

CHAPTER 17

World War II

17.1 AND 17.2 JAPAN AT WAR

When the Japanese army launched its all-out attack on Chinese troops in north China after the Marco Polo Bridge Incident on July 7, 1937, the uneasy peace between Nanjing and Tokyo came to a definitive end.

Despite the initiation of hostilities, a declaration of war was never issued by the invader and in the early phase of the war, both sides diplomatically referred to the state of war existing between them as the "Sino-Japanese conflict" or "Far Eastern conflict" to leave room for possible negotiations and a mutually agreeable compromise that might conclude the fighting. During this state of "conflict," however, major battles were waged in north and central China, tens of thousands of civilian Chinese were brutally massacred in Nanjing, province after province was lost to the Japanese occupation army, and the Chinese government was forced to move its capital to the interior mountain city of Chongqing. From this wartime capital, Chiang Kai-shek continued to resist Japan without substantial foreign help until after Japan's attack on Pearl Harbor.

In the historical perspective of Sino-Japanese relations since the late nineteenth century, the outbreak of the war seemed to many contemporary Chinese an inevitable consequence of Japan's long-term expansionist policy in Asia. It was true, as Japan's prime minister Prince Konoe argues in the first document selected here, that Japan did not originally intend to use military force against China as long as the latter was willing to eliminate all anti-Japanese sentiments and accept the constraints Japan set on China's sovereign rights. But Konoe's claim that "the right of self-defence as well as the cause of righteousness and humanity" justified Japan's invasion of China was a deception.

The second document, written by Horosi Saito, then Japanese ambassador to the United States, follows this line of justification and attributes the cause of war to China's century-old xenophobic attitude. Saito, in an attempt to dissuade Western nations, principally the U.S., from helping China, suggests that conditions for foreigners anxious to live or trade in China would be more secure under Japanese rule. Saito also condemns rampant political corruption in China and its leaders' stubborn refusal to follow the Western way of life as the source of the sufferings that afflicted the Chinese people. For the Japanese, he implies, the war was a great sacrifice of national resources and human lives designed to foster the welfare of the Chinese people and the "peace and security in the Far East."

17.1 *Prince Konoe's Address, September 1937*

ADDRESS
OF
PRINCE AYAMARO KONOYE, PRIME MINISTER
AT THE 72ND SESSION OF THE IMPERIAL DIET
—SEPTEMBER 5, 1937—

I am profoundly moved to say that His Imperial Majesty's most gracious message regarding the China affair was granted us at the opening of the Imperial Diet yesterday. It is my humble desire that we shall be able to set His Majesty's heart at rest by our loyal and devoted service to the Throne in accordance with the august will of our Sovereign.

Since the outbreak of the affair in North China on July 7th, the fundamental policy of the Japanese Government toward China has been simply and purely to seek the reconsideration of the Chinese Government and the abandonment of its erroneous anti-Japanese policies, with the view of making a basic readjustment in relations between Japan and China. This policy has never undergone a change; even today it remains the same. The Japanese Government has endeavored to save the situation by preventing aggravation of the incident and by limiting its scope. This has been repeatedly enunciated; I trust that is fully understood by you.

The Chinese, however, not only fail to understand the true motives of the Government, but have increasingly aroused a spirit of contempt and have offered resistance toward Japan, taking advantage of the patience of our Government. Thus, by the outburst of uncontrolled national sentiment, the situation has fast been aggravated, spreading in scope to Central and South China. And now, our Government, which has been patient to the utmost, has acknowledged the impossibility of settling the incident passively and locally, and has been

forced to deal a firm and decisive blow against the Chinese Government in an active and comprehensive manner.

In point of fact, for one country to adopt as its national policy the antagonizing of and the showing of contempt for some particular country, and to make these the underlying principles of national education by implanting such ideas in minds of the young, is unprecedented in the history of the world. Thus, when we consider the outcome of such policies on the part of China, we feel grave concern not only for the future of Sino-Japanese relations, but for the peace of the Orient and consequently for the peace of the entire world. The Japanese Government, therefore, has repeatedly requested the Chinese Government to reconsider and to change its attitude, but all in vain. This failure of the Chinese Government has finally caused the present affair.

We firmly believe that it is in accordance with the right of self-defence as well as with the cause of righteousness and humanity that our country has determined to give a decisive blow to such a country, so that it may reflect upon the errors of its ways.

For the peoples of East Asia, there can be no happiness without a just peace in this part of the world. The Chinese people themselves by no means form the objective of our actions, which objective is directed against the Chinese Government and its army who are carrying out such erroneous, anti-foreign policies. If, therefore, the Chinese Government truly and fully reexamines its attitude and in real sincerity makes endeavors for the establishment of peace and for the development of culture in the Orient in collaboration with our country, our Empire intends to press no further.

At the present moment, however, the sole measure for the Japanese Empire to adopt is to administer a thoroughgoing blow to the Chinese Army so that it may lose completely its will to fight. And if, at the same time, China fails to realize its mistakes and persists in its stubborn resistance, our Empire is fully prepared for protracted hostilities. Until we accomplish our great mission of establishing peace in the Orient, we must face many serious difficulties, and, in order to overcome them, we must proceed steadily with our task, adhering to the spirit of perseverance and fortitude in one united body. . . .

