the probable choice of the government.

Communist Danger Rises

By HALLETT ABEND
Wireless to THE NEW YORK TIMES.
SHANGHAI, Jan. 18.—Forty-eight hours after having announced willingness to accept government orders for settlement of the Sian revolt, General Yang Fu-cheng and General Chang Hsueh-liang's former Manchurian generals have precipitated a new crisis by sending to Nanking four demands, which apparently the government finds itself unable to accept.

It is believed in Shanghai and Nanking that the new demands are inspired by Communist leaders who have been taken into the Inner Councils of the Shensi Province generals. An unofficial version of the demands which is believed to

be approximately correct is as follows: First, legalization of the Communist armies and official recognition of garrison areas for them in Kansu Provinces, with official cancellation of government orders for anti-Communist campaigns.

Second, cessation of all civil wars and preservation of the nation's man power for resisting aggressors and for a possible war against Japan. Meanwhile, Chang Hsueh-liang is to return to Sian as Pacification Commissioner for Shensi and Kansu, with supreme control of military affairs in both provinces.

Third, hereafter the reorganized former Manchurian armies, General Yang's army and the Communist forces shall be responsible only to their own commanders, who shall have power to appoint or dismiss officers without reference to Nanking.

Fourth, the national government must hereafter furnish to these three forces ample military expenses and first-class equipment.

High government officials admit the deepest concern over new developments in the Sian situation, the most serious phase of which is the fact that the Communist leaders are swaying the deliberations of Yang Fu-cheng and the former Manchurian generals, while Communist propaganda admittedly is winning over large numbers of officers and men.

Manifold complications are probable soon in Shensi and Kansu unless methods are devised quickly to check Communist propaganda and fraternization between the Communist and other forces. For the moment, the government is not worried over General Yu Hsueh-chung's 40,000 men but among the other 80,000 former Manchurian soldiers, Yang Fu-cheng's 20,000 present the most serious problem, when coupled with the Communist armies, which are variously reported in strength at from 40,000 to 150,000 in Shensi and Kansu.

In addition, scattered over Shensi are about 250,000 armed men, loosely characterized as "volunteers." An unknown proportion of these have rifles and revolvers while other tens of thousands, who formerly belonged to the Red Spears and other peasant organizations, possess arms ranging from shotguns and ancient rifles to battle axes, spears and pitchforks.

Opportunity for Reds

If this large mass of ignorant and illiterate farmers and laborers should become imbued with Communist fervor the situation would admittedly hold serious possibilities. The present crisis affords the Chinese Communists the greatest opportunity they have enjoyed since 1927, and government leaders are not deluding themselves that the impasse can be easily adjusted.

The geographical situation in the disturbed territories makes possible two serious developments: First, the Communists could make contact with semi-Sovietized Sinkiang Province through Northwestern Kansu. Second, they might involve China in hostilities with Japan by striking northeastward, through Suiyuan, and raising the banners of an anti-Japanese movement, heartening the former Manchurian armies with slogans concerning recovery of lost territories.

Former Premier Wang Ching-wei returned to Nanking today after a prolonged absence in Europe and immediately made a public address opposing compromise with the Communists and insisting that they must be suppressed before China

could attempt to repulse foreign invaders.

In addition, 160 Shanghai organizations, including trade unions, provincial guilds and citizens' associations, jointly dispatched three telegrams to Nanking urging an immediate punitive expedition against Sian and punishment of Chang Hsueh-liang.

Foreigners are Rescued

By The Associated Press.
NANKING, China, Tuesday, Jan. 19.—The United States Embassy was advised today that seventy-five foreigners had arrived in Tungkwang, Shensi Province, from Sian, where their safety had been thought endangered.

Three British subjects and five Russians were the only foreigners remaining in Sian, capital of Shensi Province, according to the advice the embassy received from Loyang from its second secretary, J. Hall Paxton.

Americans were not specifically mentioned, but it was assumed here that the entire group, understood to total twenty-one, was among those arriving in Tungkwang. The foreigners prepared to proceed to Loyang today.

A MYSTERIOUS SEQUEL

To Western minds the sequel is no less baffling than the melodramatic kidnapping and the subsequent "unconditional" release of CHIANG KAI-SHEK. For the past several weeks since the return to the capital of the Generalissimo with his "penitent" captor, the public statements from Chinese sources—perhaps deliberately—have been so contradictory that there is no certainty whether or not CHIANG has made the fateful choice of committing himself to CHANG Hsueh-liang's radical program of cooperation with, instead of war against, the Chinese Communists and a firmer attitude toward Japan.

Out of the welter of conflicting reports it is evident, however, that CHIANG KAI-SHEK, still incomparably the strongest man in China, is weakened not only by the regionalism of provincial war lords but also even by serious factional opposition in his own capital. The report from Hongkong last week that the hostile Nanking clique had sought to destroy him, under the guise of bombing Sian, when he was held captive in that city confirms the statement issued to the press by Mr. DONALD, political adviser to Mme. CHIANG, and is so circumstantial as to be plausible.

The obvious lack of unanimity and team play in the Nanking Government may help to explain CHIANG's hesitancy in defining his position on the crucial question of working with the Chinese Communists and with the generals who, like CHANG Hsueh-liang, favor such cooperation. None the less, CHIANG, while recuperating in Fenghua, where he was joined last Wednesday by CHANG, has made several gestures of conciliation and has repeatedly given the impression that no military action would be taken against CHANG'S associates in the northwest—Generals YANG FU-CHENG and YU Hsueh-chung. At the same time the conservatives in Nanking reiterate the determination of the Nationalist Government to crush the Chinese Communists and also the "rebellion" of Generals YANG and YU.

The demands attributed in Nanking to the northwestern generals would seem to be impossible for the Central Government to accept. They include legalization of the Communist armies and official recognition of garrison areas for them; cessation of all civil wars and preservation of the nation's manpower; return to Sian of CHANG Hsueh-liang as pacification commissioner for Shensi and Kansu (the two northwestern provinces); recognition of the responsibility of their own com-

manders for General YANG'S army and the Communist forces; furnishing of ample military expenses and first-class equipment for these forces by the National Government.

Presumably these sweeping demands of the northwesterners are put forward less as an ultimatum than as a basis for bargaining. CHIANG KAI-SHEK'S response should help to solve the mystery of his attitude on the most critical issue in China today—the proposal to broaden the basis of national unity to include Chinese Communists, with a view to ultimate military resistance to Japa-

STILL A MYSTERY

The circumstances attending and the reasons underlying the kidnapping of Chiang Kai-shek remain, to the Occidental mind at least, as much of a mystery as ever. There have been dozens of explanations forthcoming from various sources, both Eastern and Western, but each time a new and seemingly plausible explanation has been put forward it has been promptly upset by still newer developments in the situation.

One of the latest theories has come from an American correspondent in Tokyo, and his theory, alone of all those advanced to date, has thus far stood the test of new facts and new developments. This does not mean that this man's reasoning is without flaw or fallacy, or that it is wholly convincing, but it does have the merit of being supported by circumstantial evidence the validity of which has not yet been disproved. In short, this experienced Far Eastern observer believes, as James Wu suggested in a letter to *The Sun* ten days ago and as was stated in *The Spillway*, that Chiang Kai-shek arranged the kidnapping himself.

At first it was stated that Marshal Chang Hsueh-liang made Generalissimo Chiang his prisoner the very afternoon he stepped foot in Sianfu. But it now turns out that Chang and Chiang had been engaged in conversations of an undescribed character in Sianfu for five days before word was sent out that Chiang had been abducted. That, plus the fact that Chiang is known as a shrewd and wary man, would seem to lend credence to the theory that the Nanking dictator was not altogether an innocent victim in the affair at Sianfu.

In addition, there now comes from Shanghai a report to the effect that a conspiracy within Chiang's own Nanking Government and directed against him has been discovered. According to this report, Chiang was aware of the existence of this hostile cabal and deliberately staged the kidnapping in order to show the conspirators that he had a united nation behind him. Realizing that he had succeeded in this, the Shanghai version continues, the cabal ordered the Nationalist armies to proceed to Sianfu, ostensibly to rescue Chiang, but actually to put both Chiang and Chang out of the way.

No one on this side of the Pacific would be so presumptuous as to say just what the truth of the matter might be. Yet it is interesting to note that Chiang Kai-shek has absented himself from Nanking ever since his return from Sianfu; that certain military leaders, supposedly members of the anti-Chang cabal, are now in charge in Nanking, and that Marshal Chang, although pardoned by Chiang after having been sentenced to ten years' imprisonment, remains to all practical purposes the prisoner of these military men. This suggests that something of more than passing importance may have happened in Nanking.

FRIDAY JAN 15 1937

U.S., BRITAIN SHOW ANGER WITH CHINA

Embassies Are Incensed Over Failure to Provide Planes to Rescue Nationals From Sian.

