



*The Nanking Massacre  
and Other Japanese Military Atrocities,  
The Asia-Pacific War*

*1931-1945*

VOLUME 2

A Curriculum Guide for Secondary Teachers  
Second Edition 2010

New Jersey Commission on Holocaust Education  
NJ-ALPHA  
Global Alliance

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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. We will use 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.

Each of us has cause to think with deep gratitude  
of those who have lighted the flame within us.  
—Albert Schweitzer

In Memory of Iris Chang, Upstander

# Acknowledgments

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We also appreciate the support of the **New Jersey Commission on Holocaust Education**, in particular Dr. Paul Winkler, the Executive Director, who encourages us in so many of our endeavors, including this curriculum.

Douglas Cervi, Oakcrest High School and Richard Stockton College, 2006 Study Tour

Frances Flannery, South Plainfield High School, 2008 Study Tour

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Maryann McLoughlin, Richard Stockton College, 2008 Study Tour

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Peter Li, Professor Emeritus, Rutgers University

Don Tow, Program Chair, NJ-ALPHA

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Note:

This is the second edition of this curriculum. Those of us from the 2008 study tour built on the work of Douglas Cervi and Robert F. Holden in the first edition. We stand on their shoulders.

# Preface

The publication of the second edition of this curriculum guide, *The Nanking Massacre and other Japanese Atrocities, The Asia-Pacific War—1931-1945*, marks the continuous cooperation between NJ-ALPHA and the NJ Commission on Holocaust Education. This project began when Professor Peter Li, the founding president of NJ-ALPHA and Dr. Paul Winkler, executive director of the Holocaust Commission, met for the first time in the summer of 2004 to discuss the possibility of jointly developing a curriculum guide. The result of that first meeting was the compilation (two years later) of a preliminary 250-page “Curriculum and Resource Guide” which was the joint effort of members of the Asian American community, including Al Chu, Edwin Leung, To-thi Bosacchi and Peter Li.

In 2006 under the sponsorship of NJ-ALPHA two New Jersey teachers, Doug Cervi and Bob Holden, took part in BC-ALPHA’s Summer China Study Tour which led to the writing of the first edition of the Curriculum Guide. Bob and Doug, inspired by this study tour, had the vision and wisdom to expand the guide to ten units in contrast to the original four units to include topics on POWs and Forced Laborers, The Tokyo War Crimes Trial, Rescuers and Righteous Individuals, and Japanese Denial

Again in 2008 several teachers and educators from New Jersey took part in the Global Alliance/NJ-ALPHA-sponsored China Study Tour, including Frances Flannery, Maryann McLoughlin, and Rosemarie Wilkinson who after their return undertook the task of revising the first edition of the Curriculum Guide. This second edition follows the structure of the first edition but expanded and refined the original to include extensive readings, many research projects, and classroom activities.

Our goals as stated in the Commission is to provide information and instruct students about acts of genocide, the Holocaust, and other atrocities against people because of bias, prejudice, and discrimination. Acts of violence and crimes against humanity no matter when and where they occur, whether in Europe, Africa, or Asia, should be given equal attention in our global age. This guide addresses the atrocities committed in Asia Pacific during the period 1931-1945, atrocities which have been kept in the shadows for a long time in the West. It is time for our students today to learn about this long neglected chapter of history.

Peter Li, Professor Emeritus, Rutgers University  
Paul Winkler, Executive Director,  
NJ Commission on Holocaust Education  
Victor Yung, President, NJ-ALPHA

# The Nanking Massacre and Other Japanese Military Atrocities, 1931-1945

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# The Nanking Massacre and Other Japanese Military Atrocities, 1931-1945

## *To The Teacher*

The chronicle of humankind's cruelty to fellow humans is a long and sorry tale. But if it is true that even in such horror tales there are degrees of ruthlessness, then few atrocities in world history compare in intensity and scale to the Rape of Nanking.

—Iris Chang

Most Americans think about WW II's Pacific War from a U.S. perspective. Many remember Pearl Harbor, Iwo Jima, Guadalcanal, Corregidor, the Bataan Death March, and the bombings of Hiroshima and Nagasaki. However, they know little to nothing about the Asian experience during the war.

World War II began in Europe in 1939, and for the U.S. in 1941, but Asia's Pacific War extends back to 1931. In 1931, the Japanese Imperial Army invaded Manchuria converting it into a puppet government called Manchukuo, where Japan established biological warfare units. By the end of 1937, Japan had attacked and captured Peking (Beijing), Shanghai, and Nanking, the capital. Chinese cities were bombed; civilians, slaughtered. The worst abuses occurred in Nanking when in six weeks between December 1937 and January 1938, 350,000 Chinese were massacred. The Japanese motto of "Kill all! Burn all! Loot all!" was fulfilled with a vengeance.

This curriculum was created as a resource for secondary teachers so that they can educate their students about the Pacific War not only from a U.S. perspective but also from a world perspective.

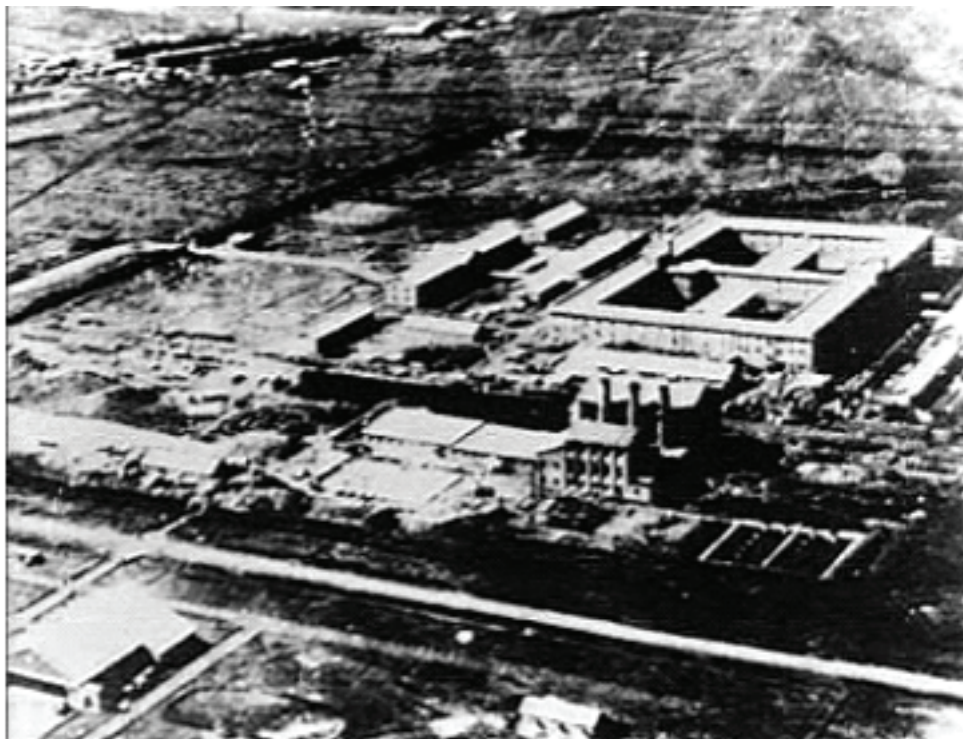






## *Unit Six*

### *Biological and Chemical Weapons and Medical Experiments*



**Unit 731**, one of the covert biological and chemical warfare research and development units, a six-square-kilometer base with 150 buildings. Unit 731 was based in the Pingfang district of Harbin, the largest city in the Japanese puppet state of Manchukuo (now Northeast China). A train brought in prisoners in sealed cars. Pingfang is presently a museum, dedicated in 2008.

# The Nanking Massacre and Other Japanese Military Atrocities, 1931-1945

## INTRODUCTION to UNIT 6

### Biological and Chemical Weapons and Medical Experiments

One aspect of World War II in the Asia-Pacific Theater not generally known was the extensive use of biochemical weapons (CBW) by the Japanese Imperial army in China during the war. The world has come to know the horrors of chemical warfare with the Iraqi killing of the Kurds with chemical weapons in 1989. A study of Japan's extensive use of biological and chemical weapons in China in the 1930's and 40's may serve as a useful example of what could happen if CBW were to be used on military and civilian targets today.

This unit is a basic introduction for the students to the subject of biochemical weapons and their lethal implications. What are they? How are the CBW different from other weapons of war? Why were they used and then banned? More specifically, students will be introduced to an actual historical instance of how, where and why CBW were used on an innocent civilian population and what the consequences were.

This historical instance of the use and development of CBW by the Japanese took place in China from 1932-1945. When developing these biological and chemical weapons, two types of research were done by the Japanese: 1) assault research (human experimentation and germ warfare), which was done abroad, for example in China; and 2) defense research (vaccines), research mainly conducted in Japan.

The research and experimentation with these weapons began in Northeast China (Manchuria) in a small village called Pingfang outside the metropolitan city of Harbin. Previous to Pingfang, there was another short-lived experimental station at Beiyinhe. The military agency that conducted the experiments was called *Unit 731*. The single most important person responsible for the operation of the program was General Ishii Shiro.

In 1932, Shiro Ishii, a physician and army general, began medical experiments first at Beiyinhe and then in 1935 at Unit 731 (Pingfang). Unit 731 was designated the Water Purification Bureau. While Dr. Mengele at Auschwitz called his gruesome experiments *Artzvorstellern* or "medical checkups," Dr. Ishii dehumanized his victims, designating them as *muralas* or "logs," a sick joke that originated when the Japanese told the local Manchurians that Unit 731 facility was being built as "a lumber mill." To disguise that they were experimenting on humans, the scientists and medical personnel referred in their reports to subjects as "Manchurian monkeys."

Chinese civilians and others—common criminals, Partisans, Korean Communists partisans, intellectuals and dissidents, relatives of dissidents, ordinary citizens from nearby villages, children, Chinese and U.S. soldiers, and U.S. POWs as well as Soviet and European POWs—were infected with plague, anthrax, cholera, and other pathogens. They were subjected to experiments to study the effects of frostbite, dehydration, and malnutrition as well as experimental surgeries in transplantation of limbs from one individual to another.

Neither women nor children were spared. Women were subjected to similar medical experiments as men. Moreover, they were subjected to rape and abuse. Barenblatt reports that the worst was their forced participation in studies of sexually-transmitted diseases (STDs). At first syphilis was injected. Then the Japanese decided they could study the effects better if the syphilis was contracted through sexual contact: they forced women to have sex with men who were infected. The progress of the disease was closely observed, and women were subjected to live dissection of their internal organs to investigate the different stages of the syphilis (53-56).

Experiments were conducted on babies born in Unit 731 as well as on children brought to the unit. Babies were subjected to experimentation and dissection. Children of six, seven, and eight years old were used in germ and chemical tests.

These so-called "logs" were not meant to survive. Once a prisoner was sent to a biological warfare (BW) facility, the system mandated that the person would not live. Most lasted only 30 days. They were infected, dissected without anesthesia, usually a vivisection, dispatched by lethal injection, and then cremated in an on-site crematorium.

These CBW camps and research laboratories employed over 20,000 physicians, surgeons, nurses, chemists, biologists, microbiologists, veterinarians, entomologists, and plant pathologists. These scientists and medical personnel were paid extra for their work. Surprisingly, although the development of CBW and the medical experiments were done in secret, the Japanese medical community was well-informed about these experiments. In fact, several films of the vivisections were shown in Japan.

After Japan's surrender on August 15, 1945, the facility was set on fire. On August 20, Unit 731 let loose sixty horses that had been fed with glanders-infected oats. These radiated out in different directions to villages, where they infected other animals. On that same day, Unit 731 set free thousands of bubonic plague-infected rats.

An estimated 580,000 people were killed in experimentation centers and by germ warfare.

Sheldon Harris in his landmark book, *Factories of Death*, has stated:

There were many miscreants who share responsibility for Japan's chemical and biological warfare programs. In fact, so many members of Japan's scientific establishment, along with virtually every military leader of note and members of the imperial family, either participated in chemical or biological warfare research, or supported these projects with men, money, and material, that it is difficult today to apportion exact blame or responsibility. But there is no doubt that the person most responsible for converting Manchuria into one huge biological warfare laboratory during the Japanese occupation was the young army doctor, Major Ishii Shiro.

Why were the Japanese interested in developing chemical and biological weapons? They were cheaper to develop and produce than conventional weapons. They were effective, causing not only military disruption but also social disruption.

Aside from the human suffering, what can we learn from these experiments that took place in the not too distant past? Subsequent to the event, why was there a cover-up by the Japanese and the American governments?

# The Nanking Massacre and Other Japanese Military Atrocities, 1931-1945

## Unit 6—Biological and Chemical Warfare

**BRIEF SUMMARY OF UNIT:** Beginning in 1932 the Japanese began a program in north China, developing biological and chemical weapons. They used humans to test their experiments. By the end of the war they had an extensive network of these sites.

### LINK TO CONTENT STANDARDS:

See Appendix C for the common core standards for Writing, Reading, Language, and Speaking and Listening in Social Studies.

- 6.1.12.A.11.a Evaluate the effectiveness of international agreements following World War I in preventing international disputes during the 1920s and 1930s.
- 6.1.12.A.11.b Compare and contrast different perspectives about how the United States should respond to aggressive policies and actions taken by other nations at this time.
- 6.1.12.A.11.c Assess the responses of the United States and other nations to the violation of human rights that occurred during the Holocaust and other genocides.
- 6.1.12.B.11.a Explain the role that geography played in the development of military strategies and weaponry in World War II.
- 6.1.12.D.11.a Analyze the roles of various alliances among nations and their leaders in the conduct and outcomes of the World War II.
- 6.2.12.A.4.c Analyze the motivations, causes, and consequences of the genocides of Armenians, Roma (gypsies), and Jews, as well as the mass exterminations of Ukrainians and Chinese.
- 6.2.12.A.6.a Evaluate the role of international cooperation and multinational organizations in attempting to solve global issues.
- 6.2.12.A.6.b Analyze the relationships and tensions between national sovereignty and global interest in matters such as territory, economic development, use of natural resources, and human rights.
- 6.2.12.C.4.c Assess the short- and long-term demographic, social, economic, and environmental consequences of the violence and destruction of the two World Wars.
- 6.2.12.D.4.i Compare and contrast the actions of individuals as perpetrators, bystanders, and rescuers during events of persecution or genocide, and describe the long-term consequences of genocide for all involved.
- 6.3.12.A.1 Develop a plan for public accountability and transparency in government related to a particular issue(s) and share the plan with appropriate government officials.
- 8.1.8.E.1 Gather and analyze findings using data collection technology to produce a possible solution for a content-related or real-world problem.
- 8.2.8.C.2 Compare and contrast current and past incidences of ethical and unethical use of labor in the United States or another country and present results in a media-rich presentation.

<p><b>ESSENTIAL QUESTION THAT WILL FOCUS TEACHING AND LEARNING:</b></p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Students will investigate the development of biological and chemical weapons by the Japanese Imperial Army.</li> </ul> <p><b>GUIDING QUESTIONS:</b></p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• On whom, did the Japanese experiment?</li> <li>• How extensive was Japan's use of these biological and chemical weapons?</li> <li>• What happened to this program after WWII ended?</li> </ul>	<p><b>ESSENTIAL KNOWLEDGE, SKILLS, AND ENDURING UNDERSTANDINGS:</b></p> <p><b>A: STUDENTS WILL KNOW:</b></p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• The depth and scope of Japan's biological and chemical warfare program.</li> </ul> <p><b>B: STUDENTS WILL UNDERSTAND THAT:</b></p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Japan's biological and chemical program was similar to the Nazi experiments done in concentration camps in Europe.</li> <li>• The U.S. and the U.S.S.R. were interested in obtaining the results of these experiments.</li> </ul> <p><b>C: STUDENTS WILL BE ABLE TO:</b></p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Evaluate the reasons Japan decided to develop biological and chemical weapons in defiance of the Geneva Convention of 1925.</li> <li>• Understand the importance of eyewitness testimonies in studying Japan's biological and chemical warfare.</li> </ul>	<p><b>ASSESSMENT (EVIDENCE OF KNOWLEDGE AND UNDERSTANDING):</b></p> <p><b>STUDENTS WILL:</b></p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Understand the difference between biological and chemical weapons</li> <li>• List and discuss instances when chemical weapons have been used</li> <li>• Understand the development of biological and chemical weapons by Unit 731</li> <li>• Understand the consequences of the use of these weapons, up to the present</li> <li>• Know the effects on the environment and on Chinese citizens of the dumping of these weapons in China</li> </ul>
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## **SUGGESTED SEQUENCE OF LEARNING ACTIVITIES, INCLUDING THE USE OF TECHNOLOGY AND OTHER RESOURCES:**

- Examine the timelines, Handout 6.1 and 6.2. What conclusions do you arrive at?
- When have biological and chemical weapons been used? Research on the internet for contemporary examples of the use of biological and chemical weapons.
- Examine letters, diaries, and other personal accounts of survivors and perpetrators of Unit 731 and the other Japanese facilities.
- Research the following: Were U.S. and Allied soldiers affected by biological and chemical warfare?
- Read the survivor accounts of germ warfare and answer the discussion questions.
- Research the following: Why was Japan able to shirk responsibility for the use of biological and chemical warfare?
- Research the following: What role did the U.S. play in preventing the details of Japanese biological and chemical warfare from being discussed at the International Military Tribunal Far East (IMTFE) Trials?
- Research the contemporary effects of Japan's burial of chemicals at the end of WWII?
- In pairs, access one of the internet sites listed on the Bibliography that your teacher assigns to you. Report to the class about the site and its usefulness.
- Research contemporary international newspaper accounts about biological and chemical warfare.
- Research Unit 731 Museum in Harbin. What is this museum? What is its purpose? Is it controversial? What is Japan's reaction to this museum?

## Unit 6—Handout 1

### Research Project

Students should choose one of the following to research. They should prepare a word-processed document, citing their sources, and also present their research to the class. Their research should highlight the term's relevance to biological and chemical warfare in China 1931-1945.

1. Unit 731
2. General Shiro Ishii
3. Kempeitai
4. Zhongma Fortress
5. Vivisection
6. Bubonic plague
7. Cholera
8. anthrax
9. Wakamatsu Unit (Unit 100)
10. Nami Unit (Unit 8604)
11. Major General Kitagawa Masataka, Unit 9420
12. Ōkunoshima
13. Khabarovsk War Crime Trials
14. Lev Smirnov
15. Hinomaru
16. “Kimigayo”
17. Yasukuni Shrine
18. choiceless choices
19. universe of obligation
20. upstanders (word coined by Samantha Power) vs bystander

## Unit 6—Handout 2

### Timeline - Biological and Chemical Warfare in the 20th century

While limited use of chemicals and disease in warfare dates from ancient times, the origins of modern chemical and biological weapons systems date from the era of the two world wars. The term *chemical warfare* came into use with the gas warfare of World War I, and modern biological warfare dates from the weapons systems first introduced in the 1930s.