17.2 *The Japanese Ambassador Explains, 1937*

I

The conflict in the Far East is by no means as simple in origin as some Europeans and Americans seem to think. The trouble did not begin last July. It is a result of the condition of China, which has caused the invasion of foreign armies for more than a century and is the reason for the presence there today of British, French, Italian, Dutch and American troops. If China's house were

in order there would be no need for the presence of these foreign forces or of Japan's present action. In fact, if law and order were maintained in China, if China were a unified and stabilized nation, it would be able to "drive all foreigners into the sea"—which has been the objective of many of its anti-foreign movements.

Who is to blame for the condition of China? Is it Great Britain, which sought for decades to help successive Chinese governments to organize their two principal sources of revenue, the Maritime Customs and the Salt Gabelle,¹ and administer them without corruption? Is it France, which has sent more missionaries and teachers to them than to all other backward nations combined? Is it Japan, which almost staked her existence in a war with Russia to prevent "the break-up of China"—a disaster expected throughout the world at the time of the Boxer Rising in 1900? It is difficult for many Japanese to understand how so many people of the West can fail to see that the trouble is not of foreign but of Chinese making.

It might be well at this point to review the circumstances which placed Japanese troops in North China. Japan, like Great Britain, France, Italy and the United States, keeps a permanent garrison in the Peking-Tientsin area. The right to do so was established by the agreements with China which followed the Boxer outrage in 1900. When the trouble began there again this summer, the Japanese garrison numbered one soldier for every four Japanese residents in the area. The European and American garrisons provided one soldier for every two of their nationals. Surely, if our Government had contemplated aggression or even anticipated a serious conflict our forces would not have been but six or eight thousand men.

The fighting at Shanghai was begun a month later by circumstances similar to those in the North. In an editorial on this point, *The Christian Science Monitor* said some weeks ago, "Belief that China forced the issue at Shanghai is not restricted to Japanese spokesmen and apologists. A number of foreign observers have expressed the opinion that the swift increase in the number of disguised Chinese troops in the region which was supposedly covered by the truce of 1932 was a main factor in precipitating hostilities."

The 1932 truce-agreement, which set up a demilitarized zone around Shanghai in which no Chinese troops were to be stationed, was concluded by Japanese and Chinese officials and countersigned by the representatives of the United States, Great Britain, France and Italy. This agreement was designed to prevent the recurrence of fighting in or around Shanghai. In direct violation of it thousands of regular Chinese army soldiers were sent into the demilitarized zone disguised as peasants and gendarmes, and by early August the 30,000 Japanese civilians in Shanghai were in grave danger of mass murder. Japan's defense force of 3,000 marines faced 30,000 Chinese soldiers. This made it nec-

1. The Qing monopoly on the production and sale of salt.

essary to strengthen the Japanese squadron on the river. The Chinese opened hostilities by attempting to bomb the Japanese naval vessels and the Japanese Consulate-General. As is well known, their aim was so bad that several of the bombs fell in the most crowded section of the International Settlement, killing thousands of Chinese and several foreigners, including my good American friend, Dr. Reischauer.

The present conflict has been forced upon Japan, and Japan wants to end it as quickly as possible. But she is determined to end it in a way so decisive that a situation like the present can never recur. Our objective, therefore, is a genuine change-of-heart on the part of those in power at Nanjing. We insist that the organized campaign to stir up hate against Japan be discontinued and that the Central Government renounce the union with Communism which was solemnized at Xi'an, in Shaanxi Province, when General Chiang Kai-shek was released from imprisonment last Christmas Day.

Premier Konoye, Foreign Minister Hirota and War Minister Sugiyama, have all stated that Japan is not bent on conquest and has no desire to detach or annex any part of China. What our government and people want is peace and security in the Far East. If only in our own selfish interests we seek the welfare of the colossal nation beside which we must continue to live for all time.

In a number of North China cities temporarily local governments have grown up to replace the military administrations which have disappeared with the retreating Chinese armies. These "Peace Preservation Committees," formed by local Chinese leaders, are successfully maintaining civil order. But they have been given to understand that Japan will not support them in any move to secede from the rest of China. Indeed, the commanders of the Japanese garrisons not only permitted but encouraged the people of North China to celebrate what the Chinese call the "Double-Tenth" holiday on October 10, the anniversary of the founding of the Chinese Republic. This is evidence of our intentions. . . .

. . . . With China's millions Japan has no quarrel—nor have those millions anything to fear from Japan. In fact, even at this moment several thousand Chinese students are attending Japanese schools and tens of thousands of Chinese businessmen are conducting their trades as usual in Japan. At no time since the present trouble began has there been a single case of violence against any Chinese living in Japan.