GERMANS ARE TAKEN OUT

Nanking Opposition to the Use of Force Against Rebellious Shensi Is Increasing.

Special Cable to THE NEW YORK TIMES. SHANGHAI, Jan. 14.—Officials of the United States and British Embassies are becoming highly incensed at the attitude of the Chinese Government concerning providing airplanes for evacuation of their nationals from Sian, Shensi Province, where rebellious troops hold sway.

It is pointed out by these officials that several planes made repeated trips to Sian and returned to Shanghai and Nanking, although Chinese officials in Nanking assert that it is impossible to send planes to the Shensi capital under present conditions. The foreign officials are angry that these planes frequently carry only one passenger to Sian, and that on the return trip they have evacuated Chinese officials and German nationals from the danger zone.

The semi-official Central News Agency in Shanghai has issued a statement attempting to refute the foreign criticism of the government's failure to furnish airplanes for evacuation of foreigners. This statement ignores the fact that some Germans have already been rescued.

It blames General Yang Fu-cheng for detaining the foreigners and naively declares that greater progress would be made if the American and British military attachés now at Loyang, Honan Province, rendered the assistance believed to be in their power. It asserts that if these foreign officials obtained General Yang's promise not to detain any planes, evacuation would be a simple matter.

Compromise Hoped For. Uncertainty continues concerning the secret Fenghua conferences of Generalissimo Chiang Kai-shek, Chang Hsueh-liang and other military leaders, but hopeful views are expressed that a compromise will result.

Here and in Nanking sentiment is spreading against the use of force for settlement of the Sian situation, and only a small group of Nanking military men and politicians continue to insist upon the necessity of a punitive expedition.

The Sian defenders are reported to be laying mines and digging trenches around Chihshui, a small town forty-three miles east of Sian, and also in the vicinity of the villages of Wepei and Chiaokow, and minor clashes are reported in all these sectors.

The government military headquarters at Tungkwang reports that General Yang sent a delegation there with a plea to cease all military operations along the Lungshai Railway, but the delegation returned to Sian with a message that General Yang must accept the orders of the Central Government and immediately evacuate the Shensi capital. General Hsu Hsiang-chen's Communist armies are reported to have left the towns of Kanchow and Liangchow, strongholds in Kansu Province, and to be advancing upon Lanchow, the capital.

General Yang is reported to have seized the families of many officers of the Seventeenth Division and removed them to a village thirty miles north of Sian, where they are under strict surveillance. This manoeuvre was designed to prevent the division from joining the government side.

Liberals Gain in Government. Special Cable to THE NEW YORK TIMES. NANKING, Jan. 14.—Appointment today to membership in the State Council of 97-year-old Ma Hsiang-teh is believed to be the first indication that the government is likely to meet the demands of Liberals for a greater share in the administration. This venerable statesman is strongly sympathetic with the Party for Salvation of the Nation.

A German observer from Sian says General Yang is friendly toward foreigners but is reluctant to permit any of them to leave, believing their presence is a form of insurance against an aerial attack.

Several thousand Chinese refugees are leaving Sian daily afoot. Many report that when they reached the front lines of the rebels they were forced to "contribute one day's free labor to the cause of national salvation," digging trenches for the rebels before they were permitted to proceed.

AMERICAN WOMAN AIDS CHINESE RISING

Agnes Smedley, Author, Takes Leading Role as 250,000 Men Plot Northwest Red Regime.

SHE RADIOS PROPAGANDA

New Fighting Is Reported in Sian—Safety of Americans in the Area Is Feared For.

SIAN, Shensi Province, Jan. 7 (AP).—A quarter-million armed men were reported today to have joined in a movement to create a great Communist State in Northwest China, with an American woman playing a spectacular rôle in the uprising.

Agnes Smedley, former Colorado schoolteacher, who has long been associated with radical movements in Asia, was described as conducting radio propaganda to unite large disaffected military units in Shensi and Kansu Provinces under the Red banner in defiance of the Nanking government.

Some 200,000 soldiers formerly belonging to the "Northwest Communist-Suppression Army" of Chang Hsueh-liang, reliable reports said, joined 50,000 of their Communist former enemies to make the two Northwestern provinces one large Communist-ruled community.

Sian, capital of Shensi, seemed doomed, observers feared, to recurrence of the disorders of the Dec. 12 uprising, when General Chang and his followers mutilated, seized, Generalissimo Chiang Kai-shek and demanded readmission of Communists to Chinese political life to form a common front for war against Japan.

Generalissimo Chiang was freed on Christmas Day. General Chang was sentenced to ten years' imprisonment and then pardoned.

The resurgence of the Communist movement in Shensi and Kansu was signalized by sudden appearances of Communist flags in Sian. Chinese newspapers were filled with exhortations. Radio stations launched an intensive campaign to spread the Red gospel.

In the forefront of this campaign, said reliable sources, is Miss Smedley, who is believed to have gone to Sian from Shanghai about the time of the Dec. 12 uprising. Every few hours she has been broadcasting in English appeals for recruits for the Red uprising against Nanking.

Author of three books lauding the Chinese Communist movement, Miss Smedley has lived in Shanghai nearly ten years.

One report, still unconfirmed, said General Yang Fu-cheng, leading Shensi militarist, had declared himself dictator of the province. General Yang was the chief lieutenant of Chang Hsueh-liang in the Dec. 12 uprising.

It was estimated 65,000 of Chang Hsueh-liang's former followers, many of them veterans of the armies he commanded when over-

lord of Manchuria, prior to 1931, were in disorderly domination of Sian. They were reported surging through the streets, intimidating the populace, looting and bringing business to a halt. Military authorities ordered sand-bag barricades and trenches thrown about the city.

Fear Felt for Americans
Special Cable to THE NEW YORK TIMES.
NANKING, Jan. 6.—Apprehension is growing at the United States Embassy here over the safety of the eleven Americans remaining in Sian.

The embassy has received no word from the Shensi capital in two days, but Chinese official circles admit that the Communist influence there is increasing and declare settlement of the Sian affair is becoming increasingly difficult.

Official circles were further perturbed late this morning upon receipt of reports that fighting had broken out within Sian between different factions, some approving evacuation in face of the government advance and the others favoring stiff resistance.

Terms of Accord Reported

Wireless to THE NEW YORK TIMES.

TOKYO, Jan. 7.—The price paid for Chiang Kai-shek's release was embodied in an eight-point document drafted by Mrs. Sun Yat-sen, signed at Sian by Mrs. Chiang and her brother, T. V. Soong, and witnessed by W. H. Donald, adviser to the generalissimo, according to the newspaper, Asahi, which claims to have received this information from reliable sources in Tokyo.

That formula often implies that the information has been obtained by the army's agents in China, but it does not guarantee its accuracy. The points are:

1. Release of the generalissimo and guarantee of Chang Hsueh-liang's safety.

2. Preparations for an anti-Japanese movement shall be begun by seeking rapprochement with the United States, Britain, Russia and France.

3. Suspension of punitive expeditions against Chinese Communist armies. This does not imply cooperation with Communists.

4. The Central Bank of China will provide 10,000,000 Chinese dollars to pay Chang Hsueh-liang's army arrears.

5. Reorganization of the Nanking government and dismissal of pro-Japanese elements.

6. Release of six Communist leaders now detained in Shanghai.

7. Chang Hsueh-liang shall observe strict secrecy regarding the diaries written by the generalissimo during his captivity in Sian.

8. Cancellation of punitive measures against General Chang's forces.

As read by Japanese commentators, the vital point of agreement is the cash payment whereby Chang Hsueh-liang's young officers, who instigated the coup, are satisfied.

AUTHOR ONCE JAILED HERE

Miss Smedley Was Held for Agitating in Behalf of India.

Agnes Smedley, American woman credited with playing an important rôle in a campaign to establish a Communist régime in Northwest China, was born of poor parents in Oklahoma, according to The Associated Press. She is about 40 years old.

She started teaching school in Colorado mining districts at the

age of 14 and since then has been a reporter, a novelist and a student of Communist tactics. Her published works are "China's Destiny," "China's Red Army Marches" and "Daughter of Earth."

For some time she worked for the liberation movement for India and during World War days was in Tombs Prison for three months for her activities in behalf of that movement. The late Dr. Percy Stickney Grant raised \$10,000 bail for her release. A year later she was discharged for lack of evidence.

Previously, in New York, she became interested in the work of Margaret Sanger, with the result that in Berlin she organized the first birth-control clinic, which was so successful that it was subsequently taken over by the government and administered as a Department of the State.

Two years ago she said China was on the brink of the greatest disaster in history through the armed intervention by foreign powers to crush the Red army of "Soviet China."

