



**The Alleged  
Nanking Massacre  
--Japan's rebuttal  
to China's forged  
claims**





## Preface

The trial of the vanquished by the victors cannot be impartial no matter how it is hedged about with the forms of justice.

-Senator Robert A. Taft, October 5, 1946

Between two countries at war there was always a danger that one or other of the combatants would seek to turn public opinion in his favour by resort to a propaganda in which incidents, inseparable alas (!) from all hostilities, were magnified and distorted for the express purpose of inflaming prejudice and passion and obscuring the real issues of the conflict.

-Sir Charles Addis at Chatham House, November 10, 1938

World War II and the movement of Resistance were the 'Battle against Fascism'. Therefore, the false assumption was made that Japan was regarded as same as Hitler's Germany and such absurd remark has been spread within Japan and it is indeed unbearable. For that very reason, I, with a firm conviction, wrote this book in order to counter-attack such false assumption.

-Alfred Smoular, Auschwitz 186416 dies in Japan



Ten years have passed since the end of the Cold War, and the world is now in the midst of turmoil and crisis. In order to keep the scarcely maintained world peace, the role of the continued Japan-U.S. friendship and alliance is unshakable. Throughout the Cold War era and up to the present day, there has been some serious friction recorded, especially in the area of trade relative to the export of textiles and steel, and also in the area of discussions as to increasing Japan's defense capabilities, and to restructuring of Japan's economic system. However, these items of discussion have been, without exception, items of national interests. Both nations, Japan and the U.S., have tried to mutually resolve the problems and to reach the satisfactory resolutions and these efforts and achievements are universally recognized.

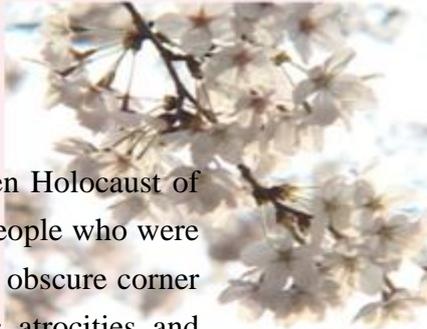
However, for the past few years, some peculiar anti-Japanese campaigns have been started in the U.S., and they have been escalated as the time passed. We are deeply concerned that the new serious friction between Japan and the U.S. has expanded as a result of these campaigns. The reason we express our concerns is that these anti-Japanese activities have been developed in the U.S., but aren't related directly to the national interests of either country. It is our assertion that there is someone of the third world trying to set them up from behind.

Specifically, Chinese-American Iris Chang's *The Rape of Nanking*, which was published in July 1997 in the U.S., and the wave of anti-Japanese campaigns agitated by her claims are sitting at the center of this problem. The book's contents do not present verified facts, and furthermore, they represent quite the opposite. As a result, those Japanese who are shocked with such an injustice are not few. For this twisted representation of the historical facts of the 'Nanking Massacre'<sup>1</sup>, even a monthly Japanese magazine, called *Sekai* which has been a representative of the group which has admitted the 'Nanking Massacre', can't have helped but express its disagreement and publish an unusual explanatory statement.<sup>2</sup>

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<sup>1</sup> The so-called 'Nanking Massacre' has been expressed in various ways, for example, Nanking Massacre, the Rape of Nanking, Nanking Atrocities, Nanking Incident etc. In recent years, the CCP (the Chinese Communist Party) has mainly called it 'Nanking Massacre' in a semi-governmental English paper, the *China Daily*. Therefore, we follow it.

<sup>2</sup> Joshua A. Fogal, "The Controversy over Iris Chang's Resent Book, *The Rape of Nanking*:" *Sekai* (November 1999), pp.252-257.



Iris Chang's book is titled as 'The Rape', and subtitled as 'The Forgotten Holocaust of World War II', and it has caused a stirring of the ears of the American people who were not familiar with the incident which happened on December 1937 in an obscure corner of the Far East. The book, which starts with unimaginable satanic atrocities and repeatedly describes such acts, has succeeded in maximizing the hatred of the readers against the Japanese. Moreover, it has caused a political problem to develop. Finally, in August 1999, the state legislature of California passed a resolution asking Japan to apologize and to pay compensation for its atrocities, citing the 'Nanking Massacre'.

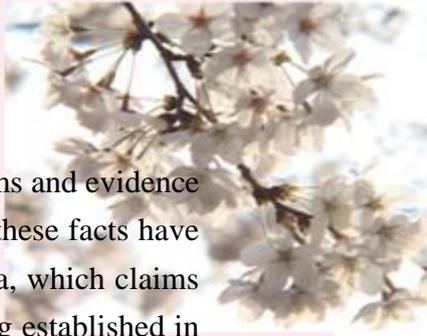
Needless to say, it is quite understandable for American people, who have kept respect for Human rights and fairness as their motto, to raise voices to 'castigate Japan and punish them' after hearing the false representation of '300,000 Chinese massacred, 20,000 raped'. However, this serious situation should be re-examined if we calmly consider it, because the anti-Japanese campaign is based on the assumption that the 'Nanking Massacre' has surely existed. So we wonder if it is true and how they achieved to exactly verify it. Are there any questions raised by readers of Chang's sadistic book that can possibly compete with the literature of the Marquis de Sade? We wonder if they have had the following questions:

"The book says that over 300,000 citizens were killed and most of the corpses were burnt by kerosene within six weeks. If it were so, dozens of incinerators as large as that of Auschwitz would have been necessary. Who has ever seen such things within and around the closed space of the walled castle?"

"Also, the book claims that from 20,000 to 80,000 women were raped. We hear of the enormous number of babies born after the fall of Berlin fathered by the Russian Army. Is there a recorded account of the flood of babies that mixed Japanese and Chinese parentage after the fall of Nanking?"

For readers who are equipped with common sense, such questions must abundantly come to mind. Now, let us treat the 'Nanking Massacre' as a murder case. How many corpses have been found? Who are the victims? Who are the eyewitnesses? What are the motives of the offenders? For those basic questions, we must justly prove the facts through fair procedures in criminal suit.

