



*Chinese &  
Western Rescuers  
of the Nanking International  
Safety Zone 1937-1938*



*Chinese and Western Rescuers of the  
International Safety Zone  
Nanking, 1937-1938*

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Note: In 1937, the name of the capital city of China was spelled as *Nanking*. That spelling has since been changed to *Nanjing*, using the Pinyin romanization of the Chinese characters. This text uses the spelling of *Nanking*, as it was spelled at the time of the massacre.

Japanese and Chinese names throughout are given in Japanese and Chinese order, in which the surname precedes the given name.

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# Japan & China: The Modern Era



*ukiyo*e, by Utagawa Kokunimasa, depicting the death of Major General Odera at the Battle of Weihaiwei, February 1895—Wikimedia Commons

## Japanese Modern History: An Overview

Japan is the English word; in Japanese, the country is *Nippon* (formal) and *Nihon* (casual), which mean “the sun’s origin.” Thus, Japan is referred to as the land of the rising sun. During wars, the Japanese say: *Nippon ichi*—Japan is number one to inspire their fellow warriors. They also believe in *Yamato Damsashii*—this is the spirit of Japan, a sense of divine protection that could overcome all obstacles.

### Feudal Japan (1185-1603)

The feudal period of Japanese history was dominated by the powerful regional families (*daimyō*) and the military rule of warlords (shōgun). The emperor was a figurehead. During this time the shogun was very powerful and merchants were weak. Samurai, the warriors, at first owed their allegiance to the nobility but eventually samurai became rulers. The samurai followed a set of rules that came to be known as *Bushidō*.

### Edo, or Tokugawa period (1603-1868) —Pre-industrial Japan

During the Edo period, also called the Tokugawa period, the administration of the country was shared by over two hundred *daimyō*, and the government of the federation was the **Tokugawa Shogunate**. The Tokugawa clan was the most powerful, and for fifteen generations monopolized the title of shōgun. This clan ruled from Edo (present-day Tōkyō), commanding the allegiance of the other *daimyō*, who lead their autonomous regions.

In 1633, Japanese were forbidden to travel abroad. Their isolation was increased in 1639 when contacts with the outside world became very limited. Trade relations with China and the Netherlands could only be conducted in the port of Nagasaki. Moreover, all foreign books were banned.

By the 18th century, the samurai had become courtiers, bureaucrats, and administrators rather than warriors because there had been no war since the 17th century.

The most important philosophy of Tokugawa Japan was Neo-Confucianism, stressing the importance of morals, education and hierarchical order in the government and society: A strict four caste system existed during the Edo period: at the top of the social hierarchy stood the samurai, followed by the peasants, artisans and merchants. The members of the four classes were not allowed to change their social status. Outcasts (*eta*), people with professions that were considered impure, formed a fifth caste. However, this social hierarchy began to break down as the merchant class grew increasingly powerful, and some samurai became financially dependent on them.

In the late 18th century, external pressure started to be an increasingly important issue, for example, when the Russians first tried to establish trade contacts with Japan. The Russians were followed by other European nations and the Americans in the 19th century. Commodore Perry, in 1853 and again in 1854, arrived with his squadron of “Black Ships,” forcing the Tokugawa government to open ports for international trade and establish diplomatic relations with the U.S.—“gunboat diplomacy.” However, trade remained very limited until the Meiji Restoration in 1868.

In 1867-68, the Tokugawa government fell, defeated by Imperial forces in the Boshin Civil War. Moreover, there was heavy political pressure; the Japanese people recognized Western advances in science and the military and favored an end to Japan’s isolation. Emperor Meiji became the symbolic leader of the Meiji Restoration.

### Meiji Restoration (1868-1912)

The restoration of the Meiji emperor saw the beginning of **a period of nationalism and socio-economic-industrial-political restructuring** known as the “Meiji Restoration.” In 1867/68, political power, via the Charter Oath, was transferred from the Tokugawa Shogunate to a small group of nobles and former samurai, elder statesmen (*Genro*), an oligarchy. These men comprised the most powerful men of the military, political, and economic spheres, and they were determined to reform Japan, which was to become an industrial nation so Japan could advance economically, socially, and militarily. The military was modernized;

conscription was introduced, and a new army modeled after the Prussian force, and a navy after the British one were established. Numerous Western institutions were adopted, including a Western legal system and a quasi-parliamentary constitutional government, outlined in the Meiji Constitution. The reformers wanted to make Japan a democratic state with equality for all; thus, the social classes of the Tokugawa era were reformed, which meant that the samurai class lost its privileges. These reforms also included the establishment of human rights such as religious freedom in 1873. The education system was also reformed using Western educational models; education became compulsory.

To transform the agrarian economy of Tokugawa Japan into a developed industrial nation required Western knowledge. So Japanese scholars were sent abroad to study science and languages, while foreign experts taught in Japan. The transportation and communication networks were improved by means of large government investments. The government also supported business and industries.

Between August 1, 1894 and April 17, 1895, the **First Sino Japanese War**, the first “Glorious War,” was fought between the Chinese Qing Dynasty and Japanese Meiji, over control of Korea. The Qing Dynasty, weakened by the Opium Wars of the 19th century, was ill-prepared for the war. Japan strengthened by the reforms of the Meiji Restoration prevailed, and the Qing Dynasty sued for peace. Dominance in East Asia shifted to Japan. The Qing Dynasty never recovered from this loss, which led to the end of the Qing Dynasty and the emergence of the Republic in 1912.

Another “**Glorious War**” was fought in 1904-1905, when the Japanese fought the Russians over their rival claims **for territory in Manchuria and Korea**. Despite its fledgling army and navy, Japan was victorious, reinforcing its position as a leader in East Asia. Russia’s embarrassing loss was one of the causes of the Russian Revolution of 1905. During this war, Japan was concerned for the well-being of the Russian POWs even after having been called “the yellow monkeys” by the Russians.

After several decades of westernization, a revival of conservative and nationalistic feelings occurred: principles of Confucianism and Shintoism, including the worship of the emperor, were increasingly emphasized and taught at educational institutions. Victories against Korea, China, and Russia caused nationalism to increase even more

In 1912 Emperor Meiji died, and the era of the rule of *Genro* ended.

### **Militarism and WWII (1912 - 1945)**

During the era of the weak emperor Taisho (1912-26), the political power shifted from the *Genro* to the parliament and the democratic parties.

In World War I, Japan had joined the Allies, but played only a minor role in fighting German colonial forces, for example, Japan lost only 500 troops. At the Paris Peace Conference of 1919, Japan’s proposal of amending a “racial equality clause” to the covenant of the League of Nations was rejected by the United States, Britain, and Australia. **Racial discrimination** towards the Japanese had plagued Japanese-Western relations since the forced opening of the country in the 1800s, and these were again a major factor in the deterioration of relations in the decades preceding World War II. In 1924, for example, the US Congress passed the Exclusion Act that prohibited further immigration from Japan.

After WW1, Japan’s economical situation worsened. The Great Kanto Earthquake of 1923 and the world wide depression of 1929 intensified the crisis.

### **Japanese Military and International Treaties**

#### Treaties signed by the Japanese

- **1899 and 1907—Hague Convention:** the first formal statements of the laws of war and war crimes. Concerned the treatment of POWs and civilians; forbade looting, destruction of undefended property, and poison gas. Banned the use of certain types of modern technology in war
- **1919—League of Nations:** Japan a charter member



- **1921-1922—Washington Conference Treaties:** Concerning stability in Asia and helping China evolve into a modern state
- **1922—Five Power Naval Disarmament:** Pledged adherence to limitations on the tonnage of capital ships and accepted a moratorium on new naval construction.
- **1925—Geneva Protocol:** Banned the use of all forms of chemical and biological warfare. Japan ratified but did not sign until 21 May 1970.
- **1928—Kellogg-Briand Pact (Pact of Paris):** renounced war; embraced diplomacy. The pact served as the legal basis for the creation of the notion of crime against peace.
- **1929—Third Geneva Convention:** defines humanitarian protections for prisoners of war. Updated in 1949.

Unlike the other major powers, **Japan did not ratify the Geneva Convention**—which stipulates the humane treatment of civilians and POWs—until after World War II. Nevertheless, an Imperial Proclamation (1894) stated that Japanese soldiers should make every effort to win the war without violating international law. According to historian Yuki Tanaka, Japanese forces during the First Sino-Japanese War, released 1,790 Chinese prisoners without harm, once they signed an agreement not to take up arms against Japan again. After the Russo-Japanese War (1904-05), over 75,000 Russian Empire prisoners were released, and were paid for labor performed, in accordance with the Hague Convention. Similarly the behavior of the Japanese military in World War I (1914-18) was at least as humane as that of other militaries, with some German POWs of the Japanese finding life in Japan so agreeable that they stayed and settled in Japan after the war.

During the Edo era, the samurai of Japan had been taught unquestioning obedience to the shoguns, as well as to be recklessly brave in battle. After the Meiji Restoration and the collapse of the Tokugawa Shogunate, the emperor became the focus of military loyalty.

As with other imperial powers, the Japanese became increasingly **jingoistic** through the end of the 19th century and into the 20th century. The rise of Japanese nationalism was seen partly in the adoption of Shinto as a state religion from 1890. Shinto held the emperor, as a descendant of the sun goddess, to be divine. Thus the emperor and his representatives must be obeyed without question. The Army emphasized its special relationship with the Emperor by dropping the term *kokugun* (“national army”) in favor of *keigun* (“imperial army”) in the early 1920s.

In the Japanese military of the 1930s and 1940s, perceived failure or a lack of **devotion to the emperor** would attract physical punishment. Officers would assault and beat men under their command, who would pass the beating on to lower ranks.

Japanese author Tasaki Hanama described training of new recruits in the Japanese Army:

Five officers went down the line and without warning, slapped each soldier soundly on his cheek. Those that could not keep their posture of attention were slapped more than the others. The sergeant then demanded of each recruit why he thought he had been slapped. As each gave what he thought might be the answer, he was soundly slapped again. Finally, one recruit, when his turn came said that he didn't know. “That is right!” The squad leader said. “When you are slapped, don't give excuses. As His Majesty has been pleased to admonish in his Imperial Rescript, ‘Uninfluenced by worldly thoughts and unhampered by politics, guard well your single destiny of patriotism.’ Our sole duty is to be patriotic to the Emperor. You need only obey what you are told.” (Browne)

Moreover, youth were indoctrinated about the superiority of the Japanese culture as *shido minzoku*, “the world's foremost people,” and the inferiority of the “lower races,” such as the Chinese. The darker one's skin, the lower the status.

### **The Military in Power (1930s)**

During the 1930s, Japan took a new direction. The military became a dominant force in the government. The government was led by this **ultra nationalistic and militaristic group** of hawks with imperial ambitions. Dissenters were assassinated or persecuted. Indoctrination and censorship in education and media were further



intensified. Navy and army officers soon occupied most of the important offices, including the one of the prime minister. Because Japan was over-populated and had few natural resources and were thus dependent on international trade, the military government looked to China, especially to **Manchuria**, which was rich in coal, iron, and aluminum. Japan also wanted to exploit them as a cheap labor force. Manchuria would also be the perfect launching area for further expansion, for example to the Soviet border lands. Other Asian countries were also of interest for what Japan needed—raw materials such as oil and land. Japan’s goal was similar to Hitler’s goal of territorial expansion.

**General Hideki Tōjō**, a supporter of Nazi Germany, was one of this group who held extreme right-wing views. He feared the long-term plans of Joseph Stalin, and in 1938 he advocated pre-emptive air strikes on both China and the Soviet Union.

In July 1941, Tōjō was appointed by Prime Minister Fumimaro Konoye as Minister of War. Tōjō advocated an aggressive foreign policy and strongly opposed plans by Shigenori Togo, a diplomat, to remove Japanese troops from China and Korea. Tōjō ordered the attack on Pearl Harbor.

In Manchuria and China, Japan had already been the aggressor. To acquire more land, Japan had forced China into unequal economical and political treaties. Furthermore, Japan’s influence over Manchuria had been growing since the end of the Russo-Japanese war of 1904-05. When the **Chinese Nationalists (KMT)** began to seriously challenge Japan’s position in Manchuria in 1931, Japanese armed forces occupied Manchuria. In the following year, Manchuria was renamed “Manchukuo” and declared an independent state, controlled by Japan through a puppet government, headed by Pu Yi, the deposed Chinese emperor. In 1932, in the January 28th Incident, the Japanese bombarded Shanghai in order to protect Japanese residents from supposed anti-Japanese demonstrations; this “incident” lasted until May 5 when they signed the humiliating Shanghai Ceasefire Agreement, removing Chinese forces from Shanghai and its environs but allowing the Japanese a few army units in Shanghai..

In 1933, because Japan was criticized for her actions in China, **Japan withdrew from the League of Nations.**

### **Second Sino-Japanese War (1937-1945)**

In July 1937, the second Sino-Japanese War broke out, following the incident at the **Marco Polo Bridge**. The Japanese forces moved southeast, attacking **Shanghai** in August through November 1937, and then marched further into China, and in December of 1937 attacking and occupying **Nanking**, the capital of Nationalist China, where the atrocities committed are known as the Nanking Massacre, or the Rape of Nanking. The Japanese attacked other cities along the east coast of China and also in the southwest. In addition, to the battles in these areas, the Japanese conducted **biological warfare** throughout China. However, the Chinese government never surrendered, and the war with the Japanese continued until 1945.

### **Pre-WWII Japanese Aggression in the Pacific**

In 1940, Japan continued its aggression in the Pacific, occupying French Indochina (Vietnam) and **joining the Axis nations, Germany and Italy**. As a result of these actions the United States and Great Britain reacted with an oil boycott. The resulting oil shortage and failures to solve the conflict diplomatically made Japan decide to capture the oil rich Dutch East Indies (Indonesia) and to start a war with the U.S. and Great Britain.

### **WWII in the Pacific (1941-1945)**

In December 1941, Japan attacked the Allied powers at **Pearl Harbor** and several other points throughout the Pacific. Within months, Japan expanded her control to the border of India in the West and New Guinea in the South.

The turning point in the Pacific War was the **Battle of Midway** in June 1942. From then on, the Allied forces slowly won back the territories occupied by Japan. In 1944, intensive air raids started over Japan. In spring 1945, U.S. forces invaded Okinawa in one of the war’s bloodiest battles.

On July 27, 1945, in the **Potsdam Declaration**, the Allies requested Japan to surrender *unconditionally*, or destruction would continue. Even after U.S. military forces dropped **atomic bombs on Hiroshima and**

**Nagasaki** on August 6 and 9, and the Soviet Union entered the war against Japan on August 8, the military would not surrender unconditionally. On August 14, however, Emperor Hirohito (Showa) finally agreed to surrender unconditionally. After fourteen long and devastating years, WWII was over for China.

Sources: "Japan's Modern History: An Outline of the Period"  
[afe.easia.columbia.edu/japan/.../modernhist/outline.html](http://afe.easia.columbia.edu/japan/.../modernhist/outline.html)

# Japanese Nationalism, Militarism, and Imperialism

## Definitions

**Nationalism:** Loyalty and devotion to a nation; a sense of exalting one nation above all others; national consciousness; the primacy of a national culture or interests above all other nations or supranational groups

**Militarism:** the predominance of military ideals, values or the military class; or a policy of aggressive military preparedness

**Imperialism:** the direct or indirect domination of an area/country/region by another industrialized country – the creation of colonies

## WWI and WWII

**Militaristic and Nationalist Ideologies** during WWI and WWII functioned as justifications for the following:

- Starting military conflicts
- Sacrificing soldiers in battles
- Invading other nations
- Obtaining colonies and occupying territories

## Expansion and Colonialism

### Imperialistic Expansion

- Model established by Western powers while dividing Africa and China into colonies or spheres of influence
- Nationalist ideology – for the glory of the nation state
- Militarism as a tool for expansion

### Reasons for the growth of Militarism in Japan

- Aspirations for Western-style Imperialism
- Security Concerns: geographic location and proximity to China and the U.S.S.R.
- Belief in Japan's role as an Asian Leader
- Provocation by Western Powers
- Economic Interests

### Greater East Asia Co-Prosperity Sphere

- The term used for the areas and territories occupied by Japan or under Japanese control
- Idea of Japanese cultural superiority over other Asian races
- Economic reasons
  - raw materials from East Asian countries, oil from Dutch East Indies, rubber from Indochina – for manufacturing industry
  - export markets for goods and surplus population
- Political aspirations – considered colonies to be a basic prerequisite to achieving international prestige and becoming a respected first-rate nation
- Used language such as “Asia for Asians” or “liberating Asian countries from Western Imperialist powers”
  - but local governments were puppet regimes and programs of “Japanization” were implemented to undermine local customs and beliefs in occupied territories

**Source:** *Study Guide for Teachers* Iris Chang - The Rape of Nanking  
[http://edmontonalpha.org/study\\_guide.pdf](http://edmontonalpha.org/study_guide.pdf)



# Modern Chinese History Outline (221 BCE-1949 CE)

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221-206 BCE	Qin Dynasty, <b>First Emperor Chin Shi Huangdi</b> , capital—Xian
1644-1911	Qing Dynasty, <b>Last Emperor Pu Yi</b> , capital—Beijing
1839-1842	The First Opium War, Treaty of Nanjing
1850-1864	Taiping Rebellion
1856-1860	The Second Opium War, Treaty of Tianjin (Tientsin)
1860	Destruction of the Imperial Summer Palace (Yuan Ming Yuan)
1894-1895	The First Sino-Japanese War, Treaty of Shimonoseki (Treaty of Maguan)
1900	Boxer Rebellion, The Boxer Protocol
1911	Republic, <b>Sun Yatsen</b> , “Father of the Republic” and the Three People’s Principles
1912-1915	<b>Yuan Shikai</b> , President of the Chinese Republic
1912-1937	Republic era: Provincial Warlords against Nationalists, or Kuomintang [KMT]), leader <b>Chiang Kaishek</b> , successor to Sun Yatsen; KMT also fighting the Communists (CCP), leader <b>Mao Zedong</b> , during some of these years
1926-1928	The Northern Expedition, to unify China
1919, May 4	May Fourth Movement
1931, Sept. 18	Mukden Incident, Japanese blamed an explosion on railroad on the Chinese, a trumped up incident
1932	Japanese invasion and occupation of Manchuria (changed to Manchukuo); Pu Yi, the last Qing emperor, installed as puppet emperor.
1934-35	Long March from south, gathering support among the peasants, to NW, Yan’an Province, guerrilla base. Future elite of CCP on March: Chairman Mao, <b>Zhou Enlai</b> (Prime Minister), <b>Deng Xiaoping</b> (3rd First Vice Premier and Chair of CCP). In Yan’an Mao marries <b>Jiang Qing</b> , Madame Mao, his last wife, one of the “Gang of Four” during the Cultural Revolution (1966-1976)
1937, July 7	Marco Polo Bridge Incident, July 7, south of Beijing. Japanese attack Chinese troops because of a trumped up incident.

- 1937-1945 Japanese occupation, KMT and CCP coalition against Japanese but the power struggle continued throughout on a smaller scale between the KMT and CCP
- 1937, August 813, Shanghai attacked by the Japanese, August 13. Battle of Shanghai lasts until November 1937.
- 1937, Dec. Nanking massacre begins, ending in January 1938, with 350,000 dead.
- 1937-1945 Japanese continue perpetrating atrocities in China, including biological warfare. China, an ally of the U.S. and Britain is supplied along the Burma Road, a road linking Burma (Myanmar) to China, by the British, until 1942 when supplies are flown by the Allies over the “hump,” the Himalayas.
- 1945 War in the Pacific ends with the surrender of the Japanese on September 2, after the atomic bombings of Hiroshima and Nagasaki on August 6 and 9.
- 1945-1949 Civil War between Nationalists (KMT) and Communists (CCP)
- 1946-1948 The International Military Tribunal for the Far East (IMTFE), also known as the Tokyo Trials, the Tokyo War Crimes Tribunal, or simply as the Tribunal
- 1949 Independence:  
 People’s Republic of China on Mainland China (PRC),  
 Leader: **Mao Zedong**  
 Republic of China in Taiwan (ROC), Leader: **Chiang Kaishek**

# Dynastic Decline and the Birth of Modern China: An Overview

## By Professor Peter Li

While imperial Japan was rapidly modernizing after the Meiji Restoration of 1868, in contrast, China was undergoing its steepest decline in dynastic power and prestige during the 19<sup>th</sup> century. The Qing dynasty which had reigned for over 200 years, since 1644, was in its last gasps as the century was drawing to a close.

### China, 1840-1901

#### *The Opium Wars & The “Unequal Treaties”*

During the First Opium War from 1840-1842, China suffered the first of a series of military defeats at the hands of the Western powers beginning with the British. In 1839, when the Chinese official Lin Zexu confiscated 20,000 chests of opium from British ships and burnt them, the British sent their warships into Chinese waters and engaged China in the **First Opium War**. China’s naval forces were no match for the British; they were defeated in a number of confrontations. China’s defeat resulted in the signing of the **Treaty of Nanjing** which was the first in a series of “unequal treaties” in which China was forced to open five treaty ports (Shanghai, Ningbo, Xiamen, Fuzhou and Guangzhou) to the British for trade and, subsequently, to other Western countries. The island of Hong Kong was also ceded to the British during this time.

The outbreak of the **Second Opium War** began in 1856, against the British and French. China’s defeat led to the signing of the **Treaty of Tianjin** (Tientsin) that opened more ports to trade and the granting of more concessions to Western powers. In 1860, Anglo-French forces occupied Beijing and destroyed the **Imperial Summer Palace** (Yuan Ming Yuan—The Garden of Gardens), one of the important and interesting palaces in China in that it incorporated elements of Western architectural design, including fountains, gardens and arches.

#### *The Self-Strengthening Movement & First Sino-Japanese War*

From the 1860s to 1890s China instituted a number of measures to modernize its diplomatic and military structure called the **Self-Strengthening Movement**. But it was too little too late. When conflict broke out between China and Japan over a dispute in Korea, China suffered a humiliating defeat at the hands of the modernized Japanese forces in the **First Sino-Japanese War of 1894-1895**. In the subsequent **Treaty of Shimonoseki** (Treaty of Maguan), China had to cede the Liaodong Peninsula and Taiwan to Japan and to pay a costly indemnity to Japan.

#### *The One-Hundred-Days’ Reform 1898*

From 1898 on, China became the target of a free-for-all: China was partitioned off into spheres of influence by the Western powers, the French, British, Americans, Germans, Russians, and Japanese. During 1898 there was a short-lived 100-days Reform initiated by the Emperor Guangxu to modernize his government, but the reform movement was squelched by the young emperor’s adopted mother, the Dowager Empress Cixi.