Miss Smedley has been a secretary to Mrs. Sun Yat-sen, wife of China's first President, and aided her in establishing, in 1935, the Chinese League for Civil Rights to give the people democratic rights and to end the torturing of political prisoners.

U. S. Diplomat Flies to Sianfu To Aid Hostages

20 American Missionaries Reported Held by Rebels to Deter Bombardment

By Victor Keen

From the Herald Tribune Bureau

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SHANGHAI, Jan. 15.—Willis R. Peck, counselor of the American Embassy at Nanking, flew to Sianfu, capital of Shensi Province, today in a chartered plane to investigate the possibilities of evacuating American missionaries from that center of a rebellious movement.

There have been reports that twenty-odd Americans are being detained there and not allowed to communicate with American officials outside.

Peck arrived at Sianfu at 3 o'clock this afternoon and received permission to remain over night.

His report on conditions in Sianfu, particularly as regarded safety of foreigners, is eagerly awaited. Born in Tientsin, Peck, who is fifty-four years old, speaks all the principal Chinese dialects and does not require an interpreter to negotiate with General Yang Hu-cheng, self-styled chairman of Shensi Province and co-leader of the rebellion, which was started by Marshal Chang Hsueh-liang as an anti-Japanese manifestation.

Peck's visit is believed to be prompted by anxiety arising from allegations that General Yang is not allowing foreigners to leave Sianfu but intends to hold them as hostages to deter Nanking government forces from bombing the Shensi capital. Peck is the first foreign diplomat to visit Sianfu since the rebellion began.

Pending peace negotiations with the rebel leaders, government forces prepared to close in on Sianfu from three directions—from Kansu Province, on the west; from Ninghsia, on the northwest, and from Shansi and Honan Provinces to the east.

Wang Ching-wei, chairman of the Central Political Council, arrived in Shanghai yesterday from Europe following an extended health trip, and telegraphed to Generalissimo Chiang Kai-shek expressing his intention shortly to proceed to Fenghua, Chekiang Province, to interview the government chief regarding the political situation. Wang is still in imperfect health as a result of the attempt against his life on November 1, 1935, when he was Premier. The assassin's bullet is still in his back.



Associated Press Photo

BRAINS AND POWER: MARSHAL CHANG, MRS. KUNG, MRS. CHANG, GENERAL AND MRS. CHIANG KAI-SHEK

CHINA'S *Big Boss*

That's Chiang Kai-shek, whose kidnaping recently threatened a new crisis in the Far East. For a decade he has waged a war a year to keep China in hand—but he won't fight Japan! Read this vivid sketch of the "Ningpo Napoleon"

by **GEORGE E. SOKOLSKY**

Author of "Tinder Box of Asia," "Labor Fights for Power," Etc.

NINGPO is really a fishing town surrounded by a farming population. But when we talk of Ningpo, we really mean the congeries of small villages in which the wealthier families live in small, whitewashed houses, but most families have only thatched-roofed mud huts.

In such a village, Fenghua, Chiang Kai-shek was born fifty years ago. His family were farmers and possessed perhaps the

means for a decent living, but his father died early and a widowed mother with two boys had very little to offer either of them. She managed to send Chiang to the village school, however, where he displayed neither mental brilliance nor physical strength.

Ningpo is often regarded as the Scotland of China, because so many of its inhabitants leave the region to work elsewhere. And wherever they go, they

become shrewd business men and bankers. The rich compradore class of Shanghai—the Chinese business men who make money for foreigners and very much more for themselves—come mostly from Ningpo. That's how the expression, "Ningpo More Far" arose—it

CIVIL WAR AVERTED IN CHINA'S REVOLT

Settlement Reached Between
Government and Rebels
in Shensi Province.

FACE-SAVING PLAN SEEN

Terms Are Not Yet Announced
—Americans Safe in Sian,
but They Will Be Moved.

By HALLETT ABEND

Wireless to THE NEW YORK TIMES.
SHANGHAI, Sunday, Jan. 17.—Early this morning telegrams were received in Shanghai from Generalissimo Chiang Kai-shek's headquarters at Fenghua and also from government offices in Nanking announcing that there would be no civil war in Shensi Province.

Details of the settlement were not told in the telegrams, which briefly stated that Generals Yang Fu-cheng and Yu Hsueh-chung and all of the generals of Marshal Chang Hsueh-liang's armies had agreed to abide by government orders. Although not announced, it was expected the government would modify its previous orders, which aimed at the government's occupation of Sian and the entire Lungghai railway, as well as towns on the trunk highway from Shensi to Lanchow, capital of Kansu Province.

It was understood yesterday that parleys had been proceeding in the last few days on a plan under which General Yang Fu-cheng, who is chief of the former rebel headquarters at Sian, would pledge his obedience to the Nanking Government, which, in turn, would permit him to remain in undisputed possession of Sian and all of Southern Shensi. The government punitive force under that plan would be withdrawn to Tungkwang and points eastward, provided General Yang agreed not to permit Communist armies to enter Sian.

Face-Saving Seen in Plan

An arrangement of this kind, while nominally realigning General Yang Fu-cheng under the government's banner, would leave this former bandit chieftain in control of the provincial capital and securely astride the Lungghai Railway, which is already extended beyond Sian and is projected into Kansu's capital, Lanchow, with a branch line southwest to Szechuan's capital, Chengtu.

A settlement of this kind would really decide nothing, but could be construed as face-saving all around

and would interpose General Yang's army between the government's and the Communists' forces.

If such a compromise has been consummated, it means the defeat of the dwindling Nanking clique that has been favoring a punitive expedition and it also necessarily means the abandonment of the government's long campaign against Communist armies, which abandonment, it is understood, Generalissimo Chiang Kai-shek agreed to when he was released after his detention for a fortnight at Sian.

According to Nanking's own official statements of the last week or more, General Yang's forces have been imbued with Communist propaganda and General Yang has been welcoming Communist leaders and workers at Sian while his forces have been fraternizing with the Reds. If the government's assertions in this connection are well founded, then a compromise with General Yang necessarily means a compromise with the Reds, regardless of how final official announcements gloss over the facts.

If the Sian revolt has been settled along the lines detailed above it will mark the third time within eight months that Nanking has compromised with a rebellion in seeking to avoid civil war in the interests of attempts at unification. The first compromise, in mid-Summer, resulted in bringing the Kwangtung area into the government's zone of control. The second occurred early in September, when the Kwangsi leaders achieved a political victory after threatening hostilities.

A dispatch from Peiping reports that General Chia Te-yao, against whose appointment to the Hopen-Chahar foreign affairs commission Japan has protested, has announced he is "too ill to accept this proffered post."

Wireless to THE NEW YORK TIMES.

NANKING, Sunday, Jan. 17.—While signs multiplied that civil war in the Northwest had been definitely averted, it was announced here that General Yang Fu-cheng had issued a circular telegram announcing he was willing to resume the government post of Shensi Pacification Commissioner. Thus the defiant rebel leader of the last few weeks would become an important government official.

An airplane that returned to Nanking from Sian with Willys R. Peck, counselor of the United States Embassy, brought sixteen Chinese delegates representing the central government and all the Shensi factions. These latter delegates are understood to have brought written assurances of loyalty from Generals Yang Fu-cheng and Yu Hsueh-chung and all the commanders of Marshal Chang Hsueh-liang's former Manchurian armies.

It is understood a written formula for settlement will be sent by air-

plans to Fenghua Sunday for the approval of Generalissimo Chiang Kai-shek. The settlement makes no mention of the future status of the Red armies. Communist activities in Sian, however, are continuing unabated. A pro-Communist radio broadcast from Sian was clearly heard in Nanking two hours yesterday, despite attempts of government radio stations to interfere. A woman, believed to be Agnes Smedley, an American, broadcasting in German, declared: "We released Chiang Kai-shek not to fight against us, but to fulfill his promise to reorganize the government on behalf of all parties. These promised changes have not yet taken place because of Japanese protests and because of opposition of the pro-Japanese element in the government at Nanking."

Mr. Peck reported he was able to locate only twelve Americans in Sian, not twenty-one, the number supposed to be there. Mr. Peck said he saw no red flags and no Communist soldiers in Sian.

"Nevertheless, we intend to continue our efforts to evacuate all Americans from Sian," Mr. Peck said. His official report said he had found Sian very calm, with few signs of nervousness among foreigners, but that most Americans there were eager to leave because of uncertainties over the future as far as the Communists were concerned.

Mr. Peck declined to reveal further plans to evacuate the marooned Americans, nor would he discuss the Sian situation until after a conference with Ambassador Nelson T. Johnson.

ing would be on Chinese soil. These great powers might defeat Japan — but when they were through, there would be nothing left of China and perhaps less of Chiang Kai-shek. So he does not fight Japan. He only negotiates with the Japanese.