Those who prosecute the 'Nanking Massacre' insist that there were certain number of corpses, and focus on the testimonies of eyewitnesses and also the motives of the



offenders. However, the admissibility and probative value of such claims and evidence are not acceptable in the courts of the civilized Nations. Surprisingly, these facts have never been known to the western world. But only the false propaganda, which claims that the horrible incident (Nanking Massacre) occurred, is now becoming established in the U.S., as the anti-Japanese activists intended.

For that reason, we have started the following legal approach. Namely, we have tried to treat the so-called 'Nanking Massacre', which was said to have been committed by the Japanese Army during the six weeks starting from December 13, 1937, as a 'murder case (including looting and rapes)'. Also, we have tried to precisely examine whether the crime had been proved or not and objectively verify the fact, using a method based on the Criminal Procedure Act, in view that the Prosecution has responsibility to adduce evidences to show the committed crimes.

In other words, our objective is not to prove that there was no 'Nanking Massacre', but to specify the fact that the testimonies, which claim that there was the 'Nanking Massacre', are not substantiated at all. And we take a position whereby all the facts would become clarified by doing so.

However, as for the Prosecution, all we would like to say is that we are not confronting Iris Chang's *The Rape of Nanking*. Instead, our debate will be focused on the claims of the CCP (the Chinese Communist Party). The reason is that Iris Chang's view is based on the claims of the CCP. We perceive that the origin of the message in the anti-Japanese networks, which press Japan to take responsibilities for war crimes, lies in the CCP<sup>3</sup>

Our objections may appear to the readers rather too mild. But, the Japanese culture, which has produced the serenity of the Noh play and the Tea ceremony, may be quite opposite contrasted with the Chinese culture, which is festively decorated with gongs and firecrackers. The peculiar Chinese fantasy of such expressions as '30,000 feet of

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<sup>3</sup> The very cause of which Iris Chang was motivated to write her book, called *The Rape of Nanking* was when she attended the Global Memorial Conference of the 57th Anniversary of the "Rape of Nanking" held in California, in 1994, sponsored by the 'Global Alliance for Preserving the History of World War II in Asia'. This Alliance was centered to develop the sales campaign of her book, and to pursue the movement of accusation within the U.S. against the war crimes committed by Japan. This Alliance also held a forum, called 'International Citizen's Forum on War Crimes and Redress' at the Japan Socialist Party's Headquarters in December 1999. To this forum, many researchers sponsored by the CCP attended, and this proved that they were cooperating with the CCP to develop the movement of accusation against the war crimes committed by Japan.

long white hair' may have produced The Rape of Nanking, and in the opposite manner, we would like to develop our arguments in brief and strictly.

For a half century after World War II, Japan has kept silence whenever and however we were falsely accused of this problem. Here, we would like to break the silence for the first time. We will not scream like the Chinese, but set forth our views purely and fairly as an accused standing in the dock of a courthouse, speaking in a low tone of voice, asking the fair judgment of the readers.

TAKEMOTO Tadao  
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Visiting Professor of College de France



MAP 2 China in 1937



# Chapter I

**WHAT WAS THE  
'NANKING MASSACRE'?**



## 1. The Road from Shanghai to Nanking

Before discussing the so-called 'Nanking Massacre', we would like to briefly clarify the fact and the reason why the Japanese Army had to capture Nanking (Nanjing) in December 1937.

### From the Marco Polo Bridge Incident to the second Shanghai Incident

In September 1931, the Manchurian Incident occurred. Even after the Manchukuo Government was established in March 1932, the Japanese and Chinese Armies engaged in battles repeatedly along the Great Wall that was the boundary between China and Manchuria.

Two months after Japan's withdrawal from the League of Nations in May 1933, the cease-fire agreement was concluded at Tangku (Tanggu) and the demilitarized zone was established in North China, and it resulted in the withdrawal of both troops. Since then, there were no major conflicts recorded. At least for four years, a temporal peace was obtained.

The Kuomintang (KMT, or Nationalist) Party,<sup>4</sup> which was led by Generalissimo Chiang Kai-Shek, started the fifth 'Bandit Suppression Campaigns'<sup>5</sup> in October 1933, which had been prepared since the time of the Tangku Agreement, and pushed the CCP into the frontier region of Ya'nan by 1935. However, in 1936, due to the out-break of Sian (Xi'an) Incident,<sup>6</sup> the KMT chose a different path against

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<sup>4</sup> The KMT, which in essence was the government of the Republic of China, represented a loose alliance of militarists, bureaucrats, landlords and commercial interests

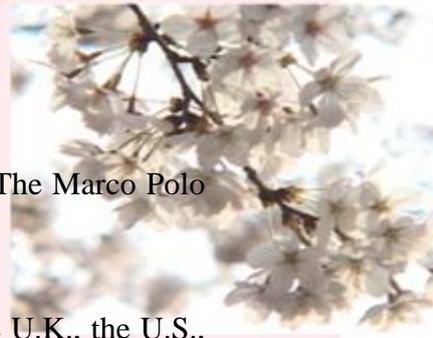
<sup>5</sup> 'In five major 'Bandit Suppression campaigns,' stalling in December 1930 and lasting until 1935, Chiang Kai-Shek attempted to exterminate the Communist forces in China. These campaigns were launched as follows: (1) December 1930; (2) May 1931; (3) June 1931; (4) April 1933; (5) October 1933.

<sup>6</sup> United States. Dept. of States, United States relations with China, with special reference to the period 1944-1949 (Washington. D.C., U.S. Government Office, 1949) read as follows:

In January 1936 the Chinese Communist Party publicly offered the "hand of friendship" to Generalissimo Chiang Kai-Shek if he would take up arms against Japan. On August 26, 1936, the Chinese Communist Party proclaimed to the Kuomintang, "we are prepared to form a strong revolutionary united front with you as was the case during... the great Chinese Revolution of 1925-1927... [that] is the only proper way to save our country today."