**1914-1918 WWI** Following the first successful German gas attack with chlorine in the WWI battle at Ypres in 1915, the British, French, and, in 1918, the U.S. army responded with gases including phosgene, mustard gas, hydrogen cyanide, and cyanogen chloride. Initially spread from portable cylinders by the opening of a valve, delivery systems were extended to mortars and guns. In 1918, the U.S. War Department established the Chemical Warfare Service (CWS) as part of the wartime, but not the regular, army.

**1925** Geneva Protocol prohibiting chemical weapons. Signed but not ratified by the U.S. or Japan.

**1930s and 1940s** Japan experiments with biological agents and uses biological weapons in China and Manchuria.

**1942** On Gruinard Island, off the coast of Scotland, the British conduct anthrax tests on sheep. Today, the uninhabited island is believed still to be infected with anthrax spores.

**Nov. 25, 1969** At Fort Detrick, Maryland, President Richard Nixon announces a new national policy on bio-warfare: “The U.S. shall renounce the use of lethal biological agents and weapons, and all other methods of biological research.” Nixon pledges the nation will never use biological weapons under any circumstances. The entire U.S. arsenal is destroyed by 1973, except for seed stocks held for research purposes.

**1972** The Biological Weapons Convention is established. The treaty prohibits the research, development, and production of offensive biological weapons. The treaty does allow defensive work in the area of biological weapons. The Soviet Union and the United States both ratify the pact.

**1979** An unusual anthrax outbreak in the Soviet city of Sverdlovsk kills at least 64 people. The Soviet government blames the outbreak on contaminated meat, but there is suspicion within the international scientific and intelligence communities that the Sverdlovsk outbreak was caused by an accidental release of anthrax spores from a nearby suspected biological weapons facility. All evidence available to the U.S. government indicates a massive release of aerosolized B. anthrax spores. In 1992, Russian President Boris Yeltsin acknowledges that the incident was indeed related to the microbiology facility.

**1992** The Chemical Weapons Convention (CWC) reinforces aspects of the Geneva Conventions that also dealt with these agents and was negotiated over a period of 24 years. In 1992, after a decade of long and painstaking negotiations, the Conference on Disarmament in Geneva agreed to the text of the CWC, which was adopted by the General Assembly on 30 November 1992, in its resolution entitled Convention on the Prohibition of the Development, Production, Stockpiling and Use of Chemical Weapons and on Their Destruction (A/RES/47/39).

More than 170 countries have signed the CWC, and 139 have ratified it. The treaty entered into force on April 29, 1997, 180 days after Hungary, the 65th country, ratified. Countries that ratify must destroy all chemical weapons over a ten year period with the treaty providing a “leveling out principle” that ensures possessors destroy their stockpiles at roughly the same time.

**China ratified the CWC on 25 April 1997; China has declared possession of former chemicals weapons production facilities; initial inspections have been conducted.**

Source: <http://abcnews.go.com/Nightline/story?id=128610&page=1>



## Unit 6—Handout 2-1

### Germ Warfare Timeline for 1931-1945 and Post-War

**1925** Geneva Convention governing wartime conduct bans biological weapons. Japan refuses to approve treaty.

**1932** Japanese troops invade Manchuria. Major Shiro Ishii, a physician and army officer who was intrigued by germ warfare, begins preliminary experiments.

**1936** Unit 731, a biological-warfare unit disguised as a water-purification unit, is formed. Ishii builds huge compound—more than 150 buildings over six square kilometers—outside the city of Harbin. Some 9,000 test subjects, which Ishii and his peers called “logs,” eventually die at the compound.

**1942** Ishii begins field tests of germ warfare on Chinese soldiers and civilians. Tens of thousands die of bubonic plague, cholera, anthrax and other diseases. U.S. soldiers captured in Philippines are sent to Manchuria as subjects for experimentation..

**1945** Japanese troops blow up the headquarters of Unit 731 in final days of Pacific war. Ishii orders 150 remaining “logs” killed to cover up their experimentation. General Douglas MacArthur is named commander of the Allied powers in Japan.

**1946** U.S. cover-up of secret deal with Ishii and Unit 731 leaders —germ warfare data based on human experimentation in exchange for immunity from war-crimes. Deal is concluded two years later.

**1981** John Powell, a former publisher of a Shanghai magazine who was unsuccessfully tried for sedition in the early 1950s after accusing the United States of using germ warfare in Korea, exposes immunity deal in the *Bulletin of Atomic Scientists*.

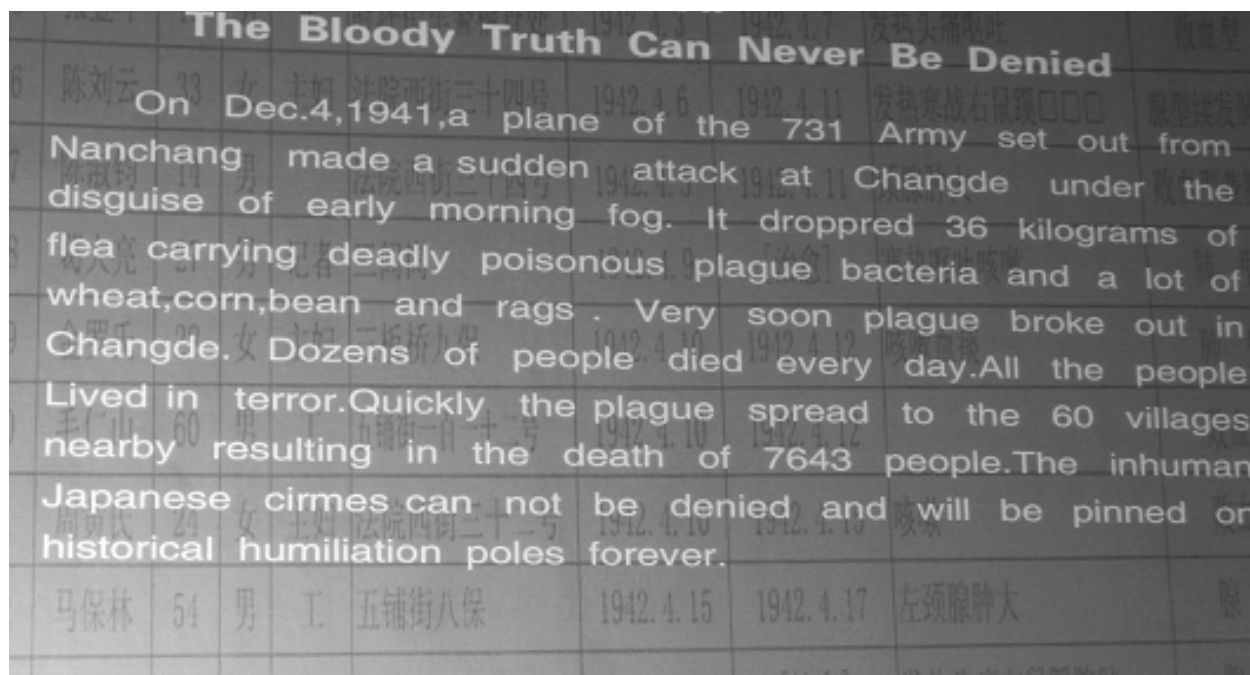
**1985** Dr. Murray Sanders, a former lieutenant colonel who was a U.S. adviser on biological warfare, claims that he persuaded MacArthur to approve the immunity deal in the fall of 1945.

**1986** Congressional subcommittee holds one-day hearing in Washington, called by Rep. Pat Williams of Montana, aimed at determining whether U.S. prisoners of war in Manchuria were victims of germ-warfare experimentation. Hearing is inconclusive.

Sources: Harris, Sheldon H. *Factories of Death*. New York: Routledge, 1994.

Daws, Gavan. *Prisoners of the Japanese: POWS of World War II in the Pacific*.

New York: William Morrow, 1994.



Bubonic Plague Dropped from Plane      Changde Museum Plaque 2008

## Unit 6—Handout 3

### Survivor Testimony of Xu Wanzhi, Biological Warfare Survivor, 68 years—Interviewed on July 14, 2008, Changde, China

Mr. Xu's family lived in the countryside, 4 or 5 km from the city. His was a typical upper-class village family. His father and family grew rice and supplied rice and wine. This supplemented expenses for his family.

In 1941 a bomb was dropped. In 1943 plague spread to the countryside. His father was one of those victimized. One day after his father came back from the city, he had a fever and was not feeling good. His father's medical situation became worse the next day. His grandmother was with them. She was worried as was the rest of the family. They asked the doctor to stop by the next day. Even after taking medicine his condition worsened. His fever continued to go higher. He was worse having seizures and marks on his body, and his thyroid was swollen. His father passed away the next day.

His cousin who lived with them also became sick. His grandmother took the cousin around and tried to find a cure, but this didn't work. His were almost identical symptoms, and by the time he died blood was coming out of his nose. The family sent someone to bury the cousin. His grandmother had similar symptoms. She died shortly after.

They had been a family of eleven. His grandmother had taken care of the household. Her death meant that the main beam of the family had collapsed. My father's younger brother went around collecting money so the family could bury her.

Then his older brother came down sick in the fifth grade. While he was sick, the rest of the family members became sick and they couldn't take care of each other. Some relatives did come by and tried to take care of the older brother. He remembers this period: the sick lying on the bed because he was thirsty, crying out for water. No one in the family could help him. By this time the whole village was infected. Shortly after, his brother died and they tried to bury him wherever they could.

He was only two or three years old then. His maternal uncle bought him back to his home and the local doctor gave him herbal medicine. The medicine worked. He said, "I survived to sit here and talk with you."

His uncle then came down with the disease. He was strong and in good health. He was the number one laborer in the village. His uncle went through the same process and similar symptoms and died shortly after. By that time our family was heavily in debt, trying to pay the doctor and for funerals and burials. By the time his uncle died and they went to the coffin maker. The coffin maker said, "You owe us much money and your strongest laborer has died, so there is no way for you to pay us back."

The Taoist priest didn't want to come. He said probably there is an evil spirit. At that time people were superstitious. My grandfather seeing that so many family members had died in such a short time could not stop crying, and he became blind. His mother lay on the bed all day, and she lost all her hair. His three sisters were very sick.

In the village they all carried the same family name—Xu. There were twenty some households. Over ten people had died and a lot more were quite sick. The family was upper middle class before the plague. After the plague, the family became destitute. Conditions were very, very bad. The family owed so much money that they were not able to pay the money back. People took the furniture away. They even wanted to take the bricks from the top of the house. His grandfather knelt down in front of them and said, "Try to find a good heart and conscience. My grandchild will be able to pay back what is owed."

In 1947-1948, when other children went to school, Xu too was going for a while. Then his parents pulled back; they had no money. After 1949 [end of the Civil War with KMT and beginning of the Communist era], children were given an education. Xu had an education; he went to high school and entered the work force. Xu became a skilled laborer, working for the electric company. He continued to live in the village after the war while he continued his schooling. Later he moved 10 kilometers away.

## Unit 6—Handout 4

### Survivor Testimony of He Yingjin, Biological Warfare Survivor , 74 years old—Interviewed on July 14, 2008, from a village near Changde

Mrs. He was seven years old in 1941. There were sixteen people in her family. She lost seven in her family to bombs and 6 from germ warfare.

Between autumn and winter, her first aunt fell over by the toilet. Family members took her to bed. She had a high fever and seizures. By the afternoon all her lymph nodes were swollen and on her arms were patches of black. Within two days her aunt had died.

The KMT (Kuomintang—Nationalists) were very strict about quarantining families. Therefore, they took her aunt's body out the back door to be buried. On the third day after her aunt was buried, her brother-in-law who had a small business selling things and carrying papers on his back, keeled over. He also died within three days. Within an eighteen day period, six family members had died of plague. Her younger brother, two-years-old, and a niece, three-years old, died.

They wanted to go home; they were from Jiangxi. According to regulations they could not go. So they sent a telegram to Jiangxi and explained that four people had died. The family from Jiangxi came to visit them. Both of her uncles, father and mother came. They became ill with swollen lymph nodes and black spots. Once they fell over, they could not talk. Her mother and then her older brother died. After they died, their bodies were taken out the back door to a boat. They were taken to the mountain and buried there. The bodies were not burned as was done later.

Mrs. He's family owned an herb shop. After these deaths, her father closed the herbal shop, where they sold herbal medicines, wine, liquor, and cigarettes. He was not able to do business. Then they suffered hardships.

In 1943, the city was bombed and burned. Their house also burned down. They moved in with relatives for a time but later moved back and set up a tent, using bamboo and cloth. Her father looked up his old customers to make a living; when the business opened, he had to repay the loans.

After the deaths, her father became very depressed. It was harder to make a living. However, after the war ended, he resumed doing small business.

In 1945, Mrs. He was thirteen-years-old. She went to only one year of high school. Then she stayed at home to help her father.

After 1949, she was asked to become a "barefoot doctor" [like a physician assistant who would travel to small villages].

## Unit 6—Handout 5

### Survivor Testimony of Wang Yaolai, Biological Warfare Survivor ,73 years old—Interviewed on July 14, 2008, in Changde, China

Mr. Wang lived in an area affected mostly by the dropping of plague from airplanes. His sister was one of the victims. At the time his mother was taking care of his sister and him. There were only three members in his family. His father had passed away quite a while before. His mother did weaving to make a living. She wove cloth. His sister had to go to a nearby store every day to purchase wool for his mom to weave. After the bomb dropped, the family in the store—eleven people—died. Because my sister went there every day, she also became infected. On one day she became infected and had the same symptoms—fever and seizures—and passed away. They tried to get medical help but that did not help.

His family was in a poor condition. At her death, his sister had been twenty-years-old and had been the major support for the household. His mother tried to continue to weave but could only make enough money to support herself. He stayed with that store, trying to survive by staying there. In 1951, the government provided him with work because he came from a poor family.

After his retirement, he found out about an organization that was asking Japan for reparations. Therefore, he joined this organization. He hates the Japanese—not only his family but all China suffered. In 1998, he took part in a germ warfare institute. He was not able to claim any reparations; he will continue to work. He did not receive any compensation but knows he is working for a good cause. He asks, “If Japan is a nation of law, why is there no response from the Japanese government?”

Mr. Wang urged the teachers on the 2008 study tour to be strong supporters of reparations and to speak out on the behalf of victims of biological warfare. Then perhaps victory in these cases will be achieved.



He Yingjin and Wang Yaolai Two Survivors of Bubonic Plague



## Unit 6—Handout 6

### Survivor Testimony of Jiang Lizhong, Biological Warfare Survivor, 77 years old—Interviewed on July 14, 2008, Changde, China

Jing's family was fairly well off. His father carved seals (chops). In April of 1938, when he was six years old, the Japanese began bombing Changde. They bombed the airport, and the bodies were carried to the center of the city; Jiang saw this. From the age of six, he knew what the Japanese were doing to China and the Chinese people.

In 1941, Changde was bombed with germs. That same year the Nationalist government put out notices letting people know that there was a germ attack and. Their family was in the prosperous part of town which was in the affected area. Jiang's two brothers, two and five-years-old, and the maid who take of them contracted the plague. His grandmother was very concerned and felt their heads for fever. Both his brothers had high fevers and began to have seizures. The family asked a Chinese doctor to examine the boys, and they sent the maid home.

The second day the two boys had dry mouths, thirst, and high fevers. Then they died. In the beginning bodies were being buried. The family tried to smuggle the little bodies out; covered with quilts and under the cover of an air raid, they took the bodies outside. It was the custom to have regular burials in the ground. The family did not want the boys' bodies burnt. In order to keep their secret, the family suppressed their crying—they felt that they were "crying blood" over these two little brothers. They buried Jiang's brothers in the same pit. If the government discovered that they had buried the bodies, they would have asked them to excavate the bodies and burn them. The family would have had to pay for the wood—200km of wood.

In September 1941, his grandfather died. He had been living in a suburb of the city, an area also affected by plague. So four people in his family died during the plague and four died in the war. In 1939, the Japanese had used incendiary bombs, and their home was burned.

In 1943, the nanny, who was in her forties, did not want to flee when the family fled from the violence during the siege of Changde. They found her naked, raped, with a stake through her vagina. His grandmother died because her two grandchildren died; she was broken-hearted and died.

His mother, two brothers, and he escaped. When they came back, their father had lost his mind and was no longer able to function. Within a year, Jiang's father was dead.

After this the family was in bad shape. His older brother tried to continue chop carving [seals]. Jiang moved onto a boat with another relative and tried to survive by rowing the boat. The boat was used to get merchandise across the river. He was thirteen; the younger, twelve-years-old. The elder brother had died. When they left, he was alone and depressed. He died. The deceased maid' family came and tried to get money. Her mother said, "What did you do to my daughter?"

During the war, Mr. Jiang was hurt by the bombing. From 1945-1949, he didn't receive treatment because he was wandering with the ship, working. In 1949, he was healed and from then led a normal life. In 1952, he received some education.



Survivor of Bubonic Plague, Jiang Lizhong



Jiang Family before Plague Deaths



Japanese Germ Warfare 1940s  
Survivors of Bubonic Plague in 2008  
with Peter Li (front) and Cynthia Wang (right rear), and Jean Bee Chan (left rear)—  
all members of Global Alliance; Peter Li is also a member of NJ-ALPHA

### **Consequences of Plague Deaths for these Survivors**

Because the father of the family usually was the one who died from plague or from depression after family deaths of plague, young survivors (seven to thirteen-years of age) became poverty-stricken and often had to drop out of school to help support their families.

### **Aftermath of Germ Warfare**

It has been estimated that 700,000 - 2,000,000 chemical bombs, most of them loaded with mustard gas and many of them corroded and leaking, are still scattered in China. Periodically during construction projects Chinese are affected by these leaking bombs and suffer severe injuries. The Japanese have not yet provided China with maps listing the location of all these burial sites.



## Unit 6—Handout 7

### Questions for Discussion

Answer the following questions based on the survivor testimonies in Handouts 6.3 through 6.6:

1. Why is survivor testimony important to understanding historical events, such as the development and dissemination of biological and chemical weapons in China during the period 1931-1945?
2. What did you learn from the survivor testimonies that you just read?
3. How can a military ensure training that effectively prepares members of the medical and scientific community for war while also preventing them from committing crimes against humanity?
4. How are the experiments done by the Japanese similar or dissimilar to those done by the Germans? Does it surprise you to learn that Japan began performing these experiments before the Nazis began?
5. Can civilians be protected in war? Where is the line when civilian suffering moves from “Casualties of war” to “international crimes against humanity”?