Chiang is quick tempered, but slow to make up his mind. Once that happens, he is as stolid as a blue-nosed mule.

He can be ruthless; yet he is good to his friends and has spent a king's ransom improving his native village of Fenghua. He can view the wiping out of thousands of young Communists without batting an eye, but he grows sentimental about the young officers of his army and organizes the "New Life Movement" for the good of their bodies and souls.

Chiang Kai-shek married the beautiful Mei-ling Soong. I saw lots of them during their courtship. For Chiang, it was really a love match, and Mei-ling regards him with the awe that is the due of heroes. Together they have produced a great team. Mei-ling Soong is a Wellesley girl with an ability for hard work. Whereas Chiang knows no foreign language adequately, Mei-ling Soong competently handles Western literature — and she even reads technical works. So Chiang is not dependent upon lazy and incompetent secretaries — nobody can fool his wife.

The Soongs are all competent. It is a remarkably gifted family. There is Dr. H. H. Kung, a brother-in-law, who is Minister of Finance, and T. V. Soong, who held that job for a long time and now heads the Bank of China, and T. L. Soong, who is also smart about money affairs.

They all advise and help Chiang Kai-shek. And then there is Madam H. H. Kung, the eldest of the Soong sisters, who is as bright a woman as

ever lived and who is called the "brains" of the Soong clan.

When Chiang married Mei-ling Soong, he married into a family that is as good as an efficient cabinet. And the Soongs are as brave as they are competent, so that Chiang is not let down in emergencies.

Several times attempts have been made to assassinate Chiang Kai-shek. I remember once some enemies hired one of his bodyguards to shoot him while he slept. Chiang opened his eyes, looked at the would-be assassin and shouted, "Shoot!"

The assassin dropped on his knees and pleaded for mercy. He afterward said that the General's eyes frightened him.

His recent kidnaping by Chang Hsueh-liang at Sianfu was of a different character. Chang, whom we will call the "Young Marshal" to save confusion, is an unattractive personality who used to use narcotics, from which habit he has allegedly been cured. The Young Marshal inherited Manchuria from his father and lost it to Japan. Subsequently he went into exile in Europe.

T. V. Soong and other mutual friends encouraged Chiang to permit him to return to China. Chiang actually arranged for old Manchurian troops under his control to be placed under the Young Marshal. So there ought to be deep gratitude — in fact, such a relationship should involve filial piety, according to the Chinese sages.

Now, it is all nonsense to suggest that the kidnaping took place because the Young Marshal wanted Chiang Kai-shek to adopt a violently anti-Japanese policy. Nor do I believe that he wanted Chiang to tie up with Soviet Russia.

As far as the facts are available, the Young Marshal held Chiang up for a better district for his armies,

where more taxes can be collected, and where he would be a more important figure in current Chinese affairs.

And I should imagine that Chiang treated him with contempt, but that T. V. Soong and W. H. Donald, both of whom are in a large measure responsible for the Young Marshal because they spoke so well of him to Chiang, worked out some face-saving compromise.

In such an affair, the Young Marshal had confederates who are now undoubtedly betrayed. For few of the troops in Sianfu were his, and the other commanders have lost both Chiang Kai-shek and the benefits that come from the kidnaping. At the same time, I am sure that Chiang Kai-shek got away without a specific promise, for time and public opinion worked in his favor.

Had Chiang Kai-shek been killed, it would have been an embarrassment to both Japan and Soviet Russia. They do not want war; both want to dominate China.

And Chiang Kai-shek stands between them, placidly balancing one against the other. The greatest danger lay in that, and not in domestic Chinese politics.

All the lovely oriental phrases of self-blame which both men utter can mean only one thing. Chiang Kai-shek wants the humiliating episode forgotten.

But he will never forget the Young Marshal. Some day he will send him in exile again — perhaps to study military forces abroad, or even to study the American method of growing soya beans.

What Chiang must marvel at most, however, is that the Nanking Government held firm during his kidnaping. I am sure he could not have dreamed that the government would not collapse. Chinese governments usually

collapse before the criticisms of small groups of students.

Chiang's government held in the face of a humiliating kidnaping. It means that the government has come of age. It possesses real power. That will be noted all over China, but even more in Japan and Soviet Russia. And as a result, Chiang's power will be greatly increased both at home and abroad.

Now, China is all messed up. She has lost territory to Japan and to Soviet Russia. Queer things happen there, because China is going through a long revolution that has already lasted nearly a century. But Chiang Kai-shek is the first really competent, brave and efficient person to head a Chinese government. He has lots of frightful faults — but so had Napoleon. Perhaps that is why Chiang Kai-shek used to be called the "Ningpo Napoleon."

means that a compradore or a shroff has disappeared with the firm's funds.

Ningpo has also produced many revolutionists — as many as Canton, and much more effective ones. The Ningpo revolutionists belonged to secret societies which sought the return of the Ming Dynasty and which managed to keep Manchu China, particularly during the end of that dynasty, in considerable turmoil.

The Green Society — a formidable hidden hand of secret gangsterdom — was such a patriotic organization, and although it has always been denied for Chiang Kai-shek that he was a member of it, most of his Ningpo friends and colleagues were and are, and he probably was before he became a great man. At any rate, this hidden force molded his mind and his career.

So Chiang decided upon the career of a soldier — which really meant, in Ningpo, a revolutionist — and he went to Japan to study military science.

It must be remembered that after the Russo-Japanese War, Japan was the hero of Asia, because Japan was the first Asiatic country to defeat a European country. Even Sun Yat-sen was pro-Japanese, and he made Japan his headquarters for a time.

And a young Chinese in Japan would thus come under the influence of Sun Yat-sen and at the same time of Toyama, the head of the Black Dragon Society — a curiously powerful Japanese who sought to unite China and Japan against the Europeans on a Confucian ethical basis.

Chiang Kai-shek was now deep in revolutionary activity, although he was still a boy, and still very poor. How poor he was, he described himself:

"For a period of seventeen years — that is, from the time I lost my father at the age of nine till I was twenty-five years old — my mother never spent a day free of domestic difficulties."

When the revolution of 1911 came to China, Chiang Kai-shek joined his fellow Ningpo men in the battles about Shanghai. He was given command of the Fifth Regiment of the Shanghai Revolutionary Army, which did considerable mopping up of reactionaries and gained a bit of a reputation.

As a consequence, in the revolution of 1913 Chiang was more important. And when that failed, he settled in Shanghai as a secretary of Sun Yat-sen, with whom he often traveled on secret missions.

Being Sun Yat-sen's secretary was no guarantee that one could eat, for sometimes Dr. Sun had money and at other times he was desperately impoverished. At such times

Chiang Kai-shek worked for a fellow Ningpo man as clerk in a brokerage house — although that employment did not involve much actual work. It was more a Chinese way of keeping him in rice while he devoted himself to revolution.

Chiang's career lapsed from 1913 to 1923 or thereabouts, except that he traveled throughout South China and even Indo-China with Dr. Sun mending revolutionary fences. It was a period of deep spiritual depression and waste in China. Young men committed themselves to the bitterness of defeatism and profligacy.

The Russian Revolution, however, had this effect upon young Chinese: it made them ask why the Chinese could not do what the Russians had done. Chiang was deeply moved by the Russian Revolution, and when, in 1923, Dr. Sun offered to send him to Soviet Russia to study the organization of the Red Army and particularly the Red Army schools, Chiang seized the opportunity. This fixed his career.

For when Dr. Sun entered upon an agreement with Soviet Russia for joint revolutionary activity in China, Chiang was

the logical man to head up the Whampoa Academy, the Red Army school outside of Canton. And that gave Chiang an influence over young revolutionary officers, which, in a situation still psychologically feudal, meant personal loyalty. Lots of men are utterly loyal to Chiang Kai-shek. Such men have done well in recent years.

After Sun Yat-sen's death in 1925, followers quarrelled over the succession to greatness and the city of Canton, which was all the Sino-Soviet Revolutionary Army possessed, was in turmoil. So one day Chiang Kai-shek and his well-armed Cadets quietly walked into Canton, took possession of the city, fired a few shots — and Chiang was Number One Man in revolutionary China. He has remained Number One since then, and anybody who questions that is likely to be shot. Many have been shot.

Chiang and the Russians joined forces and conquered South China, but Chiang never liked the Russians too well. They were foreigners. They had their uses, but not too many. So he quarrelled with the Russians after they had helped him to victory. The Revolution broke into lots of pro- and anti-Russian parties. But Chiang came to Shanghai, called the Ningpo bankers and their Allies into conference, got plenty of millions of Chinese dollars, and founded the Nanking government.

Now, in Canton Chiang owed a debt to the Russians and to Sun Yat-sen. And when he conquered South China, he owed a debt to the Russians.