The underlying accord of our peoples prompts in me high hope that when the leaders of the Nanjing regime and the Chinese Nationalist Party adopt a reasonable policy toward Japan, it will not take long to spin close ties of friendship and harmony of incalculable benefit to both China and Japan, and of much also to the rest of the world. With permanent peace between Japan and China, progress will be made in East of Asia that will redound to the benefit of others in a spread of the feeling of security and an expansion of general and profitable trade and cultural relations. The progress of Japan has brought an enormous increase of trade to Western Counties, particularly the United States, and the

peace of China cannot fail to bring progress to the industrious and well-meaning masses of her people.

17.3 CHIANG REPLIES, 1938

Toward the end of 1938, the Japanese army controlled the eastern half of China, having pressed the Chinese resistance forces into the less populated and economically backward interior. In the eyes of Japanese militarists, the fall of Canton and Wuhan marked a "turning point" in the Sino-Japanese "conflict." The Chinese government under Chiang Kai-shek was stripped, by the reality of the Japanese invasion, of its legitimacy as the Central Government of China and converted into a "local government." Japan now encouraged the Chinese to start serious collaboration efforts with the Japanese occupation army. Since Chiang Kai-shek was adamant in his promise to carry on a resistance war to the end, the Japanese began to place their hope on a split within the Guomindang and the establishment of a separate collaborationist government under Japanese control.

Statements of the Japanese government laid out the theoretical foundation for the Japanese wartime project of a "Greater East Asia Co-Prosperity Sphere," a euphemism for Japanese rule throughout east and southeast Asia. Accusing the Guomindang government of being not only anti-Japanese but also procommunist, the Japanese hoped to strengthen support for the war policy at home and deflect the hostile public opinion of the West.

In response to Japan's new call for Chinese collaboration, Chiang Kai-shek, in an address before a meeting at the Central Guomindang Headquarters in Chongqing on December 26, 1938, sought to expose Japan's design of subjugating China and dominating east Asia. The address specifically attacks a statement made by Prince Konoe on December 22, 1938, which, Chiang believed, illuminated the true intentions of Japan's new policy.

GENERALISSIMO CHIANG ASSAILS PRINCE KONOYE'S STATEMENT

Comrades, our resistance has now entered a new phase. I have recently pointed out on several occasions that the past eighteen months may be called the first period of our resistance of the preliminary period. We have now entered upon the second or latter period. At present, on both northern and southern warfronts the excellence of our soldiers' morale and fighting spirit provides an auspicious sign unprecedented since the war commenced. Our soldiers are fully aware that

in this war our enemy is bent on subjugating China completely and that we must take the most drastic measures to save our country. Their determination is, therefore, extraordinarily strong and their spirit roused to the uttermost.

Our people also understand that the enemy will not pause until he has fully realized his malevolent designs and the ultimate aim of his aggression in the destruction of China. If we do not seek life by braving death we cannot expect to survive in any fortuitous way. . . .

Konoye's statement is intrinsically nothing more than sheer wearisome repetition of canting phrases. Solemnly engaged in our resistance as we are, it would seem unnecessary for us to pay any attention to it, let alone refute it. Considering it, however, together with the enemy's deeds and words of the past months, we perceive that the statement, though superficially vague and incoherent, has a keen edge hidden beneath. It might be called, in short, a complete exposure of the fantastic Japanese programme to annex China, dominate East Asia and further even to subdue the world. It is also a complete revelation of the contents of the enemy. . . .

What I wish to draw the attention of all to is the barbarism of the Japanese militarists, their insanity, their practice of deceiving themselves and others, and their gross ignorance. What is most urgent is that all should realize that Japan is determined to swallow China entirely. Taking Konoye's statement on December 22 as the pivot for my observations, I shall now recall what Japanese popular sentiment has championed during the past few months and what cabals and slogans have been actually put into practice. By analysis, a comprehensive understanding may be gained. For convenience of narration I shall first draw attention to the following four points:—

(1) THE SO-CALLED "CREATION OF A NEW ORDER IN EAST ASIA!"

The Japanese take special pride in this slogan. According to the Japanese Foreign Minister, Arita, in his explanation of December 19: "The new order in East Asia consists in Japan, Manchukuo, and China assisting and co-operating with each other closely in politics, economics and culture to combat the Red Peril, to protect Oriental civilization, to remove economic barriers, and to help China rise from her semi-colonial status so as to secure peace in the Far East." On December 14, Konoye also said: "The ultimate objective of the China Incident lies not merely in achieving military triumph but in a rebirth of China and the erection of a new order in East Asia. This new order will be based on tripartite cooperation of a new China with Japan and Manchukuo."

Let all observe that what he meant by a China reborn was that independent China was to perish and in its place an enslaved China created, which would abide by Japan's word from generation to generation. The so-called new order would be based on the intimate relations that would tie the

enslaved China to the Japanese-created Manchukuo and Japan herself. What is the real aim? Under the pretext of opposition to the "Red Peril," Japan seeks to control China's military affairs; claiming to uphold Oriental civilization, Japan seeks to uproot China's racial culture; and by urging the elimination of economic barriers, she aspires to exclude American and European influence and dominate the Pacific. Again, the so-called "economic unity" of Japan, Manchukuo and China is the instrument she intends to use for obtaining a strangle-hold on China's economic arteries. Let us try to realize the immense evils with which the words "creation of a new order in East Asia" are pregnant. In a word, it is a term for the overthrow of international order in East Asia, and the enslavement of China as the means whereby Japan may dominate the Pacific and proceed to dismember other states of the world.