#### *The Boxer Rebellion 1900*

The worst was yet to come. In 1900 a xenophobic group called the Boxers whose anti-Christian and anti-foreign activities, including the killing of Chinese Christian converts, destruction of churches, and occupation of the foreign legations, aroused the fears of the foreigners in Beijing. In August 1900, some 10,000 allied troops of the eight foreign powers (Britain, France, America, Germany, Italy, Japan, Russian, and Austro-Hungary) fought their way into Beijing to lift the siege of the Boxers. The Empress Dowager fled Beijing, and the Boxers were suppressed. In 1901, China was forced to sign **The Boxer Protocol** with eleven foreign nations and agreed to a number of concessions including the payment 450,000,000 taels (of silver) indemnity to the foreign powers and the stationing of foreign troops on Chinese soil.



## **The Early Republican Period 1911-1937**

### *The Republican Revolution of 1911*

As China neared the end of the first decade of the 20<sup>th</sup> century, discontent with the tottering Qing dynasty became greater and greater. Popular uprisings had plagued the dynasty for decades. During the 19<sup>th</sup> century, there had already been a number of popular rebellions which severely challenged the Qing dynasty: the **Taiping Rebellion 1850-1864** was the most serious. The culmination of these popular uprisings was the **Republican Revolution of 1911** which overthrew the over 2000-year-long dynastic system. With the abdication of the three-year-old emperor, Pu-yi, in February 1912, the Qing dynasty came to an official end. Dr. Sun Yatsen, the father of the republic, a western educated medical doctor, was the driving force behind this revolution. After years of organizing and fundraising overseas, the “revolution,” incorporating the Western democratic ideals, finally prevailed. Dr. Sun’s program of the **Three People’s Principles**—the People’s sovereignty, Rights, and Livelihood laid the foundation of the new republic. In January 1912, Dr. Sun officially assumed the position of the Provisional President of the Chinese Republic, but resigned the following month handing the position over to Yuan Shikai, formerly an official in the Qing government and military strong man. Dr. Sun believed that the president needed to have military backing to establish order in the young republic. Unfortunately, Yuan had imperial ambitions and declared himself emperor in 1915. However, his reign was short-lived.

### *The Twenty-one Demands 1915*

Although now nominally a republic, China was by no means a democratic state, nor did it have the economic, military or political wherewithal to stand up to the Western powers and Japan. In fact, by this time Japan had become China’s biggest threat. As early as 1915 Japan presented to President Yuan Shikai the infamous **Twenty-one Demands** calling for Japanese control of Shandong, Manchuria, Inner Mongolia, the southeast coast of China and the Yangzi valley, and the use of Japanese advisers in China’s administration. These demands essentially would have transformed China into a Japanese colony. Fortunately, because of President Yuan’s delay in responding to the demands and popular large-scale demonstrations by the Chinese public, no further attempts were made to impose these demands.

### *The May Fourth Movement 1919*

The popular demonstrations were clear indications of an incipient nationalism which became full-blown four years later during the **May Fourth Movement in 1919**. The demonstrations were initiated by 3000 students of Peking University (now Beijing University) on May 4, 1919, and soon became a nationwide movement called the May Fourth Movement. The reason for the demonstration was the Versailles Peace Conference, held after the defeat of Germany in the First World War, which decided to turn German rights and territories in China over to Japan rather than to China. This was highly insulting to China and the students protested, attacking the Chinese government officials who signed the agreement.

### *Nationalist Unification Drive: The Northern Expedition 1926-1928*

The 1920s saw the founding of the Chinese Communist Party (CCP) which was to become the nemesis of the Nationalist Party (Kuomintang, KMT) for the next half century. In Japan there emerged the alleged “Tanaka Memorial” which essentially outlined Japan’s blueprint for world domination: The first step in world domination was to conquer China, controlling all of China, after first conquering Manchuria and Mongolia. Therefore, Manchuria became one of the first targets of Japan’s ambitions in China. In the meantime, China under Chiang Kai-shek began the **Northern Expedition (1926-1928)** to eliminate the various warring factions in China and bring about China’s unification. Unfortunately, this unification was considered to be a threat to Japan’s vested interest in the Southern Manchurian Railroad in Manchuria. Japan began marshalling its Kwantung troops into Manchuria allegedly to protect its interests.

## The Second Sino-Japanese War 1931-1945

### *The Mukden Incident 1931 September 18*

By the 1930s Japanese designs on China became clearer and clearer. In 1931, on September 18, the Japanese engineered the **Mukden Incident** (in present day Shenyang) that gave them the needed excuse to bring more troops into Manchuria. The conflict between China and Japan intensified. However, China, under Chiang Kai-shek, did not feel it was ready to confront Japan directly. Its troops were not well equipped to fight the modernized Japanese Army, so within a few months, Japan occupied the whole of northeast China, known commonly as Manchuria. The people of Manchuria fought against the Japanese as best they could without the support of the central government which was more interested in fighting the Chinese communists led by Mao Zedong. The Manchurians engaged in mostly hit and run guerilla tactics, sabotaging behind enemy lines.

### *The Marco Polo Bridge Incident 1937 July 7<sup>th</sup>*

While Chiang Kai-shek was busy launching a number of extermination campaigns to eliminate the Chinese Communists, Japan occupied the whole of Manchuria and set up a puppet regime under the deposed former emperor Pu Yi. The next stage in the escalation of the war was another Japanese engineered plot at **Marco Polo Bridge** outside Beijing in the town of Wan Ping on July 7, 1937, which marked the beginning of all-out conflict between China and Japan.

Chinese and Japanese forces fought over twenty-two major battles (and thousands of skirmishes) in the ensuing eight years. Although the Chinese forces lost them all, the Chinese, in turn, inflicted severe losses on the Japanese showing that the conquest of China was not going to be an easy task. Japan's attack on Shanghai, in 1937, was supposed to be the beginning of a three-month campaign to subdue the whole of China. Unexpectedly, China with its 450,000 crack troops put up such stiff resistance that it took the Japanese three months just to take Shanghai. Japan's taking of Nanking [Nanjing], known to the world as the **Rape of Nanking**, was a bloodletting by the Japanese soldiers who killed, burned, looted, and raped in the city for a period of six weeks beginning on December 13, 1937. The end result was the death of over 300,000 innocent victims. By 1939, Japan had occupied all the major cities in the eastern and northern part of China, and most of the railroads. The inland areas, however, were a different story; they were difficult to take and hold.

The Nationalist government under Chiang Kai-shek after withdrawing from Nanjing, retreated to the southwestern part of China, established the wartime capital in Chongqing [Chungking] in Sichuan province, and stubbornly held out until the end of the war in spite of constant bombing raids over the city. The declaration of war against Japan by the United States after the attack on Pearl Harbor on December 7, 1941, was a great morale boost to China. America was now an ally of China and large-scale military aid was flowing into China.

### *Bio-Chemical Warfare*

Besides having ground and air superiority, Japan launched a deadly bio-chemical warfare in China. In the 1930s after Manchuria was occupied, Harbin, in Heilongjiang Province, became the headquarters of **Unit 731** a germ warfare unit headed by General Ishii Shiro. In the course of developing these bio-chemical agents and delivery systems, several thousand innocent Chinese civilians and many POWs (Chinese and Western) were subjected to live biological and chemical experiments. Some of the victims were subsequently subjected to vivisection without anesthesia. In 1942, the Japanese deployed anthrax, cholera, dysentery, typhoid, and plague against military and civilian targets in Zhejiang and Jiangxi in retaliation for China's help in rescuing the pilots and crew of the General Doolittle's Tokyo Raiders who had crashed landed in China.

The Japanese were not only aiming at a military victory, their goal was also to inspire fear and terror in the occupied areas by exercising extreme brutality and cruelty in their treatment of the civilian population. The Rape of Nanking was only one of best known examples; there were many others perpetrated, for example, in Hong Kong, Singapore, Manila, and throughout Asia. Also the system of military sexual slavery known euphemistically as the "comfort women" was another example of the Japanese military's many crimes against humanity.

## **Conclusion**

The Second Sino-Japanese War, which lasted eight long years, profoundly influenced the course of modern Chinese and world history. As the war drew to a close, it had fatally weakened Chiang Kai-shek and the Nationalist government and strengthened the Communists under Mao Zedong. This led eventually to the establishment of the People's Republic of China. China suffered terribly in terms of lives lost and property destroyed. Unreliable as these figures may be, best estimates give the figure of 35 million Chinese killed or wounded, 95 million refugees were uprooted from their homes, and damages of over \$100 billion dollars U.S. during the war (incomplete data from 1946) were incurred. On the military front, although China lost all the major battles against the Japanese, its determination not to surrender but keep on fighting, kept over one million Japanese troops preoccupied in China preventing them from joining the battles in the Pacific theater.

After the atomic bombs were dropped on Hiroshima and Nagasaki, the world had changed dramatically from what it had been twenty years earlier. China, in spite of its weaknesses, had become a major figure on the world stage; Japan was defeated but unbowed; the United States eclipsed Great Britain as the number one world power; the European colonies in Asia were soon to become independent states. The young Chinese republic, however, was to undergo another great transformation and many travails before it would become a major world power as the People's Republic of China. The birth of China as a modern nation can truly be said to have been a "difficult" birth. Japan, although defeated, maintained a degree of its pre-war continuity and, thanks to the United States, was able to recover fairly quickly and become once again a major world power. The downside of Japan's quick recovery and growth, is its selective amnesia about the past and denial of the suffering and destruction left behind in the lands it had conquered and occupied. These people, however, have not forgotten about the past and what Japan had done to them during the war.



# Maps

## Assignment:

Examine the two maps.

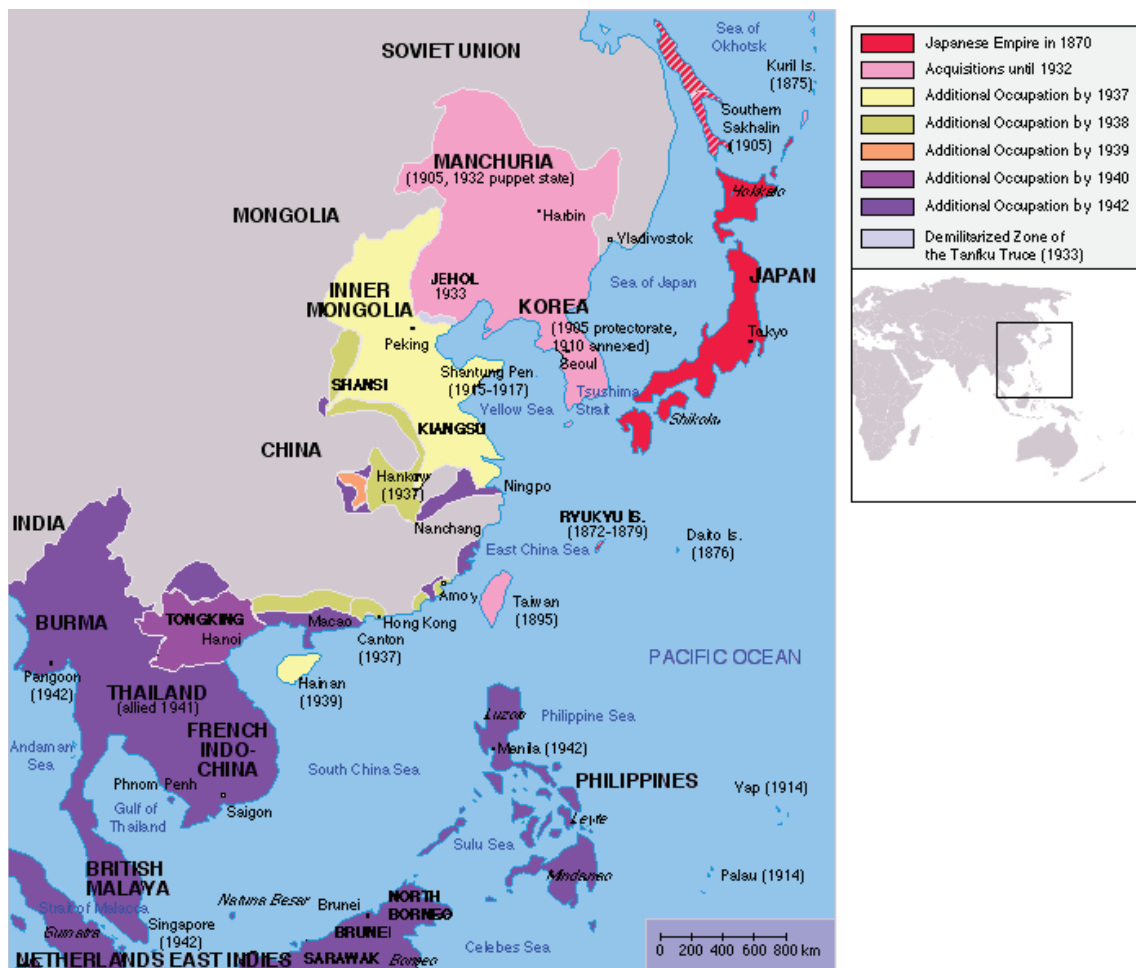
First individually and then in groups analyze these to draw some conclusions about the nature of Japanese imperialism.

### Map of China 1933—#1



asia wwii

## Map of Japanese Empire 1870-1942—#2



Map showing stages of formation of the Japanese empire Wikipedia Commons

## Activities:



Mu Yilong, "A Viper Wiggles Southward."  
From Hung, Chang-Tai

## Assignment:

Individually students should write down what they think this cartoon means. Then in groups of three or four they should compare their answers. A group spokesperson should report their answers to the class.

## *Bushidō*



hubpage

It is shameful for any man to die without having risked his life in battle.

— Naoshige

*Bushidō*, the way of the warrior, was a samurai, or *bushi* (warrior-poet), ethical code of conduct analogous to Western concepts of chivalry. This code emphasized virtues such as bravery, mastery of martial arts, loyalty, benevolence, honor, obedience, frugality, duty, filial piety, self-sacrifice, and simple living. The code had been derived from a number of writings from the 8th century on. The code also called for compassion for the weak and aged, including wounded enemies and allowed for honorable surrender. Under the *bushidō* ideal, if a samurai failed to uphold his honor, he could regain it by performing seppuku (ritual suicide).

### **Assignment:**

Comment on the *Bushidō* code.

What does “filial” mean?

What does “piety” mean?

Are these virtues ones you would like to emulate?

Would the code be difficult to follow? Why, or Why not?





德奧  
德有必無不[德]

From Hung, Chang-Tai

Gao Longsheng, “*De’ bu gu, bi you lin.*” The original quote from Analects (IV. 25) means “Virtue never dwells in solitude, it will always attract neighbors.” Here, however, the term *de* stands for “Germany” (*Deguo*) rather than the original “virtue” (*de*). The cartoon depicts Hitler holding a head labeled “Austria.” The characters on the skull held by a Japanese general read, “Puppet organization.”

### **Assignment:**

Individually students should write down what they think the cartoon means. Then they should meet in groups of three or four, sharing their ideas. Finally a group spokesperson should report the group’s main ideas to the class.



“Return home, we will give you food.”  
From Hung, Chang-Tai

**Assignment:**

Explain the above poster that the Japanese hung up around Nanking.



brookdalecc

### **Assignment:**

Students should write down what they think the poster means. Then they should meet in groups of three or four, sharing their ideas. Finally they a group spokesperson should report the group's main idea about the poster to the class.

## The Nanking Massacre



Japanese Army marches into Nanking in December 1937. BBC



## Introduction

### The Nanking Massacre: “The Rape of Nanking”

The Japanese invasion of China, prior to, and during World War II lasted from the early 1930s to 1945, with the eight years from 1937-1945 being the most intense period known by the Chinese as the “Eight Year War of Resistance.” European and American historians generally have not treated this war with the same recognition as WWII in Europe and the Pacific, ignoring Japan’s long-standing ambition to conquer China and the rest of Southeastern Asia and to build a powerful empire, euphemistically called by the Japanese, the “**Great East Co-Prosperity Sphere.**”

In July 1937, the Japanese army used the temporary disappearance of a soldier around the **Marco Polo Bridge** south of Beijing, as a pretext to launch an attack on the city of Beijing, followed by a full-scale invasion of Northern China. The ill-equipped, dispirited Chinese armies put up a weak defense, so the Japanese quickly pushed its way southwards. After a ferocious battle, lasting three months, with heavy casualties, the Japanese occupied Shanghai and headed south towards **Nanjing, the capital of China** at that time. Numerous atrocities were committed en route to Nanjing, but they could not compare with the carnage the Japanese unleashed on the defenseless city.

About 100,000 Japanese soldiers entered Nanking on December 13, 1937, encountering little resistance since most of the Chinese soldiers had evacuated the city. Nanking had a population of about one million, but approximately half of the residents had fled the city before the Japanese entered. Over the next seven weeks, more than 300,000 people, including thousands of unarmed Chinese soldiers, were systematically massacred using bayonets, guns, machine guns, and grenades. Some were burned alive with gasoline, or drowned, while others were buried alive or buried to their waists to be used for bayonet practice. The Japanese army went on a rampage in Nanking following a policy of slaughter known as “**The Three Alls**” —“**Kill all, loot all, and burn all.**” The city was looted and burned, and marauding Japanese soldiers unleashed a staggering wave of violence on Nanking’s population. One third of the city was burned to the ground with the fires lasting for thirty-nine days.

Prior to the fall of the city, many Chinese fled the approaching troops, and all foreign citizens were ordered to evacuate. Some foreigners escaped, for example, on the *U.S.S. Panay* that was bombed by the Japanese. However, during the invasion and killing, other foreigners decided to stay and to try to protect Chinese civilians. A group of twenty-two European and American businessmen and missionaries refused to leave. Despite devastating air strikes and the threat of an oncoming army, these Westerners—including John Rabe, a Nazi businessman; Bob Wilson, an American surgeon; and Minnie Vautrin, the American headmistress of Jinling Women’s College of Arts and Sciences—remained behind in order to set up an **International Safety Zone** to protect civilians. Along with these Westerners, a number of Chinese— Tsen Shuifang, Chen Rong, Xu Chuanyin, Han Xianglin, and Qi Zhaochan —also aided their fellow Chinese in the Safety Zone.

This International Committee established the Nanking or International Safety Zone in an area of about 3.8 square km that encompassed the American Embassy, Nanking University, and Nanking Women’s College of Arts and Sciences (Jinling College).

Some two hundred thousand refugees crowded into the Zone, which spanned two square miles. During the brutal occupation, Safety Zone committee members vehemently protested the army’s actions to the Japanese authorities, but the carnage continued. Every day John Rabe, Tsen Shuifang, Minnie Vautrin, and the others fought to keep the Safety Zone’s boundaries intact and the refugees safe. This International Committee appealed to the Japanese government to recognize the zone but without success. The Japanese even killed Chinese citizens in front of members of the International Committee, including the old, women, and children.

By March 1938, the worst of the violence had subsided, so the army moved on, leaving behind an occupying force. The refugee camps in the Safety Zone were disbanded, though intensive relief efforts continued.

However, there are survivors of this horrific event. There were also eyewitness documented accounts from various foreigners. They have told their tales of horror to historians and writers such as **Iris Chang**, who wrote the definitive book of the event called, *The Rape of Nanking*.

Many Japanese soldiers described the scene and their actions in their diaries, and many took photographs. Regardless of age, about 20,000 women were raped or gang-raped before being tortured or brutally killed.

In addition to other brutalities, the Japanese wanted to steal the cultural heritage of the Chinese. Therefore, the Japanese had set up a special committee for sorting, transporting, and cataloguing looted books. The loss was devastating: 897,178 volumes from public and private libraries in Nanjing—a priceless collection of Chinese classical texts and printed texts

Looted books are now housed in libraries in Japan, the best libraries in the world for the study of Asian culture. This means that scholars from China must go to Japan to study their country's looted books.

**The Nanking Massacre, or the “Rape of Nanking”** lasted approximately six weeks—from December 13, 1937 to February 1938. A puppet Japanese government ruled Nanking until the end of the war in 1945. In 1948, the Tokyo Tribunal convicted **Iwane Matsui**, commander of Japanese Imperial forces in central China, of war crimes and sentenced him to death. **Emperor Hirohito** and his uncle **Prince Asaka**, who commanded the troops that actually occupied Nanking during the massacre, were spared.

According to the summary judgment of the **International Military Tribunal for the Far East (IMTFE)**—also known as the Tokyo Trials, “estimates indicate that the total number of civilians and prisoners of war murdered in Nanking and its vicinity during the first six weeks of the Japanese occupation was over 200,000. Approximately 20,000 cases of rape occurred in the city during the first month of the occupation.”

Today, many Japanese know little about the wartime atrocities their country committed throughout Asia. Seventy years later, the invasion of Nanking remains a divisive issue. Some Japanese ultra-conservatives deny or minimize the massacre; to this day, many Japanese believe stories of atrocities in Nanking are exaggerations and lies. Chinese have protested the Japanese approval of textbooks that call the Nanking massacre an “incident.” The protests have made headlines around the world. Many in Asia are also outraged by the former Japanese prime minister's annual pilgrimage to the **Yasukuni Shrine**, a Shinto shrine located in Chiyoda, Tokyo. Along with millions of soldiers who died for the Japanese Emperor, *Yasukuni*—which translates as “peaceful nation”—enshrines 14 class A war criminals.