Coming at a time of growing patriotic resentment against Japanese aggression, the stepped-up demands

Japan. This was what was called 'Anti-Japanese United Front'. The Marco Polo Bridge Incident occurred in such intensified circumstances.



During that time, due to the occurrence of the Boxer Rebellion, the U.K., the U.S., France, Italy, and Japan had a military agreement (Final Protocol Relating to the North China Incident) with Manchu China (Qing Dynasty) in 1901, and were allowed to station their troops in the suburbs of Peiping (Beijing) for the protection of their residents.<sup>7</sup>

On July 7, 1937 based on the protocol, the Japanese Army was having field practice at night near Marco Polo Bridge. Suddenly, several shots were fired against the Japanese troops from the directions where the Chinese troops were staying. This caused a major conflict between Japan and China. This was the start of the unfortunate incident, called the 'Marco Polo Bridge Incident'.

Japan had no intention of starting the war against China, and immediately ordered the front army not to expand the battle beyond and cease fire swiftly and peacefully, as the Emperor Showa (Hirohito) so strongly wished.<sup>8</sup> The cease-fire agreement was reached in four days. However, China broke the agreement. Japan reluctantly dispatched three more divisions on July 27 to North China.

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for a "united front" by the Chinese Communist Party were an effective propaganda weapon for use against the troops to which the National Government had assigned the task of "bandit suppression" in northwest China. By the end of 1936 the army of Chang Hsueh-liang, the former warlord of Manchuria, was in no mood to fight against the Communist forces. In December 1936 the Generalissimo and his staff visited Sian in Shensi Province to map out a sixth "Bandit Suppression" campaign. Rather than carry out Nationalist orders to resume operations against the Communists, Chang Hsueh-liang decide to "arrest" the Generalissimo.

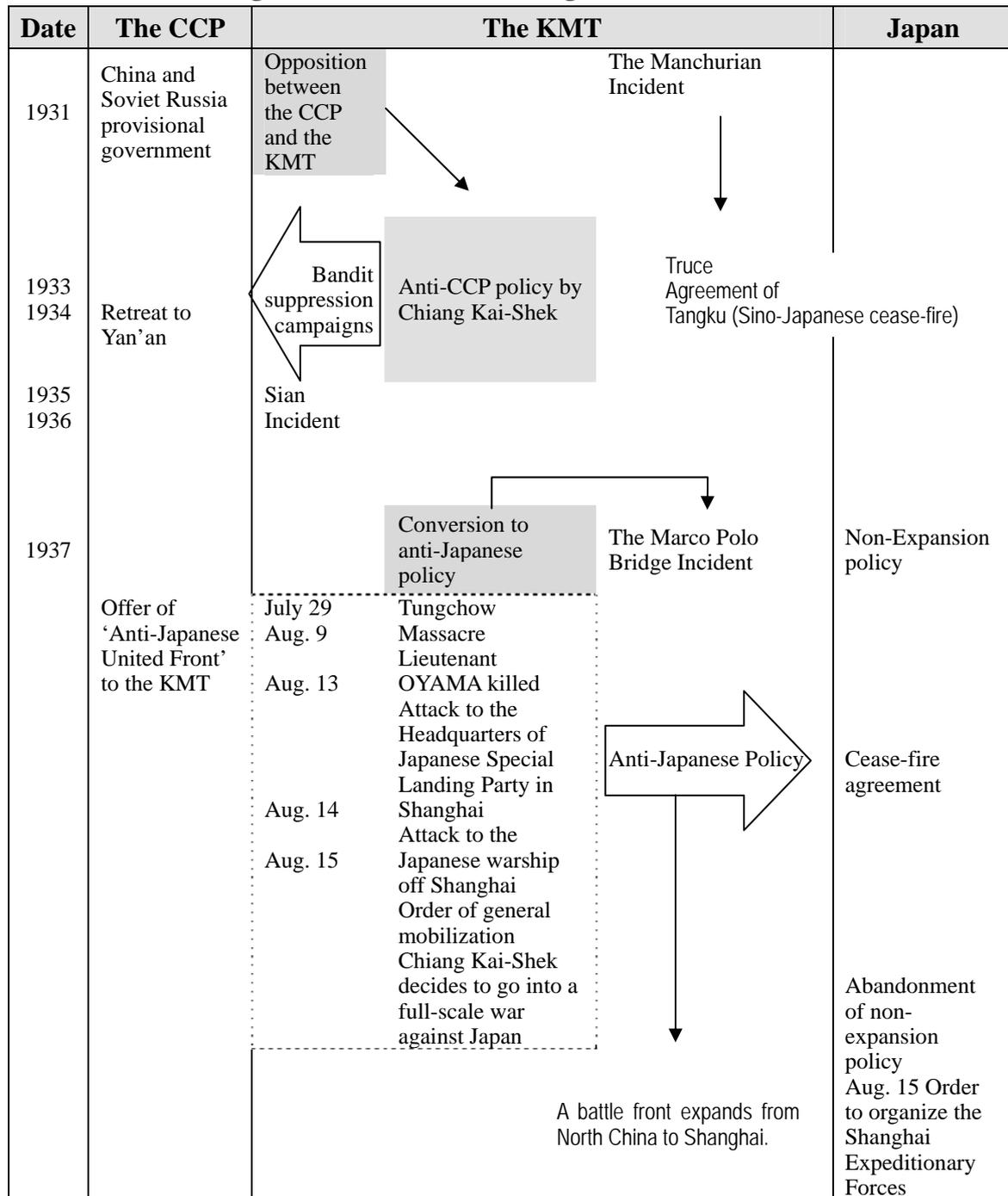
<sup>7</sup> The Boxer Protocol read as follows :

Articles 9. The Chinese Government has conceded the right to the Powers in the Protocol annexed to the letter of January 16, 1901, to occupy certain points, to be determined by an agreement between them, for the maintenance of open communication between the capital and the sea. The points occupied by the powers are:

Huang-tsun, Lang-fang, Yang-tsun, Tientsin, Chun-liang-cheng, Tang-ku, Lu-tai, Tang-shan, Lan-chou, Chang-li, Chin-wang-tao, Shan-hai-kuan. (How the Far Eastern War was begun edited by Shuhsi Hsu, Shanghai: Kelly & Walsh, Limited, 1938, p.19.)