(2) THE SO-CALLED "UNITY OF EAST ASIA,"
"INDIVISIBILITY OF JAPAN, MANCHUKUO AND CHINA,"
"LINKED RELATIONS OF MUTUAL ASSISTANCE BETWEEN
JAPAN, MANCHUKUO AND CHINA."

To make a "homogeneous body" of East Asia has been a much-touted Japanese slogan during the past few months. The application of this slogan is broader, vaguer and more general than that of the so-called "economic unity" or "economic bloc."

Advancing the theme of an "indivisibility of Japan, Manchukuo and China," the Japanese aim to absorb China politically, economically, and culturally into one body with their own country. Japanese periodicals have maintained that the structural relationship of the "East Asia unity" should be vertical with Japan at the summit, and not in any sense horizontal; the system of relationship should be patriarchal, with Japan as patriarch and Manchukuo and China as offspring. In other words, the former is to be the governor and master while the latter are to be the governed and underlings.

What is it if it is not annexation? What is it if it is not the total extinction of China? Konoye's phrase, "the establishment of linked relations of mutual assistance in matters political, economic and cultural between Japan, Manchukuo and China," puts me in mind only of links and manacles and shackles. His "linked relations" would be the forged chains which would drag us down into a pit from which we would never escape.

(3) THE SO-CALLED "ECONOMIC UNITY" AND "ECONOMIC BLOC."

This has been promoted for many years by the Japanese, and the thesis has recently been as prevalent as ever and has even made rapid headway. It is essential to the proposed "homogeneity of East Asia." They have rung many changes on the wording of the slogan: they have called it on occasion "economic reciprocity" and "economic co-operation." In the man-

ifesto of the Japanese Government issued on November 3, it was described as “economic union.” In the latter part of November enemy newspapers printed the headline “Japan, Manchukuo and China are to form an economic unity and henceforth share a common fate.” Subsequently Arita in his statement of December 19 said: “Japan has resolved to convene an economic conference to bring about an intimate economic confederation between Japan, Manchukuo and China and to invigorate the resulting economic monad.”

Japan has, in fact, already installed such instruments of economic aggression as the “North China Development Company” and the “Central China Development Company.” Economic conversations have already been held more than once by self-styled representatives of Manchukuo and China with those of Japan. What the Japanese call their “Planning Bureau” adopted, two days after Konoye’s statement was made, a resolution urging “the expansion of the productive capacity of Japan, Manchukuo and China.” The “economic bloc” is designed to be the means of not only taking control over our customs revenue and finance and of monopolizing our production and trade, but also of gradually limiting the individual freedom of our people even in regard to what they eat and wear, where they live and whither they move. The Japanese are to do as they please: to have power among us over life and death, the power of binding and losing; we are then to become their slaves and cattle, and the whole of our nation will thus be dissolved beneath the lash of tyranny.

(4) THE CREATION OF THE SO-CALLED “ASIATIC DEVELOPMENT BUREAU.”

This organ was introduced after much agitation for a medium through which to deal with China. A “China Bureau” was once projected, which has now given way to this “Asia Development Bureau.” The former term is insulting and dreaded enough, but the comprehensiveness of the latter is a flagrant insult to all the peoples of Asia. Japan is set not only on ruining and dismembering China alone, but her ambition embraces the entire Asiatic Continent.

On the day before the official inauguration of this “Asia Development Bureau” on December 15, Konoye stated that “a new executive organ should be constituted for creating a new order in East Asia: this organ in conjunction with other organs abroad will maintain coherent relations between Japan and China: it will become the key to executing our China policy, the fulfillment of which is our final object in regard to the China Incident.” This should serve to acquaint all with the true function of the organ: to be the means of executing a policy designed to destroy China. For it may be described as Japan’s highest special service organ combining all the special service branches long set up all over China for the working of all manner

of villainy, which formerly operated with the greatest stealth because it was regarded premature to work openly. Now, however, they boldly unmask themselves and are accorded official status. By establishment of the “Asia Development Bureau” a concentrated light is thrown upon the means and ends of Japanese policy; the tortuous and obscure devices pursued for years are seen with their supreme aim openly confessed. All concealment is at an end. . . .