# Timeline of Nanking Massacre

<b>1931, September 18</b>	After the Mukden Incident, the Japanese occupy Manchuria, establish Manchukuo (puppet Japanese state)
<b>1937</b>	
July 7-9	Battle between the Republic of China's National Revolutionary Army and the Imperial Japanese Army
August 13	Japanese attack Shanghai
August 15	First air raid on Nanking
November 12	Shanghai falls
November 15	Chiang Kaishek's government begins leaving Nanking
November 16	Nanking International Committee for the Safety Zone conceived
November 22	Safety Zone proposal sent to the Japanese authorities, rejected weeks later
November 25	John Rabe wires Hitler for help establishing the Safety Zone
December 8	Chiang Kaishek and advisors flee city
December 10	Japanese forces wait for surrender flag at midday; none arrives. Assault on the city begins.
December 13	Japanese troops enter Nanking through the Zhonghua Gate
December 14 -21	Rape, pillage, murder: first major wave of violence
December 21	Japanese military reorganized to complete "mop-up;" second major wave of violence begins.
<b>1938</b>	
Jan. 28 - Feb 3	Third major wave of violence
May	Safety Zone dissolved; relief efforts continue

# Map of China

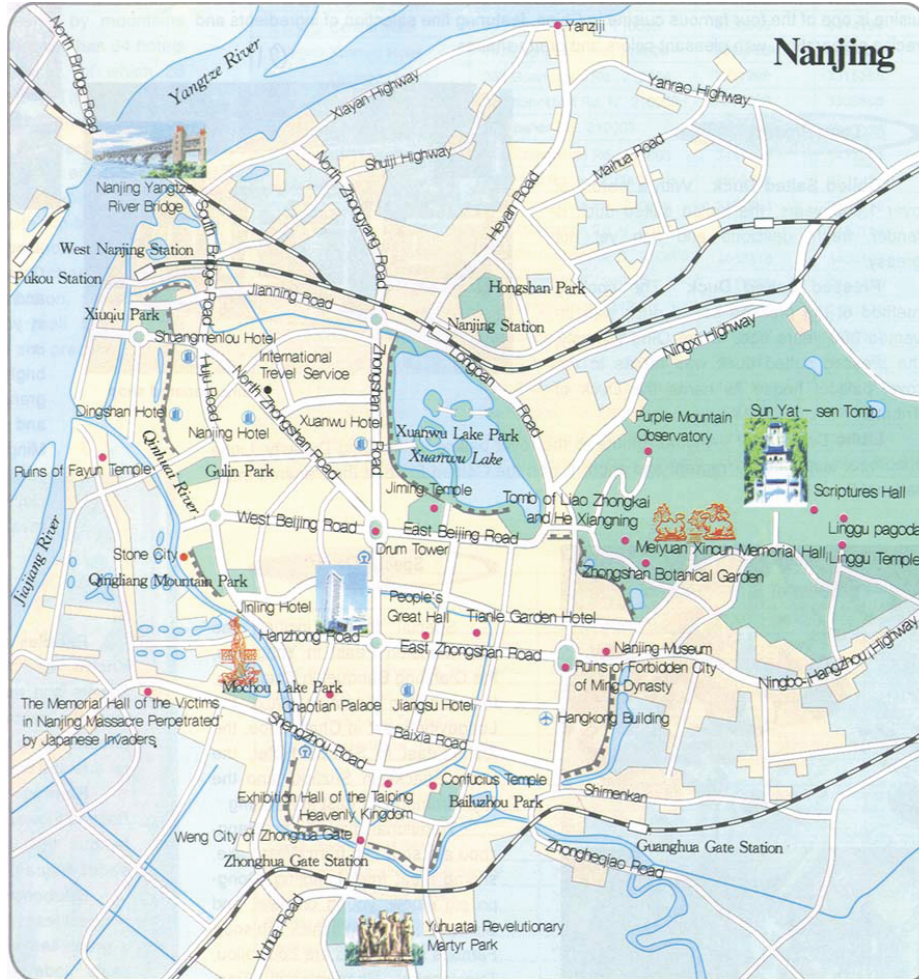


google images

Examine the above map, noting the locations of Beijing (Beiping), Shanghai, Nanjing (Nanking), and Chongqing (Chungking). Research these cities and explain their importance during the period 1937-1938.

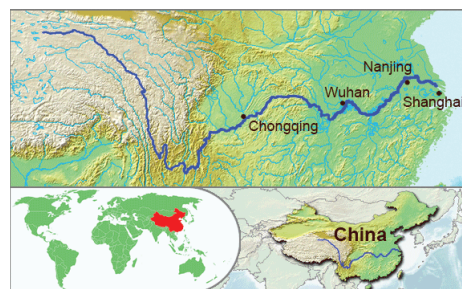


# Map of Nanking



A contemporary map of Nanjing (Nanking). At the time of the massacre there was no bridge across the River Yangtze (or Chang Jiang). The Nanjing Yangtze River Bridge, built in 1968, in the northwest of the city, was the first bridge over the Yangtze River.

Note the Memorial Hall of the Victims in Nanjing Massacre to the southwest and also the tomb of Sun Yatsen to the east. chinamaps.org



Path of the Yangtze River. chinamaps.org

# Survivor Testimony of Xia Shuqin Shuqin, Survivor of the Nanking Massacre, 77 years old — Interviewed in 2006, Nanjing

## *When were you born?*

I was born on May 5, 1929. I am 77 years old [in 2006].

My family had nine members, including my maternal grandparents, my parents and four siblings. I am the middle child.

Growing up, we rented our home from Mr. Ha of the Muslim minority.

## *On December 13, 1937, what happened to your family?*

At 10 AM, Japanese soldiers came to where we lived led by Mr. Ha. The door opened and 20 to 30 soldiers came running into the house. The Japanese soldiers immediately killed my father. Mr. Ha was also killed. My mother hid under the table with my baby sister. We weren't prepared for the soldiers to come. We thought it was just another air raid!

The Japanese soldiers found my mother. They killed my baby sister by throwing her on the ground. Then they raped my mother.

My grandparents took the four remaining children into their room and hid in the attached room, but we were still found. The children hid under the bed. Our grandparents died trying to protect us. The Japanese soldiers found us. They threw the blankets off the bed, took my older sister, who was fifteen years old and gang raped her on the bed. They took my second eldest sister, who was thirteen years old and gang raped her on the table. A Japanese soldier stabbed me three times on the arm, in the shoulder and on the back.

Whenever I recall this, I can't help crying.

My younger sister, who was four, was crying for our mom. We left the bed and saw the bodies of our grandparents beside the bed. We then found the body of my mom. My younger sister was still crying for her mom. Both of our older sisters were dead.

There was nothing I could do; I was so young, only seven years old. In a short time, everyone in our family had been killed except for my younger sister and me. We hid in a corner of the house, under a table. We stayed there all day and only came out at night. We ate rice cakes my mother had been saving for the air raids.

## *How did you get to the International Safety Zone?*

Ten days later, an elderly lady came by the house on her way to the International Safety Zone and heard us. She took us to a home to care for us. My stab wound was deep and there was medicine so she cauterized it. She gave us some congee [rice porridge] and we started to feel better.

She then took us into the International Safety Zone. They took us in and fed us. In the Zone, we met a few foreigners, who were American, British, and German. John Rabe and John Magee took photographs of us. It was only much later in life when a researcher showed me their photos that I realized who they were. It was because of their assistance that we survived.

When the International Safety Zone was disbanded, we tried to go with my uncle, but he had three children of his own and couldn't provide for us all. My younger sister was sent to an orphanage. I went to live with my uncle. I found my sister years later. She had been taken care of by distant relatives.

## *Tell us about the court cases against you.*

Many years have passed and I have been telling my stories. I have been sued in Japanese courts for providing false testimony, but I counter-sued for defamation of my character. I even went to Tokyo to respond to the allegations.\* It was only then that they withdrew the case against me.

When I was sued in the Japanese court, I cried myself blind! I was very angry. I was a victim and a survivor. Now, I am 77 years old. How could I provide such false testimony?

\*Xia received support from Japanese civilians and lawyers when she went to court in Japan. Japanese lawyers helped her respond in Tokyo.

## Survivor Testimony of Chang Zhiqiang, Survivor of the Nanking Massacre, 78 years old—Interviewed in 2006, Nanjing

I was born in 1928. In 2006, I am 78 years old. I am a victim and survivor of the Nanjing massacre. At the time of the massacre, my family had 10 members: my four brothers, my one sister, my parents, my paternal grandmother, my maternal grandmother and myself. My father had set up a small grocery store in an area with some prosperity. At this time, I was in school and the air raids were very intense. Because it was difficult to make a living, we wanted to leave, but we had no money. My grandmother told my father to flee with the family. My father didn't want to leave the grandmothers, but his mother severely scolded him so the eight of us left.

We tried to get to the International Safety Zone. My youngest brother was still breastfeeding. By the time we reached the southern part of the city it was dark. The Nationalist Army was there, but they didn't allow us to cross the bridge. They had blockaded the bridge and wanted to keep it open to facilitate their own retreat. It was very cold outside. We tried to negotiate, but the officer wouldn't budge. He said he had his orders. He pointed a gun to my father. My mother then convinced my father to back down.

We decided we would stay with the other refugees and hide in the alleys. One household took us in and invited us to stay the night. At one point, we had to take refuge in an air shelter. Because I was sick I stayed in the house and didn't follow them to the air shelter, but my father came back to get me.

We left the air shelter once the bombing stopped. At this time, we wanted to get into the city. We thought that because we were civilians we would be safe there. A group of us was leaving an alley when we heard screams. Before we could realize what was happening, a group of Japanese soldiers came into the alley and started firing on us. We tried to retreat, but the other side was a dead end.

There was complete chaos in the alley. My father told my mother to retreat to the back of the alley with the children. He went forward toward the Japanese soldiers to try to protect those in the back. I remember seeing a thirteen year old boy try to fight a Japanese soldier who had killed his family member. The Japanese soldier slashed the boy's head in half. I also remember seeing a famous Chinese opera singer being stabbed. He tried to beg the Japanese soldiers to stop what they were doing, but they stabbed him again and eventually shot him.

In the chaos, we lost part of our family. The Japanese soldiers bayoneted my mother in the shoulder. She fell; then tried to stand up and beg the Japanese soldiers to leave us alone. They stabbed her one more time. My eldest sister was crying and trying to stop the soldier. My mother grabbed the bayonet with her hands. The soldier twisted and withdrew the bayonet, cutting apart my mother's hands. More Japanese soldiers came running. My older brother was begging the soldiers not to stab our mother, but she was stabbed again. She dropped my baby brother. My baby brother screamed. The soldier stabbed him in his buttocks with the bayonet and threw him away. I ran to lie on top of him and tell him to stop crying. My other brothers started attacking the Japanese soldier who had stabbed our mother. My eldest sister was also stabbed at this time. She told my brothers to flee or they would all be killed. At this time, I passed out.

I don't know how much time passed before I woke up, but when I did it was silent. My brother was no longer beneath me. I was alone. I went to my sister who was crying, "Ma, Ma." I know she was telling me to check my mother. I found my mother. She was still breathing. She had been breastfeeding before this all happened so her shirt was open and I could see her stab wounds. I tried to tell her she would recover. She kept turning her head. I then heard a baby crying. I knew my mother was telling me to check on the baby. I found him amidst the dead bodies, trying to crawl out. The blood from the wound on his buttocks had turned to red ice and it covered his body. He was trying to crawl towards me. I went over to pick him up and brought him to my mom. She opened her shirt so she could breastfeed him. He was trying his best to feed. I tried to cover her other wounds. When the baby finished, my mother didn't say anything. She died right then. I screamed, "Now that you are gone, what should I do?"



I went to look for my dad. I found him in a sitting position with his head in his lap. I thought he had just fainted. I put my hand to a bayonet wound in his back, but there was no blood. I felt my dad must have been sleeping. I tried to shake him awake, but he fell forward. It was then that I saw his face was covered in blood. He had been shot in the face.

I went back to my elder sister and told her what happened. We cried together. Then, we heard more screaming. My sister suggested we hide in one of the houses. She had been stabbed and, under her overcoat I could see icicles of blood falling to the ground. We went into the house and I tried to clean her wound. We hid under the bed of the house.

The next day we saw Japanese soldiers looting. We were very scared. The soldiers came into the room, but didn't find us so we were safe.

The following day, we saw a woman looking for her husband. I recognized her as the wife of the famous Chinese opera singer. I went out and called to her. She told me to come with her and for me to fetch my sister. We went to her house, crying and walking. She had a young son of her own. When we got to her house, she asked if we had eaten. We said no and she decided to cook us some rice before taking us to the International Safety Zone. While she was preparing the rice, Japanese soldiers came into the house and grabbed her. Her child was holding into her leg and screaming. She told him not to cry. Another soldier hit the child and kicked and dragged the woman into the next room and raped her.

Another Japanese soldier found my sister hiding on the floor. He took her into another room and raped her. I don't know how many soldiers went in there with my sister. Eventually, all the soldiers left. The woman went into the room and came out carrying my sister who couldn't walk. She then took her child, I took my sister and we left.

When we were leaving, I remembered my baby brother. I hadn't heard him through the night. I wanted to go back for him, but the woman wouldn't let me. She said I needed to carry my sister because she had to carry her son. We had no choice; we couldn't go back! So, without a chance to check on my baby brother, I left.

We eventually arrived at the gates of the International Safety Zone. Along the way, we saw corpses everywhere. Some were disemboweled with their guts and even fetuses hanging out. The iron gates of the Zone were closed when we arrived. It was full of people inside and there were lots of people outside trying to get in. Japanese soldiers were trying to grab young women right in front of the place. The refugees tried to stop them and at the same time, people screamed through the gates for them to let us in. The gates were opened and we all rushed into the Safety Zone.

Inside, there were many people. My sister and I eventually ended up hiding under a staircase. A woman came by and gave us congee. She saw two kids with no adults and asked us our story. We told her and she brought us upstairs. Her last name was Xia. She cleaned us up and took care of us for two days.

It was not really a place of safety. The Japanese soldiers ordered tens of thousands of us to leave. They would divide the men and women and children. The men were brought to the center. The soldiers would then ask if this man had a family member there to identify him. If not, he was taken away and bound. All this happened in less than a minute. It was very crowded and impossible to see who was there. Adults were holding up their young children to see for them. This was how they took away the young men. We knew these men were being slaughtered after they had left because one man had escaped and come back to the Safety Zone to tell us. He had crawled through corpses after they had all been shot.

My two grandmothers living outside the city had been safe. The Japanese soldiers did not reach their place. The people from the International Safety Zone took us back there. I wanted to know what happened to the bodies of my parents and my baby brother. I went back to check, but all the corpses were gone and the alley had been cleaned. I did find little shoes that my mom had made. When I found them, I cried. Some neighbors came out and told me that a baby boy had been found dead close to his mother. This must have been my baby brother.



My sister and I lived together after this. She got the plague in 1944 and died. There were many plagues at this time, but there never had been before.

For a long time, I didn't come to register as a survivor. It was too hard. Whenever I thought about what happened to me, I cried.

It was only in the 1990s, when we saw the denials, the falsifications of what happened during the war coming out of Japan that I decided to speak. I saw this on the news and I was so angry that I started to write out a statement of everything that had happened to me. My son wrote out a copy and brought it to the museum and since then I have been registered as a survivor here.

# Survivor Testimony of Chang Chu Yeh (Presented at the Nanking Massacre 70th Anniversary Commemorative Event at Brookdale Community College in Lincroft, New Jersey – 12/18/2007)

My name is Chu-Yeh Chang, and I was born in Nanking, one of the old capitals of China. I personally lived through the cruelty and persecution of the Japanese military during the Nanking Massacre and would like to share that with you today.

I am 84 years old. Seventy years ago on December 12, 1937, when I was 14, 50,000 of the Japanese military invaded and occupied Nanking, thus beginning this terrible and unthinkable massacre. According to the trial that took place between August 1946 and February 1947 by the Far East International Tribunal Court, formed by the United Nations' War Crimes Investigation Committee, the estimated number of Chinese murdered by Japanese military during the six-week-long Nanking massacre was between 340,000 and 400,000.

I belonged to a family of eight, with 4 younger siblings (2 brothers and 2 sisters), a great-grandmother of 80 years old, and my parents. My father worked as an accountant for the Jiang-Ning county government. Knowing that Japanese military was bombing the residential area in Nanking, we were very scared, so we locked our doors, left our house behind, and crossed the Yangtze River to the countryside to escape the Japanese occupation. Our relatives in the countryside, in the midst of moving inland themselves, could not accommodate us, so we ended up staying in this little town Wu-Yi along the Jin-Pu railroad line, hoping to catch the train to move westward, as the Chinese Nationalist troops had also moved westward. There were so many people escaping to the west that there weren't any train tickets available for us to purchase, except for very expensive tickets which we couldn't afford. Soon afterward, this escape route was also closed, as the Japanese military wasted no time to occupy the towns along the railroad.

There was also a Japanese military engineering troop, stationed in Wu-Yi, waiting for orders to repair roads and bridges, so that the Japanese troops could go inland to chase after the Chinese Nationalist troops. This Japanese troop drafted my father and me to help them move equipment and machinery. One day the officer of this troop happened to see me, and communicated with me by writing down the Chinese characters on paper. He asked how old I was and whether I went to school. I told him that I was 14 and in 8<sup>th</sup> grade. He was pleased with my answer and took out a picture from his wallet and told me, "This is my 14-year old son, and he is about your height also." He then took me to eat and shared his food with me. He told my father that he would like to teach me some Japanese everyday using the English alphabet as phonetic symbols. He also taught me some Japanese song which I still remember how to sing. But I never knew the meanings of the lyrics until almost 60 years later in 1996 when I was invited to give a talk on the Nanking Massacre at Okinawa University in Okinawa. During that talk, I sang that song, and the Okinawans told me that song was about sending soldiers off to war and was an old folk song from Hokkaido part of Japan.

On New Year's Eve of 1937, this officer took me to the farmers' village to catch chickens and dig out scallions for a feast; we also decorated the doors with rice straws and drank wine to celebrate the New Year. Never did I know that this very night would turn out to be so devastating in my life! That night, five Japanese soldiers charged into our house, forced my father and me out, and then raped my mother and my 80 year old great-grandmother. My father sent me to get urgent help from the officer. Unfortunately, by the time I woke up the officer and hurried him to my house, my great-grandmother had already died and was lying in a pool of blood from this violent abuse and unbearable suffering. When he scolded those soldiers, I couldn't help lashing out loudly the Japanese curse word I knew of, *bagayalu*, at them as well. One of the soldiers got very mad and punched me to the ground. That blow on my head has caused permanent partial loss of hearing in my left ear. When the officer took away those soldiers, he told me that for our safety's sake, my family

should leave as soon as possible. My father and I wrapped my great-grandmother's body in quilt and carried it to a small temple nearby. We found an empty coffin but no lid, and hurriedly put her body in and covered it with whatever things we could find on the ground. We also put my mother with her coverings in a one-wheel cart which we found. With me pulling the rope in front of the cart, my father pushing and balancing the cart handles in the back, together with all my siblings, we fled Wu-Yi in no time and went to a smaller village named Tang-Jing-Zi. We stayed there for about a month until after the Chinese New Year. When my father heard that the city of Nanking and its surroundings were getting more orderly relatively speaking, my father led us back to Wu-Yi. The Japanese military had left Wu-Yi already, and we went back to the small temple, but could not find great-grandmother's body or coffin. Maybe she had been buried by others already.

Crossing the Yangtze River on a small boat back to Nanking, we saw many dead bodies bloated like balloons floating around us, and the smell of the corpses from the upstream Ba-Gua-Zhou Island made me feel like puking. These bodies were often the result of killing practices and competitions among the Japanese troops, and many of the bodies were without their heads as decapitation was one of the Japanese's favorite execution methods. The walls of the city moat were covered with blood drops and bullet holes.

Numerous residents continuously came back to the city and everyone looked very worried. According to the Japanese new rule, before entering the city, everyone must apply for this so called "good citizen ID", issued only after investigation by the occupying Japanese authority. Even with this "good citizen ID" on hand, each resident when entering the city had to bow and present this ID to the Japanese soldiers guarding the city entrance. If the soldiers detected any tiny bit of disrespect from the resident, they would slap his face or drag him inside for torture. Furthermore, if the Japanese guards noticed any marks on the foreheads that might be the result of wearing a Chinese soldier's hat, the Japanese guards would conclude that the person was a Chinese Nationalist soldier and would have pulled him aside for questioning or execution.

When we finally arrived home, we found that all the doors and windows were gone and the entire house was ransacked. We settled in the house after tidying up the place a little, but started worrying about how we could support our lives without any apparent means. My father asked me to go to this Hong-Zhi-Lang fermentation factory and bought many fermented tofu and preserved vegetables at wholesale price and went to the streets to sell to people, hoping to get some profit to help support our family's daily needs. I went all over the city, but did not see many people out on the street. Instead, I often found dead bodies in the damaged or destroyed houses. I did see people with Tong-Shan-Tang (a funeral house) logo on their sleeves moving around searching for dead bodies.. Since by then my nose had developed this sharp sense of smell for dead human bodies, including the ability to distinguish dead human bodies from other animals' dead bodies, I often helped them find dead bodies in some overlooked areas and notified the body-searching team where to dig. For each such body I discovered, they would pay me one Mao (1/10 of a Yuan), while they would get one Yuan from a local Chinese charitable organization. Within a period of three months, I helped locate about one thousand dead bodies.

Although there were grave dangers posed by the Japanese troops in Nanking, many heroic acts were performed by many people, including many foreigners (Germans, Americans, British, Danish, etc.) who were living in the international zones in Nanking (at that time, many foreign powers had jurisdictions over certain parts of Nanking). These westerners set up an International Safety Zone and helped save about 200,000 Chinese from being killed and about 20,000 women from being raped. After the war, many retired Japanese soldiers confessed and provided their criminal photos to the public. Also, many Japanese lawyers and people volunteered to help the Chinese victims to file claims for reparation in Japanese courts.

In spite of the atrocities committed by the Japanese soldiers against my family, I am not seeking any revenge, and do not hold any animosity against the Japanese people. The fact that I have become a Christian has helped me to forgive the Japanese. I tell my three children and nine grandchildren that they must not hate, but they must never forget this part of history. I don't want this kind of things to happen again to anyone else in the future.

## Survivor Testimony of Wu Zhenxi, Survivor of the Nanking Massacre, 85 years old—Interviewed on July 10, 2008, Nanjing

The Wu family had a business selling beef *jiaozi* (dumplings) and *baozi* (a kind of steamed dumpling). His was the ninth-generation in Nanking. Mr. Wu is a Muslim as was his family. Their home was near the Drum Tower (Gulou) that is at the center of Nanking.

When he was fourteen-years old, he was at school. One day the students were told to go home and that they did not have to come anymore. His father sent the family to the International Safety Zone (ISZ). His grandfather stayed at home. Imagine, he said, workers and their families, twenty some people, whose only way to earn a living was to stay in Nanking during this dangerous time. So the family moved closer to Jinling College—they were lucky that this safety zone was nearby their home. Other refugees were not as lucky, so his family set up tents and sold *baozi* and *jiaozi* to refugees.

On December 13, 2008, two Japanese came while they were having lunch. These soldiers had bands on their arms. The family was told to go out and line up in fives. These men wanted “Chink” soldiers. But the people there were older people, handicapped, and young men. They didn’t know any Chinese soldiers, so they kept on eating. Brothers, cousins, and uncles, seventy people, tied together in groups of five and marched out—group by group. The next day at noon, people were taken away to do errands. By night time they heard machine gun fire all over the place. People started to become really worried.

The next day the elderly in the household wanted to find out the whereabouts of the five young men. The elderly went with Mr. Wu, who was then fourteen-years- old. They picked a time when there were many soldiers patrolling the road. They went to a huge pond and saw numerous bodies with their forearms tied together. They tried to turn them over so they could identify the body but there was ice and when they again turned the bodies they broke bones. Other people there tried to identify their loved ones by their clothing. The Wu family did not find any of their people. Mr. Wu said that he doesn’t know how many people were there but the pond already had turned red with blood. He never found the body of his older brother.