## Unit 6—Handout 8

### Testimony of Dr. Ken Yuasa

In 2007, Doctor Ken Yuasa testified to *The Japan Times*, “I was afraid during my first vivisection, but the second time around, it was much easier. By the third time, I was willing to do it.”

*The Japan Times* online Wednesday, Oct. 24, 2007

WITNESS TO WAR: “Vivisectionist recalls his day of reckoning  
Doctor put conscience on hold until war atrocity confession time came”

By JUN HONGO, Staff writer

Dr. Ken Yuasa (center) poses for a group photo at the Imperial Japanese Army hospital in Luan, Shanxi Province, China, in 1943.



Photo Courtesy of Ken Yuasa

Donning the crisp, Imperial Japanese Army khakis gave Ken Yuasa a sense of power, as a superior being on a mission to liberate China from Western colonialism. “The uniform made me feel incredibly sharp. Once I put it on, I was convinced Japan would triumph,” recalled the wartime surgeon, who was deployed to Changzhi (then Luan) in Shanxi Province in February 1942. His fervor, and the nationalist indoctrination of his schooling, quickly subordinated any sense of conscience. By his second month at Luan’s army hospital, Yuasa was aggressively performing vivisections on live Chinese prisoners, and diverting dysentery and typhoid bacillus to Japanese troops for use in biological warfare.

“I was in denial of the things I did in Luan until the war was over. It was because I had no sense of remorse while I was doing it,” Yuasa, 90, told *The Japan Times* in a recent interview.

“We believed that the orders from the top were absolute. We performed the vivisections as ordered. We erased any sense of culpability by doing so, even though what we did was horrendous.”

In the six decades since the end of the war, Japan as a whole still has not come to grips with its responsibility.

But Yuasa, who has confessed his inhumane acts and in so doing suffered condemnation at home, believes the only way for Japan to avoid war in the future is to accept the misdeeds committed by the Imperial army.

Born Oct. 23, 1916, Yuasa grew up in Tokyo and attended a high school near Yasukuni Shrine in Chiyoda Ward. The students often were lectured by army officers, who portrayed the emperor as a “living god” and said the Japanese, as a superior people, had an obligation to rule Asia.

Students were compelled to bow toward Yasukuni on their way to school, Yuasa said, recalling that the Hinomaru flag and “Kimigayo” anthem symbolized the wartime zeal. “And back then, we had no choice but to blindly follow what we were being taught,” he said.

After graduating from Jikei University’s School of Medicine in March 1941, Yuasa followed in his father’s footsteps and became a doctor. Initially, he had intended to visit rural villages that had no doctor and treat unprivileged patients. But at the time, it was near compulsory that graduates enlist in the military.

Once in China, it took only six weeks for Yuasa to become a cold-blooded vivisectionist, murdering live prisoners. The army placed great importance on the operations performed on live Chinese prisoners. It was considered an ideal way to learn how to care for casualties, as there were few wounded Japanese troops making it back from the front. Surgeons were encouraged to conduct improvised operations in the most authentic battlefield circumstances available, using prisoners as guinea pigs.

Yuasa took part in his first vivisection in March 1942 in the dissection theater in the army hospital in Luan. Two operating tables were surrounded by some 20 people, including medics, surgeons and hospital directors. Chinese prisoners — one tall, brawny young man and an older man who appeared to be a farmer — were handcuffed and waiting beside the tables. “Many of the Japanese were chatting pleasantly as they prepared,” Yuasa said, noting the occasional cries from the older prisoner was the only sign of discomfort.

The vivisection started with an appendectomy, but it took the doctors three incisions to locate and cut out the organ because it was “perfectly healthy.” After suture practice, Yuasa proceeded to perform a tracheotomy, causing bright red blood to gush out and spill on the floor. “Impelled by interest,” he also amputated the prisoner’s right forearm.

Although the farmer was lifeless by the end of the procedures, the young prisoner was still breathing. Yuasa injected anesthetic into his vein and executed him. The two victims were then dumped in a hole near the hospital.

“I was afraid during my first vivisection, but the second time around, it was much easier. By the third time, I was willing to do it,” Yuasa said.

Over the next three years, Yuasa said he participated in fourteen prisoner vivisections. Calling it “practical training,” he once operated on a Chinese prisoner who a Japanese soldier deliberately shot twice in the stomach just for the surgery. To accurately re-create battlefield conditions, doctors were ordered not to use anesthesia.

After the war ended, it was Yuasa’s turn to become a prisoner. The People’s Liberation Army of China held him in a camp for five years, during which a Chinese officer gave him paper and pencil to describe the atrocities he engaged in at the hospital in Luan.

“I felt no self-reproach at first. I was convinced that compared with what troops must have done at the front, what I did at Luan hospital was of little significance. But facing the paper with a pencil in my hand, I realized the magnitude of what I had committed,” said Yuasa, who was allowed to return to Japan in 1956.

Although he provided dysentery and typhoid bacillus strains for Japanese forces, it was only at confession time that he was able to accept that he played a role in biochemical warfare. Until he wrote it down, he had also kept from his conscience that he had provided brain tissue samples taken from prisoners to be used for experiments by Japanese medical companies. Yuasa now believes at least 1,000 people, including surgeons,

nurses and servicemen, were involved in similar atrocities all over mainland China. Only a handful have stepped forward to confess their misdeeds.

“It is difficult for anyone, including myself, to admit having done something evil,” Yuasa acknowledged.

But for him, the decisive blow came when he was handed a letter from the mother of a vivisection victim, which demanded that the Chinese army severely punish him for brutally murdering her son and causing intolerable pain.

“I couldn’t hold back from crying when I read the letter, because I felt so sorry for the horrible things I did. I was ready and willing to receive the harshest punishment after that,” Yuasa said in tears.

After he was released from the Chinese prison and returned to Japan, Yuasa embarked on a path of redemption by publicly detailing the army’s atrocities. His lectures were sometimes met with jeers and scowls from rightwing nationalists. One time, firecrackers were thrown to disrupt his speech.

“After an appearance on TV in 1981, I received a letter with no return address. It was a threat written by a rightwing activist,” he said. The writer told him to feel shame for making such revelations and warned him to “be careful when choosing what to say.”

Even a former colleague at Luan hospital contacted Yuasa and urged him to “go easy” on the revelations.

But Yuasa, who practiced medicine until he was 84, has been active to this day in exposing some of the darkest secrets of the Imperial army. He is propelled by a sense of guilt, as well as the fear that Japan is on a path toward committing the same mistakes again.

“It is painful to talk of my sins, and the sins committed by my country. But concealing the atrocities will only cause more problems,” he said.

Yuasa says that by covering up the wartime atrocities, the government has succeeded not only in justifying a war of aggression but also leading the Japanese people on the path to war again. One example is the Tokyo Metropolitan Government’s 2003 directive calling for any public school teacher who refuses to sing the national anthem during ceremonies to be reprimanded. “Such orders are identical to the wartime schooling I received,” Yuasa said.

“The atmosphere in which we cannot freely express our opinions and challenge government orders is eerily similar to that of my time. And back then, before we knew it, we were heading into a wrongful war,” the doctor warned.

## Questions for Discussion

1. What is your reaction to the statements of Dr. Yuasa about his experiences performing vivisections?
2. What oath do medical personnel, around the world, take? Explain how Dr. Yuasa violated this oath.
3. Why did Dr. Yuasa place his duty to his government above this oath?
4. When he graduated from medical school, Dr. Yuasa says that he “intended to visit rural villages that had no doctor and treat unprivileged patients.” What changed his mind?
5. Have you ever experienced conflicting responsibilities or duties, for example, to your friend and to parents, or to your friend and religious teachings?

## Unit 6—Handout 9

### *Asia Times* 2010 article on Medical Experiments

### Japan's Unit 731 victims' remains to be dug up

### Ground-zero of Imperial Japan's germ war

By Peter J Brown

In 1989, a mass grave was unearthed at the construction site for a National Institute of Health facility in the Shinjuku section of Tokyo.

Flash forward 21 years to another site a short distance from where the remains were discovered in 1989. Excavation work will soon commence at this second site, one of three identified in 2006 by a former nurse who worked at the Imperial Japanese Army Medical College in Shinjuku, and who pinpointed possible locations where human remains were hastily buried. These were all probably the unfortunate victims of a string of medical experiments performed on living subjects in Japan as well as in Manchuria and China by the Imperial Japanese Army. The nurse reported that she and other medical workers were ordered to bury these complete and partial remains after Japan surrendered to the US in August, 1945.

The Imperial Japanese Army Medical College's Research Institute for Preventive Medicine once occupied this site. The infamous Unit 731 created in 1932—aka the "Kwantung Army Epidemic Prevention and Water Supply Department" or simply the "Manchuria 731st Unit"—was also headquartered there. "If the bones are actually there, they are likely related to Unit 731 itself, because the facility that used to stand in that part of the compound was closely linked to the unit," Professor Tsuneishi Keiichi of Kanagawa University, one of Japan's top biological warfare (BW) experts, told the Taipei Times newspaper in 2006. [1]

Today, a soon-to-be demolished government-funded residential complex is located at the Tokyo compound. "From a procedural standpoint, the government had to wait for the government building built over the site to be obsolete enough to be torn down," said Yukie Yoshikawa, a senior research fellow at the Edwin O Reischauer Center for East Asian Studies in Washington DC. "But my sense is that in 1989 [when the first bodies were discovered in Shinjuku] many of the people involved in this issue were still alive, and wanted the truth not to be uncovered."

Ishii Shiro, the director of Unit 731 who died in the 1950s, was once described as the "Japanese Mengele," a reference to Josef Mengele, the German SS officer and a physician in Nazi concentration camps who was also known as the "Angel of Death." Unit 731's operations in China included a large contingent in Harbin, along with one in Singapore.

Shinjuku was the source of BW agents that infected thousands of people in China. Estimates of the total death toll in China range from anywhere between 250,000 and 1 million. The BW experiments conducted in Shinjuku and elsewhere which Ishii supervised killed more than an estimated 3,000 people, including many Chinese.

Many of the army officers and personnel responsible for these horrific acts who were captured by the Russians were imprisoned. But in Japan after the war, the US turned a blind eye and allowed them to simply walk away. The perpetrators were never prosecuted or punished in any way.

According to Koga Kei, a 2009-2010 Vasey Fellow from Japan at the Pacific Forum Center for Strategic and International Studies (CSIS) in Honolulu and a PhD candidate in international relations at the Fletcher School of Law and Diplomacy at Tufts University, the upcoming excavation in Shinjuku is tied to the broader joint effort recently undertaken by Japan and China to jointly explore historical issues often divisive and painful in an attempt to gain a better understanding of each other's different perspective, among other things. "The issue relating Unit 731 is a point of contention. The research group provided its reports both in Japanese and Chinese last January, and the descriptions in these Japanese and Chinese reports differ," said Koga.

"Regarding the issue of biological weapons, the Japanese report did not directly mention Unit 731, while the Chinese version explicitly described that biological and chemical warfare was committed by the Japanese, and that Unit 731 carried out experiments on Chinese subjects."

Koga remains concerned that given the sensitivity of the subject at hand, "if exaggerated information about this issue is disseminated, this might instigate anti-Japanese sentiment in China".

"This should be understood as a voluntary movement by the Japanese without any foreign and especially American pressure to recognize the dark side of Japan's past, in contrast with the recent 'comfort women' issue," said Yoshikawa. "It often takes time in Japan, but wait in patience, and things will move."

Thanks in great part to the Democratic Party of Japan (DPJ) and the concerted pressure exerted by a particularly persistent and unyielding Japanese civic organization—the Association Demanding Investigation on Human Bones Discovered from the Site of the Army Medical College—Japan's Ministry of Health, Labor and Welfare approved the excavation in Shinjuku.

"The health minister under the conservative Liberal Democratic Party (LDP) cabinet of Junichiro Koizumi promised in June 2006 to continue investigations of human remains at the old army medical college originally found in 1989. He was, in fact, responding to questions from a representative of the DPJ," said Professor Frederick Dickinson of the University of Pennsylvania.

"A proper accounting of this issue has, in other words, been DPJ policy since at least 2006 and, it is safe to say, with the DPJ now in power since last September, it makes sense for the party to move on the investigation. Funds for the new excavation were approved in the latest budget approval in the parliament at the beginning of March."

In effect, this issue is one of many others including a friendlier relationship with China, and a harder line on the US - Japan security treaty that the DPJ has used to distinguish itself from the LDP and that it is now trying to capitalize on.

"Now that the DPJ has completely backtracked on its hard-line stance vis-à-vis the US, it needs to maintain some semblance of its identity of being the 'reform' party. The medical college site issue, although a very small one compared to the US-Japan security alliance, is one small way of doing so," said Dickinson.

While there has been a long history of revelations in Japan about wartime Japanese atrocities and while some might argue that the Japanese are very aware of them, many view Japan as moving ahead too slowly and still dragging its feet. "There has been insufficient Japanese scholarly or governmental investigation of these episodes and this new investigation is long overdue. A large part of Japan's difficulty addressing these issues was that the conservative LDP had in its DNA ties to the pre-war leadership, while the left in Japan had a political agenda that went beyond truth and reconciliation and was therefore suspect from the beginning," said Michael Green, senior adviser and Japan chair at CSIS in Washington, DC.

With the rapid recent rise of the DPJ, more space has perhaps emerged for less politically motivated inquiries that can enjoy broader political support. "This is not the same Japan," said Green. "And coming at a time of sagging confidence among Japanese citizens about the future, it will be important for the emerging generation of leaders to expose and learn from this tragic history while also instilling pride and confidence in Japan's role in the world."

Japan must prepare for what will surely be an extremely sensitive and perhaps painful episode.

"Japan's biological warfare program in China was, as far as we know, the first use of scientifically organized germ warfare in history," Iris Chang told the Shanghai Star in March, 2004 just a few months before she took her own life. Chang, a noted Chinese-American historian, is best remembered for her book *The Rape of Nanking*, about the atrocities committed there by Japanese occupation forces in 1937.

A close friend and former instructor of Chang informed this writer in 2008 that she was unaware that Chang was engaged in any in-depth research focused on Japan's BW program before and during World War II. Still, Chang appeared to know quite a lot about what transpired. She must have known that Unit 1644 established a forward base in Nanjing. Unit 1644 specialized in BW like Unit 731 and conducted extensive BW



field operations in China, especially from late 1940 until 1942. China conducted a formal inquiry into one of this unit's BW attacks - on Ningbo in October 1940 - for example.

"Details from this period were suppressed during the Cold War. The US government cut a secret deal with these Japanese doctors, giving them immunity from prosecution in exchange for their medical data," said Chang in 2004. [2]

Decisions made years ago by the Japanese government to undertake government-funded construction projects at these troubling sites are seen by many as no mere coincidence. "According to the former nurse, the public housing for government officials was constructed immediately after the war so that no one could dig up the human subjects buried there," Tsuneishi, who represents the Association Demanding Investigation, was quoted as saying by the Mainichi Daily News. "The search may uncover the facts that the government had sought to conceal." [3]

Asia Times Online's attempts to contact Tsuneishi were unsuccessful.

Tsuneishi gave a speech at the annual meeting of the Association for Asian Studies last March in Philadelphia entitled, "The Purchase of the Data of 'Experiments' Conducted in the Japanese BW Program by the US in 1947."

The truth about the role of Unit 731 in so many BW-related deaths in China and the US government's deliberate attempt to cover up this war crime really did not emerge until the late 1970s and early 1980s. Japanese and American researchers pursued every shred of evidence. Professor Sheldon Harris at California State University at Northridge stood out early on in this regard.

However, while Harris and others helped to expose the fact that the US secretly decided to overlook the criminal acts perpetrated by members of Unit 731 and not prosecute them as war criminals once the US had obtained the data derived from countless human experiments performed by the Japanese, the fact that the US actually paid Ishii and other members of Unit 731 an enormous sum in order to obtain this data only recently came to light, due to Tsuneishi's diligent research.

There was no mention of any payment from a secret US fund in this 1947 memorandum to US General Douglas MacArthur, for example. "For all practical purposes, an agreement with Ishii and his associates that information given by them on the Japanese BW program will be retained in intelligence channels is equivalent to an agreement that this [US] government will not prosecute any of those involved in BW activities in which war crimes were committed. Such an understanding would be of great value to the security of the American people because of the information which Ishii and his associates have already furnished and will continue to furnish." [4]

In Philadelphia, according to one person who was in the audience, Tsuneishi spoke about the many errors that can be found in English publications and books about Unit 731, and he criticized authors for not doing thorough research on this topic. However, while historical inaccuracies and distortions are unwelcome and distracting, this does not excuse the conduct of the Japanese government which bears much if not all of the responsibility for concealing the truth about Shinjuku.

Among other things, the Japanese Health Ministry has repeatedly denied Chinese requests for DNA tests. [5]

According to Koga, one Japanese Health Ministry official said during the 164th Diet (parliament) session in 2006 that although several DNA investigations were undertaken, sampling was difficult and because a substance known as hormaline might be present in the human bones in question, it would be difficult to reach definitive conclusions. There is no firm indication of any substantive DNA work done prior to 2006 on any remains recovered in Shinjuku.

In late 2010, there might be a change of heart in Tokyo. "The DNA technology may be what makes a more objective and scientific study possible," said Green.

While analyzing DNA evidence might reopen the door to another dark dimension of this chapter in Japanese history, it must be done. "As for DNA analysis, yes, it will be very useful to have concrete proof of



Japanese, Chinese, perhaps victims of other nationalities at this site," said Dickinson.

What about the American prisoners of war in Shinjuku? Is this file now closed? After all, a quick scan of state and local prisoner of war (POW) accounts from the Pacific theater, for example, has revealed that hundreds of American POWs were held at a POW camp(s) in Shinjuku during World War II for varying lengths of time, and it would have been very easy for the Japanese to conceal their fate.