On our part, the war for a year and a half has laid for us a solid foundation for national regeneration. We fear no problems, nor are we concerned over impending dangers. We merely lament the fate of Japan, the present status of which was brought about by the hard efforts and sacrifices of her reformist patriots. To-day, her people are powerless, her throne without prerogative, and her politicians without integrity and knowledge, thus allowing a few hot-headed young militarists to do as they please. They are sapping Japan’s national strength, shaking her national foundations and advancing savagely on the infamous road of self-seeking at the expense of others. In the eyes of these young Japanese militarists, China does not exist, nor do the other countries of the world. They have regard neither for discipline, nor for law, nor yet for their own government. Guided by their greed, cruelty, and violence, they do as they please. If such conduct be allowed to continue, the future of Japan is indeed full of danger. Although we are sworn enemies of the Japanese militarists, yet we are still neighbors to the Japanese people, who share with us a language of a common origin. Reviewing Japan’s history and looking forward to her future, we not only see danger in her path but lament her lot. . . .

China as a state is founded on the principle of not oppressing the undefended, nor fearing the aggressive. More particularly, she is not willing to violate pacts or break faith and thus destroy the righteous principles governing the relations of mankind. I remember the meeting of Tanaka and our late Tsungli (Dr. Sun Yat-sen) in Shanghai in the third year of the Republic which coincided with the outbreak of the Great War in Europe. Tanaka proposed that East Asiatics should at the time denounce all rationed relations with foreign countries and erect a new order in East Asia. Dr. Sun queried: “Would it not involve the breaking of international treaties?” To which Tanaka retorted: “Is not the denunciation of treaties and termination of unequal obligations advantageous to China?” “Unequal treaties should be terminated by straightforward and legitimate procedure,” solemnly declared Dr. Sun, “and China is not prepared to become a party to the illegal denunciation of treaties even though advantageous to our country.” Comrades, such is China’s spirit. It is also the spirit of the Three People’s Principles. We have relied on this spirit to resist invasion; we have depended on this spirit to resist all forms of domination, force and violence. We should be sustained by this spirit to restore order in East Asia and offer it as a contribution towards enduring world peace. . . .

A Chinese proverb says: “Virtue never lacks company; it will ever find support.” The force of world justice will rise, and men of goodwill ultimately cooperate in the interests of rectitude. On our part, we should hold fast to our goal, and be firm in our determination. Our firmness should increase with greater difficulties, and our courage should rise with prolonged resistance. The entire nation should carry on with oneness of heart. The final victory will be ours. I urge my comrades, our army, and our people to redouble their efforts in order to attain success.

17.4 AND 17.5 THE RAPE OF NANJING

On December 13, 1937, one month after the Japanese Army had taken Shanghai, the first elements of General Iwane Matsui’s attacking forces entered Nanjing. A few days before, in a message calling upon the Chinese garrison commander of the Nationalist capital to surrender, Matsui had declared: “Though harsh and relentless to those who resist, the Japanese troops are kind and generous to noncombatants and to Chinese troops who entertain no enmity to Japan.” In reality, the officers and men of the Imperial Army were to show neither kindness nor generosity to the hapless citizenry of Nanjing. Their capture of the city was the prelude for a month-long reign of terror in the streets and outskirts of the erstwhile center of Guomindang power. During this time, unarmed Chinese prisoners of war were used as living targets for bayonet and rifle practice; drunken mobs of Japanese infantry roamed the streets looting, murdering, and raping; and large parts of Nanjing were burned to ground by fires that were deliberately set by the invading forces. By the time martial law was finally imposed by the Japanese command, the once bustling city of Nanjing, its streets in ruins and its prewar population of nearly one million decreased to less than two hundred thousand, was practically a ghost town.

The following letter from an anonymous foreign resident of Nanjing and some excerpts of a diary kept by the same author during the grim days of December 1937, were both reprinted in a volume on the “Rape of Nanjing” compiled by H. J. Timperley, China correspondent for the *Manchester Guardian*. They provided foreign readers with an eyewitness account of the consequences of the arrival of the Japanese invasion force. These accounts of the takeover of Nanjing describe a violence that was at once random and deliberate. The slaying of groups of panicked refugees, the rapes, and the burning were all part of a policy of violence that also countenanced deliberate roundups and executions of captured Nationalist troops.

In an appendix, Timperley also reprinted copies of two short articles

published respectively on December 7 and 14, 1937, by the *Japan Advertiser*, an English daily printed in Tokyo, that described the competition between two young Japanese officers to kill Chinese and reflected too clearly the small price placed by the Imperial Army on Chinese lives.

17.4 *Bearing Witness*

On Tuesday the 14th [December 1937] the Japanese were pouring into the city—tanks, artillery, infantry, trucks. The reign of terror commenced, and it was to increase in severity and horror with each of the succeeding ten days. They were the conquerors of China’s capital, the seat of the hated Chiang Kai-shek government, and they were given free reign to do as they pleased. The proclamation on the handbills which airplanes scattered over the city saying that the Japanese were the only real friends of the Chinese and would protect the good, of course meant no more than most of their statements. And to show their ‘sincerity’ they raped, looted and killed at will. Men were taken from our refuge camps in droves, as we supposed at the time for labor—but they have never been heard from again, nor will they be. A colonel and his staff called at my office and spent an hour trying to learn where the “six thousand disarmed soldiers” were. Four times that day Japanese soldiers came and tried to take our cars away. Others in the meantime succeeded in stealing three of our cars that were elsewhere. On Sone’s² they tore off the American flag, and threw it on the ground, broke a window and managed to get away all within the five minutes he had gone into Prof. Stanley’s³ house. They tried to steal our trucks—did succeed in getting two,—so ever since it has been necessary for two Americans to spend most of their time riding trucks as they delivered rice and coal. Their experience in dealing daily with these Japanese car thieves would make an interesting story in itself. And at the University Hospital they took the watches and fountain pens from the nurses. . . .