<sup>8</sup> On July 11, 1937, when hearing that Lieutenant General KOHZUKI Kiyoshi was assigned as the Commanding General of the Expeditionary Army in China, the Emperor Showa (Hirohito) said to his Chamberlain USAMI, "directly tell General KOHZUKI the non-expansion policy, and also be aware of the sensitive situations which many foreign interests entangle." And, the Imperial letter was sent to the General. (KOJIMA Jo, The Emperor Showa M, pp. 189-190.)

**Chart 1 The background to the second Shanghai incident**



On the 29th, in the city of Tungchow (Thongzhou), some 250 Japanese residents were murdered by the Chinese troops, and this incident was being called the "Tungchow Massacre"<sup>9</sup>.

<sup>9</sup> On July 29, 1937, some 3,000 Chinese soldiers proceeded to raid Japanese shops, inns, and private homes. Approximately 250 of the 380 Japanese residents of Tungchow were slaughtered.



In August 1937, the Japanese government formulated the peace proposal. Both the Japanese Army and Navy agreed to this peace proposal. What this proposal implied was that all the interests Japan had acquired since the Manchurian Incident should become nullified. This was indeed a drastic concession, which Japan had ever conceded.

However, the peace negotiation between Japan and China crumbled immediately due to the incident in which two soldiers were slaughtered in Shanghai on the very day the peace negotiation started in Shanghai between Japan and China.

The KMT was building up their troops in great number in Shanghai. During that time, there were a large number of Japanese residents. To defend them, there was only one defending unit consisting of 4,000 combatants. To the Japanese unit, the KMT sent a numerically far superior number of troops consisting of thirty divisions on August 13. Thus, the war expanded to Shanghai.

Japan organized the Shanghai Expeditionary Forces, and deployed them to Shanghai. By that time, Japan had abandoned the existing non-expansion policy.

Chiang Kai-Shek was successful in luring the Japanese Army into Shanghai, where the Chinese units, well trained by the cooperation of German military advisors,<sup>10</sup> were stationed. (The second Shanghai Incident)

### **From Shanghai to Nanking**

In Shanghai, the Japanese Army continued to suffer from the enemy suppression. On November 5, Japan had to deploy the 10<sup>th</sup> Army at the northern bank of the Hangchow (Hangzhou) Bay, and encircled the Chinese Army. As this operation was successful, most of the Chinese Army had to withdraw from Shanghai and a part of the army moved to Nanking on the 9th. On the 7th, two days prior to this event, the Central China Area Army was organized under the direction of

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<sup>10</sup> Karl Drechsler, "Deutschland-China-Japan 1933-1939", Das Dilemma tier deutschen Femoslpolitik (Berlin: Akademie-Verlag, 1964)

MATSUI Iwane, combining the Shanghai Expeditionary Force and the 10th Army. This army was ordered to capture the city of Nanking.



During this period, the Japanese government had desired to cease fire, and asked the German government to intervene in a peace settlement. Under the advice of the German government, Oskar Trautmann, the German ambassador to China, tried to negotiate with the KMT, but this peace negotiation could not be settled.

The city of Nanking then was a castle city, surrounded by the rampart of 12 meters high, and of 6 to 12 meters thick, and occupied the total area of about 35 square kilometers. On November 14 and 15, the KMT held an operation conference and discussed whether they should defend the city, or abandon the city and fight in another place. At the conference, the majority expressed their opinions to abandon the city.

Von Falkenhausen, the chief of the Military Advising Group of Germany, agreed to their opinions. But, Chiang Kai-Shek insisted on defending the city. Chiang Kai-Shek appointed Tang Sheng-zhi as the commander-in-chief of the Nanking Garrison (Nanking Defense Force), and ordered him to reinforce the wall and destroy citizen's properties outside the wall as the Chinese traditional tactics of the 'Scorched-earth policy'<sup>11</sup>, not letting the Japanese Army take advantage of them.

American correspondent F. Tillman Durdin, described this scene from Nanking on December 8, in the December 12 edition of the New York Times:

The burning of obstructions within the defense zone by the Chinese continued. Palatial homes of Chinese officials in Mausoleum Park district were among the places burned late yesterday.

The city was ringed by a dense pall of smoke, for the Chinese also continued to burn buildings and obstructions yesterday in towns in a ten-mile radius.