"It is significant that these are probably the skeletons of non-Japanese," said Tsuneishi a short time after the mass grave was discovered in 1989. "The Health and Welfare Ministry has been very eager to collect bones in the South Pacific islands for decades. I just wish they had that enthusiasm for the mysterious bones here in Tokyo." [6]

#### Notes

- 1) WWII horrors believed hidden in Tokyo neighborhood, *Taipei Times*, September 18, 2006
- 2) Book Exposes WWII Japanese Biowarfare Program in China, China Internet Information Center
- 3) Government to excavate Shinjuku site for remains of WWII-era live human experiment victims, July 8, 2010, *Mainichi Daily News*
- 4) Memos Say US Hid Japanese War Crime, December 18, 1988, *LA Times*
- 5) Human bones could reveal truth of Japan's Unit 731 experiments, February 15, 2010, *Daily Telegraph*
- 6) Skulls Found: Japan Doesn't Want to Know Whose, August 13, 1990, *New York Times*

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## *Unit Seven*

### *Prisoners of War and Forced Labor*



# The Nanking Massacre and Other Japanese Military Atrocities, 1931-1945

## INTRODUCTION to UNIT 7

### Prisoners of War and Forced Labor

The atrocities and inhumane treatment committed by the Japanese Imperial Army against American and other Allied Forces during the Asia Pacific War will go down in history as some of the most brutal and horrendous acts perpetrated by humans on other human beings. It is almost inconceivable and unimaginable without the testimony of the prisoners and perpetrators. These testimonies confirm that the atrocities did take place.

#### Testimonies:

**#1.** “My back and shoulder were broken, my teeth knocked out, my nose and head split wide open, all of this done by civilians working for Mitsui, and done on a regular basis.”

—Source: Sgt. Lester Tenney, *My Hitch in Hell*.

**#2.** “I knelt at the doctor’s left side,” Kanemiori said. “He cut into the left thigh. Every time he came upon a sinew, he took the scissors out of my hand to cut it. While cutting through my thigh, he told me to hold on to the flesh because he did not want to get any dirt on it. I complied with his request.”

“That night Major Matoba and a number of other officers brought a delicacy to Admiral Kinizo Mori’s headquarters. Matoba had Floyd’s liver prepared specially for the party. ‘I had it pierced with bamboo sticks and cooked with soy sauce and vegetable,’” Matoba said.

—Source: Corpsman Kanemiori, Japanese Imperial Army, who is speaking about an American POW named Floyd as written in *Flyboys* by James Bradley.

**#3.** “I steadied myself, holding the sword at a point above my right shoulder, and swinging down. The air reeked from all that blood. I washed off the blade, and then wiped it with the paper provided. Fat stuck to it and wouldn’t come off.” – Learning to cut off prisoners’ heads.

—Source: 2<sup>nd</sup> Lieutenant Tamaka, Japanese Imperial Army as written in *Flyboys* by James Bradley.

With the full knowledge of Emperor Hirohito, the bastardization of the Bushidō Code before the war led to the practice of elite officer corps allowing treatment that was rarely heard of in the European theater of World War II.

When the United States Army and Marines liberated American prisoners of war in late 1945, they had no idea of the conditions that they would see when they entered the POW and Forced Labor Camps. The journey to Japan for many POWs would only be the beginning of their horrifying experience. Many of them would not even make it to Japan because of the terrible conditions on board what would become known as “Hell Ships.” Imagine the liberators coming upon a man who had weighed 230 lbs. when he enlisted in the service and now weighed only 103 lbs—a skeleton of his former self! The men who survived the Japanese torture were barely alive to tell their story at the end of the war.

The atrocities that took place on the island of Palawan, on December 14, 1945 saw 145 American POWs murdered. Five of the POWs managed to escape and tell their story to the men of General MacArthur’s U.S. Army Command in the Philippines. These testimonies saved 511 American POWs and one British soldier from execution when they were rescued on one of the most famous rescues of World War II. The “Great Raid” was carried out successfully by the U.S. Army’s 6<sup>th</sup> Ranger Battalion. Without the courage of these Rangers, all of the POWs would have been executed by the Japanese Imperial Army.

This unit focuses on the treatment of POWs as well as on victims of forced labor.

## The Nanking Massacre and other Japanese Military Atrocities, 1931-1945

### Unit 7—Prisoners of War and Forced Labor

**BRIEF SUMMARY OF UNIT:** This unit focuses on the atrocities and inhumane treatment committed by the Japanese against American and other Allied Forces during the Asia-Pacific War. It will also cover the use of POWs and others as slave laborers.

#### **LINK TO CONTENT STANDARDS:**

**See Appendix C for the common core standards for Writing, Reading, Language, and Speaking and Listening in Social Studies.**

6.2.12.A.6.a	Evaluate the role of international cooperation and multinational organizations in attempting to solve global issues.
6.2.12.A.6.b	Analyze the relationships and tensions between national sovereignty and global interest in matters such as territory, economic development, use of natural resources, and human rights.
6.2.12.C.4.c	Assess the short- and long-term demographic, social, economic, and environmental consequences of the violence and destruction of the two World Wars.
6.2.12.D.4.i	Compare and contrast the actions of individuals as perpetrators, bystanders, and rescuers during events of persecution or genocide, and describe the long-term consequences of genocide for all involved.
8.1.8.E.1	Gather and analyze findings using data collection technology to produce a possible solution for a content-related or real-world problem.
8.2.8.C.2	Compare and contrast current and past incidences of ethical and unethical use of labor in the United States or another country and present results in a media-rich presentation.

<b>ESSENTIALS QUESTION THAT WILL FOCUS TEACHING AND LEARNING:</b>	<b>ESSENTIAL KNOWLEDGE, SKILLS, AND ENDURING UNDERSTANDINGS:</b>	<b>ASSESSMENT (EVIDENCE OF KNOWLEDGE AND UNDERSTANDING):</b>
<p>In what ways were American POWs and conquered civilians treated inhumanely by the Japanese Imperial Army, and what was their experience as forced laborers?</p> <p><b>GUIDING QUESTIONS:</b></p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• What are the details related to the treatment of American POWs by the Japanese during the Asia Pacific War?</li> <li>• How was the forced labor system organized and developed?</li> <li>• How was the forced labor system used for profit by the Japanese government?</li> <li>• What countries besides the United States had citizens and soldiers who were used in the forced labor system?</li> <li>• Identify the geographic locations of various forced labor camps throughout the conquered territories and in Japan.</li> <li>• What is the importance of eyewitness testimony in the discussion of prisoners of war and slave laborers during the Asia Pacific War from 1931-1945?</li> <li>• What is presently being investigated and discussed in relation to POWs and slave labor?</li> <li>• What is the position of the Japanese government today in regard to an apology for mistreatment and other war crimes and atrocities?</li> </ul>	<p><b>A: STUDENTS WILL KNOW:</b></p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• The Japanese Imperial Army committed atrocities against the Allied Forces and civilians in conquered territories during the Asia Pacific War through an organized system.</li> <li>• The testimony of both victims and perpetrators confirms the atrocities.</li> <li>• The Japanese government currently continues to avoid this piece of their history in education and the media, so there is no national consciousness related to the historical facts of the Japanese atrocities committed during the Asia Pacific War.</li> <li>• Victims continue to petition the Diet (The Japanese Parliament) for an official apology and compensation for slave labor using Germany as a model.</li> <li>• Several countries, including the United States, have passed resolutions condemning Japanese atrocities during the Asia Pacific War.</li> </ul> <p><b>B: STUDENTS WILL UNDERSTAND THAT:</b></p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Although the victims of Japanese atrocities have many supporters, current economic and political relationships among nations stand in the way of a concerted effort to press Japan for an apology.</li> <li>• An apology on the part of the Japanese government today will give justice to the victims who survived and honor the memory of those who were murdered.</li> </ul> <p><b>C: STUDENTS WILL BE ABLE TO:</b></p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Conduct research on topics related to the Japanese atrocities including an examination of eyewitness testimonies of those who were victims and perpetrators – the Bataan Death March, POW experiences, Palawan Island, Japanese Forced Labor System.</li> <li>• Respond to eyewitness testimonies.</li> <li>• List the ways that the Japanese treatment of POWs violated the treaty signed at Geneva Convention in 1929.</li> <li>• Understand that protections for civilians during wartime were outlined in a treaty signed at Geneva Convention in 1949.</li> </ul>	<p><b>STUDENTS WILL:</b></p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Use internet to research the organization and treatment of Allied POWs during the Asia Pacific War.</li> <li>• Conduct research and list the Allied countries who fought against the Japanese in the Pacific Theater and document the types of atrocities committed against them.</li> <li>• Investigate the Bataan Death March and write a brief report.</li> <li>• Research the atrocities committed by the Japanese on the island of Palawan in December 1944, when 145 American POWs were murdered.</li> <li>• Investigate the origins of the Japanese Forced Labor System and chronicle the development of the system in Japanese occupied territories and in Japan.</li> <li>• Report on the numbers of slave laborers used by the Japanese government and private industry throughout the war.</li> <li>• Research examples of prisoner of war treatment in Japanese POW camps. Include the types of labor (coal mining, manufacturing, road and rail construction), locations, length of detention, escape attempts.</li> <li>• List the country/national origin of the civilians and soldiers in the forced labor system.</li> <li>• Research the “hell ships” that were used to transport POWs to Japan. Describe the conditions on the ships and the resulting casualties.</li> <li>• Use a blank map of the Asia Pacific Theater and mark the locations of forced labor camps throughout the conquered territories and in Japan.</li> <li>• Recount the experiences of several victims of the Japanese and juxtapose with the testimony of the perpetrators who have come forward to report their experiences.</li> <li>• Using current news articles, research the current position of the Japanese government on their treatment of POWs and civilians during the Asia Pacific War and the response of the world community</li> </ul>



**SUGGESTED SEQUENCE OF LEARNING ACTIVITIES,  
INCLUDING THE USE OF TECHNOLOGY AND OTHER RESOURCES:**

- Students will conduct research to respond to guided questions presented in this unit.
- Students will read Handouts #2 and #3. They will respond to survivor testimony using guided questions.
- Class discussion of critical issues using formats such as fish bowl or debate.
- Students will read excerpts from sources listed in bibliography or view DVDs to enhance learning and understanding of ethical and moral issues during the Asia Pacific War and related to Japan's policies today.

## Unit 7—Handout 1

### Survivor Testimony of Geng Zhun, Forced Labor Survivor and Leader of Hanaoka Uprising, Interviewed in 2006

*Had you negotiated for better relations in the camp?*

Yes, twice. Once after our first request, we received horse bones for soup, but it had little effect because we were starving. We were frustrated, but we were determined to live because we wanted to return to our wives and families. Over time, Kajima (the Japanese company he was working for as a forced laborer) increased the harshness of the treatment. The quality of the food worsened.

*Were there any doctors or death certificates?*

Despite the presence of medical clinic, there was really no medical service. People were sick because they were starved and overworked. Kajima then started to make it even worse by having the prisoners work 16 hours a day. Even in death there was no honor; bodies were cremated all together.

*Why was there an uprising?*

The idea for the Hanaoka Uprising was initiated in March, 1945. By then, there were very poor conditions in the camp. Forced laborers were eating roots and leaves to survive. Many were killed because these were often poisonous. Added to starvation was the torture. Prisoners were hit with a whip made of ox genitals. This was seen as a great injustice and a major insult to the Chinese people. It was an affront to our dignity. At this point, our motivation was to protect the dignity of the Chinese people. We understood that this would be a last stand. We knew the chances of any success were slim. Japan is an island nation. Our plan was to retreat to the shore and then commit suicide there.

*How did you communicate in the camp?*

It was a great challenge because we were constantly watched over, but at noon we would have a ten minute break. This was an opportunity to smoke. The Japanese supplied us with cigarettes, but matches were scarce so we would save them and light our cigarettes off of others. During these exchanges, some of the prisoners told me that they could not endure this anymore, that they would follow me and jump into fire if they needed to.

*Why did the Japanese people in Hanaoka consider the uprising just, as shown by the town's decision to establish a monument for the Hanaoka prisoners?*

The uprising was originally planned for June 27, but it was changed. We had two Japanese overseers who were kind to us (one was nineteen years old and the other was forty-five). We found out that those two were supposed to be working on June 27. We knew that overseers would be killed in the uprising and we didn't want to kill these kind people. So, despite the risk, we delayed the day of the uprising.

We had three younger prisoners find out what day these overseers would not be working. They found out that it was June 30, so we decided to do it on the day. The delay was dangerous because it meant there was a higher likelihood that word would get out.

When the people of Hanaoka found that out, they were impressed that we did not kill indiscriminately. Also, we were an uprising of prisoners with nothing to use against Japanese guards with guns.

*What happened when your colleagues in prison visited you?*

After the uprising, the Chinese prisoners were sent back to the camp and I was sent to prison. There were rumors that I was executed. The U.S. occupying troops eventually liberated the camp and at that time, the Hanaoka prisoners were told that I was still alive and in Akida prison. I was told that I had to stay there because of the pending war crimes tribunals, but I did have relative freedom in the prison after that time.

When my fellow prisoners heard that I was still alive and in prison, they came to visit me. They told me that China was one of the victors and that they were now much better off. The Chinese laborers could go out of the work-site. I was worried that the Chinese prisoners, who were full of anger, might avenge the Japanese

policy of loot all, kill all and burn all. So, I gave them orders not to hurt the Japanese people. To go out, they needed three or more people. In this way, I felt there would be less of an opportunity for them to commit bad things. I didn't want them to bring shame to the Chinese people.

*Why were you put in prison? Was it because of your leadership skills?*

I was kept in prison and placed on trial for murder. It was not to separate me. As a brigade leader, it was difficult. Some Chinese leaders placed in prison became conspirators with the Japanese. But, for me as a soldier, I treat my fellow soldiers as a brother. They follow me as I lead.

*Why did you stay in Japan after the war ended?*

The prison authority released me to the Chinese embassy, but the Chinese embassy did not come to my aid for five months (two of these months were before the war ended and three were after). Once they came to get me, I went to Tokyo and Yokohama for the war crimes tribunals to testify to what happened to us in Hanaoka. I was allowed to briefly go home before the Yokohama tribunal. This was an exception made for me. Normally, once you file a complaint you have to stay. I was allowed to return home briefly because I was suffering from headaches and injuries.

*When were you united with your family?*

As a prisoner of war, prior to Hanaoka, I was injured in the stomach. My family thought I was dead because my compatriots had told them they thought I was dead. In reality, I was captured. My family never quite believed I was dead. As soon as I was free, I wrote home. In total, I was away for two years. In November 1946, I returned home. When my family heard, they couldn't believe it.

*Were there any spiritual or philosophical thoughts that helped sustain you during this time?*

I'm not superstitious. I don't believe in God. I believe in my conscience. If I believe it is good, I should do it. I believe that men are kind-hearted. My wife always believed that I would come back to her.

*What lessons would you like us to take back to our students?*

Teachers should endeavor to improve their own quality, personal righteousness and integrity. It is important for students to know the disasters that war will bring to humanity. You should show the importance of peace. Treasure peace! Teachers should serve as examples to their students.

*Years after the event, do you have any health or emotional issues?*

After the war, we returned to our homeland. Forced laborers pursued different careers and enjoyed freedom. We were separated though, and had little opportunity to talk. I became a farmer. It is important for us to struggle to build a country that cannot be attacked again.

## Unit 7—Handout 2

### Survivor Testimony of Mr. Xie Leiming, Forced Labor Survivor, 78 years—Interviewed in 2006

I'm 78 years old. I was born in 1928 and live in Hunan Province. In 1943, when I was about fifteen years old, I was taken from here by Japanese soldiers. I was captured for three days. At the time, we were scared. One person tried to escape, but he was caught and beaten to death. I became very afraid.

We were taken to Beijing. It was winter time in Beijing and it was very cold. We had only light clothing. After, Beijing, we were taken north to a camp that had an electrical fence. Someone tried to escape and he was electrocuted. Others also tried to leave, but they all died. There were six or seven of them.

After a few days, a ship arrived in port. The Japanese tied two people together with ropes. We were then deported to another city in China. From there, we traveled across the Yellow Sea between China and Japan. Because Allied planes were bombing, our ship tried to hide from the bombs. Therefore, a trip that normally lasts a few days took us one month. On the boat, there was not enough fresh water or food. Some people were sick. Even before they died, they were thrown overboard. Sometimes, the Chinese prisoners would take the Japanese leftover food, but they would be severely beaten for doing so.

After our journey we went to Nagasaki into a disinfection tent. From here, we were sent to the coal mines.

In the beginning, we had to study the Japanese names for mining. I was assigned to operate a crane. At first, I was working side by side with a Japanese operator, but soon I was on my own. Once, when the Japanese operator and I were working our crane, we got unhooked. Even though both of us had been operating the crane, I was the only one who was beaten.

Another time, we were going down into the pit. We had batteries for our lights, but my battery leaked. A Korean worker threw the liquid waste away, but at the end of my shift, I had to return everything (all of our batteries had serial numbers on them). I was beaten and received a severe injury for not returning the dead battery. One of our Japanese overseers was a good guy! He said I should get some rest after my injury, but the other said no. I had to work with my head in bandages.

Another man was working and fell in the snow. He never rose again.

Someone else stole a potato and was beaten to death on the spot for doing so.

During a Japanese festival, they held a martial arts challenge. They invited the forced laborers to fight, but we were so starved that none of us were interested. A few laborers were forced to fight, but they did very poorly. Then, one tall, thin man who we all called "skin and bones" stepped in. He beat a few of the Japanese. After that day we never heard from him again.

When the Allies began bombing, our treatment got worse. We would only get watery congee, and even then we were lucky to get it. If you were sick, you were sent to the "sick ward." But, there no one was ever given food and few survived. They either died of illness or starved to death. We called it the "death ward."

Once the Japanese generals realized that the war was coming to an end, our treatment got worse. Our Chinese deputy brigade leader said that he would rather die fighting than starve to death. On August 13<sup>th</sup>, our camp rioted. We had a 15% fatality rate. The first thing we did was to take some food. After, we wanted to hold a memorial service for the dead. We tried to appeal to the Buddhist tradition in Japan, but it didn't work and we were not allowed the memorial.

Now, I would like recognition of this atrocious time in history. We want justice. They destroyed our family.

## Unit 7—Handout 3

### Survivor Testimony of Mr. Zhang Quanyou, Forced Labor Survivor, 75 years—Interviewed in 2006

I was thirteen years old when I was taken as a forced laborer. I was born and raised in Hunan Province. I was born November 28, 1931. I am now 75 years old.

In 1942, because of famine in Hunan, I went to Shanxi Province but I was captured there. Thinking about this time still makes me cry! The Japanese army said I was a guerilla. They tied us by the arms. One person tried to escape, but he was killed on the spot. We were moved to another area. I became sick with fever and I was not treated.

During captivity we were not allowed to go out. We even needed to ask to go to the toilet. If we didn't, we would be beaten and killed. Our living conditions were very poor. We were all covered with fleas. We were given serial numbers for identification. Because I was thirteen, I received even poorer quality food. Some people in the camp had the job of disposing of the dead bodies. I witnessed this. Every day, ten to twenty people died. The burial workers told me they filled dry wells with the corpses.