At our staff conference that evening word came that soldiers were taking all 1,300 men in one of our camps near headquarters to shoot them. We knew there were a number of ex-soldiers among them, but Rabe⁴ had been promised by an officer that very afternoon that their lives would be spared. It was now all too obvious what they were going to do. The men were lined up and roped together in groups of about a hundred by soldiers and bayonets fixed; those who had hats had them roughly torn off and thrown on the ground,—and then by the light of our headlights we watched them marched away to their doom.

2. Reverend Hubert L. Sone, American, Nanjing Theological Seminary.

3. Professor C. Stanley, American, Nanjing Theological Seminary.

4. Hans Rabe was a German businessman who tried to protect Chinese civilians in Nanjing. He left an illuminating diary which describes the sacking of the city.

Not a whimper came from the entire throng. Our own hearts were lead. Were those four lads from Canton who had trudged all the way up from the south and yesterday had reluctantly given me their arms among them, I wondered; or that tall, strapping sergeant from the north whose disillusioned eyes, as he made the fatal decision, still haunt me? How foolish I had been to tell them the Japanese would spare their lives! We had confidently expected that they would live up to their promises, at least in some degree, and that order would be established with their arrival. Little did we dream that we should see such brutality and savagery as has probably not been equalled in modern times. For worse days were yet to come.

The problem of transportation became acute on the 16th, with the Japanese stealing our trucks and cars. I went over to the American Embassy where the Chinese staff were still standing by, and borrowed Mr. Atcheson's car for Mills⁵ to deliver coal. For our big concentrations of refugees and our three big rice kitchens had to have fuel as well as rice. We now had twenty-five camps, ranging from two hundred to twelve thousand people in them. In the University buildings alone there were nearly thirty thousand and in Ginling College, which was reserved for women and children, the three thousand were rapidly increased to over nine thousand. In the latter place even the covered passageways between buildings were crowded, while within every foot of space was taken. We had figured on sixteen square feet to a person, but actually they were crowded in much closer than that. For while no place was safe, we did manage to preserve a fair degree of safety at Ginling, to a lesser degree in the University. Miss Vautrin,⁶ Mrs. Twinem⁷ and Mrs. Chen⁸ were heroic in their care and protection of the women.

That morning the cases of rape began to be reported. Over a hundred women that we knew of were taken away by soldiers, seven of them from the University library; but there must have been many times that number who were raped in their homes. Hundreds were on the streets trying to find a place of safety. At tiffin [tea] time Riggs,⁹ who was associate commissioner of housing, came in crying. The Japanese had emptied the Law College and Supreme Court and taken away practically all the men, to a fate we could only guess. Fifty of our policemen had been taken with them. Riggs had protested, only to be roughly handled by the soldiers and twice struck by an officer. Refugees were searched for money and anything they had on them was taken away, often to their last

bit of bedding. At our staff conference at four we could hear the shots of the execution squad nearby. It was a day of unspeakable terror for the poor refugees and horror for us. . . .

Friday, Dec. 17. Robbery, murder, rape continued unabated. A rough estimate would be at least a thousand women raped last night and during the day. One poor woman was raped thirty-seven times. Another had her five months infant deliberately smothered by the brute to stop its crying while he raped her. Resistance means the bayonet. The hospital is rapidly filling up with the victims of Japanese cruelty and barbarity. Bob Wilson, our only surgeon, has his hands more than full and has to work into the night. Rickshas, cattle, pigs, donkeys, often the sole means of livelihood of the people, are taken from them. Our rice kitchens and rice shop are interfered with. We have had to close the latter.

After dinner I took Bates¹⁰ to the University and McCallum¹¹ to the hospital where they will spend the night, then Mills and Smythe to Ginling, for one of our group has been sleeping there each night. At the gate of the latter place we were stopped by what seemed to be a searching party. We were roughly pulled from the car at the point of the bayonet, my car keys taken from me, lined up and frisked for arms, our hats jerked off, electric torches held to our faces, our passports and purpose in coming demanded. Opposite us were Miss Vautrin, Mrs. Twinem and Mrs. Chen, with a score of refugee women kneeling on the ground. The sergeant, who spoke a little French (about as much as I do), insisted there were soldiers concealed there. I maintained that aside from about fifty domestics and other members of their staff there were no men on the place. This he said he did not believe and said he would shoot all he found beyond that number. He then demanded that we all leave, including the ladies, and when Miss Vautrin refused she was roughly hustled to the car. Then he changed his mind: the ladies were told to stay and we to go. We tried to insist that one of us should stay too, but this he would not permit. Altogether we were kept standing there for over an hour before we were released. The next day we learned that this gang had abducted twelve girls from the school.