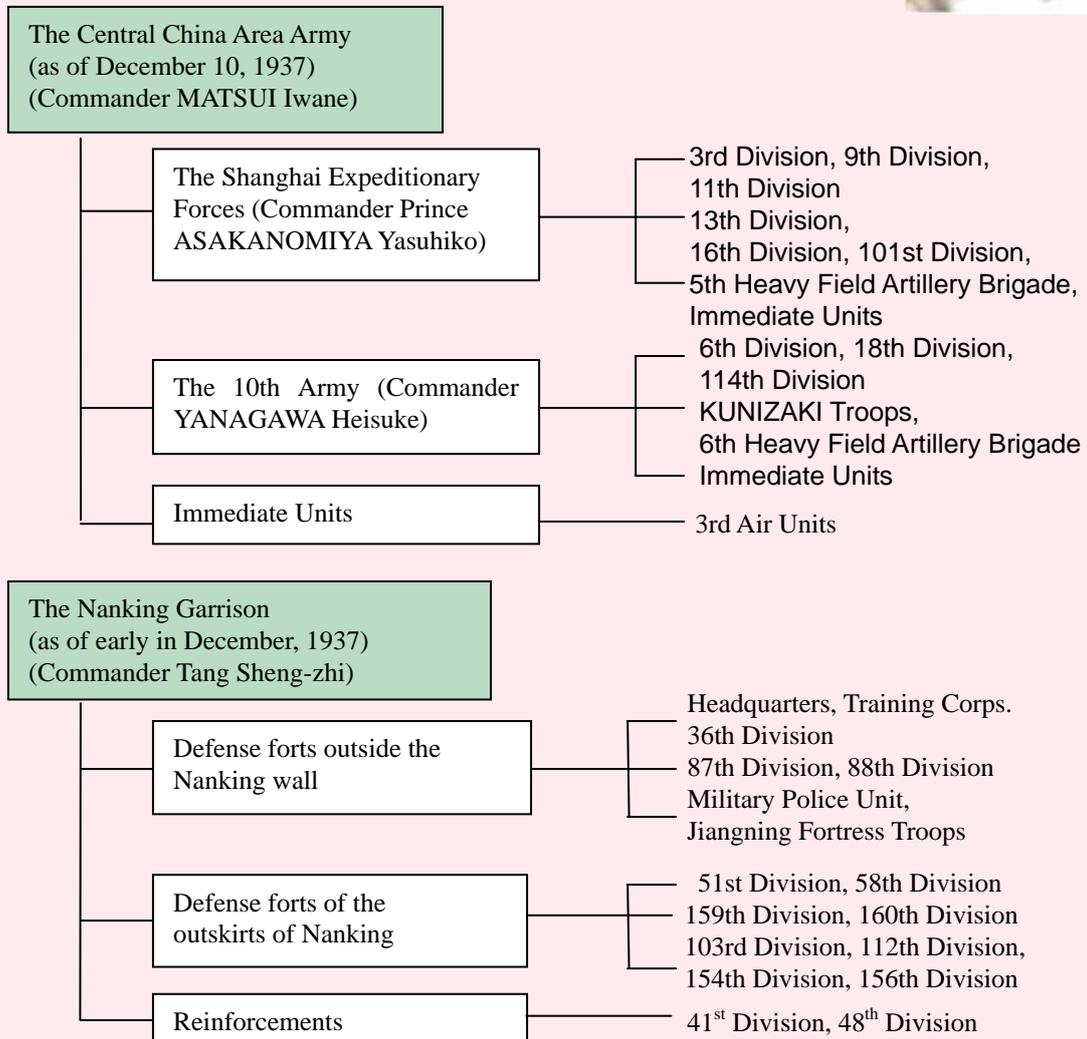
This correspondent, motoring to the front, found the entire valley outside

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<sup>11</sup> The so-called 'Scorched-earth policy' was namely a Chinese traditional tactic by which everything of valuable such as assets and houses in the field would be burnt down so that nothing might be left for enemy.



**Table 1 Japanese and Chinese Army**



Chungshan Gate, southeast of Mausoleum Park, ablaze. The village of Hsiaolingwei, along the main highway bordering the park, was a mass of smoking ruins, and inhabitants who had not evacuated days before were streaming toward Nanking carrying their few miserable belongings and occasionally pausing to take last sorrowing looks at their former homes.

On the 16th, Chiang Kai-Shek declared his intention to move the capital from Nanking to Chungking (Chongqing) so that all of the government offices would be withdrawn by the 21st. Also, on November 27, all the foreign residents were asked to evacuate from the city. Then, the government high officials and the

wealthy started getting away from the city, carrying their valuables and furniture.<sup>12</sup>



### **Seven-days Nanking Battle**

Within the city wall was the Nanking Garrison, together with the remaining citizens. In order to protect the citizens, the 'International Committee of the Nanking Safety Zone' (Non-government organization, here after 'the Safety Zone Committee') was organized by the remaining sixteen westerners on November 22. This Safety Zone contained eighteen refugee camps, and was located in rhombic shape area of 2 miles in length and 1 mile in width in the central Nanking. This area of 3.8 square kilometers, which was corresponded to 11% of the whole Nanking city, was comparable in size to New York's Central Park.

On December 1, the Safety Zone Committee (John Rabe was the chairman) requested both Japanese and Chinese authorities not to attack the Safety Zone. Previously, in Shanghai, there was a case in which the Japanese Army avoided the attack of the Safety Zone set by a French Catholic priest, since the cooperation was offered by the French troops stationed there.<sup>13</sup>

However, Tang Sheng-zhi ignored the request, and decided to establish the

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<sup>12</sup> HIDAHA Shinrokuro, the councilor of the Japanese Embassy to Nanking at that time, testified in his affidavit in the IMTFE as follows:

In other cities than Nanking where the Chinese Army retreated, public functionaries of municipal offices or local personages remained behind the military retreat and coordinated between the incoming Japanese Army and the general public, so that their presence resulted in making smooth relations between the Japanese Army and the general public.

When Nanking surrendered the city was completely in a state of anarchy. On 17th, right after the occupation, I witnessed the following:

When the Chinese commander of the Nanking Garrison retreated before Nanking surrendered, all the military and civilian organs disappeared and officials absconded from the city all together. Neither a municipal government nor a police organ existed. No responsible person relating to the municipal administration was available. All the stuffs necessary for a daily administration such as documents to record resident registration and real estate were taken away. The police department was dissolved and no policeman was witnessed. Only a couple of private guard men belonging to each Embassy and legation were seen on respective premises. {The Tokyo War Crimes Trial', pp. 21457-21458.)

<sup>13</sup> To put it more precisely, since Chinese stragglers in Shanghai took refuge in the Safety Zone, the Japanese Army tried to mop up the Safety Zone. However, these stragglers immediately ran into the French concession bordering the Safety Zone, so that the Japanese Army could not arrest them.

'Refugee Zone' in order to receive all of the refugees.