But in Nanking Chiang owed nothing except to bankers, and he could pay that with interest out of taxes that he could collect from the Chinese people. So here he had no allies. He stood alone on a high plane and everybody else was a subordinate.

It is ten years now that Chiang Kai-shek has been the dictator of the Nanking Government. He has had to fight a war practically every year, not only to hold on to his power but to prevent bits of China from falling away from Nanking. He has fought against former friends and allies. He has fought Chinese Communists.

But Chiang has never fought Japan, because that would have been foolish. When Chiang fights Chinese Communists and drives them into the hills, he usually stops the war and saves ammunition. He expects them to starve in the hills.

But he knows that fighting Japan would not be like that. It would be a swift defeat, unless Soviet Russia, Great Britain and the United States intervened. And if they intervened — which is really not likely — most of the fight-

支那中央政務院秘書長

第三課

上秘第三七號

昭和十二年一月二十三日

寫

在上海内務書記官

北村英明

警保局長 萱場 軍藏 殿

上海吳市長ノ「救國建國ノ岐路ト

正軌」ト題スル講演談報ノ件

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右御参考迄及報告候也

宣送付先 警視總監

在哈爾濱内務事務官

外務省東亞局長

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ト精忠報國ノ精神トヲ除キ民衆ノ力量が最も重要ナル
モノ示アル。此ノ力量ノ表示ハ中国ニ在リテハ空前ノ
モノヲ歴史上ニ求メテ前例カ無イ。此ノ最大ノ力量ガ
西安事変ヲ急転直下セシメ此ノ力量ハ彼等ヲシテ民意
ニ屈服セサル能ハサランシメ我等ノ領袖ニ害ヲ加ヘザラ
シメ此ノ力量ハ我等ノ領袖ヲシテ危陰ヲ脱シ安全ニ皈
京サセタ。此ノ力量ハ外患ヲシテ加重セシメナカツタ
此ノ力量ハ中華民國ノ生命ヲ中断セシメナカツタ。此
ノ力量ハ全国人民ノ國民黨ニ対シ三民主義ニ対スル認
識信頼ヲ深カラシメタ。此ノ一個ノ總測定ヲ通ジテ我
等ノ民族復興ニ対スル信念ヲ加ヘ此ノ一個ノ總測定ヲ
通ジテ更ニ我等ノ國家民族ノ前途ノ光明ガ予期サレル。

(19)

是レガ今固ノ西安事変ノ不幸中ニ於ケル大幸ヲ是レハ我等ノ總理ノ在天ノ靈及ビ我等ノ領袖ヲ慰安スル事ガ出来、同時ニ全國民ヲシテ国家民族ノ前途ニ対シ無窮ノ希望ヲ抱カシムルモノナル。

但シ前事ヲ忘レサルハ後事ノ師ヲアツテ悲痛ナル事変ハ屢々我等ニ貴キ教訓ヲ与ヘルモノナル。我等ハ今固ノ事変後当然深刻ニ今後ノ真正ナル救国ノ途徑ヲ體得シ現下ノ種々ナル幼稚ノ誤謬似テ非ナル救亡ノ理論ニ対シテハ特ニ是非ヲ知り徹底的ニ是正スベキナル。

第一、現在ハ空言ニ依ツテ救国が出来ル時代ナク、實カヲ以テ救国スベキ時代ナル。救国ノ業ハ任重ク道ガ遠イ。ゆズ實際ニ即シ浸頭實行スルヲ要シ決シテ殺

(20)

機的ニ功績ヲ挙ゲヤウトシタリ危險ヲ道行ヲ取ツテ僥倖ヲ望ミタリシテ效果ヲ收メ得ルモノナク、現在全國民ハ十数年ノ教訓ト十数年ノ教育トヲ經テ空言ノ無益、ゆズ實際上ヨリ救国ニ当ルベキヲゆズ實力ヲ準備シテ然ル後始メテ目的ヲ達シ得ベキモノナル事ヲ切實ニ認識シテ居ル。

蔣委員長ハ一再ナラズ我等ニ今日ノ**国策**ハ安内攘外ヲナケレバナラナイ事ヲ訓示シタ。中外古今如何ナル国家トモ国内ガ安定セズ不統一ヲアツテ外国ニ対抗シ得ルモノナク、若シ全国ノ**完全ニ統一**セル国家カ我等ニ対抗シ我等ガ四分五裂支離破碎セル状態ニ於テ之レニ対スレバ其ノ結果ハ他国ノ各個撃破ヲ受クルノ

ミテアル。是レハ救國ノ道ヲアラウカ。他國カ飛行機
 大砲陸海空軍ヲ用ヒテ我國ヲ脅威シタ際ハ我等ハ數句
 ノ標語ヲ叫ビ實力ヲ用ヒズシテ他國ニ抵抗シ得ルカ。
 故ニ我等ノ中國ニ於テハ此ノ數十年來殊ニ最近十數年
 來我等ノ領袖ハ我等ヲ指導シ我等ニ實際的救國工作ヲ
 爲サシメヤウトシテ居ル。

實際的救國工作ハ何テアルカ、是レハ即チ實際ニ民衆
 ヲ訓練シ民衆ノ民族意識ヲ強化シ民衆ノ組織能力ヲ強
 化シ民衆ヲシテ紀律ヲ守レバ團結ヲ堅クスルモノナル
 事ヲ知ラシムルニ在ル。而シテ是等ノ工作ハ中々實際
 上ヨリ努力シテ始メテ效果カアリ單ニ標語ヲ叫ビ標語
 ヲ貼リ行列シタケテハ救國ノ成果ヲ得ルモノナシ

イ。實際的ニ民衆ヲ教育シ民衆ヲ訓練スル以外ニ我等
 ハ更ニ全國ノ交通ヲ開發シ、全國ノ軍隊ヲ編成訓練シ
 物質的並ニ國防的建設ニ從事シナケレバナラナイ。

此ノ外全國總動員ノ計畫等々ノ如キモ我等ハ總テ準備
 シ全國ヲシテ一致ノ下ニ動員セシメ得ルヤウニシテ始
 メテ勝利ノ期待ガ持テルノテアル。救國ハ實際的建設
 空騒キノ議論ハナク救國ハ國民全部ノ当然負擔ス
 べき天職ヲ少數人ノ把持スル特權ハナイ。然レ現在
 一般ニ救國ノ空論ヲ高調スル人ハ即チ救國ヲ道具トシ
 救國ヲ口實トシテ單ニ自己ガ實際上ニ於テ救國ニ從事
 スルヲ肯ンセサルノミナラズ反ツテ政府カ救國準備ヲ
 爲スニ反對シ全面的ノ國策ヲ破壞シ政府カ紀綱維持國

策推進ノ爲メニ彼等ノ錯誤ヲ是正スルニ当リ彼等ハ即
 ケ可政府ハ救国上ノ言論ヲ压迫スル也云々ト稱シ以テ
 非ナル言葉ヲ以テ群衆ヲ麻痺サセ群衆ヲ煽動スル爲メ
 ニ終日騒々單ニ空言ヲ弄スルノミテ甚クレオニ至ラテ
 ハ或ハ陰謀詭計ヲ用ヒテ政府ヲ牽制シ政府ヲ打倒セン
 トスル。斯ル空虚ノ救国ハ虚偽ノ救国ニテ一軍ニ国家
 が救ハレサルノミナラズ更ニ国家ヲシテ日増ニ危険ニ
 陥ラシムルモノテアル。私ハ吳稚暉先生が可私ハ今年
 七十餘歳ニナリ数十年前日清戦争ノ際、救国ノ叫ビテ
 聞イタガ然シ数十年前今日尚ホ人民が救国ヲ叫ビテ
 居ルノヲ聞ク。我等国民ハ救国ノ叫ビテ数十年前同叫ビ
 現在ニ至ルモ国家ヲ救ハサルノミナラズ又ソテ其ノ叫

ビノ爲メニ国難ハ日毎ニ重大化シテ来タト沈痛ナ話
 テシタ事ノアルノヲ記憶シテ居ル。是レハ如何ナル意
 味カ、是レハ我國民が唯々叫ビテ知ッテ居ラス事ヲ知
 ラサルヲ戒メタモノテアル。故ニ我等が現在眞ニ誠意
 テ以テ国ヲ救ハントスレバ實際ニ即シテヤリ空言空聲
 キヲ排シ国防建設ノ準備ニ没頭シ国家ノ力量ヲ充實シ
 ナケレバテラナイ。

第二、現在少数ノ不学無術思想幼稚ノ所謂文人ハ共産
 党ニ利用サレテ可人民戦線ノ標語ヲ妄唱シ是レが最
 上ノ救国ノ理論ナルト爲シテ居ルカ、是レハ可人民
 戦線ニ加テコミンテルンニナル赤色帝国主義者ノ戦畧
 策更ノ一種ノ術語ヲ其ノ裏面ニ策畧ノアル事ヲ知ラナ

