

enteenth, thirteen students were carried to Union Hospital but there were no clear reports from other hospitals. It is impossible to calculate how many students were arrested.

16.7 AND 16.8 MUTINY IN XI'AN, 1936

After the survivors of the Long March reached Shaanxi in October 1935, Chiang Kai-shek continued his quest to eliminate his Communist rivals. The only troops loyal to the Guomindang stationed in the northwest region were soldiers under the command of Young Marshal Zhang Xueliang and General Yang Hucheng. The Manchurian soldiers of Zhang's army, who had been forced out of their homeland by the Japanese in 1931 and 1932, were particularly reluctant to participate in Chiang's "bandit extermination" campaign, and advocated forming a new united front with the Communists to fight Japanese encroachment.

Concerned about the army's will to fight, Chiang Kai-shek flew to Xi'an in early December 1936 to supervise Generals Zhang and Yang as they launched a new offensive against the Communists. On December 12, a mutiny broke out and Chiang was placed under house arrest. The first document selected here, a telegram sent to the nation by Zhang Xueliang and Yang Hucheng immediately after Chiang's arrest, articulates the professed patriotic motives and demands of the mutinous generals. The second document is an excerpted passage from Chiang's admonition of Zhang and Yang, issued after his sudden release on Christmas Day 1936.

16.7 *Zhang Xueliang and Yang Hucheng's Eight-Point Program*

It is now over five years since Japan occupied China. National sovereignty has been infringed upon, and more and more of our territory lost to the enemy. The humiliating Shanghai Armistice Agreement of early 1932 was followed by the signing of the Tang'gu and He-Umezu Agreements.⁷ All our fellow countrymen feel distressed at these events. Recently, a great change has taken place in the international situation with some forces working hand in glove to make a sacrifice of our country and people. The start of fighting in east Suiyuan has thrown

7. The Tang'gu Truce of May 1933 and the He-Umezu Agreement of June 1935 removed Nationalist armies from Hebei.

the whole country into a ferment and the morale of our troops has never been so high.

At this very moment, the central authorities should do their utmost to encourage the army and people to launch nationwide resistance against Japan. But while our officers and men are engaged in bloody fighting against the enemy at the front, our diplomats have been doing their best to reach a compromise with alien invaders. The imprisonment of the Shanghai patriots has shocked the whole world besides paining the entire Chinese nation. It distresses everyone to see patriots treated as criminals. Generalissimo Chiang, misled by mean officials and divorced from the masses of people, has made our nation suffer greatly. We—Zhang Xueliang and Yang Hucheng—have repeatedly offered him our earnest remonstrances, only to be harshly reproached. When the students in Xi'an demonstrated for national salvation, police were ordered to open fire at these patriotic youths. Anyone with a conscience could not have let things go so far! Having for long years been colleagues of the Generalissimo, we could hardly sit by idly. So we offered him our last remonstrance for the sake of his personal safety and in order to stimulate his awakening.

Now the army and people in northwest China unanimously demand:

1. Reorganize the Nanjing government to admit representatives of all parties and groups to jointly share the responsibility of saving the nation;
2. End all civil war;
3. Immediately release all the imprisoned leaders of the patriotic movement in Shanghai;
4. Release all political prisoners in the country;
5. Give a free hand to the patriotic mass movement;
6. Safeguard the political freedom of the people, including the freedom of assembly;
7. Earnestly carry out Dr. Sun Yat-sen's Will; and
8. Immediately convene a conference on national salvation.

The above eight points are what we and the army and people in the northwest stand for with respect to national salvation. It is hoped that all of you, in compliance with public opinion, will endorse the aforesaid in true earnest so that there will be a ray of hope for the nation, and past wrongs will be righted. For the sake of this our just cause, we feel duty-bound to act, our sole purpose being the thorough implementation of the program of national salvation which, we believe, will benefit our nation. As for ourselves, we leave it to our compatriots to judge whether our act is a merit or crime.

Anxiously we look forward to your response.
Zhang Xueliang
Yang Hucheng