After three to four months, we were told we were going home. Instead, the train brought us to Beijing. The next night, we were sent on a boxcar. It was July and there were around 70 of us in the car. Fortunately, I was the last to get on so I could get a bit of air. Before getting into the boxcar, I had grabbed a broken teapot. This was fortunate because on the way, I collected and drank my own urine to survive.

It was a very short trip, but around forty people died along the way. Once we arrived at this new place, we lived in a common shelter. We were stripped naked every night to prevent escape.

We were then sent on a boat to Japan. As we left, some prisoners realized we were being sent away from China and they jumped in the water. They were fished out of the water and killed by the Japanese. We were put on a cargo ship carrying coal. Once we were out to sea, some of the prisoners escaped by simply jumping off the boat.

We disembarked at a port in Japan close to Tokyo. There were armed guards present to prevent us from escaping. In the evenings, the Allies would bomb the port. The planes looked almost like swallows.

During the firebombing of Tokyo, this port was destroyed. Workers were then sent to three different ports. I was sent to a port close to Hanaoka. Here, rations were poor and of horrendous quality. Our job was to unload ships. We carried very heavy weights using bamboo. We unloaded a lot of copper from China. These were looted metals and it made us very homesick. When we were tired and slipped, we were beaten. I was beaten with an iron rod and I still have the scar on my hand.

We were forced to labor even after surrender. We rioted and broke through the gates. The Japanese could do nothing to stop us.

After the war, we were sent to Akida Prison, which we used as our living quarters. We were then sent home.

It has been over seventy years and Japan has still not acknowledged what it did.

## Unit 7—Handout 4

### Survivor Testimony of Lester Tenney, POW and Survivor of the Bataan Death March, 2005

Dr. Lester Tenney survived the Bataan Death March (April 1942, Philippines). After arriving at Camp O'Donnell he escaped into the jungles of the Philippines. He was recaptured days later. He survived the “hell ships” when he endured a month long voyage in the hold of a ship from the Philippines to Omuta in Japan. There, he was a slave laborer in a coal mine. He witnessed the atomic bomb blast at Nagasaki from the prison camp across the bay from the city. The war ended for him a day later when Japan surrendered.

#### Article:

“15 August 2005 – Sixty Years Ago Today the POWs in Japan Were Freed

War Has Ended But Not the Memories” by Lester Tenney

(op-ed piece published in the *San Diego Union Tribune*)

Sixty years ago today, World War II came to an abrupt end, similar in many respects to the abrupt beginning on that fateful day in December, 1941. Between the beginning of this war and its formal ending on Sept. 2, 1945, there were many events that have remained in our memory, events of horror and deprivation, events of death and dying, events of pain and suffering, events of happiness and humility.

During the period between the fall of the Philippines and the end of hostilities there was the Bataan Death March, where thousands more who were healthy enough to become slave laborers were forced to travel to Japan on Hell Ships on which the Japanese forbade Red Cross markings to identify them as carrying American POWs. American planes and warships, not knowing that Americans were on board these freighters, bombed and torpedoed them, turning them into sailing coffins, putting thousands of Americans into a watery grave. Those of us who survived this ordeal ended up in Japan, forced to shovel coal in dangerous coal mines, or working untold hours in zinc mines or on loading docks, or forced to manufacture war supplies for the enemy. These tragic events took the lives of hundreds more Americans who waited patiently for the war to end. It was these tragic events that caused us to bring a lawsuit against the Japanese companies that enslaved and abused us. Yet we were turned back, turned back by our own State Department, which chose to defend the Japanese actions.

You see, the war has ended, but the memory lingers on.

Let me explain. My fight against the Japanese company that abused and tortured me is not about money. It has never been about money. It has been about honor, dignity and responsibility. Like the great country of Japan, we too take pride in our honor and dignity, but it was taken from us, and now we want it restored, restored by those who violated our rights as human beings. We want those who abused us and stole our honor to accept their responsibility, which would be the honorable thing to do. And as we all know, Japan sees itself as the epitome and creator of the meaning of honor. The Supreme Court, after hearing from our State Department, recently decided not to allow our case to be heard in a court of law. I would hope that in spite of the court's decision, Japan will want to solve the problem of responsibility, which will then restore its noble place among nations and show the world that honor and responsibility are the ingredients necessary to entitle it to a seat on the United Nations Security Council.

If Japan, and the companies that abused American POWs, do not accept responsibility, they should never be allowed a seat and a vote on the Security Council. Without an offer of remorse, without a meaningful apology, giving Japan a seat on the council would be a travesty of injustice. Japan could never undo the wrong

it committed against us survivors without first accepting its responsibility and atoning for its actions. I have asked myself often these past 60 years what was it that caused Japanese soldiers to slaughter thousands of men on the Bataan March, to shoot them, bayonet them or decapitate them for not walking fast enough, for not bowing low enough, or for simply wanting a drink of water?

I have also wondered many times, was it greed that caused the companies to allow their employees to beat us with pick-axes, shovels and hammers, to break our bones, to maim some of us for life or kill so many by failing to provide us with adequate food or needed medical care?

But alas, our country's friendship with the Japanese has created an unwillingness on their part to come to grips with their past and apologize for their transgressions during their ill-fought campaign.

But now, this, the 60<sup>th</sup> anniversary of the end of hostilities, may be a good time for the Japanese government to come forward and issue an apology so badly needed to close a sad chapter in Japan's history. If Japan is truly our friend, then as a gesture of friendship, it should commit itself to restoring its honor by apologizing for placing us into servitude, stealing our honor and breaking our bodies.

I have learned to forgive; I have made peace with myself. Now I want those responsible for my servitude and maltreatment to accept their responsibility. You see, hating, I have found, destroys us spiritually, just as the fighting destroyed us bodily.

So I will forgive, if they will accept responsibility.



## Unit 7—Handout 5

### Questions for Discussion

1. Is the use of prisoners of war (POWs) for labor just? Why might some people argue that it is? Why might some people argue that it is not?
2. Is it just to remove POWs from their homeland for forced labor?
3. Should the Japanese government be held responsible for the treatment of POWs in camps that were benefiting Japanese companies?
4. Read the article “The Hanaoka Incident: Corporate Compensation for Forced Labor” written by Uchida Masatoshi, Attorney and uploaded on May 2, 2001. (<http://www.iwanami.co.jp/jpworld/text/hanaoka01.html>) Examine the issue of whether a Japanese company of today should be held responsible for what the company did during wartime over seventy years ago? Boycotts have been used in the United States against Japanese companies to raise awareness about this issue. Is this a good idea?
5. Why did POWs and forced laborers still struggle to survive despite overwhelming odds against them?
6. How did Mr. Geng win the support of the local people?
7. How can one retain his or her principles in the face of adversity (as Mr. Geng did)?

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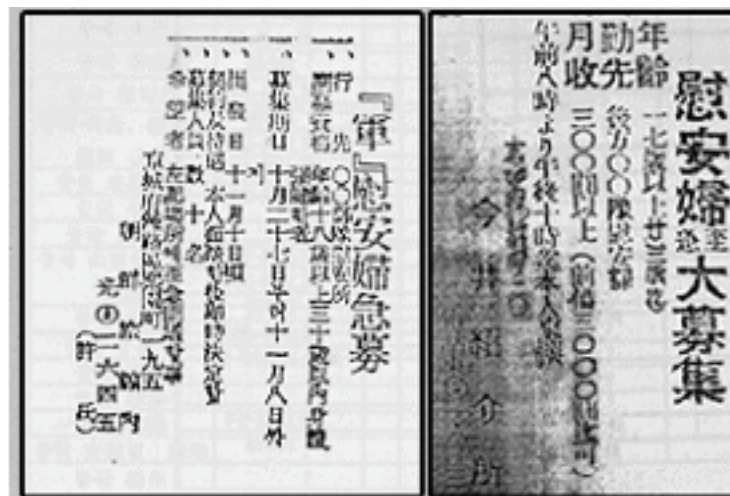
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## Unit Eight

### Military Sex Slaves



朝鮮總督府機關紙  
“毎日新報”  
1944年10月27日広告

新聞“京城日報”  
1944年7月26日

Recruitment advertisements for comfort women  
by the Japanese Imperial Army. Wikimedia Commons

# **The Nanking Massacre and Other Japanese Military Atrocities, 1931-1945**

## **INTRODUCTION to UNIT 8**

### **The Military System of Sexual Slavery**

The systematic violation, exploitation, and degradation of women by the Japanese military during the Asia-Pacific War must be counted as one of the most horrific crimes against humanity during World War II. About 400,000 Asian (and some Caucasian) women were systematically raped and kept in captivity servicing the Japanese military. Some were held captive for up to three and a half years.

These women were known as “Comfort Women,” a euphemism that has come into general use, in spite of its inaccuracy, to refer to those who were forced into the Japanese military system of sexual enslavement to service the Japanese troops during the Asia-Pacific War, 1931-1945. The majority of these women (up to 80%) were Korean girls and women. The rest were Chinese, Taiwanese, Japanese, Malaysian, Filipina, Indonesian, and Dutch women.

These women were placed in so-called “Comfort Stations,” barrack-like stalls, or even homes taken over by the Japanese army, where they were kept as prisoners. The number of these comfort stations was estimated to be as high as 2,000. These women were subjected to constant degradation, verbal and physical abuse, and the torture of being repeatedly raped or gang-raped by anywhere from ten to forty men daily.

The following is the testimony of Kim Young-shil—a military sex slave from Korea:

The officer shouted. “You obey my orders. I will kill you if you don’t. He then held me down and raped me. I was a virgin until that moment. From the following day on, I was forced to service sex to 10-20 soldiers every day, and 40-50 on Sundays. We were exhausted, weakened, and some of us could not even eat meals. We were in the state of “half-dead.” (Sangmie Choi Schellstede 48-51)

This form of abuse during war has come to be known as the “hidden horror” because women who suffered this kind of abuse have endured in silence even after the war because of their shame and humiliation. Furthermore, many were ostracized by their own society. For more than fifty years these women have suffered in silence, afraid to speak out.

It was not until August of 1991 that the first Korean military sex slave, Kim Haksun, spoke out. She was in her late 60’s and led a miserable, wretched life after her return to Korea at the end of the war. With nothing to lose and not much to look forward to, she wanted to let the world know what she had endured.

After Kim Haksun spoke out, in November 1991, The Korean Council for Women Drafted for Military Sexual Slavery by Japan was founded and a telephone line was set up to encourage other military sex slaves to call to tell their stories.

In recent years, a number of books have been published, including interviews with these military sex slaves. One recent publication in English contains twenty interviews with Korean military sex slaves: *Comfort Women Speak: Testimony by Sex Slaves of the Japanese Military*, edited by Sangmie Choi Schellestede, published in 2000.

The most extensive account of the life of the comfort women is the autobiography of a Filipina woman by the name of Maria Rosa Henderson titled, *Comfort Women: A Filipina’s Story of Prostitution and Slavery under the Japanese Military* published in 1999. Now that these women have come forth to tell their stories, the Japanese government can no longer deny that this form of systematic degradation and assault on Asian and Western women is a crime against humanity.

Although military prostitution has existed throughout history, the extent of it and the systematic and brutal way it was carried out by the Japanese military was unprecedented.

Students who study this unit will discover the depths of the Comfort Women system set up by the Japanese government. They will discover the reasons “comfort stations” were set up, the locations of some of these stations, the treatment of the women, and the extent of Japan’s denial of the system and its responsibility.

In addition, students will have the opportunity to read, and even hear and see the testimonies of a few of the survivors of the horrors of being forced into the Comfort Women System.

# **The Nanking Massacre and Other Japanese Military Atrocities, 1931-1945**

## **Unit 8– Violence Against Women: Chinese Women Held As Military Sex Slaves of the Japanese during the Asia Pacific War (1931-1945)**

**BRIEF SUMMARY OF UNIT:** An estimated 200,000 to 400,000 women in Japanese occupied territories were forced by the Japanese military to service the soldiers in sex stations. Only about 30% of the women survived the war.

### **LINK TO CONTENT STANDARDS:**

**See Appendix C for the common core standards for Writing, Reading, Language, and Speaking and Listening in Social Studies.**

6.2.12.A.6.a	Evaluate the role of international cooperation and multinational organizations in attempting to solve global issues.
6.2.12.A.6.b	Analyze the relationships and tensions between national sovereignty and global interest in matters such as territory, economic development, use of natural resources, and human rights.
6.2.12.C.4.c	Assess the short- and long-term demographic, social, economic, and environmental consequences of the violence and destruction of the two World Wars.
6.2.12.D.4.i	Compare and contrast the actions of individuals as perpetrators, bystanders, and rescuers during events of persecution or genocide, and describe the long-term consequences of genocide for all involved.
6.2.12.D.4.j	Analyze how the social, economic, and political roles of women were transformed during this time period.
6.3. 4.A.4	Communicate with students from various countries about common issues of public concern and possible solutions.
6.3. 4.D.1	Identify actions that are unfair or discriminatory, such as bullying, and propose solutions to address such actions.
6.3.12.A.1	Develop a plan for public accountability and transparency in government related to a particular issue(s) and share the plan with appropriate government officials.
8.1.8.E.1	Gather and analyze findings using data collection technology to produce a possible solution for a content-related or real-world problem.
8.2.8.C.2	Compare and contrast current and past incidences of ethical and unethical use of labor in the United States or another country and present results in a media-rich presentation.



<b>ESSENTIAL QUESTIONS THAT WILL FOCUS TEACHING AND LEARNING:</b>	<b>ESSENTIAL KNOWLEDGE, SKILLS, AND ENDURING UNDERSTANDINGS:</b>	<b>ASSESSMENT (EVIDENCE OF KNOWLEDGE AND UNDERSTANDING?)</b>
<p>• How did the system operate that provided sex slaves to the Japanese military?</p> <p>• What was daily life like for the sex slaves of the Japanese?</p> <p>• How widespread was the system?</p> <p>• Why is it unacceptable to use the Japanese euphemisms “comfort women” or “comfort stations” to refer to the women and the places where they were violated?</p> <p>• Besides the Chinese victims, what other countries did women come from that suffered the atrocities of the Japanese military sex slave system?</p> <p>• Why have many women not spoken about their rape by the Japanese soldiers? Why are some women speaking now – over 50 years later?</p> <p>• What is the response of the Japanese government to demands for compensation and apology on behalf of the survivors of the military sex slave system in China, Korea, and elsewhere?</p> <p>• What instances of violence against women are occurring in the world today?</p> <p>• What can you do to call for justice and reconciliation on behalf of the women who were forced to be military sex slaves by the Japanese during WW2 and/or women who are victims of rape and violence today?</p> <p><b>GUIDING QUESTIONS:</b></p> <p>• After learning about Japanese atrocities against the women of China and other countries during World War II, why is it important to study this history?</p> <p>• Why is survivor testimony critical to understanding this subject?</p> <p>• Why is it crucial to get justice for the victims of the military sex slave system even more than 70 years later?</p>	<p><b>A: STUDENTS WILL KNOW:</b></p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• How the women were forced or tricked into being military sex slaves.</li> <li>• How the Japanese sex slave system operated.</li> <li>• Japanese military set up military sex slave stations wherever Japanese soldiers were stationed, and women from many different countries were enslaved.</li> <li>• The response of the Japanese government to demands for an apology and compensation for the women today.</li> </ul> <p><b>B: STUDENTS WILL UNDERSTAND THAT:</b></p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• It is inaccurate to refer to the women as “comfort women” since this is a Japanese euphemism which is misleading.</li> <li>• Women who are raped, whether in China during World War II, Nazi occupied Europe during the same time, or in places like Sudan today, do not speak about their rape because of shame and humiliation.</li> </ul> <p><b>C: STUDENTS WILL BE ABLE TO:</b></p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Outline the operation of the military sex slave system of the Japanese during World War II.</li> <li>• Examine eyewitness testimony by responding to both survivor testimony and the testimony of Japanese soldiers who served during the Asia Pacific War.</li> <li>• Investigate the response of other nations like the United States to the call for an apology and justice for the Japanese military sex slaves.</li> </ul>	<p><b>STUDENTS WILL:</b></p> <p>Keep a journal</p> <p>Answer the essential questions.</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Use internet and other reliable sources to answer questions that students would like to know more about in relation to the essential question and report to class.</li> <li>• Engage in active and meaningful participation in classroom discussions and activities including cooperative learning tasks.</li> <li>• Create artwork or creative writing piece that demonstrates knowledge.</li> <li>• Respond to visuals including film, photographs, primary source documents, and survivor accounts by following guided assignment.</li> <li>• Respond to selected readings by scholars and survivors of the Holocaust through guided questions, discussions, and journal reflections.</li> <li>• Outline the organization and operation of the Japanese military sex slave system during the Asia- Pacific War.</li> <li>• Discuss the experience of Chinese women and others who were recruited to be military sex slaves by the Japanese military.</li> <li>• Research the nationalities of the women victimized by the Japanese Imperial Army.</li> <li>• Identify the importance of eyewitness testimonies in studying the sexual enslavement of women during the Asia Pacific War 1931-1945.</li> <li>• Research the response of Japan to call for justice by the former military sex slaves today.</li> </ul>

	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Understand that violence against women is a human rights issue in areas of the world today (ex. Sudan, Congo).</li> <li>• Discuss ways that students can speak for the victims of violence and act to end violence against women in the world today.</li> </ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Investigate the response of the United States and other countries to this call for justice and an apology.</li> <li>• Investigate instances of violence against women in the world today.</li> <li>• Discuss related ethical issues such as actions students can take to speak against violence against women and whether they have a responsibility to speak for the victims.</li> </ul>
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## **SUGGESTED SEQUENCE OF LEARNING ACTIVITIES, INCLUDING THE USE OF TECHNOLOGY AND OTHER RESOURCES:**

- Students will learn about the organization and operation of the Japanese military sex slave stations by referring to Handout 5.1 and the following references:

Yoshimi, Yoshiaki. *Comfort Women*. Columbia UP, New York. 2002.

*Iris Chang: The Rape of Nanking*. DVD.

*Nanking*. DVD.

- Students will read and respond to testimony of a surviving military sex slave, Mme. Lei Gui-Ying. Her testimony was transcribed by Karen Simmonds, North Delta School District, British Columbia, Canada, 2006. (Handout 5.3).
- Students will refer to Handouts 5.2, 5.4 to learn about the responses of the Japanese and United States government responses to the issue of military sex slaves.
- Students will extend knowledge of military sex slaves during the Asia Pacific War and also related issues today by conducting independent research using multiple sources.
- Students will conduct research using multiple sources on contemporary issues related to violence against women.

## Unit 8—Handout 1

### Organization and Operation of Military Sex Slave Stations

The 1998 United Nations Commission on Human Rights reported that 200,000 women were forced to be military sex slaves for the Japanese Imperial Army (JIA) during the Asia-Pacific War from 1931 to 1945. Based on the latest research and estimates, most scholars agree that at least 400,000 were victimized when victims of all nationalities are considered.