イノテアル。西班牙ノ大混乱大屠殺ハ即チ此ノ理論カ
 崇ツク惡結果示アル。試ミニ問フ我等ハ第一ノ西班牙
 タルヲ希フカ若シ果シテ人民戦線カ中国ヲ救フ事カ出
 来ルトスレバ彼ノ日本人ノ提唱スル大亜細亞主義モ中
 国ヲ救ヒ得ルモノト我等ハ信スル。彼等ハ我等カ同ジ
 ク亞細亞ノ黄人種ヲ当然共存共栄スベキモノナリト説
 キ其ノ云フ所ハ如何ニモ耳觸リガ好イ。然シ我等ハ何
 故ニ大亜細亞主義ニ反対スルカ、大亜細亞主義ノ名詞
 ハ好イガ彼等ノ抱ク野心決定ニシテ策略カ實ニ大ナル錯
 誤ヲ大ナル危険カアルカラテアル。此ノ点ニ關シ總理
 ハ生前日本ヲ沈痛ナル講演ヲ爲シ彼等ノ錯誤ヲ是正シ
 彼等ニ正道ヲ指示シタ事カアル。次ニ人民戦線ノ名詞

モ決シテ惡クハナイ。然シ詳細ニ其ノ内容及ビ彼等ノ
 陰謀ヲ究ムレド是レ亦大ニ危険ナモノテアル。私ハ今
 一ツノ譬喩ヲ持ツテ居ル。人民戦線モ好ク大亜細亞主
 義モ好イニモセヨ總テ砂糖ヲ包シカ毒ノ如キモノテ外
 側ハ甘イカ内部ニ毒ヲ藏シ人民戦線ハ好イヤウニ感シ
 テモ之レヲ食ヘバ即チ死スル。大亜細亞主義ノ耳觸
 リハ好イガ其ノ云フ所ヲ信スレバ即チ國ハ亡ビ種族ハ
 滅ス。一國ニハ一國ノ立場カアリ一國ニハ一國ノ中要
 カアル。我等ハ輕々ニ他人ノ理論ヲ剽竊スベキモノナイ、
 中国人ハ当然其ノ本国ノ利害ヲ知り一貫セル國策ヲ樹
 立スベキテ改米各國ノ新ラレキモノハ總テ好イト思フ
 テハナラナイ。又盲從スベキモノナイ。殊ニ可人民戦

線に根本的ニ適用スル事ハ出来ナイ。是レハ共産党
ノ一種ノ戦畧ヲ自己ノ利益ヲ謀ル爲メノ術語ニアフテ
若シ裏面ノ策謀ガ無ケレバ救国ノ理論トシテ持出サレ
ナイ筈ナアル。

第三、容共ニ就テ言ヘバ我等ノ領袖ガ安内攘外ヲ説イ
タニ対シ彼等ハ誠ニ忝ナアル。但シ安内攘外ハ中国人
ガ中国人ヲ撃ツテハナラナイ。而シテ共産党員モ亦中
国人ナアルカラ、一致対外ノ際、共産党ヲ撃ツベキナ
ク、当然容共策ヲ取ルベシト云ヒ此ノ主張ハ理ニ合スル
カ如クナアルカ然レ共産党員ハ中国人ナアルカ彼等ハ
中国人ノ指揮ヲ受ケズコモンテルシレノ號令ニ従ヒ
他国ノ共産党ハ軍隊ガ無ク国本ニ危害ヲ加フル陰謀ガ

(17)

無クシテ彼等ハ軍ニ政治上カラ之ヲ主張シ合法的ニ活
動スルカ、中国共産党ハ他国人ニ駆使サレテ軍隊ヲ組織
シ政府ヲ打倒シ国本ニ危害ヲ加ヘントシテ中国人ヲ以
テ中国人ヲ撃ツモノナアル。我等ガ彼ノ撃ツニ任セ之
ヲ反撃シナケレバ如何ニナルアラウカ。若シ共産軍
討伐ヲ許サズトスレバ將來日本人ガ東三省ノ偽軍ヲ以
テ来テ我等中国人ヲ撃ツ場合、偽軍モ亦中国人ナアル
カウ其ノ際モ亦我等ハ其ノ中国人ヲ撃ツ可カラズト云
ヒ得ルカ。今日国難ハ斯クモ重大ナシ、我等ハ当然全国
的ニ團結スベク当然統一スベキナ内戦ヲ不可トシ中国
国人ガ中国人ヲ撃ツテハナラナイ也ノナアル。然ルニ
共産党ハ團結ヲ肯ンセズ統一ヲ欲セズ中国人ヲ以テ中

(18)

國人ヲ撃ツントスルノテアル。我等が赤匪ヲ討伐スル所以ハ決シテ中国人ヲ撃ツノテハナク赤色帝国主義者ノ走狗——赤色ノ漢奸ヲ撃ツノテアル。現在緬遠ニ於テ蒙匪ヲ撃ツテ居ルノモ亦決シテ中国人ヲ撃ツノテハナク白色帝国主義者ノ走狗白色漢奸ヲ撃ツノテアル。此ノ真ハ明白ニ區別シナケレバナク、此ノ道理ヲ明白ニ區別シテ始メテ救國ノ陣營ヲ自ラ乱カス加如キ事無キヲ得ルノテアル。

要スルニ今回ノ西安事変ハ我等ニ一箇ノ重大ナル教訓ヲ与ヘタ。即チ我等ハ空談ヲ禁物トシ殊ニ根本ヲ忘ル可ラカル事、中国人ノ自信力ヲ喪失ス可カラサル事カソレニアル。国民ニ自信力が無ケレバ国家ハ其ノ生存

ノ根基ヲ失ヒ是レハ實ニ民族ノ最も危険ナル病症ヲ示ス。所謂絶望が最大ノ悲哀ナリト云フハ即チ此ノ道理ヲ示ス。現在一般国民ノ心理ハ實ニ非常ニ危険ナル。一般ノ人が中国ノ理論ヲ始メ得ル事ヲ信セサルノミテラズ中国人が中国ヲ救ヒ得ル事ヲ信セズ、更ニ一般ノ領袖慾ニ富ム人々モ亦外國ニ盲從シ自信が欲ケテ居ル。彼等ハ露國ノ「スターリン」ヲ「マルキー」トシテラン事ヲ夢想スルが然レ中國ノ孔子、文天祥、關夫子、岳武穆、孫中山タルベク學バウトシナイ。ソレハ一箇ノ偉大ナル民族英雄ノ産出ト其ノ時世ノ環境、民族精神、社會條件トハ總テ非常ニ關係ノ深い事ヲ知ラナイカラレアル。彼等ハ唯々露國ノ「スターリン」

タラン事ヲ夢想シ中國ノ孫中山、蔣介石タルマク學ハ
ウトシナイが是レハ露國ノミガゴスターリンレヲ生ミ
獨逸ノミガゴヒツトラレヲ出シ伊太利ノミガゴムツ
ツリニレヲ産シ中國ノミガ孫中山、蔣介石ヲ出現セ
シメタノヲアリ中國ニゴスターリンレガ生マレテモ中
國ヲ救フ事ハ出來ス、露國ニ孫中山、蔣介石が出テモ
亦露國ヲ救フ事ハ出來ナイ。中國ノミニ於テ孫中山蔣
介石が出テ來テ始メテ中國ヲ救ヒ得ル事ヲ知ラナイカ
ラテアル。中國人ニ進歩ガ無ク自己ガ自己ヲ信セズ中
國ノ孔夫子、關夫子、岳武穆、文天祥、孫中山、蔣介
石タラント思ハズ、反ツテ只管露國ノゴスターリンレ
ニナリタカル。斯ル幼稚ナル思想、斯ル誤マレル見解

ニ對シ吾人が若シ之ヲ是正セズ此ノ狀態ガ續ケバ遠カ
ラズ我民族ノ自信力ハ完全ニ失ヒ民族ノ自信力ガ無ケ
レバ外患ハ無クトモ此ノ民族ハ自存自強ガ不可能トナ
リ狂風暴雨ニ遇ヘバ直チニ根元カラ攪ハレル。故ニ中
國ヲ救フ爲メニハ必ず民族ノ自信力ヲ恢復シ先ニ我國
家ノ基礎ヲ安定セシメ然ル後ニ世界ノ新ラシキモノヲ
受入レテ我等ノ新中國ヲ建立シナケレバナナイ。
是レハ我等ノ總理ガ一再ナラズ我等ニ教訓シタ所テ更
ニ我等ノ領袖ガ一再ナラズ我等ニ指示シタ所テモアル。
私ハ全國民ガ今回ノ專賣ノ教訓ヲ經タ後ニ此ノ精神ヲ
以テ建國救國ノ精神トナシ特ニ將來ニ民族復興ノ大任
ヲ負フ青年ガ一層此ノ精神ニ基キ畢竟何ガ救國建國ノ