The Japanese Army also refused the Safety Zone Committee's request for the following reasons:<sup>14</sup>

1. The Safety Zone was separated only by the landmarks.  
Therefore, the Chinese soldiers could easily penetrate the Safety Zone.
2. Within the Safety Zone, there were many residences of Chinese officers.
3. The neutrality of the Safety Zone of Shanghai was kept, owing to the voluntary cooperation offered by the French troops.

However, in the case of Nanking, the Safety Zone Committee was not vested by military power, and there was no guarantee to keep the neutrality by protecting from stragglers' coming in.

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<sup>14</sup>

HIDAKA Shinrokuro testified in the IMTFE as follows:

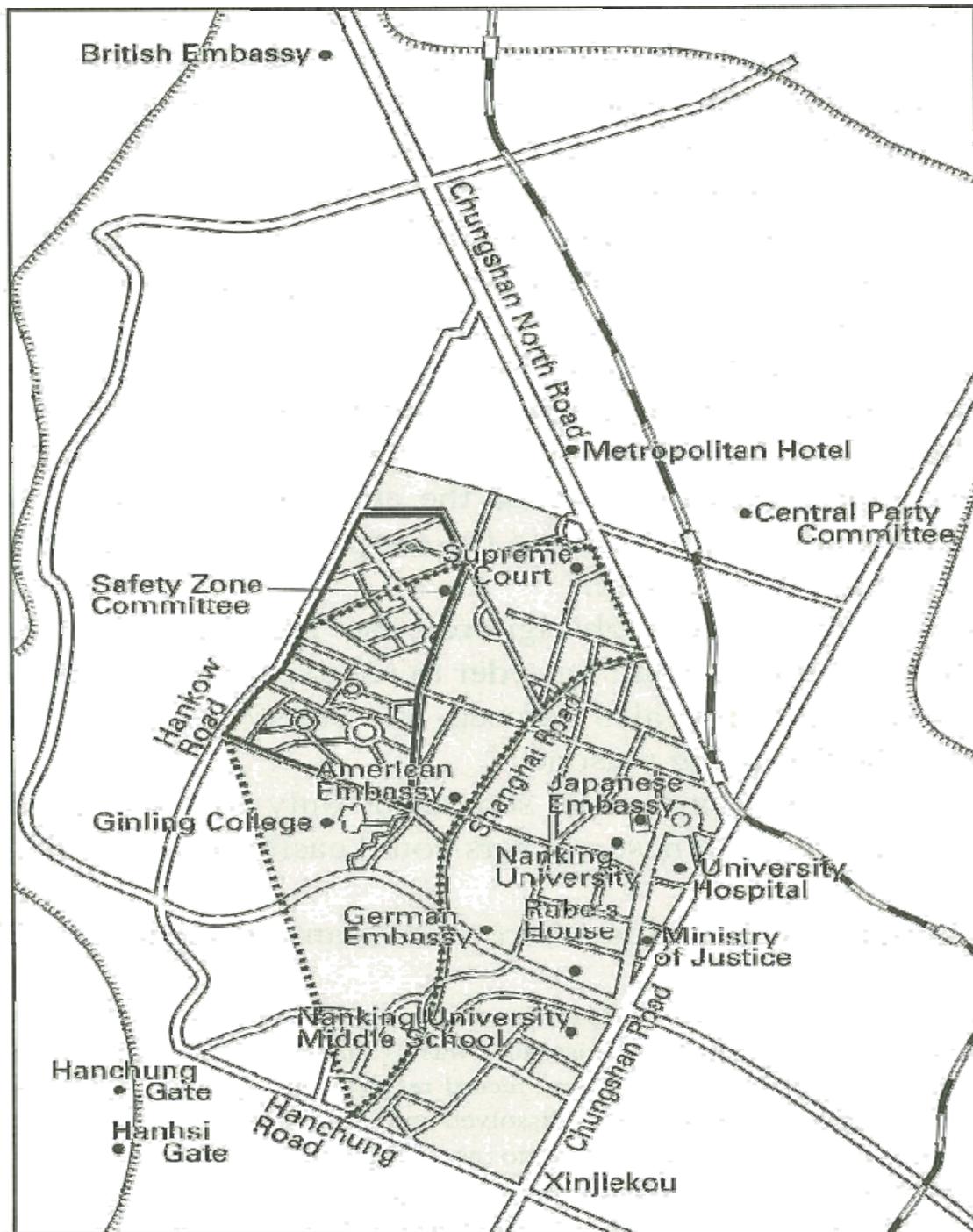
The Japanese Army did not officially approve the above-mentioned zone, the so-called 'Safety Zone.' The reasons were (1) that the location was thought inconvenient for safekeeping, from a tactical point of view, in case of a battle in the city (2) that high ranking Chinese officers and their staff lived there, (3) that the committee did not have enough power to keep defeated Chinese soldiers and other undesirable persons out of the zone and to maintain its 'neutrality.' (The 'Safety Zone' in Shanghai was considered to differ on these points and was approved by the Japanese Army.) (The Tokyo War Crimes Trial, pp.21459-21460.)

The reason for which the plan (the Safety Zone in Shanghai) was approved by Japanese authorities was as follows:

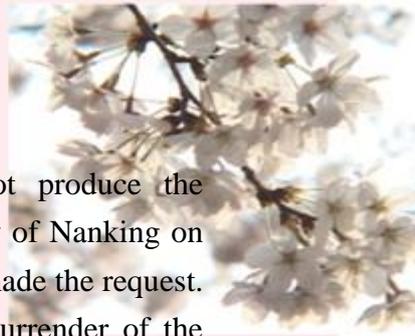
- (1) The Area was purely a Chinese town and it was clear that Father Jaquinot and other committee member were all impartial and disinterested.
  - (2) The committee would take in and protect non-combatant Chinese when there was a battle, and relief and protection would continue for a little while after the battle was over, but the committee would agree not to interfere in the government and supervision of the area, which was to be completely in the hands of the Japanese Army.
  - (3) As the authorities of French concession adjacent to the area willingly cooperated the committee was thought to have enough actual power to maintain 'neutrality' when there was a battle.
  - (4) Judging from the location of the area, it was believed possible to maintain 'safety' in the area despite there being a battle near here.
- (The Tokyo War Crimes Trial, pp.21461-21463.)