At this time Mr. Wu was the youngest son and the sturdiest. He slaughtered cattle and sheep—the strongest in their home. His job was to move flour, oil, and other supplies to the ISZ. His parents told him, “You should escape.” He didn’t.

One day he was asked to get rice. He had to cross Zhongshanlu (*lu*=road) to buy rice. He had to put on an armband with a red sun and carry a banner with a Japanese flag. Every step he took he had to bow head and keep bowing—humiliation, shame, and disgrace. They were supposed to meet at 4:30 PM and cross over to the ISZ. Wu went to his old home and found that all his family had been taken. They had a secret hiding place, but no one was there. He tried to locate Mr. Jiang, the gatekeeper, who was protecting their home. He saw a body separated from a head, burnt, on the side of the road. Because of the burning stones, it was hard to get to the body. But he did see that the person had one tooth so he knew it was “Grandpop” Jiang—Jiang YēYē. He tried to bring the body to the ISZ. Others were afraid to touch him. They said to carry him by his feet; we’ll carry the torso. Flesh stuck to the bricks, separated from the body. Wu was showing filial respect by moving the body to a better place.

He was still trying to find the five young men. He decided to join the Muslim Burial Group. While he was burying bodies, one day he saw a place with the door half open. He could see a dead female body with child lying on a table. He saw that the women’s clothing was open and that her abdomen was swollen. Then he saw the pole! The leader of the burial group covered her with a white cloth and pressed on her stomach until the pole came out. He heard a popping sound. The leader said, “What kind of beasts would do this? To rape her and then to put a stick into her vaginal! For several days after he returned home, he could not eat anything. He did not go back to the burial group.

One day his grandmother and he were outside sunning the quilts and shoes. Drunken Japanese soldiers grabbed his grandmother and said, “Where are the flower girls[young maidens]?” His grandmother fainted.



The Japanese tried to stab her. She turned her shoulder; therefore, they only cut through her clothing. He was hiding behind the sofa, so when the Japanese left, he carried her to a neighbor's house where they could take care of her.

When he went back to the house, he heard sounds in the back room. Grandfather had been sleeping on the bed. The Japanese had cut him three times with bayonets and knives. Wu went to their business to collect the family. They couldn't stop the bleeding. Therefore, the grandfather died.

All this happened at the time of Western New Year in 1938.

## Survivor Testimony of Zhang Zhouhong, Survivor of the Nanking Massacre, 83 years old—Interviewed on July 10, 2008, Nanjing

Mrs. Zhang's family members were farmers. She was the elder daughter with a younger brother and sister. When she was eleven-years old, the Japanese soldiers came to her home and grabbed her father, saying he was KMT (Nationalist soldier-*Kuomintang*). The soldiers began to slap him. The kids were grabbing his legs and telling the soldiers that their father was a farmer. The Japanese looked at her father and saw that he had calloused hands and the mark of a band on his forehead. Mrs. Zhang took a hoe and showed the soldiers how he got the calluses and showed them his rain hat, explaining how he got the mark on his forehead. They were not convinced; they thought he was a soldier. The soldiers kicked and shoved her out of the way. The soldiers said that her father was not very honest and after slapping him some more, they left.

After these soldiers left, fifteen to twenty more came into the yard and burnt down their neighbor's house. The Zhang family moved all their possessions out to a field and slept in the field all night. Soon the Japanese came and burned their house and other villagers' homes. The soldiers lined up the ugly women in a row and machine-gunned them. The Japanese said, "If you follow directions, you will not be hurt; however, if you don't, we will cut off your legs." She said although she was only eleven-years old she saw clearly the situation.

Mothers were trying to hide their daughters in haystacks. Japanese used their bayonets to see if anyone was hiding in the haystacks. Zhang had her finger cut but she didn't cry out. Some women cried and then the soldiers would burn the haystack and sometimes push people outside into the burning haystack.

After the ugly girls were machine gunned, they took the pretty girls away. She and some other girls knew that the Japanese didn't go near the water, so some of them hid in a lake. When the Japanese saw what they were doing, they machine gunned the girls in the lake. However, Zhang held on to reeds at the bottom and survived. She said that she cannot understand this cruelty. She hates the Japanese.

She also saw them take babies from their grandparents and put them on the end of their bayonets. She saw 30 or 40 little babies killed this way.

At first the soldiers went for the older girls, but there were not enough so they started taking younger ones—8 years old and up. One day she was with her grandfather. The soldiers came and put a bayonet to his chest. Her grandfather told her to leave, but she refused to leave him. She said, "I will stay with you." The soldiers tore off her pants, spread her legs, and raped her brutally. She blacked out and when she was unconscious, the soldiers left. When grandfather came in and saw her thighs dislocated, he used a board, tying her legs together. He was not sure if she were alive or dead. While he was wrapping her legs, she came to consciousness. She thought that she would never recover. However, about a week after the raping, her bones came back together. They were afraid the soldiers would come again, so they cut off her hair and shaved her head, so she looked like a boy. She could have died three times but, instead, was able to survive three times. She considers herself quite lucky.

The Japanese did not want to admit that they killed all those people, including babies. The Japanese said that the Koreans did this (Koreans soldiers were drafted by the Japanese—Korea had been annexed by Japan in 1910.)

One case was of a girl who to escape rape jumped into the latrine. A drunken Japanese soldier fell in, got stuck, and died. The girl escaped. The Japanese came and punished the whole village, killing them at random.

The family's farm was on the outskirts of the city of the city of Nanking. In order to sell their produce, farmers had to take it into the city. The Japanese would not allow them in, so they lost their source of income.

During the Chinese New Year the next year, the Japanese wanted to sell chicks and ducks. She was asked to carry them into the next town on a pole. If she didn't walk fast enough, they poked her back with their bayonets. After a time she threw the pole off and said that she would not carry it anymore. So they beat and kicked her, laughing the whole time. She had to carry the poultry to the *Zhongguomen*—the China gate of Nanking, [a 600 year old gate, the southern gate (Nanking had 13 city gates and the China gate was the largest

one)]. Her home was outside the gate. She was only twelve-years old and very short. They thought she was a little boy. She was still forced to carry the ducks and chicken; they would use the stock of their guns to hurry her. When they saw ducks in the river, they wanted her to swim in and grab them and carry on a pole to the city.

She still suffers pain from the raping. Fifteen years ago, her husband was interviewed. She did not speak up then because she was ashamed of what had happened. After her husband passed away, she stepped forward to tell her story.

Three times she has gone to Japan and asked them to acknowledge their crimes so that justice will be served. She hopes that with the United States help the case will go to the Japanese court.

## Questions for Discussion

Answer these questions based on the survivor testimonies:

1. Why is survivor testimony important to understanding historical events such as the Nanking Massacre?
2. What did you learn from the survivor testimonies that you just read?
3. Considering what you have learned, in the future, will you change the way you treat people who are different from you?
4. How can a military ensure training that effectively prepares soldiers for war while also preventing them from committing crimes against civilians?
5. Can civilians be protected in war? Where is the line when civilian suffering and death moves from “casualties of war” to “international crimes against humanity”?



# Why did the Japanese Imperial Army act as it did?

The following commentary gives us some insight:

## Brookings Northeast Asia Commentary | Number 14

“Thoughts on the Nanjing Massacre” Richard C. Bush III based on Yang Daqing’s “Atrocities Nanjing, Searching for Explanations”

. . . The first explanation [of the Japanese Imperial Army’s behavior in Nanking] was that a breakdown in discipline, caused by supply shortages, led Japanese troops to engage in atrocities. But as reports accumulated of brutality in other parts of China, observers soon set aside the specific circumstances at Nanjing in late 1937 and came to a different and more general conclusion. That is, it was deliberate Japanese policy to strike terror into the hearts of Chinese. A third view was more social and cultural, captured in the term “militarism.” In this perspective, Japanese soldiers were products of a transitional society, neither traditional nor modern, and that the declining norms against violence that restrained them in Japan disappeared once they arrived in China.

Among the factors George Washington University Professor Yang Daqing cites:

- The Japanese Imperial Army had suffered a long-term decline of discipline. In the climate of more liberal trends in the 1920s Taisho period, officers responded by demanding absolute obedience of recruits through inhumane means. That in turn, it is argued, led to the need for those recruits to transfer aggression elsewhere. The poor Chinese were a convenient outlet once aggression in China began.
- The officer corps was changing in a radical direction. Younger officers tended to have lived in military institutions from an early age. They often had links with ultra-nationalist groups. And they tended to disrespect civilian institutions.
- The Japanese Army had a general contempt for the Chinese and had a lower standard for treatment of Chinese POWs as opposed to Western ones.
- Due to the rapid expansion of the army in the summer of 1937, most of the troops sent to the Shanghai-Nanjing front were reservists. Their quality was relatively low and there was a high replacement rate due to heavy losses.
- In their drive to carry out their orders to seize Nanjing, field commanders overlooked the need to ensure adequate logistical preparation (particularly food), enough rest for troops, sufficient military policeman to maintain order, and to issue clear orders for the treatment of POWs and civilians.

Yang concludes that all of these institutional factors, which reflect an accumulation of poor decisions, contributed to the scale of the Nanjing atrocities. He also finds that battlefield psychology played an exacerbating role. Japanese soldiers had become terrified during the heavier-than-expected losses in the battle for Shanghai. Revenging the death of fallen comrades was one response. Even according to the Imperial Army’s own rules of engagement, there were violations of discipline. . . .

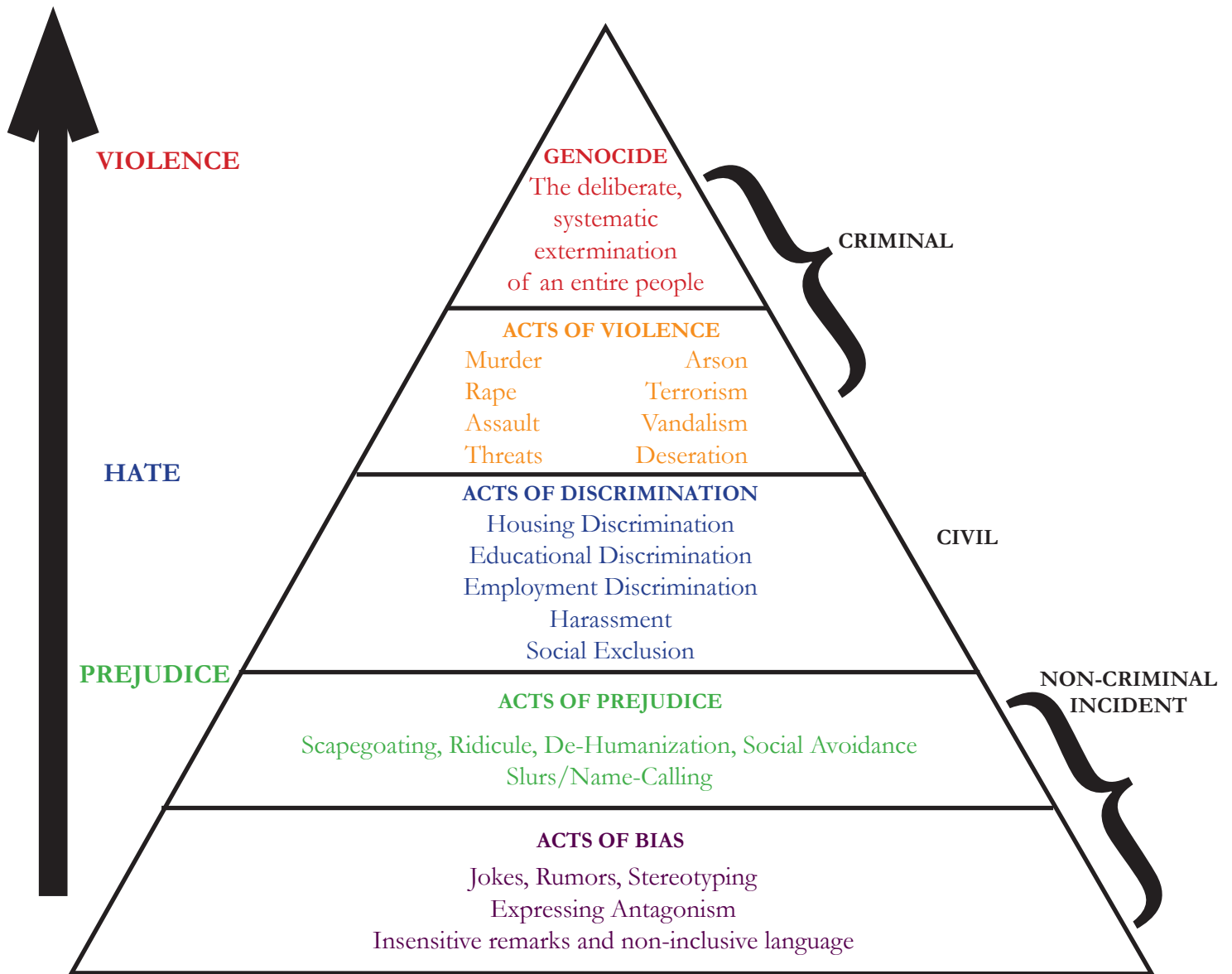
From Yang Daqing, “Atrocities in Nanjing, Searching for Explanations,” in *Scars of War: The Impact of Warfare on Modern China*. Vancouver: UBC P, 200. 76-96.

Source: [http://www.brookings.edu/opinions/2007/12\\_nanjing\\_bush.aspx](http://www.brookings.edu/opinions/2007/12_nanjing_bush.aspx)

## Reflection Questions

1. Why is it important to remember and reflect on historical events such as The Nanking Massacre?
2. Why do you think we know so little about the Nanking Massacre?
3. Why is it not written about it in most WWII history books?
4. Why has the Nanking Massacre become known as the “Forgotten Holocaust”?
5. Why are the atrocities of WWII in Europe remembered and widely commemorated?
6. Why were the Japanese soldiers capable of committing such atrocities? What beliefs enabled them to behave as they did? How were they trained to hate and kill?
7. Why is it important to have multiple sources of evidence such as witness testimonies, diaries, official reports, newspaper articles, etc? How do we judge the reliability of sources?
8. Why is the use of imagery, photographs, and video footage important? What is the impact of such depictions?
9. What is your reaction to the statement: “The Nanking massacre still affects people today.” How can a historical event still affect us today?
10. “There’s a much more important story here than just the horrible ways in which people were massacred.” What is this important story and why is it so important?
11. Can the Japanese soldiers be at least partially excused because they were just “following orders”?
12. What is the difference between a victim and a survivor?
13. Why do survivors feel the need to be believed?
14. What should be our responsibility in the face of atrocity? Do we have a responsibility?
15. What questions would you like to ask a Nanking Massacre victim? What questions would you like to ask a former Japanese Imperial Army soldier?

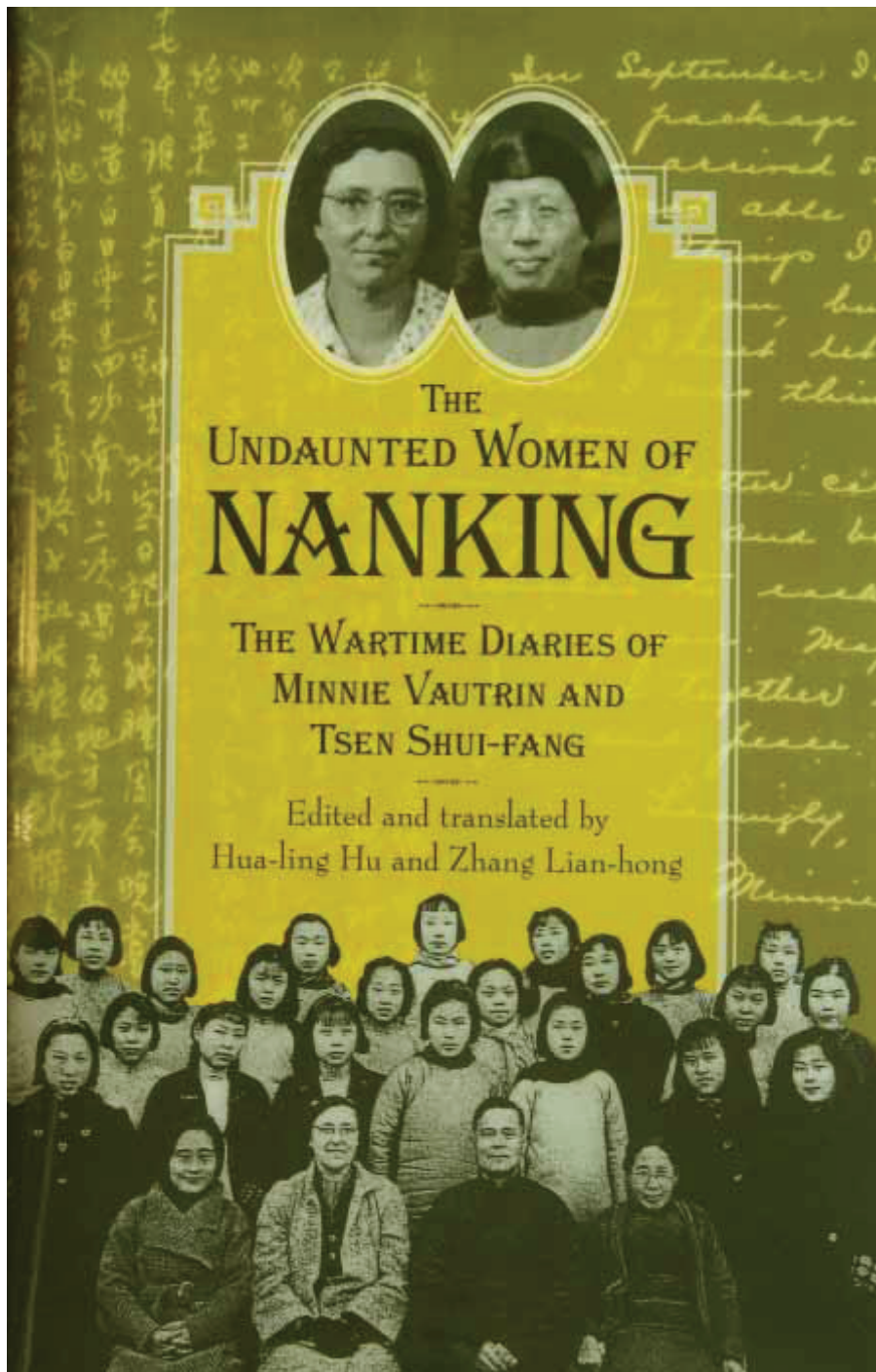
# PYRAMID OF HATE



## Question:

Discuss the Japanese and the Japanese Imperial Army in relation to the Pyramid. Were the Japanese at various levels on the Pyramid? Or did they go directly to the top level—violence.

## Rescuers and Upstanders



The Undaunted Women: Minnie Vautrin and Tsen Shui-fang  
—From front cover, Hua-ling Hu and Zhang Lian-hong



# INTRODUCTION

## Rescuers and Upstanders

As in the Holocaust, many individuals during the Nanjing Massacre tried to the best of their ability to help those in desperate need of medical care, protection, and sanctuary. At times their lives would be endangered, and in several cases this rescue work would cost them their lives. The common thread of these altruistic individuals is a comment by all: “You would have done the same thing.”

One of the most famous of those individuals who would defy the Japanese Imperial Army was John Rabe, a German diplomat who established the International Safety Zone in Nanjing. He explained his reasons thus: “*There is a question of morality here. I cannot bring myself for now to betray the trust these people have put in me, and it is touching to see how they believe in me.*”

Minnie Vautrin, a dean of Ginling (Jinling) University, another Righteous individual, in 1937, recounted the horrors of the war in her diary:

There probably is no crime that has not been committed in this city today. Thirty girls were taken from language school last night, and today I have heard scores of heartbreaking stories of girls who were taken from their homes last night—one of the girls was but twelve years old. Food, bedding, and money have been taken from people. ... I suspect every house in the city has been opened, again and yet again, and robbed. Tonight a truck passed in which there were eight or ten girls, and as it passed they called out “*Giu ming! Giu ming!*”—save our lives. The occasional shots that we hear out on the hills, or on the street, make us realize the sad fate of some man—very probably not a soldier.

An upstander, Reverend John Magee filmed the atrocities of the Japanese Imperial Army at the peril of his own life. He realized that these atrocities had to be documented. He had the 16mm film smuggled out of China so that the world would know what was happening in Nanjing.

In addition to the Westerners in the Nanking International Safety Zone, a number of Chinese rescued those in danger. For example, Tsen Shuifang, an administrator at Jinling University and a nurse, worked with Dean Vautrin protecting and saving refugees. Tsen Shuifang was only one of numerous Chinese who rescued their fellow citizens.

These rescuers and upstanders remind us of the importance of standing up for others. The true test of a society is the ability to protect the rights of the smallest minority and teach each generation to have compassion, empathy, tolerance, and understanding for all human beings.

# Definitions and Identifications

## Definitions:

Define the following terms:

1. *victim*
2. *perpetrator*
3. *bystander*
4. *upstander*
5. *rescuer*

## Identifications:

- Identify an example of each of the above terms from
  - 1) the Nanking Massacre and
  - 2) your life or community.
  
- Identify a historical or contemporary situation where an individual moved from a bystander role to become a perpetrator.
  
- Identify a historical or contemporary situation where an individual moved from a bystander role to become a rescuer or an upstander.
  
- What could cause an individual to move from one part of the spectrum to another? For example, from perpetrator to rescuer?

## Characteristics of Rescuers

Those that have studied rescue have not been able to identify traits shared by helpers or rescuers. Professor Nechama Tec, Holocaust survivor and scholar, Holocaust survivor in *When Light Pierced the Darkness: Christian Rescue of Jews in Nazi-Occupied Poland*, the text has characterized rescuers as having had a high level of individuality and a commitment to helping the needy. In *The Altruistic Personality: Rescuers of Jews in Nazi Europe*, Professor Samuel Oliner, also a Holocaust survivor, scholar, and author, and Professor Pearl M. Oliner, scholar and author, have suggested that rescuers were more likely to have had close family relationships and a caring, non-authoritarian upbringing. Altruism—unselfish regard for the welfare of others—does not appear to be linked to factors such as age, sex, class, education, or religion.

It appears that most individuals did not seek out opportunities to rescue but responded when faced with desperate need or a direct request for help. Some rescuers may have been motivated by friendship, some by financial gain, and others simply by moral or religious conviction.

Most who helped were reluctant to acknowledge that what they did was in any way extraordinary or heroic. It is common for rescuers to assert that they only did what they had to, that it was their duty and that they simply could not have acted otherwise.

People's actions during the Nanking Massacre challenge us to think about the responsibility of individuals, groups, and nations today. The stories of rescue tell us something about the nature of human responses during moral crises and provide evidence that opportunities to fight injustice did and can exist.