Women and girls were kidnapped or tricked into becoming sex slaves to service the Japanese soldiers. When the Japanese military occupied an area, residents were rounded up. The “pretty” girls were taken by force and sent to military sex slave stations that were established by the military. In other instances, women who were barely surviving economically were lured by a promise of work and then found themselves forced to be sex slaves to the Japanese soldiers. They were forced to service the soldiers.

Sex Slave Stations were barrack-like stalls or even homes that were taken over by the Japanese army where the women and girls were kept as virtual prisoners. The number of these stations has been estimated to be as high as 2,000. These women were subject to constant degradation, verbal and physical abuse, and the torture of being repeatedly raped or gang raped by many soldiers each day.

The procedure at a typical military sex slave station:

- Soldier paid a fee
- Soldier obtained a ticket and a condom
- Soldier was admitted to a woman's space

Dr. Chen was nine-years old when the Japanese commandeered her family home in Shanghai for military sex slave housing. She and her mother lived in the servant quarters. They saw the Japanese officers and enlisted men who came to have sex with the women and girls forced to service them. According to Dr. Chen, the “pretty girls” were in the rooms in the front and were saved for the officers who could stay overnight. The “ugly girls” were in the rooms in the rear, and they were for the enlisted men. Dr. Chen remembers the girls and women singing sad and soulful songs as they sat on the balcony. She testified to a group of American teachers in 2008 that she felt this was a sign to her that these women had lost their spirit. They were dead inside!

Professor Su of the Chinese “Comfort Women” Research Center at Shanghai Normal University has suggested evidence and artifacts that prove the existence of military sex slave stations:

- Japanese door etchings and lettering
- Condoms – over 10 million were manufactured by the Japanese during the war years.
- Xinmigaol – drug to treat venereal disease
- Potassium Pomegranate particles – disinfectant used to wash women's genitals
- Japanese military map dated August 15, 1937, which shows locations of the military sex slave stations (Japanese referred to as “comfort stations”).
- Photos taken by journalists which are available for download on the internet.

## Unit 8—Handout 2

### Survivor Testimony of Lei Guiying, Victim of the Japanese Military Sex Slave System, Interviewed in 2006

I am 78 years old. I am the eldest in my family and I had a younger brother. I was seven years old and my brother was five when my father passed away. After my father passed away, my mom worked as a cotton quilt worker. She was then kidnapped, taken to be the wife of someone else. My brother went with her, but I was left behind.

In 1937, I was nine years old. I lived with a family, but they had many children to feed and I was often left starving. One day, I could see the villagers were running away. The men were in the front, followed by women who were carrying their babies. One of the babies started to cry. The baby was thrown into a pond to make it stop crying. I was shocked to see this.

I found my way to my mother's new home. By this time, my mother had a new baby. I tried to help and carry the baby, but one day while I was carrying the baby, the baby's nose was hurt. My mother's new husband blamed me. He hated me and would beat me, hurt me.

I eventually left and started begging in the street. One day, I came across an old woman in the street. The woman told me about a place that was owned by a Japanese man who needed some help. His name was Yarimoto, and he owned a "comfort" house. He had a family; an older boy who was six years old and a younger girl who was three. I was thirteen. Yarimoto took me on and I served as a nanny to his two kids. I was safe and fed for a while.

In the "comfort" house, there were thirteen women, all of whom were Chinese. I later found out that all of the women there were either abducted or cheated into being there. The Japanese soldiers would usually show up on Saturdays and Sundays. You could tell who was a soldier and who was an officer because the officers had long swords while the soldiers only had bayonets.

As days went by, some of the "comfort women" escaped. Eventually, there were only three or four left. They were all opium addicts and very thin. The Japanese soldiers started to notice me.

I would often go out and get groceries for the family, which meant I was allowed a pass that got me through checkpoints. One day, I was out getting groceries with the young boy I cared for. A Japanese soldier found me and tried to rape me. I screamed for the young boy to help me and get his dad, which he started to do. The Japanese soldier, upon hearing who I was with, stopped and left (after having already taken off his pants to prepare to rape me).

The next time, Mr. Yarimoto was not around. A Japanese soldier forced me to go with him by hitting me on the head with the sheath of his sword. He then raped me. Another time, a group of Japanese soldiers worked together to rape me. They bayoneted me in the back. I still have the scars. They covered my mouth. I know the Chinese Nationalist soldiers heard me, but they did not come to my aid. After this, I was forced to become a "comfort woman". I was raped six to seven times a day. When Mr. Yarimoto was around, he would often protect me from the soldiers raping me, but if there were officers there, he would do nothing. The children were kind to me, but they were too young to help.

I stayed there for six months. I then decided to try and escape. At this time, I was a "comfort woman", but I was still working as a nanny and running errands so I had a pass to get me out. I used the pass to go pick up vegetables for the house and I escaped.

I tried to return to my mom's place. She took me in for awhile. I never told her any of what had happened to me.

When I was sixteen, I returned to my original village and made a living looking after the children of others.

At the "comfort" house, I saw many women gang-raped. The women would scream so loudly, then fall

silent. They were then found dead.

I also saw two Chinese POWs beheaded. They bravely faced death, loudly singing Chinese opera in the face of death.

Another incident I saw was of a young girl who was gang raped so badly that her whole belly was swollen. The father of the girl found her eventually. He massaged her belly to calm her down until there was a massive discharge of semen and blood from her private parts.

When I escaped, I took with me some cleaning products that the “comfort women” used. I kept that to use as disinfectant.

I married later in life, but I was unable to bear children so I adopted a son. I adopted him when he was very young, just born. He is now grown up and has many children. I now have a large family.

The first time I spoke about this was only four years back when Professor Jing was in Nanjing doing research. The first time I spoke in public was in April of 2006. My son encouraged me to speak out after he observed that I felt better after having spoken about my experiences.

It is impossible to compensate me. All I want is an apology. I want to make sure there is no more war in the future and no invasions.

*There is an Asian Woman's Fund set up by the Japanese government and private funds. It was set up as a charity and the fund does not have an apology attached. Because of this, some women see it as a second insult and therefore, many are not taking it, including Mme. Lei. Many of these women live in very poor conditions which makes their decision to turn down such money even more difficult. In some places, local governments are helping to support former military sex slaves in their area.*

## Unit 8—Handout 3

### Survivor Testimony of Tan Yuhua, Victim of the Japanese Military Sex Slave System, Interviewed on July 4, 2008, Shanghai



In the spring of 1944, Japanese soldiers came to Tan Yuhua's home village, Yao Jia Wan village, on Hainan Island, south of Hong Kong. In her village were about two hundred people. When the Japanese entered the village, many farmers escaped into the mountains. Airplanes dropped bombs on them as they were escaping. These farmers had little food with them; therefore, later they had to return to the village or starve. In August when the farmers returned home, they were captured. One farmer, Chu, was killed when the Japanese set their dogs on him when he returned; he was bitten to death.

The Japanese stationed sentries in trees in order to have an overview of the area and the people. Military dogs were with them. In addition to the sentries, they had big trenches dug where they could stay so that the Chinese soldiers would not see them.

The Japanese went around the village looking for food and money. They had set up a committee to maintain order in the village. They ordered this committee to gather pigs and foodstuffs for the soldiers. The crops were just sprouting. All food crops and livestock were sent to the village committee. The harvest was so bountiful that the Japanese could not possibly have used all the food.

The Japanese looted, burned, and killed. Mrs. Tan witnessed the murders of teachers and farmers. She saw babies murdered when the Japanese pierced them with their bayonets.

When the Japanese opened fire, Mrs. Tan's family hid under a table and covered themselves with quilts for protection. Among the many that the Japanese murdered was her father. He was slightly handicapped; the Japanese killed him with a sword.

There were twenty members in her household that were captured. All the females in the household were raped by the Japanese soldiers—from the oldest, her sixty-five year old grandmother, to the youngest granddaughter, fifteen years old.

A young neighbor, twelve or thirteen years old, was captured and raped by a number of the soldiers. After she was gang-raped, her father rescued her so that she would not die.

Mrs. Tan was captured and forced to be a sex slave. Two classmates from her village were also captured.



Mrs. Tan saw about thirty plus neighbors from the area who were captured and forced to become military sex slaves. Her husband's sister, twenty-six years old, was captured and forced to be a sex slave. All these women were assaulted sexually by one hundred plus Japanese soldiers. One week later the Japanese freed the older women, but kept captive seven younger women who were under twenty, including Mrs. Tan. Most of the women were in their teens; a few were twenty years old. One woman refused to go; they dragged her and she had blood blisters all over her body.

Mrs. Tan was kept as a sex slave for over a month in a so-called "comfort station." Several women were put into one room of a fairly new house. They were given food but could not eat anything. When the Japanese soldiers came into the room they were beastly—barbarous. They behaved badly toward the Chinese women. She does not recall how many raped her. Most of the women were timid and fearful of the Japanese. However, one woman was brave and defiant. If women did not submit to rape, they were beaten. One young woman escaped but was captured. The Japanese dug a hole and buried her up to her chest. She suffocated and died.

Before the Japanese surrendered, the women were sent home because the head of the village committee told them to do this. They were released on guarantees. Two of Mrs. Tan's relatives had children from these rapes. There were no bad feelings when the women returned to their village; after all, they had been forced at gun point to leave with the soldiers.

Mrs. Tan was beaten by these soldiers. She still has backaches from the beatings. In addition, she has emotional pain: nightmares, headaches, and difficulty facing people. She has since then felt bad about her own body, shame—she couldn't raise her head in front of her neighbors who know her story.

Mrs. Tan wants people to know her story; it is the truth. She wants her story to stand as evidence of what happened. The Japanese caused a lot of suffering and death in her village alone. She hopes someday to find justice—an apology for what the Japanese did to innocent girls and women.

## Unit 8—Handout 4

### Discussion Questions

1. How does a thirteen year old nanny become a sexual slave? How does that become acceptable?
2. Mme. Lei was encouraged to speak by her son, but many other “comfort women” have hesitated to come forward with their stories because of fear bringing shame on their families. One woman’s husband even said to her that a “used dog was better than a used woman.” What can be done to encourage families to support “comfort women” survivors in their families?
3. What aftereffects did the women experience?
4. How can sharing an experience help one heal from it? Is this always the case?
5. In recent years, rape has been used as a war tactic in Bosnia and in the Sudan. Is there anything the international community can do to prevent this from happening now and in the future?
6. Is rape during war and genocide classified as a “crime against humanity”?

## Unit 8—Handout 5

### United States Response: House Resolution 121, 2007

United States Response to Japan's refusal to apologize for wrong committed during WW II regarding Japan's military sex slaves :

Congressman Honda of California introduced House Resolution 121 during the 110<sup>th</sup> Congress in 2007. It stated:

Expressing the sense of the House of Representatives that the Government of Japan should formally acknowledge, apologize, and accept historical responsibility in a clear and unequivocal manner for its Imperial Armed Force's coercion of young women into sexual slavery, known to the world as "comfort women," during its colonial and wartime occupation of Asia and the Pacific Islands from the 1930s through the duration of World War II.

Whereas the "comfort women" system of forced military prostitution by the Government of Japan, considered unprecedented in its cruelty and magnitude, included gang rape, forced abortions, humiliation and sexual violence resulting in mutilation, death, or eventual suicide in one of the largest cases of human trafficking in the 20<sup>th</sup> century;

Now, therefore be it resolved, that it is the sense of the House of Representatives that the Government of Japan—

- should formally acknowledge, apologize, and accept historical responsibility in a clear and unequivocal manner for its Imperial Armed Force's coercion of young women into sexual slavery, known to the world as "comfort women" . . . ;
- should have this official apology given as a public statement presented by the Prime Minister of Japan in his official capacity;
- should clearly and publicly refute any claims that the sexual enslavement and trafficking of the 'comfort women' for the Japanese Imperial Armed Forces never occurred; and
- should educate current and future generations about this horrible crime while following the recommendations of the international community with respect to the "comfort women."

**After reading the Resolution write a response paper.**

## **Unit 8—Handout 6**

### **Japanese Government Response**

When the war was over in 1945, the women who were held as military sex slaves did not talk about their experiences because of the shame and embarrassment for themselves and their families.

It was not until 1991 that former military sex slaves from Korea filed a lawsuit against the Japanese government.

Since 1992, “Korean Grandmas” (affectionate term for those who were held as military sex slaves) have held a demonstration every Wednesday in front of the Japanese Embassy in Seoul, Korea. At the “Wednesday Demonstrations,” these women and their supporters are continuing to call for an apology from the Japanese government for the crimes committed against them during WW II. They continue to assemble each Wednesday.

In 1993, Filipina women filed a lawsuit against the Japanese government.

In 1995 the Japanese government set up the Asian Women’s Fund. This is a private organization established to compensate the former military sex slaves known as “comfort women.” Many former military sex slaves refuse to accept compensation since there is no official apology from the Japanese government.

As of 2009, the Japanese government has not officially accepted responsibility or apologized for holding hundreds of thousands of women as military sex slaves during World War II. Their response is either denial or silence.

Today, Japanese school textbooks do not have any mention of military sex slaves during WW II, and present and future generations are not being educated about the past.

**After reading the above, write a response paper.**

**Discuss this response and the response to handout 6 in groups.**

## Unit 8—Suggested Bibliography

Gibson, Kim. *Silence Broken: Korean Comfort Women*. Parkersburg, IA: Mid-Prairie Books, 1999.

Henson, Maria Rosa. *Comfort Women: A Filipina's Story of Prostitution and Slavery Under the Japanese Military*. Lanham, MD: Rowman and Littlefield, 1999.

Hicks, George. *The Comfort Women*. New York: W.W. Norton, 1994.

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Stetz, Margaret, ed. *The Legacies of the Comfort Women of World War II*. London: Eastgate Books, 2001.

Tanaka, Yuki. *Japan's Comfort Women: Sexual Slavery and Prostitution During World War II and the U.S. Occupation*. London: Routledge, 2002.

Yoshimi, Yoshiaki. *Comfort Women: Sexual Slavery in the Japanese Military During World War II*. New York: Columbia UP, 2000.

### DVD:

*Gai Shanxi and her Sisters* (Institutional Use). DVD. dGenerate Films, 2009.

*Silence Broken: Korean Comfort Women* (K-12/Public Library/Community Group).

DVD. Center for Asian American Media, 2008.

### Websites:

<http://www.comfort-women.org>

<http://www.userwww.sfsu.edu/~soh/cw-links.htm>

[http://www.womenshistory.about.com/od/warwwii/.../comfort\\_women.htm](http://www.womenshistory.about.com/od/warwwii/.../comfort_women.htm)

<http://www.gwu.edu/~memory/research/.../comfortwomen.html>

<http://www.unhcr.org/refworld/docid/3ae6b0fb4.html>



## Unit Nine

### The Tokyo War Crimes Trials



americanwac

# **The Nanking Massacre and Other Japanese Military Atrocities, 1931-1945**

## **INTRODUCTION TO UNIT 9**

### **The Tokyo War Crimes Trials**

Following the unconditional surrender of Japan on September 2, 1945, the United States and its wartime allies pursued their goal of punishing the Japanese perpetrators of crimes against humanity, war crimes, and crimes against peace. The groundwork for the Tokyo War Crimes Trials, International Military Tribunal for the Far East (IMTFE), had been laid during several wartime conferences beginning at Cairo, Egypt in 1943. Similar trials were already beginning in Nuremberg, Germany against Nazi perpetrators of similar crimes. The Second World War had led to the death of more than sixty-million people, many of whom were civilians murdered by the aggressive Axis Powers. Justice was now to be served on those accused of committing the terrible crimes in the Asia-Pacific War.

General Douglas MacArthur created the International Military Tribunal for the Far East (IMTFE), more commonly called the Tokyo War Crimes Tribunal, in 1946. Eleven countries participated in the initial trials of twenty-eight Japanese defendants, including nine civilians and 19 professional military men between May 1946 and November 1948. Additional trials were subsequently held in other countries, including the Soviet Union. The results of these trials, however, would be very different from those of the Nuremberg Trials. Cold War pressures would dictate not only an early end to the trials, but also severe limitations on the individuals indicted as well as evidence presented. Unfortunately, these limitations set the stage for Japanese denial of the guilt of individuals and the complicity of the Japanese Imperial Army and Government in the horrendous crimes committed. This denial continues to the present day.

The purpose of this unit is to shed light on the Tokyo War Crimes Trials and to provide support to the victims and survivors who have not yet seen justice.

Students will be asked to examine and assess the guilt and/or responsibility of various Japanese defendants. In addition, they will examine the framework of the trials and attempt to understand the reasons behind decisions made and verdicts reached. Students should then be able to determine to what degree the Tokyo War Crimes Tribunal succeeded in its mission.



# The Nanking Massacre and Other Japanese Military Atrocities, 1931-1945

## Unit 9–Tokyo War Crimes Trials

**BRIEF SUMMARY OF UNIT:** The United States and its wartime allies tried Japanese leaders for murder and conspiracy to commit murder, war crimes, crimes against humanity, and crimes against peace. The trials, motivated by a desire to bring justice to the victims of Japanese crimes, were marred by Cold War compromises that allowed many of the guilty to go unpunished. Japanese denial today is linked to the failure of the International Military Tribunal for the Far East.

### LINK TO CONTENT STANDARDS:

See Appendix C for the common core standards for Writing, Reading, Language, and Speaking and Listening in Social Studies.

6.1.12.A.11.e	Assess the responses of the United States and other nations to the violation of human rights that occurred during the Holocaust and other genocides.
6.1.12.D.11.e	Explain how World War II and the Holocaust led to the creation of international organizations (i.e., the United Nations) to protect human rights, and describe the subsequent impact of these organizations.
6.2.12.A.4.d	Assess government responses to incidents of ethnic cleansing and genocide.
6.2.12.A.6.a	Evaluate the role of international cooperation and multinational organizations in attempting to solve global issues.
6.2.12.A.6.b	Analyze the relationships and tensions between national sovereignty and global interest in matters such as territory, economic development, use of natural resources, and human rights.
6.3.12.A.1	Develop a plan for public accountability and transparency in government related to a particular issue(s) and share the plan with appropriate government officials.
8.1.8.E.1	Gather and analyze findings using data collection technology to produce a possible solution for a content-related or real-world problem.
8.2.8.C.2	Compare and contrast current and past incidences of ethical and unethical use of labor in the United States or another country and present results in a media-rich presentation.