Map 3 The Nanking Safety Zone



- ..... Refugee Zone (established by Chinese Army)
- ▭ Safety Zone (established by the Safety Zone Committee)
- New Residential District
- ..... Nanking Wall
- \* The so-called 'Safety Zone' is different from 'Refugee Zone' established by Chinese Army



As previously stated, Trautmann's peace negotiation did not produce the favorable result, so the Japanese Army decided to attack the city of Nanking on December 1, on the same day when the Safety Zone Committee made the request. On December 9, the Japanese Army scattered 'Bills advising surrender of the Chinese Army' into the city by the aircraft. The bills were made in cooperation with a scholar of international humanitarian law and the Chinese were informed of the principle of international humanitarian law as to an undefended or open city. The attack could have been avoided if the KMT had proclaimed Nanking a 'Defenseless City' according to the international humanitarian law.<sup>15</sup> (Paris remained indestructible in this way during World War II.)

The KMT did not reply for this offer until at 1:00 p.m. on the 10th. Then, the troops opened fire. The Nanking Garrison fiercely resisted the attacks at the Chinese defense forts outside the wall of Nanking.

However, the Japanese Army occupied the main areas (such as Purple Mountain, Rain Flower Terrace, Military Academy, etc.) by December 12. By 8:00 p.m., Tang Sheng-zhi, ordering the Nanking Garrison to withdraw from the area quickly, left with his staffs officers. On December 7, Chiang Kai-Shek left Nanking in the early morning. As a result, the Nanking Garrison became disorganized. At dawn on the 13th, a part of the Japanese Army successfully entered the city. During the process of the entry, the Japanese troops were ordered not to damage the historical sites, such as Sun Yat-sen Mausoleum as well as the Safety Zone, in spite of the formal refusal against the request of the Safety Zone Committee.

The Nanking Garrison had been preparing the deliberate defense by setting barbed wires, laying mines and positioning machine-guns at many places around the city. Contrary to the Japanese Army's estimate, the resistance of the Nanking Garrison was relatively weak, and no street fights occurred within the city wall. By 10:00 p.m. of the 13th, the Japanese Army announced the 'Complete Occupation of the city of Nanking'. However, in the suburbs of the city, there were continuous battles fought between the Nanking Garrison and the Central China Area Army until the afternoon of the 14th.

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<sup>15</sup> The Hague Convention of 1905, Convention Respecting the Laws and Customs of War on Land, Article 26

## Chart 2 Japanese and Chinese policies to the Nanking Safety Zone

December 1, 'The Nanking Safety Zone Committee (John Rabe was the Chairman)' which is organized by several civilians independently, requests both Japanese and Chinese authorities to respect the Safety Zone.

Japanese Army respects the committee's offer, but doesn't accept it. (But, Japanese Army is considerate about safety of the Safety Zone.)

Chinese Army sets up a Refugee Zone separate from the Safety Zone without regard to the Committee's offer. They build batteries and hide their soldiers inside the Safety Zone to disturb its neutrality.

### Reasons why Japanese Army didn't approve the Safety Zone

- 1: Chinese soldiers can easily sneak into the Zone
- 2: There seems to be many Chinese officers hiding themselves inside the Zone.
- 3: The Committee has no practical power to disarm the stragglers of defeated troops.

As feared by Japanese authorities, many Chinese troops took refuge in the Safety Zone against the repeated requests to stop doing so made by the Safety Zone Committee. Many of them wore civilian clothes, yet they were still armed. They were called 'Plain-clothes soldiers.' According to the international humanitarian law, they could not be regarded as soldiers, but they were regarded as 'privately armed bandits', hiding their status of being regular soldiers.

The Japanese Army, after judging that the Nanking Garrison was preparing for guerrilla warfare, had to conduct the mopping-up operation for four days in order to capture the resisting soldiers, starting at dawn of the 13th and continuing through the 16th. The Japanese Army ordered all the operation troops to protect

the 'rights and interests of foreign residents,' and to strictly prohibit 'looting and arson,' and to capture the 'male and youth' suspected of being soldiers, and to treat 'all the citizens' with courtesy.



**Chart 3 Days taken over the Fall of Nanking**

Date	Process to the Fall of Nanking	Battle	The Mopping-up Operation
Dec. 9	Japanese Army requests Withdrawal of the Chinese Troops.		
Dec. 10	Chinese Army ignores Japan's summons.	4 days  Statement of Complete Occupation	
	Japanese Army launches an All-out attack.		
Dec. 11			
Dec. 12	Commander Tang leaves.		
Dec. 13			4 days
Dec. 14			
Dec. 15			
Dec. 16			
Dec. 17	Japanese Army holds the entry ceremony into Nanking.		

The Japanese Army completed all the tasks prior to the night of the 16th, by capturing the stragglers and a large amount of amis and ammunitions in the Safety Zone. Then, the entry ceremony into Nanking was held on the 17th. Nanking fell within seven days since the start of the operation on December 10.



However, since a large number of Chinese soldiers were still suspected of being hidden in the Safety Zone, the 'Sino-Japanese Joint Commission' was established on December 24, in order to separate the citizens from the hiding soldiers by checking physique, outfit and language.<sup>16</sup> This investigation was done until January 5, 1938 for all the Nanking citizens, not including the elderly and women and children. As a result, approximately 2,000 soldiers were captured, while 160,000 male adults acquired ID cards.

On January 1, 1938, nine Chinese committee members established the 'Nanking Self-government Committee,' and the administration of the city came under this committee upon recovery of public order. And, further, on March 28, the committee dissolved and the 'Nanking Restoration Government' was newly established by the anti-Chiang Kai-Shek Chinese group.