Saturday, Dec. 18. At breakfast Riggs, who lives in the Zone a block away but has his meals with us, reported that two women, one a cousin of a Y.M.C.A. Secretary, were raped in his house while he was having dinner with us. Wilson reported a boy of five years of age brought to the hospital after having been stabbed with a bayonet five times, once through his abdomen; a man with eighteen bayonet wounds, a woman with seventeen cuts on her face and several on her legs. Between four and five hundred terrorized women poured into our headquarters compound in the afternoon and spent the night in the open.

5. Reverend W. P. Mills, American, Northern Presbyterian Mission.

6. Miss Minnie Vautrin, American, Ginling College.

7. Mrs. Paul DeWitt Twinem, formerly American but now a Chinese citizen, University of Nanjing.

8. Mrs. Chen, matron and superintendent of Dormitories, Ginling College.

9. Charles H. Riggs, American, University of Nanjing.

10. Dr. M. S. Bates, American, University of Nanjing.

11. Reverend James H. McCallum, American, University of Nanjing Hospital.

Sunday, Dec. 19. A day of complete anarchy. Several big fires raging today, started by the soldiers, and more are promised. The American flag was torn down in a number of places. At the American School it was trampled on and the caretaker told he would be killed if he put it up again. The proclamations placed on all American and other foreign properties by the Japanese Embassy are flouted by their soldiers, sometimes deliberately torn off. Some houses are entered from five to ten times in one day and the poor people looted and robbed and the women raped. Several were killed in cold blood, for no apparent reason whatever. Six out of seven of our sanitation squad in one district were slaughtered; the seventh escaped, wounded, to tell the tale. Toward evening today two of us rushed to Dr. Brady's¹² house (he is away) and chased four would-be rapers out and took all women there to the University. Sperling is busy at this game all day. I also went to the house of Douglas Jenkins¹³ of our Embassy. The flag was still there; but in the garage his house boy lay dead, another servant, dead, was under a bed, both brutally killed. The house was in utter confusion. There are still many corpses on the streets. All of them civilians as far as we can see. The Red Swastika Society would bury them, but their truck has been stolen, their coffins used for bonfires, and several of their workers bearing their insignia have been marched away.

Smythe and I called again at the Japanese Embassy with a list of fifty-five additional cases of violence, all authenticated, and told Messers, Tanaka¹⁴ and Fukui¹⁵ that today was the worst so far. We were assured that they would 'do their best' and hoped that things would be better 'soon,' but it is quite obvious that they have little or no influence with the military whatever, and the military had no control over the soldiers. . . .

Wednesday, Dec. 22. Firing squad at work very near us at 5 a.m. today. Counted over a hundred shots. The University was entered twice during the night, the policeman at the gate held up at the point of a bayonet, and a door broken down. The Japanese military police recently appointed to duty there were asleep. Representatives of the new Japanese police called and promised order by January 1. They also asked for the loan of motorcars and trucks. Went with Sperling to see fifty corpses in some ponds a quarter of a mile east of headquarters. All obviously civilians, hands bound behind backs, one with the top half of his head cut completely off. Were they used for sabre practice? On the way home for tiffin stopped to help the father of a Y.M.C.A. writer who was being threatened by a drunken soldier with the bayonet, the poor mother

12. Dr. Richard F. Brady, American, acting superintendent of the University of Nanjing Hospital.

13. Douglas Jenkins, Jr., third secretary, American Embassy.

14. Suet Tanaka, attache, Japanese Embassy (now Consul).

15. Kiyoshi Fukui, Japanese consul-general, Nanjing.

frantic with fear, and before sitting down had to run over with two of our fellows to chase soldiers out of Gee's¹⁶ and Daniel's¹⁷ houses, where they were just about to rape the women. We had to laugh to see those brave soldiers trying to get over a barbed wire fence as we chased them!

Bates and Riggs had to leave before they were through tiffin to chase soldiers out of the Sericulture building—several drunk. And on my arrival at office there was an S.O.S. call, which Rabe and I answered, from Sperling and Kroeger who were seriously threatened by a drunk with a bayonet. By fortunate chance Tanaka of the Embassy together with some general arrived at the same moment. The soldier had his face soundly slapped a couple of times by the general but I don't suppose he got any more than that. We have heard of no cases of discipline so far. If a soldier is caught by an officer or M.P. he is very politely told that he shouldn't do that again. In the evening I walked home with Riggs after dinner—a woman of fifty-four had been raped in his house just before our arrival. It's cruel to leave the women to their fate, but of course it is impossible for us to spend all our time protecting them. Mr. Wu, engineer in the power plant which is located in Hsiakwan, brought us the amusing news that forty-three of the fifty-four employees who had so heroically kept the plant going to the very last day and had finally been obliged to seek refuge in the International Export Company, a British factory on the river front, had been taken out and shot on the grounds that the power plant was a government concern—which it is not. Japanese officials have been at my office daily trying to get hold of these very men so they could start the turbines and have electricity. It was small comfort to be able to tell them that their own military had murdered most of them.