<b>ESSENTIAL QUESTION THAT WILL FOCUS TEACHING AND LEARNING:</b>	<b>ESSENTIAL KNOWLEDGE, SKILLS, AND ENDURING UNDERSTANDINGS:</b>	<b>ASSESSMENT (EVIDENCE OF KNOWLEDGE AND UNDERSTANDING):</b>
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• How did the International Military Tribunal Far East (IMTFE), also called the Tokyo War Crimes Trials, attempt to provide justice to the victims of atrocities committed by the Japanese?</li> <li>• How successful was the IMTFE in carrying out its mission?</li> </ul> <p><b>GUIDING QUESTIONS:</b></p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• How and by whom were the IMTFE conducted?</li> <li>• What historical and legal justification did the Allies have for the trials?</li> <li>• Who were the defendants and with what crimes were they charged?</li> <li>• What verdicts were reached and what were the sentences given to each defendant?</li> <li>• How did American concerns about the Soviet Union affect the trials?</li> <li>• How are the IMTFE trials similar to and different from the Nuremberg Trials?</li> <li>• How do the IMTFE trials contribute to the current Japanese denial of guilt and responsibility for the atrocities against the Chinese and others during the Asia-Pacific War?</li> <li>• How successful was the IMTFE in carrying out its mission?</li> <li>• What is the source of the current controversy over Yasukuni Shrine?</li> </ul>	<p><b>A: STUDENTS WILL KNOW:</b></p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• The United States and its allies conducted trials of selected Japanese civilian and military leaders.</li> <li>• The historical and legal basis for the International Military Tribunal.</li> <li>• The Japanese leaders were charged with Murder, Conspiracy to Commit Murder, Crimes against Peace, War Crimes, and Crimes against Humanity.</li> <li>• How the onset of the Cold War affected the International Military Tribunal for the Far East.</li> <li>• The results of the trials.</li> </ul> <p><b>B. STUDENTS WILL UNDERSTAND THAT:</b></p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• The work of the IMTFE was impacted by the start of the Cold War.</li> <li>• The results of the trials bolster Japanese denial of guilt and responsibility.</li> <li>• The victims of Japanese atrocities continue to protest and demand Japanese acknowledgement and apology for the crimes committed against them.</li> <li>• The tension between Japan and the victims of atrocities have been increased by the current controversy over Yasukuni Shrine.</li> </ul> <p><b>C. STUDENTS WILL BE ABLE TO:</b></p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• List the nations that participated in the War Crimes Tribunal.</li> <li>• Identify the Japanese defendants and their roles in the atrocities committed.</li> <li>• List and define the charges against the defendants.</li> <li>• State the verdicts reached by the IMTFE.</li> </ul>	<p><b>STUDENTS WILL:</b></p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Develop and apply personal definitions of responsibility, values and morality.</li> <li>• Explain the difference between a crime and a war crime.</li> <li>• Research the historical and legal basis for the establishment of the International Military Tribunal.</li> <li>• Investigate which defendants were involved in the Nanjing Massacre, their indictments and subsequent sentences.</li> <li>• Determine whether the sentences were suitable for each defendant's charges.</li> <li>• Organize a Mock Justice Tribunal.</li> <li>• Examine the International Agreements related to the Compensation Claims of the victims who were persecuted by the Japanese.</li> <li>• Analyze the demands of the victims of the Japanese atrocities.</li> </ul>

## **SUGGESTED SEQUENCE OF LEARNING ACTIVITIES, INCLUDING THE USE OF TECHNOLOGY AND OTHER RESOURCES:**

- Students will conduct Internet and non Internet research to respond to guided questions in this unit.
- Students will complete handouts #1 and #2. They will discuss their responses in small groups and then share their results with the entire class.
- Students will read handouts #3 and #4. They will then conduct a Mock Justice Trial using handout #5.
- Students will read handouts #6 and #7 and #8 and respond.
- Students will view the DVD *Yasukuni* and discuss the tension between victims and the Japanese.
- Students will read excerpts from sources listed in the bibliography and/or view DVDs to enhance their learning and understanding of the legal, ethical and moral issues involved in the Asia -Pacific War and Japan's policies today.

## Unit 9—Handout 1

### Assessing and Defining Responsibility

1. Define what the term *responsibility* means to you. Now list ten responsibilities you have.
2. If you were a judge, how would you assess the responsibility of the people listed below for what happened during the Asia–Pacific War from 1931 to 1945?

Indicate one of the following:

1. Not responsible
  2. Minimally responsible
  3. Responsible
  4. Very responsible
- 
3. What penalty, if any, do you believe is appropriate for each of the following?  
\_\_\_\_ 1. Emperor Hirohito of Japan  
\_\_\_\_ 2. General Hideki Tojo who was the wartime Prime Minister and War Minister of Japan  
\_\_\_\_ 3. Lt. Zenji Abe who was a pilot who bombed Pearl Harbor  
\_\_\_\_ 4. Admiral Yamamoto who planned the attack on Pearl Harbor  
\_\_\_\_ 5. General Iwane Matsui who commanded the army that committed the Nanking Massacre  
\_\_\_\_ 6. Owners who operated the Mitsubishi factory complexes that employed slave labor  
\_\_\_\_ 7. General Shiro Ishii, who was the commander who oversaw the experiments in Unit 731  
\_\_\_\_ 8. Doctors who performed the experiments on the victims at Unit 731  
\_\_\_\_ 9. Captain Shizuo Yoshi, who used cannibalism on American pilots  
\_\_\_\_ 10. Soldiers who raped and murdered Chinese civilians in Nanking  
\_\_\_\_ 11. A worker in a plant that made Anthrax that was used on victims at Unit 731  
\_\_\_\_ 12. Kamikaze pilots who failed in their mission to destroy American naval ships  
\_\_\_\_ 13. A Japanese diplomat for the Japanese government  
\_\_\_\_ 14. Guards at the Japanese coal mines who guarded American soldiers used as slave labor  
\_\_\_\_ 15. Captain Junsaburo Toshino, who commanded the “Hell Ship” *Oryoku Maru*

## Unit 9—Handout 2

### Making a Difference

I try to make a difference:	Evidence from self and others
I take action to help improve our community.	by:
I speak up against racism and intolerance.	for example:
I support human rights and am willing to take action to help.	for example:
I have ideas about how to make the world a better place.	for example:
I take action to influence politicians or other decision-makers to make changes our community/world needs.	for example:

OVERALL RATING. Choose the overall description that best fits the evidence above.

**Not yet within expectations** Tends to focus on self and own needs; shows little interest in helping others; often apathetic or negative.

**Meets expectations (minimal level)** Shows some sense of community; may support positive actions organized by others, but without much commitment.

**Fully meets expectations** Takes responsibility to work for an improved community and world; increasingly willing to speak out and take action.

**Exceeds expectations** Shows a strong sense of community and optimism that own actions can make the world a better place; finds opportunities to take action

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The assessment rubric is based on the British Columbia Standards for Social Responsibility.

## Unit 9—Handout 3

### War Crimes and International Law

One of the most important steps toward justice for victims of war has been the recognition by nations around the world of war crimes and crimes against humanity. Over the past century, nations have struggled to define rules of war to ensure protection of the basic human rights of those caught in conflicts. Canada has played an important role in these developments, as a member of the international groups defining these laws, as a participant in international war crime tribunals, and as one of the nations most active in supporting United Nations' peacekeeping missions around the world.

Following are excerpts from some conventions related to war and peace. For the complete documentation of these conventions, visit the International Red Cross web site ([www.icrc.org/IHL](http://www.icrc.org/IHL).)

#### **First International Rules of War**

The first international rules of war were set down in the Geneva Conventions and the Hague Conventions. They covered the treatment of the wounded, prisoners of war, and civilians in wartime.

**1864 The Geneva Convention** of 1864 established the International Red Cross and laid down the rules for treatment of the wounded in war.

**1899 and 1907 The Hague Conventions** of 1899 and 1907 established as international law many of the customary laws of war that existed before World War I.

#### **October 18, 1907 Hague IV (Convention Respecting the Laws and Customs of War on Land)**

*Until a more complete code of the laws of war has been issued, the High Contracting Parties deem it expedient to declare that, in cases not included in the Regulations or adopted by them, the inhabitants and the belligerents remain under the protection and the rule of the principles of the law of nations, as they result from the usages established among civilized peoples, from the laws of humanity, and the dictates of the public conscience*

*Article 3: A belligerent party which violates the provisions of the said Regulations shall, if the case demands, be liable to pay compensation. It shall be responsible for all acts committed by persons forming part of its armed forces.*

#### **October 18, 1907 Annex to Hague IV**

**Article 4:** *Prisoners of war are in the power of the hostile Government, but not of the individuals or corps who capture them. They must be humanely treated. All their personal belongings, except arms, horses, and military papers, remain their property.*

**Article 6.** *The State may utilize the labor of prisoners of war according to their rank and aptitude, officers excepted. The tasks shall not be excessive and shall have no connection with the operations of the war.*

*Work done for the State is paid for at the rates in force for work of a similar kind done by soldiers of the national army, or, if there are none in force, at a rate according to the work executed.*

*The wages of the prisoners shall go towards improving their position, and the balance shall be paid them on their release, after deducting the cost of their maintenance.*

**Article 21:** *The obligations of belligerents with regard to the sick and wounded are governed by the Geneva Convention.*

**Article 23:** *In addition to the prohibitions provided by special Conventions, it is especially forbidden:*

- (a) To employ poison or poisoned weapons;*
- (b) To kill or wound treacherously individuals belonging to the hostile nation or army;*
- (c) To kill or wound an enemy who, having laid down his arms, or having no longer means of defense, has surrendered at discretion;*
- (e) To employ arms, projectiles, or material calculated to cause unnecessary suffering;*
- (g) To destroy or seize the enemy's property, unless such destruction or seizure be imperatively demanded by the necessities of war;*

**Article 25:** *The attack or bombardment, by whatever means, of towns, villages, dwellings, or buildings which are undefended is prohibited.*

**Article 27:** *In sieges and bombardments all necessary steps must be taken to spare, as far as possible, buildings*

*dedicated to religion, art, science, or charitable purposes, historic monuments, hospitals, and places where the sick and wounded are collected, provided they are not being used at the time for military purposes.*

**Article 46:** *Family honor and rights, the lives of persons, and private property, as well as religious convictions and practice, must be respected. Private property cannot be confiscated*

### **Refinement to the Rules of War**

After World War I, international laws were further refined as they applied to civilians, prisoners of war, and wounded and sick military personnel. An important one is the Geneva Convention Relative to the Treatment of Prisoners of War, 1929. The Geneva Convention of 1929 was signed by Japan but not ratified because of Japanese military objections.

### **July 27, 1929 Geneva Convention Relative to the Treatment of Prisoners of War**

**Article 2:** *Prisoners of war are in the power of the hostile Government, but not of the individuals or formation which captured them. They shall at all times be humanely treated and protected, particularly against acts of violence, from insults and from public curiosity. Measures of reprisal against them are forbidden.*

**Article 82:** *The provisions of the present Convention shall be respected by the High Contracting Parties in all circumstances. In case, in time of war, one of the belligerents is not a party to the Convention, its provisions shall nevertheless remain in force as between the belligerents who are parties thereto.*

### **The Need for Further Refinements**

By the end of the Second World War, it was clear that the existing conventions had not been enough either to control the aggression of ambitious nations, or to cover the terrible consequences to civilian populations trapped by war. Two days after the bombing of Hiroshima, new rules were set in place defining wars against peace, war crimes and crimes against humanity. The new laws became the basis for prosecuting the German and Japanese governments - the main aggressors in the war – at the International Military Tribunals in Nuremberg and Tokyo.

### **August 8, 1945 Charter of the International Military Tribunal**

*(a) Crimes against peace:*

*(i) Planning, preparation, initiation or waging of a war of aggression or a war in violation of international treaties, agreements or assurances*

*(ii) Participation in a common plan or conspiracy for the accomplishment of any of the acts mentioned under*

*(b) War crimes*

*Violations of the laws or customs of war include, but are not limited to, murder, ill-treatment or deportation to slave-labor or for any other purpose of civilian population of or in occupied territory, murder or ill-treatment of prisoners of war, of persons on the seas, killing of hostages, plunder of public or private property, wanton destruction of cities, towns, or villages, or devastation not justified by military necessity.*

*(c) Crimes against humanity:*

*Murder, extermination, enslavement, deportation and other inhuman acts done against any civilian population, or persecutions on political, racial or religious grounds, when such acts are done or such persecutions are carried on in execution of or in connection with any crime against peace or any war crime.*

### **Formation of the United Nations**

To further ensure that world peace would be preserved after World War II, the United Nations was formed. The Charter of United Nations held all member nations to a commitment not to act aggressively against another member and to settle their disagreements by peaceful means. Canada was



one of the founding members of the UN.

### **June 26, 1945 Charter of the United Nations**

**Article 2(3)** *All Members shall settle their international disputes by peaceful means in such a manner that international peace and security, and justice, are not endangered*

**Article 2(4)** *All Members shall refrain in their international relations from the threat or use of force against the territorial integrity or political independence of any state, or in any other manner inconsistent with the Purposes of the United Nations.*

### **Stronger Rules Established**

As the world came to terms with the terrible consequences of the Second World War, the members of the United Nations committed themselves to stronger rules that would protect the rights of civilians both in times of war and of peace. The horrors of the Holocaust led to the Convention on the Prevention and Punishment of the Crime of Genocide. This was followed by the Universal Declaration of Human Rights in 1948 and the Geneva Convention Relative to the Protection of Civilian Persons in Time of War.

### **December 9, 1948 Convention on the Prevention and Punishment of the Crime of Genocide**

**Article 27:** *Protected persons are entitled, in all circumstances, to respect for their persons, their honor, their family rights, their religious convictions and practices, and their manners and customs. They shall at all times be humanely treated, and shall be protected especially against all acts of violence or threats thereof and against insults and public curiosity.*

*Women shall be especially protected against any attack on their honor, in particular against rape, enforced prostitution, or any form of indecent assault.*

**Article 148:** *No High Contracting Party shall be allowed to absolve itself or any other High Contracting Party of any liability incurred by itself or by another High Contracting Party in respect of breaches referred to in the preceding Article.*

### **Principles of International Law**

In 1950 the International Law Commission of the United Nations adopted the Principles of International Law Recognized in the Charter of the Nuremberg Tribunal and in the Judgment of the Tribunal. These include the recognition (Principle VI) of the definitions established by the Charter of the International Military Tribunal of crimes against peace, war crimes, and crimes against humanity.

#### **1950 Principles of International Law Recognized in the Charter of the Nuremberg Tribunal and in the Judgment of the Tribunal**

**Principle II:** *The fact that international law does not impose a penalty for an act which constitutes a crime under international law does not relieve the person who committed the act from responsibility under international law.*

**Principle III:** *The fact that a person who committed an act which constitutes a crime under international law acted as Head of State or responsible Government official does not relieve him from responsibility under international law.*

**Principle IV:** *The fact that a person acted pursuant to order of his Government or of a superior does not relieve him from responsibility under international law, provided a moral choice was in fact possible to him.*

**Principle VII:** *Complicity in the commission of a crime against peace, a war crime, or a crime against humanity as set forth in Principle VI is a crime under international law.*

## Non-Applicability of Statutory Limitations

In 1950 the International Law Commission of the United Nations adopted the Principles of International Law Recognized in the Charter of the Nuremberg Tribunal and in the Judgment of the Tribunal. These include the recognition (Principle VI) of the definitions established by the Charter of the International Military Tribunal of crimes against peace, war crimes, and crimes against The United Nations adopted the Convention on the Non-Applicability of Statutory Limitations to War Crimes and Crimes against Humanity on 26 November 1968. This convention addresses the world concern about the application of domestic law relating to the period of limitation (legal expiry date) for ordinary crime, since it prevents the prosecution and punishment of persons responsible for those crimes. This forms the legal basis for the claims of victims and survivors against the Japanese government for war crimes and crimes against humanity committed during the Asia-Pacific War. (Excerpts from the Convention are presented in Handout 4.3: International Agreements related to Compensation Claims).

## Enforcement of the Rules of War

In spite of efforts to regulate warfare and promote peace since the end of World War II, millions of people have lost their lives to war, and millions have become victims of crimes against humanity. To halt such atrocities and for redress in the former Yugoslavia and Rwanda, ad hoc international tribunals for the prosecution of persons responsible for genocide and violations of international humanitarian law were set up in 1993 and 1994.

On July 17, 1998, nations gathered in Rome and adopted the Rome Statute of the International Criminal Court. This is an attempt by nations to enforce international laws of war and peace by setting up a permanent international criminal court to bring individual perpetrators of the most serious crimes to justice. (A Canadian, Philippe Kirsch, was elected the first President of this court in 2003.) Of course, the elimination of war remains the best safeguard against human rights violations. The Preamble of the Rome Statute speaks of the hope of the world for peace and its urge to stop any acts of inhumanity. It states:

**Conscious** that all peoples are united by common bonds, their cultures pieced together in a shared heritage, and concerned that this delicate mosaic may be shattered at any time,

**Mindful** that during this century millions of children, women and men have been victims of unimaginable atrocities that deeply shock the conscience of humanity, Recognizing that such grave crimes threaten the peace, security and well-being of the world,

**Affirming** that the most serious crimes of concern to the international community as a whole must not go unpunished and that their effective prosecution must be ensured by taking measures at the national level and by enhancing international cooperation,

**Determined** to put an end to impunity for the perpetrators of these crimes and thus to contribute to the prevention of such crimes,

**Recalling** that it is the duty of every State to exercise its criminal jurisdiction over those responsible for international crimes,

**Reaffirming** the Purposes and Principles of the Charter of the United Nations, and in particular that all States shall refrain from the threat or use of force against the territorial integrity or political independence of any State, or in any other manner inconsistent with the Purposes of the United Nations, ...

**Resolved to** guarantee lasting respect for and the enforcement of international justice.

## Unit 9—Handout 4

### Organizing a Mock Justice Tribunal

#### The Task

Imagine that you are part of an international tribunal that has been given the task of deciding how justice can be served for the victims of Japan's war crimes and crimes against humanity during the Asia-Pacific War. The tribunal will hear arguments from victims' advocates (the prosecution) and from the government of Japan (the defense) on the following question:

"Has Japan settled its obligation with regard to war crimes against humanity committed by Japanese Imperial forces?"

The tribunal judges will then issue their judgment on the question and recommend any action they feel is necessary on the part of the government of Japan to restore justice.

You will take part in the Recovery of Justice Tribunal in one of the following roles:

- as a member of the team representing victims and survivors (the prosecution)
- as a member of the team representing the government of Japan (the defense)
- as a member of the tribunal (judges)

#### Preparing for the Tribunal Hearing

First meet with the other members of your group and read through the directions (below) that apply to your group. Then, based on those instructions, your group can begin researching the information needed for the hearing.