## **2. Prosecution of the 'Nanking Massacre'**

### **Why Differs Widely in Casualties Count**

The so-called 'Nanking Massacre' is the case wherein a large number of the citizens of Nanking and the captives have been alleged to have been murdered during the six weeks' occupation period under the Japanese Army, from December 13 immediately after the fall of Nanking through the beginning of February of 1938.

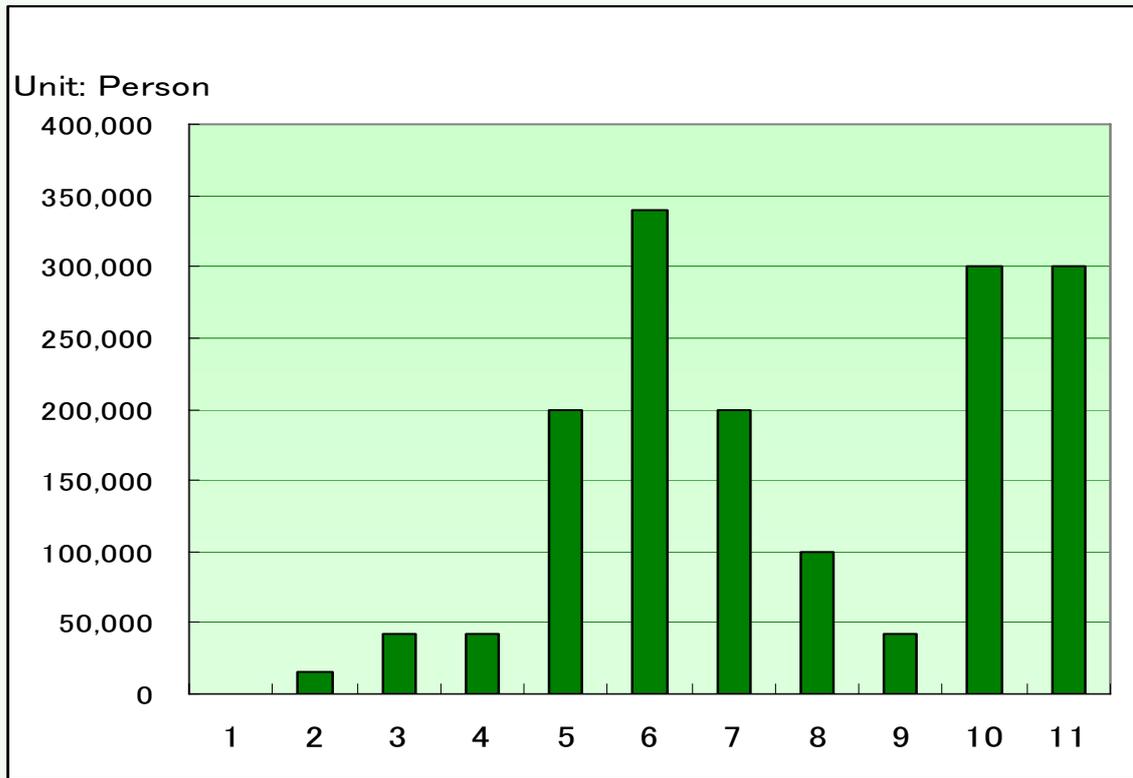
After World War II, the Nanking District Court was held by the KMT, and a chief of division and three officers, who belonged to the Central China Area Army, were charged and put to a death penalty for their responsibility, so was a commander-in-chief of the Army at the International Military Tribunal for the Far East (IMTFE). And, the results are well known.

However, the prosecutions presented for this 'Nanking Massacre' have been various, and especially, the number of victims are controversial.

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<sup>16</sup> Languages spoken in each region varied so much that communication among soldiers coming from different regions was difficult for each other.

**Table 2 Number of casualties classified by claim**



	Date	Claims	Number of Casualties	Sources
1	1938	The Safety Zone Committee	49	Documents of the Nanking Safety Zone
2	1938	L.C. Smythe	15,760	War Damage in the Nanking Area
3	1938	M. S. Bates	42,000	What War Means
4	1941	E. Snow	42,000	The Battle for Asia
5	1943	A. Smedley	200,000	Battle Hymn of China
6	1946	Nanking District Court	340,000	Summary report on the Investigations of Japanese war crimes committed in Nanking
7	1948	The IMTFE	200,000	The Tokyo War Crimes Trial (stenographic records)
8	1971	Hsu Long-hsuen and Chang Ming-kai	100,000	History of the Sino-Japanese War (1937-1945)
9	1993	The New Encyclopedia Britannica	42,000	The New Encyclopedia Britannica
10	1995	Communist China	300,000	History of the War against Japan
11	1997	Iris Chang	300,000	The Rape of Nanking



The following is a list of the variety of views on the 'Nanking Massacre', expressed by the CCP.

Summary report on the Investigations of Japanese war crimes committed in Nanking, prepared by the Procurator of the District Court, Nanking (Nanking District Court, 1946)

Atrocities of the Japanese Invasion Army - the Nanking Massacre (Shanghai People's Publishing, 1985)

History of the War against Japan (Committee of China International Strategic Studies, 1995)

We especially focus on a portion titled "The Nanking Capture by Japanese Army-Occupation and Massacre", presented in History of the War against Japan. The reason is because The Rape of Nanking written by Iris Chang, a Chinese-American, mainly has quoted from it. In addition, it has been published under the supervision of Chi Peng-fei, former deputy premier and foreign minister of the People's Republic of China. Therefore, the view shown in it can be regarded as the latest official view of the CCP on the 'Nanking Massacre'.

For further details, the photographs presented in the book are quoted from the 751 pages of photo-collection, compiled by Fund Xu'yan, professor of Chinese Defense University, published in 1995 for the 50th anniversary of the end of World War II. Fund Xu'yan is the author of the book, called 1945 March to Manchuria, and he is a postwar historian relatively well known in Japan.