(23)

歧路ニアリ、何か眞ノ救國建國ノ正道ニアルカラ辨別
セラレン事ヲ希望スル者ナル。

東工局

情報部

第一部長

別紙添付

普通第三四號

昭和十二年一月二十六日

昭和十二年一月廿二日接受

在ポルトランド
領事 鶴見

外務大臣 有田 八郎 殿

分類

蒋介石監禁ノ真相ニ關スル新聞記事報告ノ件
 一月二十六日當地モーニングオレゴニアン紙ハポールマロンノ首題
 ノ件ニ關スル記事ヲ掲載シ華府官邊筋ハ最初蒋介石ノ監禁ヲ以テ日
 本側ノ工作ニ基クモノナリト爲シ居タルカ學良謀殺ノ原因カ共產軍
 ノ行動ニ在リシコト判明セル今日日本側ニ嫌疑ヲ懸ケタルコトニ對
 シ官邊筋ハ日本ニ陳謝スルノ心持ヲ有シ居レリ云々ト述ヘ居レリ

在ポルトランド日本領事館

右何等御參考迄新聞切抜相添へ報告ス

在ポルトランド日本領事館

Morning Oregonian Jan 26 1937

Behind the News By Paul Mallon

WASHINGTON, D. C., Jan. 25—Confidential information in the hands of impartial sources here indicates the current Moscow trial by fury is about half founded on fact.

The well informed here have reason to suspect there was a rather indefinite plot to overthrow the Stalin regime, from within, and that there still is one, indirectly involving Germany, Japan and anti-Stalinites. Likewise, there is a broad suspicion in high places here that Editor Radek, for one, probably was mixed up in it.

The feeling exists also that the Stalin regime is still very shaky, that the trial-spectacle may serve to delay, but probably not prevent, the consummation of the original idea eventually.

Knowing authorities laughed outright at the first propaganda farce staged before the microphones in Moscow last August. The spectacle of ex-high reds bleating the most abject confessions of their infamies over the radio for peasant consumption was a little too obvious. Everyone knew the defendants would be killed anyway and realized they probably had made a deal with the Stalin government to offer any fairy tale confessions desired, in order to save their wives and children.

Since the world choked on the first one, the Stalinites have had an opportunity to perfect their technique. They cut down on the fantasy in this current production and are trying to play it as a more or less straight drama.

Allowing for this, it is nevertheless true that the plot evidence developed this time checks and double checks with certain unpublished facts in the possession of authorities here.

They are willing to believe Radek may have had a minor hand in it, because he had enough personal ambition for a dozen plotters. They suspect, however, that his own correspondents, whom he named as co-plotters, were merely mentioned by him to settle a personal score.

There is trouble on the bridge in the navy. President Roosevelt is taking the wheel.

A reorganization is not improbable.

What started it was a report of the navy general board recommending a readjustment of the pro-

motion system. This report has not been made public, but it was presented to Secretary Swanson some weeks ago. He passed it along to one of the junior admirals in charge of a bureau, who proceeded to tear it apart. The junior admiral sent back a counter report which is said to have defended the selective system with 16-inch words.

The news has reached Mr. Roosevelt, however, and it appears the trouble has just begun.

Mr. Roosevelt knows a little about the navy from the inside, himself. In fact, he testified 19 years ago as assistant navy secretary before a congressional committee on the very point involved in this scrap. He said the bureau system of the navy was then "antiquated," which means it must now be 19 years overantiquated.

What will come out of it probably will be a reorganization of the existing bureaus of navigation, yards and docks, etc. It is quite possible the power of the general board will be re-established or a general staff created to dominate the navy as the general staff does the army.

What happened in the kidnaping of Chiang Kai-Shek by Chang Hsueh-Liang may never be fathomed officially, but authorities here finally have an explanation which sounds reasonable. They are willing to make apologies to Japan for suspecting she engineered the original coup. They believe now that the ex-opium smoker kidnaped Chiang Kai-Shek because his own army was about one-half to two-thirds communist. He seems to have made a trade with his communists to capture Chiang Kai-Shek, not for the purpose of fighting Japan, as he announced, but to promote the communist cause against the nationalist Chiang Kai-Shek government.

After capturing Chiang he found the whole country arising against him. He saw that pursuit of his objective would lead to a greater slaughter than he anticipated and he knew he could not win.

Therefore, he deserted his army and joined his kidnapers for a promise of immunity, thus selling out for the third consecutive time, and to his original purchaser, (Chiang Kai-Shek had originally hired him to chase communists.)

REEL No. A-0870

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昭和12 一六一四 略 上海 廿八日後發
 本省 一月廿八日夜着 情、亞
 有田外務大臣
 第六三號
 二十八日ノ大公報ハ西安事件和平解決上ノ根本問題ハ既ニ中央、西
 北間ニ話合繼マリ目下細目事項ニ付商議ヲ進メラレ居ル旨報道スル
 ト共ニ同事件善後措置ノ完結ニハ猶時日ヲ要スヘキモ中央ノ寛大ナ
 ル態度ト忍耐及西北諸當事者ノ反省トニ依リ既ニ和平成立ヲ見タル
 以上必ス圓滿ニ進行スヘシト論シ居レリ御參考迄
 支、北平、在支各總領事へ轉電シ上海へ轉報セリ

外務省

東亞局
 普通第二五號

昭和十二年一月二十八日

第一課

昭和十二年一月二十八日 接受
 別紙添付

在滿洲里
 領事代理 後藤 安



在 外務大臣 有田八郎 殿

件名 西安事件ニ關スル「ソ」聯紙記事譯報ノ件
 本件ニ關スル 一月二十六日附 在滿大使 宛
 拙信 普通 第二四 號寫送付ス

普通第二〇二號

昭和十二年一月二十六日

在滿洲里
領事代理 後藤安爾

寫

在滿洲國
特命全權大使 植田謙吉 殿

西安事件ニ關スル「ソ」聯紙記事譯報ノ件

貴ニ勃發シタル西安事件ニ關シ本月九日發刊ザバイカリスキ、ジガーデー
紙ハ別添譯文ノ如キ内容ノ記事ヲ掲載シ居レル處右ハ「ソ」側ノ本事件ニ對
スル觀察ノ一端ヲ窺知スルニ好參考ナリト思料セラル、ニ付茲ニ報告申進ス

西安事件ノ終結

蔣介石及張學良間紛議ノ終結ハ東京ニ於ケル深刻ナル落膽ヲ招徠シタ如何トナ
レハ日本ノ外交政策ノ真髓ヲ檢討スルニ這ハ右兩國ノ紛争ヲ擴大セシメ意テ内
亂ヲ誘發セシムヘク凡ユル努力工作ヲ講スルニアツタ從テ其ノ努力ニシテ何等
期待シタル目的遂行ニ至ラスシテ終幕ヲ告ケタルハ日本政府ニトリ異常ナル焦
心ノ種トナツタコトハ察スルニ餘カアル張學良ノ出馬ニ關スル第一報ニ接スル
ヤ日本軍閥機關紙ハ「莫斯科ノ魔手」「張學良ヲ首班トスル「ソ」聯政府トノ
密約締結ニヨル假政府ノ組織」等々ノ宣傳ヲ開始シタルカ其ノ目的タルヤ明瞭
ニシテ即チ南京及西安間ノ離間ヲ擴大セシメ紛争ノ和平解決ヲ飽迄阻碍セント
スルニ在ツタコトハ謂フ迄モ無イ
然ルニ事件ハ期待ニ反シ和平解決ノ曙光見ヘ出シタルニ及ヒ有田日本外務大臣

及川越在支大使ハ魯囁的口調ヲ以テ南京政府ニ對シ如何ナル形式ナルヲ問ハス
張學良トノ和解ヲ爲サ、ル様要求シタ

然ルニ右要求モ受諾セラレスシテ紛争ハ何等流血ノ慘ヲ見スシテ解決ヲ見ルヤ
日本新聞ハ一齊ニ蔣介石ハ自己ノ威信ヲ失墜シ結局彼ハ其ノ地位ヲ賴日派ノ汪
兆銘ニ讓リテ陰退スルノ外ナカルヘシト宣傳シ始メタリ

凡チ日本ノ精神的の壓ノ失敗ハ西安事件ノ真相ヲ暴露シタ而シテ之ニ關聯スル
諸出來事ハ支那ノ群雄割據ヲ促カシ日本ニ取リ有利ナル結果ヲ齎ラシタ日本ハ
南京及山西兩軍ノ角逐ヲ具現シ以テ兩者間ニ於ケル流血ノ慘ヲ演セシメ惹テハ
支那ノ弱滅乃至戰鬪能力ノ消滅ヲ待望シタノテアル