—Adapted from the Teacher's Guide produced by the Vancouver Holocaust Education Centre.

### Questions:

1. Do you know any rescuers?
2. What are, or were, their characteristics? Discuss with your group.

# Universe of Obligation

In 1945, the horrors of World War II, including the Japanese atrocities in Asia-Pacific, the new and frightening power of the atomic bomb, and the Nazi genocide of Jews and of others deemed unworthy to live shocked the consciences of people all over the world. As First Lady Eleanor Roosevelt said, “In the end . . . we are ‘One World’ and that which injures any one of us, injures all of us.” After the war, diplomats and politicians created not only the United Nations as an international organization, but also the Nuremberg Trials, the International Military Tribunal Far East (IMTFE), the Genocide Convention, and the Universal Declaration of Human Rights in the hope of preventing future atrocities. Each of these initiatives aimed

to redefine the responsibilities of all governments and individuals toward other people in the world; they required a shift in the way people and nations understand what sociologist Helen Fein calls their **“universe of obligation.”** Fein defines this important concept as the circle of individuals and groups **“toward whom obligations are owed, to whom rules apply, and whose injuries call for [amends].”**

Her ideas refer specifically to how nations perceive their responsibilities to citizens. Like nations, individuals develop their own universes of obligation and responsibility.

## Questions for Discussion

- Who is in your “universe of responsibility?”
- What individuals and groups might you include?
- Where would your universe of obligation begin? Where might it end?
- Under what conditions might your universe of responsibility shift?
- In whose universe of responsibility do you reside?
- How do individuals, groups, and nations demonstrate their universes of obligation or responsibility?
- In these conversations, consider the following: What is the difference between a right and a responsibility?
- To what extent is there a difference between a nation’s “universe of obligation” and that of individuals and groups?

Source: Facing History and Ourselves. [http://www.facinghistory.org/resources/lesson\\_ideas/udhr-2-universe-obligation-0](http://www.facinghistory.org/resources/lesson_ideas/udhr-2-universe-obligation-0)

# Humanitarian Law

## DEFINITIONS

**civilian:** any person who is not a combatant

When civilians take a direct part in fighting, they lose their protection from attack. (When there is any doubt about a person's status, he or she shall be considered to be a civilian.)

**civilian object:** any object that is not a military objective

When a civilian object is used in support of military action, it becomes a legitimate military target and loses its protection. (When there is any doubt about whether a civilian object is in fact being used in support of military action, it shall be considered to be a civilian object.)

**combatant:** member of armed forces, member of an armed group under the orders of a party to the conflict

**military objective:** object which by its nature, location, purpose or use makes an effective contribution to military action and whose destruction offers a definite military advantage

**hors de combat:** literally means 'out of the fight' and describes combatants who have been captured or wounded or who are sick or shipwrecked and thus are no longer in a position to fight

**principle of proportionality:** the expected number of deaths or injuries to civilians or damage to civilian objects must not be excessive compared to the anticipated military advantage

## What are the basic rules of international humanitarian law?

### DISTINCTION

**When planning or carrying out an attack, distinction must be made between civilians and combatants and between civilian objects and military objectives.**

1. Attacking civilians is prohibited.
2. Attacking civilian objects (houses, hospitals, schools, places of worship, cultural or historic monuments, etc.) is prohibited.
3. Before an attack, every possible precaution must be taken to minimize the potential harm to civilians and civilian objects.
4. The use of weapons that are not able to distinguish between civilians and military targets is prohibited.

### TREATMENT

**Civilians and combatants who are hors de combat must be protected and treated humanely.**

1. Murder, torture, and cruel or degrading treatment or punishment are prohibited.
2. Sexual violence is prohibited.
3. Forced displacement of civilians is prohibited.
4. Starving civilians is prohibited.
5. Using human shields to protect military objectives is prohibited.
6. Wounded, sick or shipwrecked enemy combatants must be searched for, collected and cared for. There should be no preferential treatment, except on medical grounds.
7. Captured civilians and enemy combatants must be given adequate food, water, clothing, shelter and medical care and must be allowed to correspond with their families.
8. Everyone must receive a fair trial.

### WEAPONS AND TACTICS

**The only legitimate objective of war is to weaken the enemy's military forces.**

1. The use of weapons that cause unnecessary suffering is prohibited.
2. Taking hostages is prohibited.
3. Killing or wounding a surrendering enemy is prohibited.
4. Ordering or threatening that there shall be no survivors is prohibited.
5. Pretending to be a civilian while fighting is prohibited.
6. Destroying objects necessary for the survival of civilians (foodstuffs, farming areas, drinking water installations, etc.) is prohibited.
7. Attacking medical and religious personnel and objects lawfully using the red cross/red crescent/red crystal emblem is prohibited.
8. Misusing the red cross/red crescent/red crystal emblem is prohibited.

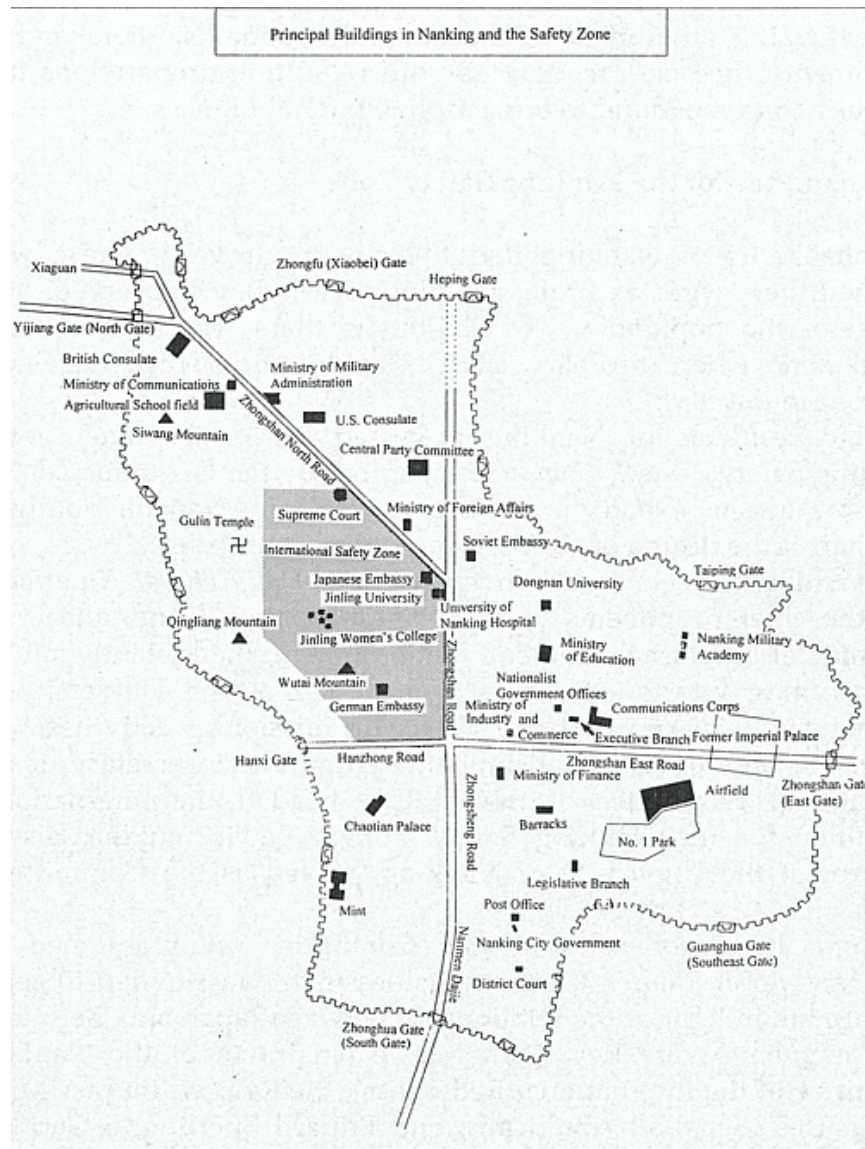
### SPECIFIC PROTECTION

**Certain categories of people and objects must receive additional protection.**

1. Recruiting or using children under the age of 15 in armed conflict is prohibited.
2. Medical personnel and facilities (hospitals, clinics, ambulances, etc.) as well as religious personnel must be respected and protected.
3. Humanitarian relief personnel, supplies and operations must be respected and protected.
4. Cultural property must be respected and protected.
5. The specific protection, health and assistance needs of women affected by armed conflict must be respected.



# Map of International Safety Zone



Nanking International Safety Zone in shaded area cctv

The International Safety Zone was a neutral area established inside of Nanking in 1937 to shelter Chinese refugees whose lives had been threatened and homes destroyed by the invading Japanese Imperial Army. Many of the Nanking Safety Zone committee members also served on The International Red Cross Committee of Nanking. These individuals who stayed behind and helped included: Germans, Americans, Austrians, Brits, and Russians.

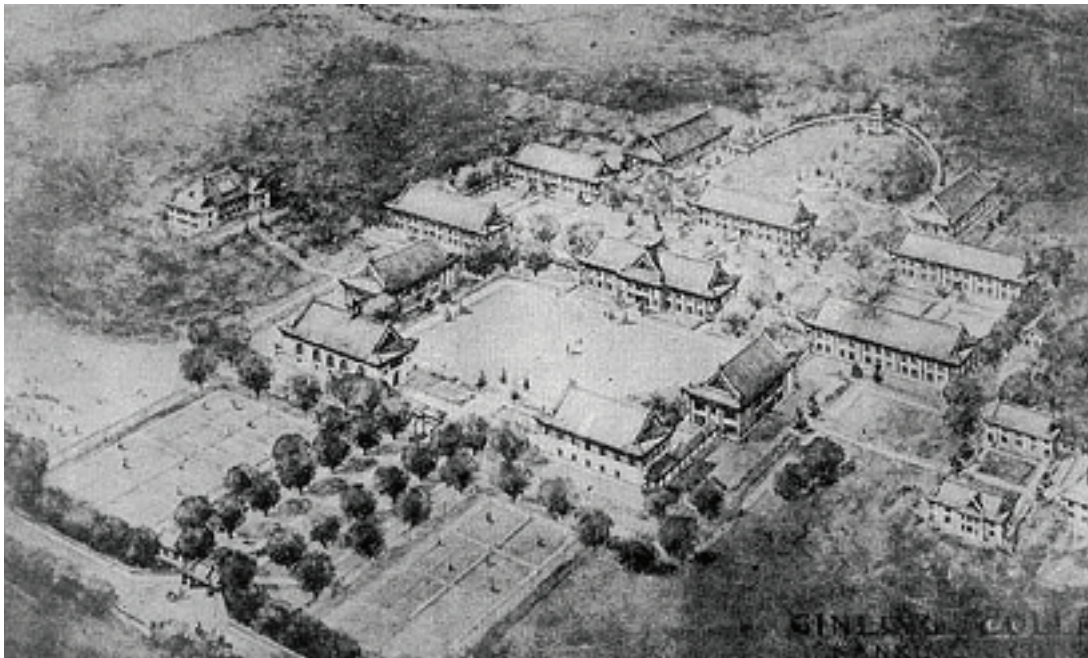
The International Safety Zone was bordered by roads on all four sides, with an area of approximately 3.86 km<sup>2</sup> with 25 refugee camps centered around the US Embassy. This is approximately the same size as Central Park in New York (3.4 km<sup>2</sup>). Using Red Cross flags for identification, refugee camps were established at Jinling Women's University, the University of Nanking, Siemens Shelter, and in other shelters within the Safety Zone, for example in houses that companies, such as Texas Oil Company, or Westerners had donated.

This demilitarized zone for Chinese civilians was set up on November 22, 1937, on the eve of the Japanese breakthrough in the Battle of Shanghai. Following the example of Jesuit Father Robert Jacquinot de Besange in Shanghai, the foreigners in Nanking created the Safety Zone, managed by the International Committee for the Nanking Safety Zone led by German businessman and Nazi party member, John Rabe. The zone and the activities of the

International Committee were responsible for saving the lives of many thousands of Chinese civilians during the Nanking Massacre.

The City of Nanking affirmed the existence of the Safety Zone, sent cash and food, and staffed security personnel in the zone. On December 1, 1937, Nanking Mayor Ma Chaochun ordered all Chinese citizens remaining in Nanking to move into the “Safety Zone.” Ma himself fled the city on December 7. When Nanking fell on December 13, 1937, the Safety Zone housed over 250,000 refugees. During the massacre the committee members found ways to provide these refugees with the basic needs of food, shelter, and medical care.

The Japanese army did not recognize its existence, but they promised that as long as it remained demilitarized the Japanese army would not invade the area. The Japanese army did not subject the Safety Zone to concentrated air bombardment or shelling. Only a few shells landed in the Zone throughout the siege, wounding about forty refugees.



Perspective view of Jinling Women's University (Jinling Women's University) for Girls, Nanjing. Source: Far Eastern Review (1920), 237

The members of the International Committee for the Nanking Safety Zone managed to persuade the Chinese government to move all their troops out of the area around the Safety Zone. According to Miner Searle Bates, one of the American missionaries, “The Chinese authorities agreed to the idea of the Zone, though the Chinese military was naturally reluctant to move out of the area before the very last minute.” Bates described the Japanese position on the Safety Zone in this way, “The Japanese authorities never formally recognized the Zone, but did say that they would not attack an area which was not occupied by Chinese troops. On this narrow margin of agreement, the Chinese promise to evacuate the area and the Japanese statement that they would not intentionally attack an unoccupied place, the Safety Zone was finally put through.”

## Timeline of International Safety Zone

**22 November 1937** - The International Committee for the Nanking Safety Zone is organized by a group of foreigners to shelter Chinese refugees.

**12 December 1937** - Chinese soldiers are ordered to withdraw from Nanking.

**13 December 1937** - Japanese troops capture Nanking.

**14 December 1937** - The International Committee for the Nanking Safety Zone lodges the first protest letter against Japanese atrocities with the Japanese Embassy.

**19 February 1938** - The last of the 69 protest letters against Japanese atrocities is sent by the Safety Zone Committee to the Japanese Embassy and announces the renaming of the committee as the Nanking International Relief Committee.



Two children of the Rev. and Mrs. C.T. Chiang of a mission in Nanking, standing at the gate of No. 25 Lo Chia Road. The placards on the wall are posters from the American Embassy and the Chinese Military Commander of Nanking, certifying the premises as American property.

Yale Archives



Refugees in the University of Nanking March 1938  
Yale Archives



## Members of the International Safety Zone Committee



Some members of the Safety Zone Committee  
Left to right: Ernest Forster, W. Plumer Mills, John Rabe,  
Lewis Smythe, Eduard Sperling, George Fitch, December 15, 1937 Yale Archives

Of a group of about twenty-two Americans and Europeans who remained in the city, fifteen formed the International Safety Zone Committee. (Exactly how many Western nationals remained in Nanking is unclear because different individuals and groups left the city at different times; some during the fall of Nanking, some during the massacre, and some after the massacre ended.) The group, composed of missionaries, doctors, journalists and businessmen, established a Safety Zone. The missionaries were primarily Americans from the Episcopal, Disciples of Christ, Presbyterian, and Methodist churches. On numerous occasions, they risked their lives by intervening to prevent the execution of Chinese men or the rape of women and young girls. Whenever Japanese soldiers entered the Zone, they were closely shadowed by one of the Westerners. The Westerners repeatedly refused to comply with demands made of them by Japanese Army soldiers, placing themselves between Japanese soldiers and Chinese civilians.

Committee members frequently contacted Consul-General Okazaki Katsuo, Second Secretary (later Acting Consul-General) Fukui Kiyoshi and Attaché Fukuda Tokuyasu to deal with the anarchic situation. As well as protesting to the Japanese embassy on almost daily basis, Miner Searle Bates, John Magee, and George A. Fitch, the head of the YMCA at Nanking, actively wrote of the chaotic conditions created by the Japanese troops, mimeographed or retyped their stories over and over and sent them to their friends, government officials, and Christian organizations so as to let the world, especially the American public, know what was going on in the terrorized city.

They hoped that the U. S. government would intervene, or at least apply the Neutrality Act of 1937 to the “China Incident,” which would have made it illegal for any American business to sell war materials to Japan.

A letter of Bates to the American Consul in January 1938, for instance, explained how the Safety Zone had been “tenaciously maintained” and needed help “amid dishonor by soldiers, murdering, wounding, and wholesale raping; all of which resulted in violent terror.”

Fitch succeeded in smuggling the films shot by Magee out of China when he temporarily left the country in January 1938. That year he traveled throughout the United States, giving speeches about what he witnessed

in Nanking along with the films that showed haunting images of Chinese victims.

The Committee sent sixty-one letters to the Japanese Consulate which report various incidents which occurred during the period starting Dec 13, 1937 to Feb 9, 1938. These letters are quoted in H.J. Timperley's book *What War Means: Japanese Terror in China*. (Compiled and edited by H.J. Timperley / Victor Gollancz, July 1938).

In the United States the Committee on the Far East of the Foreign Missions Conference received scores of letters from those missionaries in Nanking. After weeks of consideration, they decided to release the letters in February 1938 despite the possible adverse effect on the Christian movement in Japan. These letters were eventually published in magazines such as *Readers' Digest* in mid-1938. Today many of the missionaries' private diaries and letters that elaborately depicted the scale and character of the Nanking Atrocities are collected at the Yale Divinity School Library.

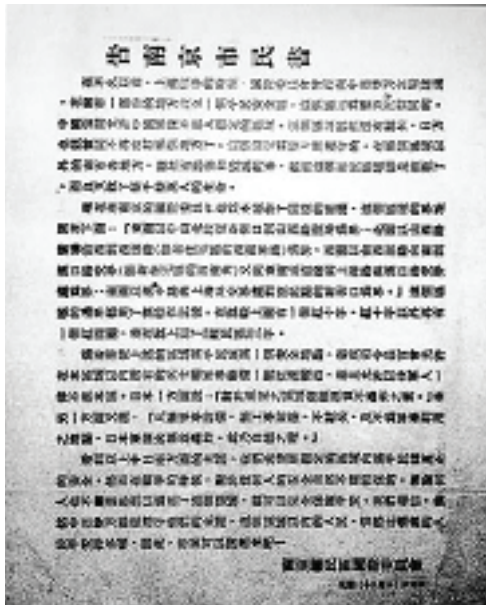
In late January 1938, the Japanese Imperial Army forced all refugees in the Safety Zone to return home, and the Japanese army claimed to have "restored order." On February 18, 1938, the Nanking Safety Zone International Committee was forcibly renamed "Nanking International Rescue Committee," and the Safety Zone effectively ceased to function. The last refugee camps were closed in May 1938. John Rabe and his International Committee were credited with saving 50,000 - 250,000 lives despite the ongoing massacre.

Source: Study Guide for Teachers: Iris Chang—*The Rape of Nanking*, The film [http://edmontonalpha.org/study\\_guide.pdf](http://edmontonalpha.org/study_guide.pdf)

### **SELECTED MEMBERS OF THE INTERNATIONAL SAFETY ZONE COMMITTEE**

<b><u>Name</u></b>	<b><u>Nationality</u></b>	<b><u>Occupation</u></b>	<b><u>Organization</u></b>
Miner Searle Bates	American	professor	University of Nanking
Miss Grace Bauer	American	missionary	Drum Tower Hospital
Chen Frances	Chinese	professor	Jinling Women's University
George A. Fitch	American	missionary	Nanking YMCA
Ernest H. Forster	American	missionary	St. Paul Church
<i>J.M. Hansen</i>	Danish	businessman	Texas Oil Co.
Christian Kröger	German		Carlowitz of Nanking
<i>J. Lean</i>	American	businessman	Asiatic Petroleum Co.
Li Chuin-nan	Chinese		Red Cross Committee
Lowe, Walter	Chinese		Red Cross Committee
<i>Iver Mackay</i>	British	businessman	Butterfield and Swire
John Magee	American	missionary	American Church Mission
Rev. W. Plumer Mills	American	missionary	American Church Mission
James McCallum	American	missionary	Jinling University Hospital
P. H. Munro-Faure	British	businessman	Asiatic Petroleum Co.
<i>J.V. Pickering</i>	American	businessman	Standard-Vacuum Co.
John Rabe	German	businessman	Siemens Co.
Charles Riggs	American	professor	University of Nanking
<i>P.R. Shields</i>	British	businessman	International Export Co.
<i>G. Schultze-Pantin</i>	German	businessman	Shingming Trading Co.
Rev. Shen Yushu	Chinese	Pastor	Red Cross Committee
Lewis S. C. Smythe	American	professor	University of Nanking
Eduard Sperling	German	businessman	Shanghai Insurance Co.
C.S. Trimmer	American	physician	University of Nanking
Tsen Shuifang	Chinese		Jinling Women's University
Mary Twinem	Chinese-American		Jinling Women's University
Minnie Vautrin	American	missionary	Jinling Women's University
Robert O. Wilson	American	doctor	Nanking Hospital





*A Letter to the Citizens in Nanking by the International Safety Zone Committee, appealing to the refugees to come to the Zone.*

## Selected Rescuer Profiles

**John Rabe**

[nj1937.org](http://nj1937.org)



John Rabe, a German business man and the leader of the Nazi Party in Nanking, a diabetic, who had resided in China since 1908 and in Nanking since 1931, working for the Siemens China Company. He became Chair of the International Safety Zone Committee. During the massacre, he housed 650 refugees in his private residence and sent protest letters to the Japanese Embassy. To most of the Chinese in Nanking, Rabe was a hero and became known as “the living Buddha of Nanking.” Iris Chang referred to Rabe as the “Oskar Schindler of China.”

When Rabe returned to Germany, he wrote to Adolf Hitler, telling him about what he had witnessed in Nanking, hoping Hitler would prevent further atrocities by the Japanese Military. Two days later, the Gestapo (Nazi State Police) arrested him, but Rabe was later released and warned never to talk publicly or publish anything about the events that took place in Nanking. Rabe lived in poverty for the last three years of

his life, and was supported by the food and money sent to him every month by the residents of Nanking in appreciation of his heroic acts.

## Minnie Vautrin



Yale archives

Minnie Vautrin, an American missionary, moved to Nanking from Illinois in 1912 on behalf of the United Christian Missionary Society. She became the chairman of the education department at Jinling Women's University when it was founded in 1916, the first university granting bachelor's degrees to female students in China. Vautrin devoted her adult life to the education of Chinese women at Jinling Women's University in Nanking and to helping the poor. When most of the faculty left the country in 1937, Vautrin became Dean of Jinling and took charge of the campus for the duration of the Japanese siege. There were many teachers, students and thousands of people who could not leave, and she voluntarily shared their suffering for four and a half months. She saw much cruelty and violence, yet she met tasks with calmness and courage. She was called the "Angel of Nanjing" by the Chinese.