17.6 The Nanjing "Murder Race"

SUB-LIEUTENANTS IN RACE TO FELL 100 CHINESE RUNNING CLOSE CONTEST

Sub-lieutenant Toshiaki Mukai and Sub-lieutenant Takeshi Noda, both of the Katagiri unit of Kuyung, in a friendly contest to see which of them will first fell 100 Chinese in individual sword combat before the Japanese forces completely occupy Nanjing, are well in the final phase of their race, running almost neck to neck. On Sunday when their unit was fighting outside Kuyung, the

16. C. T. Gee, Chinese, resident architect and engineer, University of Nanjing.

17. Dr. J. H. Daniel, American, superintendent, University of Nanjing Hospital.

“score,” according to the newspaper the *Asahi*, was: Sub-lieutenant Mukai, 89, and Sub-lieutenant Noda, 78.

On December 14, 1937, the same paper published the following additional report:

CONTEST TO KILL FIRST 100 CHINESE
WITH SWORD EXTENDED WHEN BOTH
FIGHTERS EXCEED MARK

The winner of the competition between Sub-lieutenant Toshiaki Mukai and Sub-lieutenant Takeshi Noda to see who would be the first to kill 100 Chinese with his Yamato sword has not been decided, the *Nichi Nichi* reports from the slopes of Purple Mountain, outside Nanjing. Mukai has a score of 106 and his rival has dispatched 105 men, but the two contestants have found it impossible to determine which passed the 100 mark first. Instead of settling it with a discussion, they are going to extend the goal by 50.

Mukai’s blade was slightly damaged in the competition. He explained that this was the result of cutting a Chinese in half, helmet and all. The contest was “fun,” he declared, and he thought it a good thing that both men had gone over the 100 mark without knowing that the other had done so.

Early Saturday morning, when the *Nichi Nichi* man interviewed the sub-lieutenant at a point overlooking Dr. Sun Yat-sen’s tomb, another Japanese unit set fire to the slopes of Purple Mountain in an attempt to drive out the Chinese troops. The action also smoked out Sub-lieutenant Mukai and his unit, and the men stood idly by while bullets passed overhead.

“Not a shot hits me while I am holding this sword on my shoulder,” he explained confidently.

WANG
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Wang Jingwei
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government as head of the Executive Yuan in January 1932, he ceased his attacks on Chiang and accommodated his position to fit that of the party.

After the Marco Polo Bridge Incident and the Japanese occupation of much of coastal China, Wang urged Chiang Kai-shek to open negotiations with the Japanese but was ignored. Convinced that the war policy of the Chongqing government would bleed China dry, Wang Jingwei decided to

act on his ideas and in December 1938 he fled to Hanoi where he announced his support for a negotiated settlement to the war. Starting in mid-1939, he entered into talks with the Japanese in Hanoi and then Shanghai to prepare a secret memorandum defining relations between the two countries. In March 1940, he agreed to head a collaborationist “national” government in Shanghai.

One of the first fruits of Wang’s cooperation with Tokyo was the Sino-Japanese Treaty signed on November 30, 1940. As the text of this treaty shows, Wang’s government was willing to make the most sweeping concessions to conciliate its Japanese masters. Not since Yuan Shikai’s acceptance of the Twenty-one Demands in 1915 had any Chinese government signed so humiliating a document.

After 1940, the Faustian bargain that Wang Jingwei had struck with the Japanese repeatedly threw him into grotesque and self-abasing postures. By June, 1941, as the Tokyo radio address that the follows illustrates, the brave and often visionary rhetoric that had once distinguished Wang Jingwei was now replaced by the language of submission. Although Wang Jingwei’s defenders have maintained that Wang secretly continued to serve and fight for the interests of his countrymen, his public stance was akin to that of other *quistlings* (collaborationist leaders) during the war years.

RADIO ADDRESS BY MR. WANG JINGWEI,
PRESIDENT OF THE CHINESE EXECUTIVE
YUAN BROADCAST ON JUNE 24, 1941

I am deeply moved as I speak to you today in Tokyo, the capital of your great country. I studied in your country 38 years ago. My stay then was short, and due particularly to my limited abilities I could not master your language and learning. However, if, fortunately, I know something, I owe it to my old teachers and classmates. I can never forget what they have done for me. To have been able to come to your great country again and meet you, the people of Japan, is like meeting my old teachers and classmates and I am filled with the warm feeling. . . .

When the slogan of “the construction of a new order in East Asia” was heard in your country, our people found a gleam of hope in the darkness. When the Konoe Statement was issued, in particular, how the two nations can cooperate was made clearly and concretely known to us, and we have been led to take steps looking to the realization of the hope.

The significance of the construction of a new order in East Asia lies, on the one hand, in endeavoring to eliminate from East Asia the evils of Western economic imperialism from which this part of the world has suffered for the past century and, on the other, in checking the rising tide of Communism which has been threatening our prosperity for these twenty years. Japan was the only