日本ハ「赤化ノ危機」ヲ冒シツ、其後秩序維持構成者ノ役ヲ負ヒ出場シタカ右
ハ露骨ニ言ヘハ全支那ヲ手中ニ掌握セントノ意圖ニ外ナラズ
然ルニ右ノ工作ハ日本ノ失敗ニ歸シタリ即チ蔣介石、張學良兩者何レニ對シテ

モ紛争ヲ流血的の鬪争ニ誘致セシムルコトカ出來ナカツタノタ夫ハ斯ノ如キ鬪争
ノ結果トシテ招徠スヘキモノハ日本ノ干涉ノミナルコト餘リニモ明瞭テアツタ
カラテアル斯ノ如キ日本ノ失敗ハ支那ノ盟邦譽ツテ衷心ヨリ祝意ヲ表スルノテ
アル

今ヤ南京及西南間ノ紛争ハ和平調整ノ曙光ヲ認ムルヲ得ルニ至リ内亂ハ未然ニ
防遏セラレタカ今次ノ事件ハ幾多ノ有益ナル教示ヲ與ヘタ即チ右紛争ニ對シテ
如何ナル事態カ一般的ニ興ツテ復立ツタノカ何故ニ張學良ハ南京政府ニ對抗シ
テ全軍ヲ舉兵シ伴々ノカ道ハ即チ過去ニ於テ南京政府ノ凡ユル政策カ常ニ支那
國民ノ意圖ニ副ハサリシカ故ニ民心離反シテ居ル爲ニ外ナラヌ故ニ今後ニ於テ
南京政府カ民衆ノ意向ヲ洞察シ其ノ意志ニ適合シタル政策ヲ樹ツルニ及ヒ同政
府ノ威信ハ茲ニ復活シ強大トナルヘク同政府ノ仇敵タル多敵ノ軍國主義者國體
政權兼取り運動モ漸次消滅スルテアロウ

而シテ今ヤ支那全國民ハ政治的色彩ノ如何ヲ關ハス一部賣國的不逞分子ノ群ヲ除キ舉國一致以テ日本侵略者ニ對抗シ國家獨立ヲ死守シツ、アリテ支那國民ハ共和國ノ尊嚴ナル地方カ逐次ニ日本帝國主義ノ奴隸下ニ墜チツ、アルヲ屈辱的ニ辭觀スルニ忍ビサルモノテアル支那ノ大衆的國民團體及先驅的智識階級ハ既ニ獨立闘争ノ成功ハ一ニ懸リテ國家全力ノ統合、内争及同胞相ノ慘ノ絶滅ニ在ルハ明瞭ニ看取シテ居ル

斯クテ統一運動ハ今ヤ支那ニ於テ最も宣傳セラレツ、アル處テアル日本ハ赤禍ノ危機ニ悲鳴ヲ擧ケテ南京政府ニ對シ支那ノ赤軍ニ對スル教唆ニ厲心シツ、自己ノ内密的目的ヲ遂行セント焦心シ其ノ結果支那國民ノ統一カ干涉者タル日本ニトリテ致命的危險ナルカ故ニ之ヲ極力阻碍セントシツ、アル然ルニ支那共產黨ハ南京政府ト合流ハスルトモ之ニ抵抗スルニ非スシテ飽迄支那獨立ノ爲ニ闘争ヲ希望スル旨幾ニ宣言シ現在モ猶宣言シテ居ル

從テ支那ノ赤軍ハ南京政府ト相剋ツモノニ非スシテ自己ノ仇敵即チ全支那ノ仇敵ト闘争セントスルモノテアル

今次ノ張學良反亂ノ歴史ハ支那ノ大衆カ侵略者排撃ノ爲統一合流ヲ渴望シ居ル實情ノ一端ヲ物語ルモノテアツテ若シ假リニ張學良ニシテ全國統一旗幟ノ下ニ行動シ居ラサリシトセハ彼ハ軍隊ヲ新程迄ニ把握出來ナカッタテアロウ而シテ南京政府ハ國民カ統一ヲ冀望シ分離ヲ希望セサルノ一理由ニ依リテ見ルモ今次ノ反亂ヲ容易ニ鎮靜シ得タモノト思ハレル尙凡ユル支那新聞カ蔣介石ノ南京歸還ヲ祝賀シ彼カ「民意ノ遂行者」タルコトノ期待ヲ裏書シテ居ルコトモ亦偶然テハナイ

「リバポ」紙曰ク

「吾人ハ蔣介石ノ釋放ヲ祝スルト共ニ更ニ進シテ國家ノ統一ヲヨリ以上慶祝スルモノテアル」

又日本新聞ニシテ蔣介石ノ歸還ヲ極メテ非友好的ニ迎ヘタルコトモ注目ニ價ス

ル蒋介石ニ對スル上海ニ於ケル歡迎示威運動ハ期セスシテ排日デモニ化シタル事實モ亦默過スヘカラサル處テアロウ支那國民ハ日本側煽動者ノ凡ユル努力ニモ拘ラス誰カ蒋介石ヲ排斥シテ居ルカ又誰カ支那統一反對鬭争ニ奔命シツ、アルヲ明確ニ看取シテ居ル

西兩事件ノ和平的解決ハ支那カ全民族ノ統一ノ途ニ百尺竿頭一步ヲ進メタルコト及南京政府カ支那ニ於テ抬頭シツ、アル勢力ノ礎石トナリ居レルコトヲモ明シシテ居ル

元來南京政府ハ非系統的テアリ且ツ常ニ動搖ヲ見ツ、アリト雖モ日本側ノ壓迫大衆ノ脅迫ニ對スル對抗政策ニ對スル懦弱ナル和協政策ヲ排シテ漸次右國家思潮及民意ニヨル政策ニ移ラントシツ、アルハ否ムヘカラサル事實テアルカ右ノ政策遂行ノ途ニ決定的ニ邁進スレハスル程國內ニ於ケル政府ノ勢力ハ強大トナ

ルヘク同時ニ干涉者ニ對スル反響モ亦痛烈トナルテアロウ

妥協政策及讓歩政策竝ニ凡テノ帝國主義的強要ニ對スル忍信の追從政策ハ支那國民ニ對シテ甚タシキ惡影響ヲ及ホシテ居ル侵略者ノ貪欲餘ル處ヲ知ラサル狀態テアル

南京政府ノ讓歩政策ヲ目シテ彼等侵略者ハ弱衰ノ徵ナリト解シ其ノ弱味ニ附込ミ更ニ新規ノ非禮不悛ノ要求ヲ提起シテ居ル滿洲國ニ於テ何等ノ抵抗ニ逢着セサリシ日本ハ更ニ熱河ニ突進シ茲ニモ殆ント左シタル鬭争ヲ見スシテ手中ニ收メ得ルヤ順序トシテ冀察地方ニ侵入シタ而シテ今ヤ綏遠ニ對スル一擊ノ準備中テアル

然ルニ綏遠ニ對スル第一擊ハ日本側支隊ノ敗退ニ歸シタ支那ハ抵抗能力ヲ有スルノタ！全支那國民ニ依リ支持セラル、綏遠軍ハ武装不充分ナリト雖モ日滿干涉者ヲ勇敢ニ擊退シタノテアル

全國統一運動ノ威力全國民カ民族的獨立ヲ保持スヘシトスル思潮ハ支那軍隊ノ精神ヲ極度ニ作興セシメタノテアル日本軍閥等ハ支那軍ヲ以テ全ク實勢力無キモノト侮蔑視シテ居ルモ支那ハ實在スル精銳ヲ有シテ居リ且ツ其ノ偉大サハ可成リ顯著ナルモノテアツテ即チ四億五千萬民衆是テアル此ノ國民ニシテ兄弟相勉ノ戰爭ヲ誘發セサル限り實ニ強大ニシテ打勝難キ軍隊ヲ編成スル能力カアル南京政府カ支那獨立闘争ノ旗擧ケヲ存シ得ル限り向政府ニハ全國民支援ノ保障テアル此ノ闘争ノ成功ヲ見ルヘキハ將ニ西安事件ニ於テ全支那國民統合ノ實現ヲ見タル事例ニヨルモ明瞭ニシテ國民全体ノ勢力ハ此ノ目標ニ向ツテ集中セラレタル事實ニ徴スルモ亦疑フノ餘地ナキ處テアル

徒ラニ内國的戦線ヲ維持スルコトハ単ニ帝國主義的干涉者ノ手ニヨリ國民ヲ部分的ニ教唆スルノ間隙ヲ與フルノミ故ニ全支那國民ヲ茲ニ全部統一セシムルコトハ即チ支那ノ仇敵ヲ退散セシムヘキ一大威力テアル