During the massacre, Vautrin turned the college into a sanctuary for 10,000 women and worked tirelessly to help establish the Nanking International Safety Zone. Vautrin's only weapons to repel the Japanese soldiers from the college were an American flag, prayers, wits, and immense courage and moral strength. Vautrin returned to the United States in 1940.

Weary and stressed from the emotional strain, Vautrin took a furlough from her work. A few months later, haunted by the images she saw and feeling responsible for not saving more lives, Vautrin committed suicide.

Her diaries, like Rabe's, are a primary source of information on the Japanese atrocities in Nanking. After the war, the Chinese government posthumously awarded Vautrin, The Emblem of the Blue Jade, the highest national honor, for her heroic sacrifices during the Nanjing Massacre.

## Dr. Miner Searle Bates



Dr. Miner Searle Bates grew up in Ohio, and with a 1916 Rhodes Scholarship he went to study at Oxford University. He served the YMCA in Mesopotamia until the end of WWI, and then returned to Oxford for graduate work. His missionary work then brought him to the University of Nanking as a professor of history. When many fled at the beginning of the siege, he was promoted to Vice-President of the University. He became an organizing member of the Nanking International Safety Zone Committee.

Bates wrote many letters of protest to the Japanese Embassy soon after the fall of Nanking and throughout the massacre. He also risked his life on many occasions attempting to protect and save the lives of the Chinese people in the Safety Zone. In 1946, he testified at the trial of Japanese war criminals at the Far East Military Court and went on to work for good relations and understanding between the United States and the New China.

library.yale.edu

## Grace Bauer (?- 1976) No photo

Grace Bauer was director of training of laboratory technicians from 1919 to 1941 at Drum Tower Hospital (a university hospital, also known as Kulou Hospital) and was a member of the International Committee for the Nanking Safety Zone. She had studied at Johns Hopkins University and in Beijing in order to help others more. Bauer engaged in relief work, caring for the wounded, in the compassionate spirit of the hospital. Grace Bauer showed the unconditional love for others that had called her to dedicate her life and work at the Drum Tower Hospital for people in need.

Bauer was one of fourteen Americans honored by the Chinese government with The Emblem of the Blue Jade.

## George Ashmore Fitch (1883-1979)



George A. Fitch was born in Soochow (Suzhou), China, in 1883 the son of Presbyterian missionaries George F. and Mary (McLellan) Fitch. He traveled to the U.S. to become a priest. He graduated from the College of Wooster, Ohio in 1906, and Union Theological Seminary in New York with a Bachelor of Divinity in 1909. He was ordained in the Presbyterian Church in 1909 and went to China to work with the YMCA in Shanghai, soon transferring to the Nanking branch.

When the Nanking Massacre occurred in 1937-1938, Fitch, who was head of the YMCA there, served as director of the International Committee for the Nanking Safety Zone. He recorded his observations in a diary and filmed some of the atrocities committed by the Imperial Japanese Army in Nanking in December 1937, the first documentation of the events to leave the city, causing a sensation and outrage in Shanghai.

Yale archives

## John G. Magee



John G. Magee moved to China in 1912 after being ordained as a minister of the Episcopal Church in the United States. During the rape of Nanking, Magee set up a makeshift hospital to take care of wounded soldiers and refugees. Magee filmed Japanese atrocities he witnessed in Nanking on a 16mm camera, and smuggled them out at great personal risk. His footage later became key evidence at the International War Crimes Tribunal for the Far East (IMTFE). This visual documentation, along with the diaries of other Westerners, is an invaluable resource.

Yale archives

## James H. McCallum



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James H. McCallum arrived in China in 1921. He worked with the church and boys school at South Gate in Nanking until 1937. He was a member of the International Committee for the Nanking Safety Zone and is described as working night and day driving the hospital ambulance to save wounded civilians and soldiers. After the massacre, the McCallums continued working in Nanking but were eventually placed under house arrest by the Japanese, then repatriated on the *MS Gripsholm*. After the war he was co-secretary for Disciples of Christ in China with Dr. Luther Shao.

He presented an affidavit in the War Crimes Trial in 1946.

## Dr. Lewis S. C. Smythe



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Lewis S. C. Smythe, with a Ph.D. from the University of Chicago, moved to Nanking when the United Christian Missionary Society appointed him to teach sociology at the University of Nanjing, where he taught from 1928 until his return to the United States in 1951, except for the years of war 1944-46.

In 1937, his wife and children left the city to attend an American school in Kuliang. He was a member and secretary of the International Committee, recording the atrocities of the massacre, which he reported with John Rabe the chairman almost daily to the Japanese embassy in protest. From December 1937 to February 1938, Smythe wrote sixty-nine letters to the Japanese army, protesting their actions. At the end of March 1938, he conducted a census with the help of students

called "War Damage in the Nanjing Area."

He was a witness at the war crimes trial in 1946 and filed an affidavit with expert documentation.



## Dr. Robert O. Wilson



Dr. Robert Wilson was an American physician, born in Nanking, China in 1906, the son of a Methodist missionaries. He obtained his medical degree at Harvard Medical School in 1929 and returned to Nanking to work at the University of Nanking Hospital.

Along with Minnie Vautrin and John Rabe, he was instrumental in establishing the International Safety Zone. During the Nanking Massacre, Dr. Wilson was the *only* surgeon remaining in the city and treating victims.

After the surrender of Japan, Dr. Wilson testified at the International Military Tribunal for the Far East (IMTFE) about the atrocities he had witnessed during the Nanking Massacre.

Source: Study Guide For Teachers: Iris Chang—*The Rape Of Nanking*, The film [http://edmontonalpha.org/study\\_guide.pdf](http://edmontonalpha.org/study_guide.pdf)

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# Chinese Rescuers in the Nanking Safety Zone

By Professor Zhang Lianhong - Translated by Monica Brick  
Courtesy of Victor Yung, NJ-ALPHA



Front row: Miss ?, Miss Rachel Wong, Miss Minnie Vautrin, Mrs. S.F. Tsen, Miss Chi;  
Rear row: Rev. C.T. Chiang (ACM), Catechist Fan (ACM), Rev. John Magee (ACM);  
Dean Tong (ACM), Mr. Francis Ch'en (Jinling), Mr. Li (Jinling), Rev. Paul Tong (ACM)  
Yale Archives: Forster, Ernest & Clarissa Photographs

Before the assault by the Japanese army, most Chinese with a higher social standing had already left Nanking. However, there was yet a handful of well-educated Chinese, who for one reason or another, stayed behind. They assisted twenty-two westerners to help rescue Chinese and manage the Nanking International Safety Zone. Many refugees also volunteered to help with the management, sanitation, and law enforcement within the Zone.

In general, Chinese rescue workers in the Safety Zone can be categorized into three groups:

1. Upper class Chinese who had very close relationships with Westerners, such as Chen Rong, Xu Chuanyin, Han Xiang-lin, and Qi Zhao-chan. They were intellectuals, fluent in foreign languages. During the Nanking massacre, they worked directly with Westerners in the International Committee to handle various issues. Within the Zone they arranged and coordinated the relief distribution, moreover, they functioned as the communication bridge between refugees and Westerners; outside the Zone, they served as interpreters helping Westerners to negotiate with the Japanese. Those Chinese made significant and irreplaceable contributions to the Safety Zone.

2. Middle ranking Chinese management personnel, included special committee members in the Safety Zone, a majority of the directors of refugee shelters, and other administration staff. They were the backbone of the Safety Zone. Their conscientiousness and hard working efforts greatly helped the smooth operation of the entire rescue. Westerners praised the assistance and work done by the safety zone administration staff. The Administrative Director of the Nanking Safety Zone International Committee, American Protestant missionary George A. Fitch said that the Zone workers were all volunteers, who did a superb job in

maintaining order, preparing food, and keeping up sanitation.

3. Safety Zone sanitation workers and policemen. Approximately 1500 registered International Committee employees who were in reality refugee volunteers. They came forward and offered their services when the Safety Zone was first established. Some of them were murdered after the Japanese seized the city, but most of them strived on during the occupation. Chinese rescue workers in the Safety Zone labored frequently under tremendous difficulty and stress. For unlike Westerners, if they did not handle matters with extreme discretion, they would easily be singled out by Japanese soldiers and killed. Therefore, not only did they work very hard, they had to be on constant alert for possible Japanese cruelties. After witnessing the Japanese atrocities, seeing how fellow Chinese were brutalized and slaughtered, the only thing the Zone workers could do was to hide the hatred in their hearts and endure the disgrace as well as the insults in order to complete the tasks at hand. In short, the Chinese workers were important components of the rescue undertakings; nothing could have been accomplished in the Safety Zone without their strenuous efforts.

Because there is still data that has yet to be unearthed and analyzed, it is not an easy task to learn systematically about the Chinese rescue workforce.

Below is a list of Chinese rescue workers assembled from the currently available files and Westerners' published diaries:

1. Various committee members in the Safety Zone Westerners were the major leaders of the International Committee in the Safety Zone. However, Westerners were hindered by a language barrier, and it was also impossible for them to have a full grasp about every aspect of the situation in Nanking. Therefore, large numbers of Chinese were needed to assist the

salvage work of the International Committee. According to the data collected, personnel working for affiliated organizations under International committee were the following:

- Xu Chuan-yin ( Vice-President, the Nanking Branch of the Red Swastika Society [philanthropic society]; Vice-President, the International Red Cross; and the only Chinese member of the Nanking International Relief Committee)
- Li Chun-nan (Vice-President of Nanking Branch of the International Red Cross; President of Nanking Red Cross)
- Xie Jin-kuan (member of the Sanitation Committee)

## 2. Middle ranking Chinese management personnel

There were twenty-five refugee shelters scattered around Nanking city. With the exception of Minnie Vautrin, the Shelter Director of Jinling Women's University, most of the other shelter directors were Chinese. Unfortunately the names of those directors were not well documented; as a result, the list below is far from complete.

- Zhao Yong-kui (Director, Army Academy shelter)
- Lu Cheng-mei (Director, Military warehouse shelter)
- Zhao Tang-rong (Director, German-Chinese Club shelter)
- Zhang Kong-sheng (Director, Quaker Church shelter)
- Zheng Da-cheng (Director, Hankong Road Elementary School shelter)
- Jiang Zheng-yun (Director, Jinling High School shelter)
- Ling En-zhong (Director, Gao's Tavern shelter)
- Kong Ping-liang, Wang Cheng-xu (Directors, Military Chemistry Plant shelter)
- Wang You-cheng (Director, Shanxi Road Elementary School shelter)
- Dong Kui-chen (Director, Judiciary School shelter)
- Jing Zhe-qiao, Xu Kai-ji (Director, Silkworm Factory shelter)

Shen Jia-yu (Director, Agriculture School shelter)  
Kuo Jun-de (Director, Bible Preacher Training school shelter)  
Tao Zhong-liang (Director, Jinling Seminary College shelter)  
Qi Zhao-chang (Director, Jinling College shelter)  
Liang Kai-chun (Director, College Library shelter)  
Chen Luo-meng (Director, Shuantang shelter)  
Chang Hai-yu (shelter staff)  
Ji Mei (shelter staff)  
Wang Ling (shelter staff)  
Wang Yu-hui (shelter staff)  
Sai Zhu-fu (shelter staff)  
Li Duan-ting (shelter staff)  
Xi Ru-yuan (shelter staff)  
Luo Bo (shelter staff)  
Yao Yuan-fu (shelter staff)  
Xiao Ma (shelter staff)  
Yang Chun (shelter staff)

### 3. Assistants for Westerners and Workers in the schools, churches and hospitals

Wu Jing-yi (Lecturer, Jinling Women's University, Biology Department; Minnie Vautrin's special Assistant)  
Huang Zi-liang (staff of Former Chinese Mobile Military Surgical Hospital; Jinling Women's University, Gate Guard)  
Jiang Sheng-tai (Teacher, Jinling Women's University)  
Cheng Rui-fang (Dorm Superintendent, Jinling Women's University)  
Li Xian-rong (staff, Jinling Women's University)  
Chen Zhong-yi (Dean of Agriculture Department, Jinling Women's University)  
Chen Frances (Office Administrator, Jinling Women's University)  
Luo Wei (Manager of the Capital Hotel; Vice-President of Nanjing Branch of International Red Cross)  
Shen Yu-Shu (Preacher, member of Nanjing Branch of International Red Cross; Director of Safety Zone Sanitation Committee)  
Tang Zhong-mo (Chief of Chinese Secretaries in Safety Zone)  
Chen Rong (Professor, Jinling Women's University; interpreter for the International Committee)  
Han Xiang-lin (Director of Food Committee; Director of Siemens shelter)  
Ma Pu-ying (staff of International Committee in the Safety Zone)  
Ma Si-hua (staff of International Committee in the Safety Zone)  
Tian Xian (staff of International Committee in the Safety Zone)  
Wang Ping-sheng (staff of International Committee in the Safety Zone)  
Kuang Cheng-fa (staff of International Committee in the Safety Zone)  
Shan Yuan-kuan (staff of International Committee in the Safety Zone)  
Cheng Rui-fang (staff of International Committee in the Safety Zone)  
Zhu Shou-yi (Relief supply distributor in the Safety Zone)  
Liu Yun-hai (post calamity Investigator in the Safety Zone)  
Xu Jin-de (Ambulance Driver, Red Cross)  
Li Wen-yuan (Driver, International Committee)

Yuan Chun-rong (Police officer, Safety Zone)  
H.K. Wu (Police officer)  
Y.H.Yong (Chief of Police)  
Wang Xing-long (member of the Housing Committee; former superintendent of the City Police, arrested and killed by the Japanese Army)  
Sun Yao-san (member of the Food Committee)  
Zhu Jing (member of the Food Committee)  
Cai Chao-song (member of the Food Committee)  
Chao Lao-wu (member of the Food Committee)  
Xiao (member of the Food Committee)  
C. C. Meng (member of the Food Committee)  
Zhou Bao-xin (member of the Food Committee)  
Charles Ji (member of the Housing Committee)  
Zhu Shu-chang (member of the Housing Committee)  
Owen C. C. Zhu (member of the Housing Committee)  
Xu Hao-lu (member of the Housing Committee)  
Wang Ming-de (member of the Housing Committee)  
Y.S. Chang (member of the Housing Committee)  
Ren Ze-qin (member of the Housing Committee)  
Cao Zhi-chang (member of the Housing Committee)  
Wu Guo-ying (member of the Housing Committee)  
Su Cheng-yuan (member of the Housing Committee)  
Wang Yu-cheng (member of the Housing Committee)  
Xie Sheng (member of the Housing Committee)  
Wu Ke-qin (member of the Housing Committee)  
Wang Xing-lang (member of the Housing Committee)  
Meng Cai-dao (member of the Sanitation Committee)  
Ma Sen (member of the Sanitation Committee)  
Min Jian-de (member of the Sanitation Committee)  
Li Ze-cheng (staff, Jinling Women's University)  
Wang Qing-ji (secretary for Minnie Vautrin)  
Lin Sheng (staff, Jinling Women's University)  
Chen Tai (staff, Orphanage)  
Xu Zhen-zhi (Professor, Jinling Women's University)  
Shao Yuan-han (Director, Nanjing Y.M.C.A.)  
Chen Shi-yu (secretary, Y.M.C.A., Assistant for George Fitch; General Manager for all shelters)  
Xu Qing-liang (staff, Y.M.C.A.)  
Shi Li-sheng (staff, Y.M.C.A.)  
Deng Tai-cheng (Chinese secretary, American Embassy)  
Chen Fan-sheng (Pastor, Jinling Women's University)  
Reverend Fan (Pastor, Protestant Episcopal Church in Jinling Women's University)  
Reverend Tang (Pastor, Protestant Episcopal Church in Jinling Women's University)  
Lu Xiao-ting (Pastor, Protestant Episcopal Church)  
Cheng Ru-lin (Pastor, Protestant Episcopal Church)  
Reverend Jiang (Pastor, Protestant Episcopal Church)  
Dr. Paul Dong (Pastor, Protestant Episcopal Church)  
Dr. Su (Doctor, Nanjing Drum Tower Hospital)

Dr. Tang (Doctor, Nanjing Drum Tower Hospital)  
Dr. Chang (Doctor, Nanjing Drum Tower Hospital)  
Chen Yuan (Nurse, Nanjing Drum Tower Hospital)  
Ms. Chang (Nurse, Nanjing Drum Tower Hospital)  
Wu Zhen-zhu (staff, Nanjing Drum Tower Hospital; adopted daughter of an American missionary couple)  
Wang Ming-de (staff, Bible Preacher Training school)  
Kong Qin-xin (Director, Red Swastika Hospital)  
Zhou Wen-bo (Accountant, Siemens; General Tang Sheng-zhi assigned him the responsibility of caring for the injured Chinese soldiers)  
Long William (Interpreter, Siemens; General Tang Sheng-zhi assigned him the responsibility of caring for the injured Chinese soldiers)  
Luo Fu-xiang (Sales, Siemens; real name Wang Guan-han, former Chinese air force pilot, saved by the International Committee)  
Zhang Fu-gen (staff, Siemens)  
Sun Long-sheng (staff, Siemens)  
Xu A-si (staff, Siemens)  
Zhang Yi-kuan (staff, Siemens)  
Cai Zi-liang (worker, Siemens)  
Tong Xi-kun (worker, Siemens)  
Zhang Kuo-zhen (housekeeper for John Rabe)  
Cao Bao-lin (cook for John Rabe)  
Ge Wen-hai (driver for John Rabe)  
Liu Han-chen (driver for John Rabe)  
Chang Ze-de (doctor, Red Cross Hospital affiliate with Ministry of Foreign Affairs)  
Dr. Tu (Director, Red Cross Hospital affiliate with Ministry of Foreign Affairs)  
Dr. Cao (doctor, Red Cross Hospital affiliate with Ministry of Foreign Affairs)  
? D. G. Graham (Jinling High School)  
? Larsen H.S. Hu (Jinling Women's University Hospital)

### **Question:**

Until recently, praise for rescue had been heaped on the Western members of the International Safety Zone. Why do you think the Chinese rescuers and upstanders were ignored? Respond in a 3-4 paragraph essay.



## Diary Entries for December 24, 1937

### George Ashmore Fitch

December 24, 1937

Complete anarchy has reigned for ten days—it has been hell on earth ... to have to stand by while even the very poor are having their last possession taken from them—their last coin, their last bit of bedding (and it is freezing weather), the poor ricksha[w] man, his ricksha[w]; while thousands of disarmed soldiers who had sought sanctuary with you together with many hundreds of innocent civilians are taken out before your eyes to be shot or used for bayonet practice and you have to listen to the sounds of the guns that are killing them; while a thousand women kneel before you crying hysterically, begging you to save them from the beasts who are preying on them; to stand by and do nothing while your flag is taken down and insulted, not once but a dozen times, and your home is being looted and then to watch the city you have come to love and the institution to which you have planned to devote your best deliberately and systematically burned by fire—this is a hell I had never before envisaged. (Fitch)

### John Rabe

December 24, 1937

This morning I carefully packed up the red advent star that we lighted yesterday evening and gave it as a Christmas present, along with a Siemens calendar notebook, to the ladies of Kulou Hospital [Drum Tower Hospital]. Dr. Wilson used the opportunity to show me a few of his patients. The woman who was admitted because of a miscarriage and had bayonet cuts all over her face is doing fairly well. A sampan owner who was shot in the jaw and burned over most of his body when someone poured gasoline over him and then set him on fire managed to speak a few words, but he will probably die in the course of the day. Almost two-thirds of his skin is burnt. I also went down to the morgue in the basement and had them uncover the bodies that were delivered last night. Among them a civilian with his eyes burned out and his head totally burned, who had likewise had gasoline poured over him by Japanese soldiers. The body of a little boy, maybe seven years old, had four bayonet wounds in him, one in the belly about as long as your finger. He died two days after being admitted to the hospital without ever once uttering a cry of pain.

I have had to look at so many corpses over the last few weeks that I can keep my nerves in check even when viewing these horrible cases. It really doesn't leave you in a "Christmas" mood; but I wanted to see these atrocities with my own eyes, so that I can speak as an eyewitness later. A man cannot be silent about this kind of cruelty! . . .

Everyone's competing to make this a happy Christmas for me. It's really touching! Chang bought some Christmas roses and has decorated the house with them. He even managed to find a fir tree that he wants to decorate and he just came around grinning with joy carrying six very long candles that he rounded up for me somewhere. Everybody likes me suddenly. And it used to be, or so I thought, that no one wanted to have much to do with me, or might I have been wrong there? How strange, my dear Dora, my dear children and grandchildren! I know you're all praying for me today. I feel as if I am surrounded by loving thoughts. That does a man boundless good after all that I've had to go through these last two weeks. Believe me, I have a prayer in my heart for all of you as well. The terrible crisis that has overtaken us all here has restored my childlike faith. Only a God can protect me from these hordes whose deadly games include rape, murder, and arson. . . .

I'll close today's entry with this prayer in my heart: May a gracious God keep all of you from ever having to face a crisis like the one in which we now find ourselves. I do not regret having stayed on here, for my presence has saved many lives, but all the same, my suffering is indescribable. (Rabe 92-3)

## Tsen Shuifang

December 24, 1937

Yesterday the soldiers guarding the gate were better. [The situation] on the streets is improving. Those bad soldiers left and went to Hsu Chow [city north of Nanking] to fight. The day before yesterday [the Japanese authorities] said they would protect people. It's

difficult to enforce. I don't think they will do it. Every day [the Japanese soldiers] loot outside and take everything, even searching for a few cents, including coins [they take] from women. They are extremely poor.

Today a certain Japanese staff officer came here with several Chinese to find prostitutes. If prostitutes would engage in their profession outside, the soldiers would not frequent the refugee camps to find nice girls to molest. This kind of talk has some merit. There are a number of prostitutes here, so [we] let them look, and several Chinese in the group could identify prostitutes. During two days recently, some Japanese prostitutes arrived. Under the circumstances, [the soldiers] can do whatever they like. [Chinese] people being humiliated is the government's fault. It is really sad. . . .

I have to hide the diary every time after I write, fearing it will be confiscated by the Japanese soldiers. So does Vautrin. Today, another child died after a long illness. Every day, there are births, deaths, and sicknesses. They are unavoidable among some ten thousand people. (Hu and Zhang 64-5)

## Minnie Vautrin

December 24, 1937

The day before Christmas! About ten o'clock I was called to my office to interview the high military advisor for the \_\_\_\_ division. Fortunately he had an interpreter with him, an old Chinese interpreter for the Embassy. The request was that they be allowed to pick out the prostitute women from our ten thousand refugees. They said they wanted one hundred. They feel if they can start a regular licensed place for the soldiers then they will not molest innocent and decent women. After promising they would not take any of the latter, we permitted them to begin their search, the adviser sitting in my office during the search. After a long time, they finally secured twenty-one. Some, they think, made off when they heard such a search was to be made and some are still in hiding. Group after group of girls have asked me if they will select the other seventy-nine from the decent girls—and all I can answer is that they will not do it if it is in my power to prevent it.

This evening at 6:30 we had a simple Christmas service there with only ourselves and Mrs. Tsen's daughter-in-law and four children. The little children enjoyed the simple gifts—it was wrong not to have something for them, although the grandmother did not approve. Tomorrow we will use the room four times for other groups.

At 4:30 went over to the University [of Nanking] to check the report that a number of weeping women brought to me. They were told that a number of men have been selected out from the refugees and are to be killed unless they are identified at once. Many women are faced with terrible dilemmas—to stay with their husbands and be raped by soldiers

when their husbands are turned out of house at point of bayonet; [or] to come to Jinling [Jinling], and leave their husbands—the latter then runs risk of being carried off and killed.

Stray groups of soldiers have almost ceased to come to the campus since we have the guard and patrol at the gate. This lessens the strain for me a great deal.

Great fires still light up the southern and eastern sky. Evidently all shops are being thoroughly looted and then burned. I do not want to see Nanking because I am sure it is a desolate waste. People say conditions in city are somewhat better. Still no connection with outside world—I learned this from calling at the American Embassy today. (Hu and Zhang 63-4)

## Questions for Discussion:

1. Compare and contrast the diary entries. Write down what you see as the similarities and the differences of the rescuers' experiences. Discuss this with a group of 3 or 4. Choose a recorder to take notes during your discussion and a spokesperson who will report a summary of your findings to the class.
2. Does anything in the diaries surprise you? Explain fully.
3. Write a brief description of their backgrounds and what they witnessed and the work they did in Nanking. Share this with your group.
4. What happened to these rescuers after Nanking? Shouldn't good things happen to people who do good? Explain your answer.

# An In-Depth Look at Several Nanking Rescuers and Upstanders

## Iris Chang, Upstander (1968-2004)

Iris Chang [was] one of the nation's leading young historians. Her latest, widely acclaimed book focuses on Chinese immigrants and their descendants in the United States—their sacrifices, their achievements and their contributions to the fabric of American culture, an epic journey spanning more than 150 years. But even before the publication of *The Chinese in America: A Narrative History*, Chang had established herself as an invaluable source of information about Asia, human rights, and Asian American history.



nanjing 1937

In her international bestseller, *The Rape of Nanking*, Chang examines one of the most tragic chapters of World War II: the slaughter, rape and torture of hundreds of thousands of Chinese civilians by Japanese soldiers in the former capital of China. Stories about Chang's grandparents' harrowing escape were part of her family legacy and prompted her to embark on this ambitious project, for which she interviewed elderly survivors of the massacre and discovered thousands of rare documents in four different languages. Published by Basic Books on December 1997 (the 60th anniversary of the massacre) and in paperback by Penguin in 1998, *The Rape of Nanking*—the first, full-length English-language narrative of the atrocity to reach a wide audience - remained on the *New York Times* bestseller list for several months and was cited by Bookman Review Syndicate as one of the best books of 1997.

Iris Chang's many accolades included the John D. and Catherine T. MacArthur Foundation's Program on Peace and International Cooperation Award, the Woman of the Year award from the Organization of Chinese Americans, and an honorary doctorate from the College of Wooster. Chang wrote for numerous publications, such as the *New York Times*, *Newsweek*, and the *Los Angeles Times*, and has been featured

by countless radio, television and print media, including *Nightline*, the *Jim Lehrer News Hour*, *Charlie Rose*, *Good Morning America*, *C-Span's Booknotes*, and the front cover of *Reader's Digest*. Chang also lectured frequently before business, university and other groups interested in human rights, World War II history, Cold War history, the Asian American experience, Sino-American relations, and the future of American civil liberties.

Iris Chang was born in Princeton, New Jersey, and grew up in Champaign-Urbana, Illinois, where she earned a bachelor's degree in journalism from the University of Illinois in 1989. She worked briefly as a reporter for the *Associated Press* and the *Chicago Tribune* before completing a graduate degree in writing from the Johns Hopkins University and launching her career as a full-time author and lecturer.

Source: Iris Chang Papers, University of California, Santa Barbara  
<http://www.library.ucsb.edu/speccoll/collections/cema/chang.html>

### Research Assignment:

1. Find out more about Iris Chang. Why is she called an upstander? Who coined this term?
2. Write a brief essay about Iris Chang as an upstander.

## Francis (Feirung) Chen, Rescuer (1930s)



Francis Chen (Chen Feirung) served as assistant treasurer and business manager of Jinling (Ginling) College in Nanking from 1934 to 1939. In early December of 1937, before she left Jinling College, Dr. Wu Yi-fang, the president of the college named Francis Chen to the three-member emergency committee that included Minnie Vautrin, acting vice-president, and Mrs. Tsen Shuifang, Director of the student dorms and the college's nurse.

Chen was in charge of training the janitors to be security guards and organizing the teenagers on campus into a service-corps as guides and scouts. He was invaluable assisting Vautrin as she tried to make Jinling look neutral to the Japanese. Vautrin and Chen hung eight U.S. flags in strategic locations around the college. They had the old signs for the college repainted to read: "Great American Ginling College).

They also supervised the preparations for admitting the refugees. Eight buildings were emptied of furniture, which was put in storage. These building were to house around 2750 refugees. In fact, at the height of the rape of Nanking, Jinling College housed over 10,000 refugees, mostly women and children.

After the Japanese occupied Nanking, Chen, a young man, was in danger. The Japanese were rounding up young men whom they suspected had been soldiers. The Japanese slapped Chen on one occasion. On two occasions Chen was taken out of the college by the Japanese. Vautrin and the others feared that he would be murdered. Both times he was released after the Japanese soldiers had looted his money and possessions. Vautrin called these, miracles.

Minnie Vautrin said, "Mr. Francis Chen has had trying experiences because of his youth—in a situation where was a handicap—but he has always been willing to do all that he could do to help" (Appendix 185). She said that at first Francis had been afraid but later he said that he was glad he had stayed at Jinling College and that he had lost all fear (30).

Francis Chen continued to be helpful and brave, patrolling the campus with the foreigners and standing guard at the gate house. These activities were dangerous because, despite the college's neutrality, Japanese soldiers persisted in breaking in either to take women out to serve as military sex slaves or to rape the young women. The soldiers also entered Jinling to search for young men whom they suspected of being in the Chinese army. The Chinese men who were taken out of Jinling were murdered.

The Japanese soldiers had little fear of any Chinese but were afraid of the foreigners, especially the men, because of the trouble the foreigners could cause them with their officers. Both Minnie Vautrin and Francis Chen were slapped trying to help refugees.

While Francis was still at Jinling, his son was born. In Vautrin's diary, on February 12, 1938, she noted that the college staff had celebrated the birth of Chen's son in Swatow, Kwangtung (Guangdong) Province in southern China.

Francis Chen continued with his work on the emergency committee, assisting Minnie Vautrin and Tsen Shuifang, for example, with the registration of the refugees, decreed by the Japanese.

Chen continued working at Jinling College in Nanking until 1939.

Source: Hua-ling Hu, and Zhang Lian-hong. *Undaunted Women of Nanking: The Wartime Diaries of Minnie Vautrin and Tsen Shui-fang.*



## Chen Rong, Rescuer (1888-1971)



Chen Rong was a famous forestry scientist, educator, and tree taxonomist. As one of the pioneers of modern forestry in China, Chen Rong spent all his life in Forestry teaching, scientific research, and practical forestation work. He trained numerous forestry professionals, and personally participated in many forestation activities. He was the author of China's taxonomy of trees, *On Silviculture* [a branch of forestry dealing with the development and care of trees], and *All of Silviculture*, as well as many other books about forestry. Chen was recognized as the founder of Chinese taxonomy of trees and reforestation studies.

Chen Rong was born in Zhejiang Province on March 2, 1888. His family was poor; therefore besides studying in the village school he regularly had to help his father with all kinds of farm work. The family situation worsened when, at the age of twelve, he lost his father. However, with the help of relatives and friends, he persisted in his works, both farming and studying. He entered the nearby school in Zhiyong at the age of sixteen. A year later he enrolled in Pingyang County School for advanced studies.

Knowledge broadened Chen Rong's vision and horizon. He realized the world waiting outside was broad, and the information to be gained was boundless. At that time, a number of young people in his neighborhood went to Japan to study, engaging the financial assistance of friends and relatives, Chen Rong eventually made his way to Japan in 1906. He returned to China in 1913, after graduating from Hokkaido Imperial University. In 1915, Chen was appointed the Director of Forestry at the First Jiangsu Provincial Agricultural School.

After a few years of working, Chen Rong felt an urgent need for further education. In 1923, he entered the Arnold Arboretum at Harvard University. After receiving a Master's Degree in Science, he spent the following year in Germany advancing his studies.

In 1925, Chen Rong returned to China, where he became a professor at Jinling College, and later he became Head of the Department of Forestry.

Chen Rong loved science. In 1937, days before the Japanese invasion, a decision was made that Jinling College was to be moved westward. However, a large number of valuable teaching instruments, equipment, and specimens could not be relocated. Chen Rong and a few faculty members were asked to stay behind overseeing the school's properties.

The Japanese took over Nanking on December 13, 1937. Japanese used "Chinese soldiers were among the refugees" as an excuse to barge into the Safety Zone that day. More than three hundred Chinese were shot in the shelter across the street from Jinling College, and that night over thirteen-hundred more were killed in the same area. Thousands of people swarmed Jinling College, and all were very scared and jittery.

At daybreak, December 14, 1937, after a restless night and careful consideration, Chen Rong decided to enlist the help of the American faculty at Jinling College, John H. D. Rabe, the Chairman of the International Committee, and the International Committee members. Together they discussed and drew up an official complaint, which Chen Rong personally submitted to the Japanese Embassy.

Many Hokkaido Imperial University alumni were in the Japanese army and at the embassy; therefore Cheng Rong, who was fluent in Japanese, tried to utilize his alumnus status in the negotiation process. He also served as the interpreter and negotiator for the International Committee. One of the goals they were trying to achieve was for the Japanese Embassy to post official "off-limits" announcements for the Japanese army on all shelters and foreigners' residences to avoid harassment from Japanese soldiers.

The negotiations did not receive the expected results. However, according to the book, *History of the Nanking Massacre by the Japanese Invaders*, a member of the Japanese Embassy did inform the International Committee on December 14, that the Japanese army was determined to wreak havoc on Nanking, but the Japanese Embassy was trying to ease their aggressive actions.

Documents and records show that although the situation was relatively calmer in the Safety Zone, Japanese soldiers did not stop their gruesome brutalities. On December 26, 1937, Japanese soldiers arrived at Jinling College and announced a so called “law-abiding citizen” registration. They proclaimed that if anyone who previously worked as a laborer for the Chinese army came forward, not only would they be “forgiven”; they could also gain job opportunities. More than two hundred men were tricked into this swindle and lost their lives. Chen Rong took up the matter with the Japanese Embassy, explaining that Chinese army laborers were civilians forced into work; they did not volunteer nor did they receive pay. Chen Rong’s efforts prevented further bloodshed of this kind.

Beginning in December 1937 and for six weeks thereafter, with Chen Rong’s involvement, the International Committee submitted numerous official complaints, sometimes more than twice a day, to the Japanese Embassy listing hundreds of atrocities perpetrated by Japanese soldiers.

Chen Rong also assisted in the protection of Jinling. In lieu of a campus wall at Jinling College, bushy fir trees served as a barrier. During the period of the Nanking Massacre, Chen Rong often patrolled around the campus, standing guard by the front gate and trying to stop Japanese soldiers from entering the school. Moreover, during the Japanese occupation, Chen established a private secondary school on Jinling campus to utilize the faculty and for the continued education of the youngsters.

With Chen and his colleagues’ joint endeavors, Jinling University campus provided sanctuary for more than 30,000 women, children, and elderly.

Source: Text supplied by Professor Zhang Lianhong, translated by Monica Brick, courtesy of Victor Yung

## John Rabe, Rescuer (1882-1950)



nj1937.org

John Rabe was born on November 23, 1882, in Hamburg, Germany. His father was a sea captain. Rabe pursued a career in business, serving as an apprentice with a merchant in Hamburg and then worked in Africa. In 1908, Rabe traveled to China, and by 1910, he was employed in the Beijing office of the Siemens China Corporation.

In 1927, Japanese troops were sent to China to obstruct attempts by the Kuomintang (KMT) to unify the country. In June 1928 officers in the Kwantung Army (the Japanese Army unit stationed in Manchuria) began an unauthorized campaign to secure Japanese interests and precipitate a war with China. Both the Japanese high command in Tokyo and the Chinese refused to mobilize.

In September 1931, conspirators in the Kwantung Army stage the Manchurian Incident, blew up a section of railway track in the south of Manchuria then blamed Chinese saboteurs. With the Japanese Government powerless to intervene, the Kwantung Army mobilized, taking nearby Mukden (now Shenyang) then, in January 1932, attacking Shanghai, south of their territory in Shandong Province. A truce is reached in March 1932. The Japanese then establish the puppet state of Manchukuo, centered in Manchuria and headed by the last Chinese emperor, Pu Yi.

Meanwhile, in November 1931 Siemens transferred Rabe to their office in Nanking. Now the company's senior representative in China, he sold telephones, turbines, and electrical equipment to the Kuomintang government.

The Japanese military effectively takes control of the Japanese Government in May 1932, when the prime minister is assassinated. Manchukuo is formally recognized by the military-controlled regime.

Meanwhile in Germany the Nazi Party seized power on January 30, 1933, when Adolf Hitler is appointed chancellor. The Nazis quickly took control. Rabe joined the Nazi party, becoming head of the local party branch in Nanjing. In November, 1936, Japan and Germany have signed the Anti-Comintern (Communist International) Pact, an agreement to fight the spread of communism. Italy joined a year later.

The Second Sino-Japanese War broke out on July 7, 1937, following a skirmish between Chinese and Japanese troops outside Beijing. Chinese forces evacuated Beijing on July 28. The Japanese overran Tianjin, or Tientsin (100 km southeast of Beijing) on July 30 and then attacked Shanghai on August 13. After a three-month siege, Shanghai fell, and the Kuomintang forces withdrew to the northwest towards their capital Nanking (also known as Nanjing). The Japanese pursued, looting, burning, and killing, as they advanced.

The foreign community and much of the Nanjing's Chinese population, including the government, were evacuated from the city during November 1937. Rabe was ordered by Siemens to leave. He sent his family away but refused to go himself.

Instead, he stayed behind with several dozen other foreign nationals (mostly German and American missionaries, scholars, doctors and businessmen) to establish a temporary Safety Zone to provide Chinese refugees with food, clothing and shelter during the confusion that was anticipated when the Japanese entered Nanking. Rabe was made head of the 15-member international committee that is founded on November 22, 1937, to administer the zone. Twenty-five hostels were established in an area in the western district of the city, with centers located in all of the foreign embassies and at the University of Nanjing. Rabe also opened his own property, which will shelter about 650 refugees.

On December 1, the international committee was authorized by the mayor of Nanjing to take over the administration of the city once he and his staff evacuate.

The Japanese ground assault on Nanjing began on December 10, 1937, after the Chinese troops assigned to defend the city refused to withdraw. When Nanjing finally fell on December 13, 1937, just hours after the Chinese forces have fled, the Japanese began a bloodthirsty massacre that lasted for six weeks.

Rabe and other members of the International Committee met the Japanese as they entered the city and explained the situation within the Safety Zone, asking that its boundaries be respected. However, their appeal had limited effect.

“If I had not seen it with my own eyes, I would not have believed it,” Rabe wrote in his diary on that day. “They (Japanese soldiers) smash open windows and doors and take whatever they like. ... I watched with my own eyes as they looted the café of our German baker Herr Kiessling. . . . Of the perhaps one thousand disarmed soldiers that we had quartered at the Ministry of Justice, between 400 and 500 were driven from it with their hands tied. We assume they were shot since we later heard several salvos of machine-gun fire. These events have left us frozen with horror.”

The Rape of Nanjing (in Chinese, *Nanjing Datusha* or Great Nanjing Massacre) resulted in the indiscriminate murder of between 200,000-350,000 Chinese civilians and surrendered soldiers. It was the worst single massacre of unarmed troops and civilians in the history of the 20th Century.

Japanese troops looted and burned the city and surrounding towns, destroying more than a third of the buildings. Chinese captives were tortured, burnt alive, buried alive, decapitated, bayoneted and shot en masse.

Between 20,000 and 80,000 Chinese women and girls of all ages were raped. Thousands were murdered after their ordeal. Thousands more were forced into sexual slavery. It was one of the worst ever recorded single cases of mass rape.

About 250,000 Chinese found refuge in the safety zone, which quickly became a permanent rather than a temporary facility. Among the refugees were Chinese soldiers who were unable to leave the city during the general retreat. The Japanese demanded that they be handed over and forcibly entered the safety zone on several occasions to apprehend suspects.

Rabe and his fellow zone administrators attempted to stop the atrocities occurring in the city while working to ensure that the refugees within the safety zone were fed and nursed. They also petitioned international governments to intervene and document the events for the world media.

Rabe used his Nazi credentials to prevent the atrocities wherever possible. He wrote repeatedly to Hitler asking that something be done to stop the killing. Along with other members of the international committee he recorded the actions of the Japanese troops and passed on reports to the Japanese embassy, which was also lobbied to intervene. Rabe also recorded his experiences in his diary:

Groups of three to ten marauding soldiers would begin by travelling through the city and robbing whatever there was to steal. They would continue by raping the women and girls and killing everything and everyone that offered any resistance, attempted to run away from them, or simply happened to be in the wrong place at the wrong time. During their misdeeds, no difference was made between adults and children. There were girls under the age of eight and women over the age of 70 who were raped and then, in the most brutal way possible, knocked down and beat up. We found corpses of women on beer glasses and others who had been lanced by bamboo shoots. I saw the victims with my own eyes; I talked to some of them right before their deaths and had their bodies brought to the morgue at Kulo Hospital so that I could be personally convinced that all of these reports had touched on the truth.

You would have thought it impossible, but the raping of women even occurred right in the middle of the women’s camp in our zone, which held between 5,000 and 10,000 women. We few foreigners couldn’t be at all places all the time in order to protect against these atrocities. One was powerless against these monsters who were armed to the teeth and who shot down anyone who tried to defend themselves. They only had respect for us foreigners - but nearly every one of us was close to being killed dozens of times. We asked ourselves mutually, “How

much longer can we maintain this “bluff”?

On December 19, Rabe writes,

Six Japanese climbed over my garden wall and attempted to open the gates from the inside. When I arrive and shine my flashlight in the face of one of the bandits, he reaches for his pistol, but his hand drops quickly enough when I yell at him and hold my swastika armband under his nose. Then, on my orders, all six scramble back over the wall. My gates will never be opened to riffraff like that. ... The 300 to 400 refugees here in my garden - I no longer know how many there really are - Have used straw mats, old doors, and sheets of tin to build huts for a little protection from the snow and cold.

On December 24, he writes,

I have had to look at so many corpses over the last few weeks that I can keep my nerves in check even when viewing these horrible cases. It really doesn't leave you in a 'Christmas' mood; but I wanted to see these atrocities with my own eyes, so that I can speak as an eyewitness later. A man cannot be silent about this kind of cruelty!

And on January 30,

My car is stopped on Hankow Road by a group of about 50 Chinese, who asked me to rescue a woman whom a Japanese soldier had led away to rape. ... I find the house completely looted, the floor covered with all sorts of debris. In one of the open rooms is a coffin on a bier, and in the room adjoining, lying on a floor covered with straw and junk, I see the soldier, who is about to rape the woman. I manage to pull the soldier out of the room and into the entryway. When he sees all the Chinese and my car, he pulls away and disappears somewhere in the ruins of nearby buildings. The crowd stands at the door, murmuring, but quickly disperses when I tell them to, so as not to attract more Japanese soldiers.

The 1,200-page diary was forgotten after the Second World War, but later resurfaced to furnish proof that the atrocities at Nanjing did occur.

It is estimated that more than 250,000 were saved by the actions of Rabe and the other Safety Zone administrators, who were subjected to constant threats and intimidation, including violence, from the Japanese.

The atrocities at Nanking set an example that left the Chinese population throughout China terrorized.

Meanwhile, the Kuomintang (KMT) and CCP joined to fight the common enemy, although the alliance began to break down late in 1938.

On February 28, 1938, Rabe left Nanjing, travelling to Shanghai and then on to Germany, where he worked to alert the government and people to the events in China. He presented lectures in Berlin, showing photographs, reports and an amateur film of the Japanese violence. However, when he wrote to Hitler asking him to use his influence to persuade the Japanese to end the atrocities, Rabe was arrested and interrogated by the Gestapo (internal security police) for three days. He was released from custody following intervention from Siemens but was barred from lecturing or writing about the Rape of Nanjing again. He was however allowed to keep his documentary evidence, excluding the film, which was confiscated. Rabe continued to work for Siemens, which posted him briefly to the relative safety of Afghanistan.

In post-war Germany, Rabe was denounced for his Nazi Party membership and arrested first by the Russians and then the British. However, subsequent investigations exonerated him of any wrongdoing. Rabe was “de-Nazified” by the Allies in June 1946 but lived in poverty. Monthly food parcels and money sent from grateful colleagues in China partly sustained his wife and him, but after the KMT was defeated by the CCP in 1949 the deliveries stopped.

At the war crime trials held in Tokyo from May 1946 until November 1948, the International Military Tribunal for the Far East [IMTFE] convicted over 4,000 Japanese officials and military personnel. Of the



28 “class-A” defendants brought to trial only two, General Matsui Iwane (the commander-in-chief of the Japanese forces responsible for the

Rape of Nanjing) and Hirota Koki (the Japanese foreign minister at the time), were convicted for the Nanking atrocities. Both were sentenced to death and executed. War crime trials were also held in Nanking, although only four Japanese Army officers, including Tani Hisao, a lieutenant-general who personally participated in acts of murder and rape, were tried for crimes relating to the Nanjing massacre. All four are sentenced were to death and executed.

In 1950, John Rabe died of a stroke.

## Postscript

Japan continues to downplay or deny the crimes against humanity committed by its military during the Second Sino-Japanese War and the Second World War. A new secondary school history textbooks released by Japan’s Ministry of Education at the start of 2005 describes the massacre at Nanjing as an “incident” with relatively few casualties. The invasion of China is called an “advancement.” References to the mass rape and sexual enslavement of women and girls are not included. The release of the revised textbook sparked demonstrations in China. Demonstrators mobbed Japanese government buildings and businesses within China, calling on Japan to admit to and apologize for its war crimes.

Can a Nazi be a hero? The whole world seems to believe that Nazi Party member Oskar Schindler was a hero because of his work to save the lives of 1,200 Jews. John Rabe played the key role in saving the lives of more than 250,000 Chinese. On this comparison alone, Rabe ranks as a major hero of the 20th Century.

He was, however, by all accounts a far more dour figure than the charismatic Schindler, and far more sincere in his commitment to Nazi ideals. Speaking at one of the lectures he delivered in 1938, Rabe was reported to have said, “Although I feel tremendous sympathy for the suffering of China, I am still, above all, pro-German and I believe not only in the correctness of our political system but, as an organizer of the party, I am behind the system 100 percent.”

Yet after the war Rabe was said to have maintained that he never heard news of Nazi outrages while he was in China and only remained a member of the party to secure the subsidy he received from the German Government to finance a German School in Nanjing.

Rabe’s colleagues appeared to have been impressed by his character but puzzled by his political beliefs. Robert O. Wilson, a missionary and doctor who worked in China in the 1930s, wrote of Rabe: “He is well up in Nazi circles and after coming into such close contact as we have for the past few weeks and discover[ing] what a splendid man he is and what a tremendous heart he has, it is hard to reconcile his personality with his adulation of *Der Fuhrer*.”

Source: John Rabe Homepage by Thomas Rabe  
<http://www.john-rabe.de/english/cv/cv.htm>

## John Rabe and International Safety Zone Memorial Hall in Nanjing, China

On November 1, 2006, Louisa Lim, National Public Radio, reported on the opening of the John Rabe and International Safety Zone Memorial Hall in Nanjing, China. The house where John Rabe sheltered 600 Chinese civilians has been turned into a museum and international research center for peace and reconciliation. The museum commemorates the actions of a German businessman who saved lives during the 1937 Japanese invasion of the city; known as the “Rape of Nanking.”

Source: NPR <http://www.npr.org/templates/story/story.php?storyId=6415407>

## Tsen Shuifang, Rescuer (1875-1969)



Yale archives

Born in 1875 in Wuchang, Hupei Province, Tsen Shuifang (also Chen Ruifang) graduated from the Wuchang Nursing School. After graduation, Tsen Shuifang was a nurse and then administrator at the local Methodist Women's Hospital. From 1910 to 1924, Tsen was director of dormitories and then principal at St. Hilda's High School. In 1924, moved to Nanking where she was employed as the director of dormitories at Jinling Women's University in charge of students' room and board. In addition, she was the university's nurse.

In November as the Japanese soldiers marched to Nanking, most of Jinling's staff fled. However, at age sixty-two, Tsen stayed to assist Minnie Vautrin to protect the campus. Indeed, Vautrin named Tsen to her Emergency Committee. Tsen helped pack Jinling's books and valuables to send to safer locations. She helped Vautrin burn papers that the Japanese might misinterpret. Tsen also bought rice and other staples to feed the remaining staff in case of a siege. Moreover, Tsen found time to attend to the wounded Chinese soldiers housed outside the city wall.

In December 1937, when Jinling was designated as a refugee site, Tsen helped Vautrin to clear eight buildings on Jinling's campus for the refugees. When the Japanese soldiers were raping and looting, Tsen helped Vautrin guard the gate to the university. After 10,000 women and children flooded the refugee camp, Tsen with Vautrin managed the camp. As the only nurse in Jinling, she provided first aid to the refugees, delivering babies and attending the dying. In addition, she helped Vautrin teach classes for refugee children and widows without job skills.

Cheng Guoguang, her grandson, stayed with Tsen Shuifang in the Jinling Safety Zone during the Nanking Massacre. He recollected:

After the Japanese invaded Nanking, my mother, sister and I lived with our grandmother. I was a little boy of ten-years-old. Grandmother said if everyone fled, there would be no body to watch the school. She said she was old and did not want to leave. Ms. Wilhelmina [Minnie Vautrin] did not leave either; together they took care of refugees in Jinling Girls College Safety Zone. Grandmother was always busy. She managed the dorms, prepared food, and helped Ms. Wilhelmina with a lot of things. Grandmother told all the women to cover their heads with cloth, wipe their faces with ashes, and hide under the blankets.

One thing Cheng Guoguang remembered particularly was that his grandmother used to write something by the dim light of her room at night. He thought she was doing bookkeeping at the time, because she had so many different tasks. In fact, like Vautrin, Tsen kept a daily diary, starting on December 8, 1937, and ending on March 1.

From Tsen Shuifang's diary:

December 13

Our soldiers left last night. There was no sound of firing back this morning. Japanese soldiers came into the city from the West Gate at two o'clock in the afternoon. A lot of people ran in to the school. The Japanese confiscated their homes and ordered them to leave because they needed places to rest. People who came here were all empty handed and extremely scared. I feel very sad. It is heartbreaking. God knows what will happen tomorrow.

December 18

Women who were dragged away last night came back this morning with the exception of one. I do not know where she is. Maybe she is too ashamed. These Japanese (soldiers) are so barbaric and ruthless. They do whatever they want and nothing is considered too evil or too cruel for them. They kill and rape regardless of old or young. There was a mother and daughter family, both widows. The sixty-year-old mother was raped by three soldiers and the forty-year-old daughter was raped by two. It is horrible and inhuman.... We (Safety Zone) have over nine thousand people now. They are cramped in the corridors outside like sardines in a can.

Tsen Shuifang's diary is the only known account by a Chinese national written during the massacre and not written after the fact. Her diary is written from a unique perspective: a woman witnessing the atrocities being committed in Nanking and relatively powerless to help anyone outside the gates of Jinling University refugee camp.

Hua-ling Hu and Zhang Lian-hong. *Undaunted Women of Nanking: The Wartime Diaries of Minnie Vautrin and Tsen Shui-fang*

## Wilhelmina (Minnie) Vautrin, Rescuer (1886-1941)

Charred bodies tell the tales of some of these tragedies. The events of the following ten days are growing dim. But there are certain of them that lifetime will not erase from my memory and the memories of those who have been in Nanjing through this period. —From Minnie Vautrin's Diary



nj1937.org

Minnie Vautrin was born on September 27, 1886, in Secor, Illinois. Her father, Edmund Vautrin was a blacksmith; her mother, Pauline Lehr Vautrin, died when Minnie was six years old. Vautrin worked her way through the University of Illinois with a major in education, graduating with high honors in 1912. She trained as a teacher in Champaign at the University of Illinois, where she became involved in missionary activities. In 1912, at age twenty-six, Vautrin was commissioned by the United Christian Missionary Society as a missionary to Hofei, China, where she served as a high school principal for four years. Upon her arrival in China, she was moved by the pervasive illiteracy and inferior status among Chinese women and resolved to devote her life to promote women's education and help the poor in her community.

In 1918, Vautrin returned to the U.S. and, in 1919, was awarded her master's in education from Columbia University. Vautrin returned to China, becoming the chairman of the education department of Jinling [Jinling] Women's University in Nanking in 1919. She served as acting president of Jinling Women's University when President Matilda Thurston returned to America for fundraising. According to Hu and Zhang, "at Jinling, Vautrin devoted herself to promoting women's education and improving the college's curriculum. Also, she launched a 'good neighbor' policy to serve the poor in the vicinity of the college. She guided her students to open an elementary school and establish a free clinic for the poor of the neighborhood" (5-6)

At the outbreak of the Second Sino-Japanese war in July 1937, Vautrin defied the American embassy's order to evacuate the city. In December 1937, the capital city of Nanking fell to Japanese forces, and soldiers marauded through the streets looting, raping tens of thousands, and killing an estimated 300,000 civilians. Vautrin was again called on to take charge of the College campus, as most of the faculty left Nanking for Shanghai or Chengdu, Szechwan Province.

Minnie Vautrin became known in China as the "Living Goddess" or the "Goddess of Mercy" because she set aside her personal safety to protect the lives of the powerless, saving over 10,000 Chinese women and children. In December of 1937, when the Japanese army invaded the city during the Second Sino-Japanese, with only the protection of American flags and proclamations from the U.S. Embassy, Vautrin made Jinling Women's University a sanctuary for women and children. Risking her life, Vautrin confronted armed soldiers who stormed the campus and refused to let troops ransack the school or seize the refugees.

In 1938, the Chinese government covertly awarded her the Order of the Jade.

After the siege ended in March 1938, Vautrin devoted herself to caring for the refugees and helping the women locate husbands and sons who had been taken away by the Japanese soldiers. She taught destitute widows the skills required to make a meager living and provided the best education her limited resources would allow to the children of Nanking.

Minnie Vautrin's writings provide a detailed account of the situation in Nanking under Japanese occupation.

Wednesday, 15 December 1937

It is so difficult to keep track of the days—there is no rhythm in the weeks any more.  
From 8:50 this morning until 6 this evening, excepting for the noon meal, I have stood

at the front gate while the refugees poured in. There is terror in the face of many of the women —last night was a terrible night in the city and many young women were taken from their houses by the Japanese soldiers. Mr. Sane came over this morning and told us about the condition in the Hansimen section, and from that time on we have allowed women and children to come in freely; but always imploring the older women to stay home, if possible, in order to leave a place for younger ones. Many begged for just a place to sit out on the lawn. I think there must be more than 3,000 in tonight. Several groups of soldiers have come but they have not caused trouble, nor insisted on coming in. . . .

The Japanese have looted widely yesterday and today, have destroyed schools, killed citizens, and raped women. One thousand disarmed Chinese soldiers, whom the International Committee hoped to save, were taken from them and by this time are probably shot or bayoneted.

Thursday 16 December 1937 (Three days after the fall of the city to the Japanese)

Tonight I asked George Fitch [a Chinese-born American missionary head of the YMCA in Nanking] how the day went, and what progress they had made toward restoring peace in the city. His reply was, "It was hell today. The blackest day of my life." Certainly it was that for me too.

Last night was quiet, and our three foreign men were undisturbed, but the day was anything but peaceful. . . .

There probably is no crime that has not been committed in this city today. Thirty girls were taken from Language School last night, and today I have heard scores of heartbreaking stories of girls who were taken from their homes last night - one of the girls was but 12 years old. Food, bedding and money have been taken from people - Mr Li had \$55 taken from him. I suspect every house in the city has been opened, again and yet again, and robbed. Tonight a truck passed, in which there were 8 or 10 girls, and as it passed they called out 'Giu ming' 'Giu ming' - save our lives. The occasional shots that we hear out on the hills or on the street, make us realize the sad fate of some man - very probably not a soldier. . .

Djang Szi-fu's son, science hall janitor, was taken this morning, and Wei has not returned. We would like to do something but do not know what we can do--for there is no order in the city, and I cannot leave the campus.

Mr John Rabe [Nazi party member and head of the Safety Zone] told the Japanese commander that he could help them get lights, water and telephones service but he would do nothing until order was restored in the city. Nanking is but a pitiful broken shell tonight—the streets are deserted and all houses in darkness and fear.'

I wonder how many innocent, hard-working farmers and coolies have been shot today. We have urged all women over 40 to go to their homes to be with their husbands and to leave only their daughters and daughters-in-law with us. We are responsible for about 4,000 women and children tonight. We wonder how much longer we can stand this strain. It is terrible beyond words.

The "strain" would continue for eight more weeks.

In the last entry of her diary, April 14, 1940, Minnie Vautrin wrote: "I'm about at the end of my energy. Can no longer forge ahead and make plans for the work, for on every hand there seems to be obstacles of some kind. I wish I could go on furlough at once, but who will do the thinking for the Exp. Course?"

Suffering from psychological trauma from the massacre, Vautrin had a nervous breakdown in 1940 in China and returned to the United States for medical treatment. She was admitted into a mental institution and underwent electroshock therapy. A year to the day after she left Nanking, believing herself a failure, she ended her life.

Source: The Nanking Massacre Project  
[www.library.yale.edu/div/Nanking/Vautrin.html](http://www.library.yale.edu/div/Nanking/Vautrin.html)



## Xu Chuanyin, Upstander (1897-?)



The Red Swastika Society (Nanking Branch) Vice-Chairman, Dr. Xu Chuanyin (also known as Hsu Chuan-Ying), took the witness stand at the International Military Tribunal for the Far East (IMTFE) on July 26, 1946. The 62-year-old man testified in fluent English as follows:

The Japanese soldiers—when they entered the city—they were very, very rough, and they were very barbarous. They shot at everyone in sight. Anybody who ran away, or was on the street, or hanging around somewhere, or peeking through the door, they shot them—instant death.

I saw the dead bodies lying everywhere, and some of the bodies were very badly mutilated. Some of dead bodies are lying there as they were, shot or killed, some kneeling, some bending, some on their sides, and some just with their legs and arms wide open. It shows that this had been done by the Japanese, and I saw several Japanese doing it at that very moment.

“On Main Street I even started try[ing] to count the number of corpses lying on both sides of the street, and I started to count more than five hundred myself. I say it was no use counting them; I can never do that.

. . . They were all civilians, old and young, women and children.

Dr. Xu’s clear, accurate and detailed testimony was one of the deciding factors for the recognition of the Nanking Massacre, and the conviction for war crimes of the mastermind, Japanese Imperial Army General Iwane Matsui.

Who was Dr. Xu Chuanyin? After sorting through many documents and making contact with his son and daughter (Dr. Xu’s eldest son died on April 25, 1966, the second son, in his 80’s is now living in San Diego, Cal. His daughter lives in Chongqing).

This important key witness to the Nanking Massacre, finally surfaced out of dust-covered history:

Xu Chuanyin was born in An-Hui province. At the age of thirteen, he entered the Huiwen Shuyuan (in 1910 it became the University of Nanking). His academic achievement won him a government scholarship to the United States.

Dr. Xu graduated from the University of Illinois with a Ph.D. in Economics. In 1919, he went back to China and settled down in Nanking. He taught at various universities and subsequently held a few government positions.

During the Nanking Massacre, Dr. Xu was Vice-President of the Nanking Branch of the Red Swastika Society. He was also a member of the Nanking Safety Zone Housing Committee, as well as the only Chinese member of the Nanking International Relief Committee. He helped provide sanctuary and protection for thousands of Chinese.

During the Japanese occupation, Dr. Xu frequently worked in conjunction with Westerners to prevent Japanese soldiers' violence. Minnie Vautrin mentioned Dr. Xu's efforts and involvements more than twenty times in her diary *Terror in Minnie Vautrin's Nanjing*. However, Dr. Xu's endeavor had very little chance of success when he had to face the Japanese's brutalities alone. For instant, Japanese soldiers drove a *truck* into the refugee shelter one day aiming at abducting the women there. Dr. Xu did everything he could to stop them but failed. They dragged away many young girls and women—aged thirteen to forty. This was only one of thousands of incidents involving Japanese soldiers' killing, looting, raping, and arson recorded in the *Documents of the Nanking Safety Zone*.

**In September of 1946, the IMTFE established a special investigation session to find out the truth about the Nanking Massacre.**

**Abbreviation of the cross-examination of Dr. Xu in the IMTFE court:**

First argument:

The link between the Chinese army's refusal to surrender and the Japanese soldiers' atrocities

*Ito (Iwane Matsui's defense lawyer) questioned:*

Did you know that before the Japanese army assault on December 9, Japanese airplanes dropped leaflets in Nanking, trying to persuade Chinese soldiers to surrender? Are you aware of this?

Dr. Xu replied:

I am not aware of this. I was living inside of Nanking city, and I owned two houses that included two square miles of land. There were no leaflets on my properties. I repeat it again, no leaflets on two square miles of my land.

The Judge commented:

I think your question is trying to mitigate and not address the crime.

*Ito questioned:*

So, Mr. Witness, have you heard of such leaflets? I mean, Chinese soldiers got those leaflets saying as long as they went to the designated location to negotiate, they could peacefully turn over Nanking, but they chose not to accept the terms. As a result, conflicts happened. Have you heard of this?

Dr. Xu replied:

Even if your statement was true; it had nothing to do with the barbarous crimes. During the Japanese occupation, there was no resistance in Nanking, but Japanese soldiers committed all kinds of crimes nevertheless. I knew for a fact that the China and Japan negotiation was conducted in the Safety Zone, but brutalities were still constantly happening everywhere within the city and the Safety Zone.

## Second argument:

### Westerners' motivation for setting up the Safety Zone

*Ito questioned:*

Was this the reason foreigners established a Safety Zone? That is, foreigners were afraid of being attacked by the Chinese army?

Dr. Xu replied:

No. Absolutely not true! One had nothing to do with the other; you are accusing those kindhearted Westerners. This is absurd. You know very well they did it for humanitarian reasons. In December of that year there were not that many foreigners in Nanking. By the way, the size of the Safety Zone was very small. The purpose of the Safety Zone was not to prevent Chinese soldiers' abuse. Foreigners knew that Nanking was a very big place; they could evacuate or go to other parts of the city. They did not have to stay in the Safety Zone.

## Third argument:

### Chinese soldiers in the refugee shelter

*Ito questioned:*

Mr. Witness, you said this morning that there were no Chinese soldiers in the shelter, correct?

Dr Xu replied:

Yes. There were no armed soldiers. I also said that one of the criteria of the International Committee for the Nanking Safety Zone was that no soldiers were allowed in the refugee shelter, unless they turned in their weapons.

*Ito questioned:*

Did you know that Chinese army deserters often pretended to be civilians? Given a chance, they would put on plain clothes and disguised themselves as civilians.

Dr. Xu replied:

It was possible. However, before they pulled all their strength together and openly fought back, I would treat them as civilians. If they did not fight, then they were regular civilians like us.

*Ito questioned:*

Were there any plain-clothes soldiers in your shelter?

Dr. Xu replied:

No, impossible. Soldiers were no longer soldiers when they laid down their weapons.

Source: Text supplied by Professor Zhang Lianhong, translated by Monica Brick, courtesy of Victor Yung

## Questions for Discussion

Answer the following questions individually and then meet with a group of 3 or 4 and share your answers.

Read the biographies of Rabe, Rong, Tsen, Vautrin, and Xu.

- Is there anything in their earlier lives that prepared them for what they would face in Nanking?
- Do they share any of the characteristics we saw in the Description of Rescuers handout?

## Honda Introduces Resolution Honoring “American Goddess of Mercy” Minnie Vautrin

Tuesday, 26 September 2006 19:00

WASHINGTON, DC – Today, Congressman Mike Honda (CA-15) introduced a resolution before the U.S. House of Representatives honoring the life of Minnie Vautrin, an American missionary who courageously, and at the risk of her own life, stood against the Japanese imperial army during its infamous 1937 Rape of Nanking, China in defense of innocent civilians. The resolution’s text follows:

Mr. Speaker, I rise today to honor Minnie Vautrin, an American woman and missionary whose heroism changed the course of history during World War II.

Our country has seen countless acts of heroism in the face of war atrocities both in our country and abroad. Japan’s violent occupation of then-capital Nanking, China, historically known as the Rape of Nanking, claimed the lives of hundreds of thousands of innocent Chinese men, women and children and left its mark on history as one of the most brutal massacres and crimes against humanity of the 20th Century. An estimated 300,000 Chinese civilians were killed, and an estimated 20,000 women were raped, with some estimates as high as 80,000.

Minnie Vautrin, a missionary who worked at a women’s college in Nanking, courageously stood against the Japanese imperial army. A native of Illinois, she was one of the few Americans in the region when the Japanese army invaded Nanking.

By using the American flag and proclamations issued by the American Embassy in China maintaining the college a sanctuary, Vautrin helped repel incursions into the college, where thousands of women and children sought protection from the Japanese army. She often risked her own life to defend the lives of thousands of Chinese civilians.

Her devotion during this horrific event earned her the nickname “American Goddess of Mercy” among the people of Nanking, where she is fondly remembered. Her heroic actions and unparalleled efforts to save lives deserve to be recognized. Sadly, her story is relatively unknown.

That is why I, along with fourteen of my colleagues, am introducing a resolution honoring her sacrifice, courage, humanity, and commitment to peace and justice during the violent Rape of Nanking. Minnie Vautrin’s story defines patriotism and heroism in the midst of war, and the introduction of this resolution honors her achievements today, the 120th anniversary of her birth.

Mr. Speaker, I commend my colleagues for joining me in honor of this phenomenal yet unsung heroine. To the thousands of innocent men, women and children whose lives were spared because of Minnie Vautrin’s bold courage, she will never be forgotten.

Source: Mike Honda, 15th Congressional District website .

### Question:

Why did it take seventy years for Minnie Vautrin to be recognized by the U.S. for her heroism? Comment in writing. Share with another person.



## Exercise and Questions for Discussion

### Exercise:

**Take a position on one side or the other. Defend your position.**

1. Life is a constant struggle: those not powerful enough to rise to the top deserve whatever they get.
2. People find it easier to do evil than to do good.
3. Most people are likely to conform rather than act on their own individual values.
4. Most people would prefer to rely on miracles than to depend on the fruits of their own labor.
5. Most people need something to worship.
6. Most people avoid the truth if it is painful.
7. War is the natural outgrowth of human nature.
8. Most people need authority to tell them what to do.

### Questions for Discussion:

1. What is a hero? What qualities do heroes have? Think of people you think of as heroes and explain why you feel the way you do. These people can be personal heroes in your life, heroes you have seen in movies, or read about in books. Get into groups of four. Each group member should pick a hero and defend his/her choice.
2. How is it that “ordinary people” are capable of extraordinary actions, whether they are extraordinarily good or bad? What circumstances allow for this?
3. What are the risks of being a hero? Are they worth it?
4. Why did McGee have to smuggle his videos out of Nanking? Why are visual/video documentations so powerful?
5. What questions would you like to ask members of the Nanking International Safety Zone Committee such as Minnie Vautrin, Tsen Shuifang, or John Rabe?
6. No one likes to be different. It is difficult to stand up to your peers and disagree with them. Think of a time in your life when you stood up for what you believed—even in the face of ridicule from your peers. Describe the situation either in writing or with 2-3 others in a group.
7. One man/woman can make a difference. In America today, people sometimes feel like they can't make a difference. Everything is so big, powerful, and difficult to change. But it can be done. Think of situations in your own life or lives of your family or friends where one person's help has made a difference. Share, or write about this experience.
8. In the 1930s many Americans feared that immigrants would compete for scarce jobs. What was the economic situation in the U.S. in the 1930s? Can you understand why Americans might have had an anti-immigration attitude? What is the economic situation today? How do Americans feel about immigrants today? Compare and discuss

Source: A Teacher's Guide to the Holocaust, “Discussion Questions about Human Nature”  
<http://fcit.usf.edu/HOLOCAUST/activity/912plan/nature.htm>

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