*Tribunal members:* This group has a unique responsibility because they must stay completely neutral during the trial. Discuss how you will ensure a fair trial in which the evidence from both sides is considered and weighed. Then decide how you will reach a verdict (by majority vote? by reaching consensus? by secret ballot?)

To prepare for the arguments of the prosecution and defense teams:

- Review Handout 3 (War Crimes and International Law) and Handout 7 (International Agreements Related to Compensation Claims) so that you are familiar with relevant international law
- Review the other handouts in this resource to be familiar with the issues under discussion
- Decide what other information you need to be prepared for the hearing and divide up the research tasks among members of your group
- Consider researching the work of real international tribunals and examining how other nations have dealt with the issues of redress and reconciliation (for example, the Canadian government's settlements with Japanese Canadians who were interned during the Second World War, the South African Truth and Reconciliation Commission, the German government's agreement with Israel for compensation of the victims of the Nazi regime, the war tribunals related to the Balkans).

**Prosecution Team:** This group needs to be familiar with the war crimes and crimes against humanity committed by the Japanese Imperial forces during the Asia-Pacific War.

To build a convincing case that Japan has not settled its obligations:

- Assign some members of your team as “witnesses” who present their testimonials directly to the tribunal. Use the details from the handouts for Lessons 2 and 3 to create eye-witness accounts.
- Be sure your team’s presentation addresses Japan’s obligations under international law. Review Handout 3 (War Crimes and International Law) and Handout 7 (International Agreements Related to Compensation Claims) and be sure presentations do not rely on appealing to the judges’ sympathy.
- Read Handout 6 (What Victims and Survivors Want) to be clear about what you are asking for.

**Defense Team:** As the defense, your task is to represent the interests of the government of Japan to the best of your ability. To do so convincingly:

- You must be familiar with what victims want, what the government of Japan has already done, and why the Japanese government refuses to do more. \*Review Handout 3 (War Crimes and International Law) and Handout 7 (International Agreements Related to Compensation Claims) so that you are familiar with the relevant international law. Then use Handout 8 (Japan’s Response) to help build your defense. Decide what additional research your team needs to do to make its case. Then divide the research tasks among your team members.
- As your presentation will follow the prosecution’s, you will need to anticipate their arguments and be well prepared to address the prosecution’s claims. It is necessary to do this ahead of time, as you will not have time to prepare arguments during the activity.

## Conducting the Hearing

The tribunal process follows this order:

1. *Presentation of the prosecution’s case against Japan (8 minutes):* The prosecution addresses its argument to the tribunal and then answers questions from tribunal members.
2. *Presentation of the defense (8 minutes):* The defense presents its argument to the tribunal and then answers questions from the tribunal members.
3. *Rebuttal by the prosecution (2 minutes):* The prosecution has the opportunity to present to the tribunal its response of any points raised by the defense.
4. *Rebuttal by the defense (2 minutes):* The defense responds to the prosecution’s rebuttal.
5. *Closing Statements (2 minutes each):* Each side provides a clear and persuasive summary of: the evidence it presented; the weaknesses of the other side’s case; the application of the law to the case; and why it is entitled to the result it is seeking.
6. *Deliberation and verdict of the tribunal:* The tribunal recesses to deliberate their verdict and then returns to class to announce their decision and their reasons for it.

## Unit 9—Handout 5

### What Victims and Survivors Want

The following summarizes information from various publications and web pages about what the victims and survivors of the Japanese atrocities want.

1. Survivors want a full and sincere apology resolution to be passed by the Upper House and the Lower House of the Japanese parliament (the Diet).
2. They want compensation for the damages and suffering inflicted.
3. They want the Japanese government to follow the example of Germany and make commitments such as the following to ensure that such atrocities never happen again:
  - provide school education on humanity issues of the Asia-Pacific War
  - establish museums for public education on crimes against humanity in the Asia-Pacific War
  - legislate a national day of remembrance for victims of Japanese Imperial forces' aggression and atrocities
  - public denial of war crimes committed by the Japanese imperial forces is to be outlawed
  - legislate domestic laws to prosecute, for crimes against humanity, the many Japanese war criminals who escaped war crime trials after the end of the war

The following are quotations from various associations supporting victims and survivors:

*"Although they expressed their regret and sorrow about what they did to Koreans whenever the Japanese Prime Ministers had diplomatic meetings in Korea, especially with respect to Korean women during the colonization period, this was challenged and denied by Japanese cabinet members."* (The Korean Council for the Women Drafted for Military Sexual Slavery by Japan)

*"The Peace Treaty was a compromise between the principle that Japan was liable to pay compensation for violations of the law for which it was responsible and the recognition of the reality that the condition of Japan in the aftermath of the war was such that it could not be expected to pay full compensation at that time. The Allied States therefore waived most of their claims on the Inter-State level in order to assist Japanese recovery. It is entirely compatible with that approach that they intended to leave open the possibility of individuals bringing claims in the Japanese courts but based upon international law once that recovery had taken place."* (The Association of British Civilian Internees Far East Region)

*"The individual human rights of the Hong Kong Veterans are not affected by the Peace Treaty as the governmental representatives of the countries who were the signatories to the Treaty had no authority or mandate to release these basic legal rights..."* (The War Amputees of Canada in association with the Hong Kong Veterans Association of Canada)

*"While my report [study report for UN Sub-Commission on Human Rights on systematic rape and sexual slavery during armed conflict] welcomes the expression of atonement and support from the people of Japan, it maintains that the Asian Women Fund does not satisfy the legal responsibility" of the Government of Japan toward the survivors of Japan military sexual slavery. The Fund has been the focus of a great deal of divisiveness and controversy, and a majority of survivors have not accepted it. So long as it is seen as vehicle for Japan to avoid its legal obligation to pay compensation, all the good that the Asian Women Fund tries to do will be under a cloud of suspicion and resentment."* (Gay J. McDougall, Special Rapporteur of United Nations Commission on Human Rights)

*"If Japan's 'Peace Exchange Fund' is used to propagate Japanese culture, then it cannot be used as a means of atonement for Japanese war crimes."* (The Korean Council for the Women Drafted for the Military Sexual Slavery by Japan)

## Unit 9—Handout 6

### International Agreements Related to Compensation Claims

#### San Francisco Peace Treaty of 1951

##### Article 14(a) of the treaty

“It is recognized that Japan should pay reparations to the Allied Powers for the damage and suffering caused by it during the war. Nevertheless, it is also recognized that the resources of Japan are not presently sufficient if it is to maintain a viable economy to make complete reparation for all such damage and suffering and at the same time meet its other obligations.”

##### Article 14(b) of the treaty

“Except as otherwise provided in the present treaty, the Allied Powers waive all reparation claims of the Allied Powers, other claims of the Allied Powers and their nationals arising out of any actions taken by Japan and its nationals in the course of the prosecution of the war, and claims of the Allied Powers for direct military costs of occupation.”

#### **Convention—Applicability of Statutory Limitations to War Crimes and Crimes against Humanity**

*(Adopted and opened for signature, ratification and accession by General Assembly of the UN resolution 2391 (XXIII) of 26 November 1968, entry into force 11 November 1970).*

The Preamble of the convention states:

“Noting that the application to war crimes and crimes against humanity of the rules of municipal law relating to the period of limitation for ordinary crime is a matter of serious concern to world public opinion, since it prevents the prosecution and punishment of persons responsible for those crimes.

“Recognizing that it is necessary and timely to affirm in international law through this convention the principle that there is no period of limitation for war crimes and crimes against humanity and to secure its universal application.”

##### Article I of the convention states:

“No statutory limitation shall apply to the following crimes, irrespective of the date of their commission:

(a) War crimes as they are defined in the Charter of the International Military Tribunal, Nuremberg, of 8 August 1945 ... for the protection of war victims;

(b) Crimes against humanity whether committed in time of war or in time of peace as they are defined in the Charter of the International Military Tribunal, Nuremberg, of 8 August 1945 . . . even if such acts do not constitute a violation of the domestic law of the country in which they were committed.”

Additional References: [www.aplconference.ca/resource/html](http://www.aplconference.ca/resource/html)



## Unit 9—Handout 7

### Japan's Response

#### Japan's Position on Compensation

The San Francisco Peace Treaty (1951) between Japan and 47 nations (including United States) and other subsequent agreements have settled all compensation issues between states (Articles 14(a) and 14(b) of the Peace Treaty). Japan paid compensation to the military and civilian prisoners of wars of the Allied Powers in accordance with treaties between countries.

Examples of compensation paid out are as follows:

- \$1.50 for each imprisoned day paid to the former imprisoned Canadian Hong Kong veterans
- £76 to each British military prisoner of war and about £48.5 to each **adult** civilian internee
- \$1 (US) for each day of internment for the United States military and civilian prisoners of war and \$0.50 (US) for child internees.

According to Japan's domestic laws, the legal expiry date (statutory limitation) is 15 years for legal responsibility of the most serious crimes. More than 50 years has passed since the end of the Asia-Pacific War, so Japan has no legal obligation to victims of atrocities that were committed so long ago.

The governments who signed the San Francisco Peace Treaty had agreed to waive their own citizens' right to make claims (Article 14(b) of the Peace Treaty). Since treaties govern relations between states, individual prisoners of war have no legal right to claim further compensation directly from the Japanese government.

In 1995, the Japanese government supported the establishment of the Asian Women's Fund. Its primary aim is to settle compensation of the so-called "comfort women" issue. The fund gets donations from the Japanese public and distributes them to each former "comfort woman"—about \$19,000 (US). With the financial support of the government, it extends welfare and medical services to victims.

In 1995, Japan established the Peace, Friendship and Exchange Initiative to support historical research into relations between Japan and other countries and also to support exchanges with those countries. Approximately \$1 billion (US) over ten years would be allocated to this project.



A No War Resolution that expressed Japan's apology was adopted by the Lower House of the Diet (Japanese Parliament) in 1995. This was to commemorate the 50th anniversary of the Asia-Pacific War.

“The Lower House resolves as follows:

On the occasion of the 50th anniversary of the end of World War II, this House offers its sincere condolences to those who fell in action of wars and similar actions all over the world.

Solemnly reflecting upon many instances of colonial rule and acts of aggression in the modern history of the world, and recognizing that Japan carried out those acts in the past, inflicting pain and suffering upon the peoples of other countries, especially in Asia, the Members of this House express a sense of deep remorse.



*Memorial Peace Bell in Nanjing*

## Unit 9—Suggested Bibliography

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## Unit Ten

### Japanese Denial and International Reaction and Redress



Japanese Prime Minister Junichiro Koizumi at Yasukuni shrine 2005 - *China Daily*



A Japanese boy visits the Yasukuni war shrine 2007

**NO WAR. PEACE AND HUMAN RIGHTS NOW!**



From Upper Left: Grandma Ahn; Comfort Women after Liberation; Survivor of Anthrax attack; Wang Xuan at Anti-Biological Warfare Demonstration.

Asia Pacific Lessons 2003

# **The Nanking Massacre and Other Japanese Military Atrocities, 1931-1945**

## **INTRODUCTION to UNIT 10**

### **Japanese Denial and International Reaction and Redress**

In the previous unit, an examination of the Tokyo War Crimes Trials saw many of the perpetrators escape punishment for the atrocities that they committed because of the ensuing Cold War. Thus a significant political force in Japan today tries to play the victim as a result of the dropping of the atomic bomb by the United States on August 6, 1945, and again on August 9, 1945. The debate about whether the United States should have dropped the bomb is a moot point. The fact is the Japanese Imperial Army attacked Manchuria in 1931 and set up a puppet government and biological warfare units in Manchuria in 1932. The unprovoked attack at Marco Polo Bridge in 1937 by the Japanese Imperial Army resulted in war and other atrocities in the rest of Asia until the end of World War II.

Unlike Germany, Japan has not accepted responsibility for their actions during WWII. An examination of Japanese history books would not find a mention of the atrocities committed by the Japanese Imperial Army. Germany has faced its complicity in the murders during the Holocaust, and by German federal law, students must be educated three times on the crimes committed by the Nazis in World War II. This has not happened in Japan. There has been little if any mention by the present Japanese Government about the following: The Nanjing Massacre, biological and chemical experimentation and warfare which was perpetrated on innocent Chinese people and POWs from many different countries, the comfort women used by the Japanese Imperial Army, and the forced labor of thousands and perhaps millions who worked in horrendous conditions for as little \$.02 a day for long hours without minimal food and medical supplies, as required by the Geneva Convention. The Japanese Government, under the authority of the Emperor of Japan, prided itself on being one of the most cultured and civilized societies in the 20<sup>th</sup> century. Yet it saw the bastardization of the Bushido Code before the war and unmentionable and barbaric behavior by its officer corps that were unchecked by the high command.

As of March 2, 2007, the present Japanese Prime Minister has denied the use of coerced “comfort women,” forced slave labor in or out of Japan, or any of the other atrocities committed by the Japanese Imperial Army. The Prime Minister and his sympathizers have prided themselves on removing these events from Japanese history books used to educate the next generation of Japanese children. The Germans have taken the complete opposite approach to their past under Nazi rule, requiring all children in the primary, elementary, and secondary levels to study these past events.

# The Nanking Massacre and Other Japanese Military Atrocities, 1931-1945

## Unit 10—Japanese Denial and International Reaction and Redress

**BRIEF SUMMARY OF UNIT:** Students will investigate the continued denial of atrocities by the post-war and current Japanese governments, the international reaction, and the efforts at redress.

### LINK TO CONTENT STANDARDS:

See Appendix C for the common core standards for Writing, Reading, Language, and Speaking and Listening in Social Studies.

6.1.12.A.11.d	Analyze the decision to use the atomic bomb and the consequences of doing so.
6.1.12.D.11.e	Assess the responses of the United States and other nations to the violation of human rights that occurred during the Holocaust and other genocides.
6.2.12.A.4.d	Assess government responses to incidents of ethnic cleansing and genocide.
6.2.12.A.6.a	Evaluate the role of international cooperation and multinational organizations in attempting to solve global issues.
6.2.12.A.6.b	Analyze the relationships and tensions between national sovereignty and global interest in matters such as territory, economic development, use of natural resources, and human rights.
6.3.12.A.1	Develop a plan for public accountability and transparency in government related to a particular issue(s) and share the plan with appropriate government officials.
8.1.8.E.1	Gather and analyze findings using data collection technology to produce a possible solution for a content-related or real-world problem.



<b>ESSENTIAL QUESTIONS THAT WILL FOCUS TEACHING AND LEARNING:</b>	<b>ESSENTIAL KNOWLEDGE, SKILLS, AND ENDURING UNDERSTANDINGS:</b>	<b>ASSESSMENT (EVIDENCE OF KNOWLEDGE AND UNDERSTANDING):</b>
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Students will investigate the continued denial of atrocities by the post-war and current Japanese governments, the international reactions to these denials, and the efforts at redress.</li> <li>• Students will investigate current legal efforts to force the Japanese government to (a) recognize the crimes committed, (b) formally apologize for the acts, and (c) remunerate the victims for their pain and suffering.</li> </ul> <p><b>GUIDING QUESTIONS:</b></p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• What was the San Francisco Treaty of 1951? How is it connected with Japanese denial?</li> <li>• How does the Japanese government deny the Nanking Massacre?</li> <li>• Do any Japanese admit that the massacre occurred and that hundreds of thousands of Chinese civilians and POWs were murdered?</li> <li>• Why has the Chinese government not cut diplomatic ties with the Japanese to force the Japanese to apologize?</li> <li>• What efforts are being made to force the Japanese to (a) recognize the crimes committed, (b) formally apologize for the acts, and (c) remunerate the victims for their pain and suffering.</li> <li>• What are the current redress movements?</li> </ul>	<p><b>A: STUDENTS WILL KNOW:</b></p> <p>The reasons that unlike the German government after the Holocaust, the Japanese government is denying the Nanking massacre.</p> <p>The San Francisco Peace Treaty of 1951 Current redress movements</p> <p><b>B: STUDENTS WILL UNDERSTAND THAT:</b></p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Eyewitness testimony in current litigation against the present Japanese government is essential.</li> <li>• Historiography and the role of the Historian</li> <li>• Historical revisionism and denial</li> <li>• Denial regarding the Nanking Massacre</li> <li>• Eurocentric trends in History and WWII as a global war</li> <li>• The importance of historical records, sources, evidence and their uses</li> <li>• The meaning of activism</li> <li>• Different levels and types of activism.</li> <li>• The meaning of Humanitarianism</li> <li>• The Power of One</li> <li>• The importance of redress and political activism</li> </ul> <p><b>C: STUDENTS WILL BE ABLE TO:</b></p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Explain what redress means.</li> <li>• Explain the necessity for redress.</li> <li>• Explain what redress would look like.</li> </ul>	<p><b>STUDENTS WILL:</b></p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Students will recognize the importance of eyewitness testimony in current litigation against the present Japanese government.</li> <li>• Students will understand the U.S. and the Chinese government's role in the Japanese denial.</li> <li>• Students will understand the importance of the The San Francisco Peace Treaty of 1951.</li> <li>• Students will understand current redress movements.</li> <li>• Students will understand the role they can play in forcing the Japanese government to redress the Nanking Massacre.</li> </ul>

## **SUGGESTED SEQUENCE OF LEARNING ACTIVITIES, INCLUDING THE USE OF TECHNOLOGY AND OTHER RESOURCES:**

- Research current newspaper, magazine and internet news sites regarding the following: The Nanjing Massacre, Comfort Women, Slave Laborers and Treatment of POWS, Chemical And Biological Warfare, Medical Experiments, and Japanese Imperial Army Atrocities such as: rape, torture, cannibalism, sadism, and murder.
- Investigate web pages for newspapers and magazines which have information related to encouraging the Japanese Government to formally apologize for their war crimes. Students and teachers are encouraged to use resources such as *The New York Times* (US), *The Times* (UK), *Time Magazine*, *Newsweek*, *US News and World Report* and others to better validate the material.
- In small groups, read the Survivor Testimonies of any three of the survivors and rescuers and discuss your feelings about them, what they experienced, and the importance of having these testimonies for future generations available to document the crimes committed.



## Unit 10—Handout 1

### Historiography / Historical Revisionism / Denial

#### Historiography

- The study of how knowledge about historical events is obtained and transmitted, sometimes called “the history of history”
- Involves examining the writing of history and the use of historical methods and sources
- Examines elements such as authorship, bias, style, interpretation, source and evidence use, as well as the intended audience
- Historiography can also refer to a body of historical work about a specific topic, for example, the Historiography of China

#### The Role of the Historian

- To accurately portray an event, determine historical facts and establish historical truth historians must establish the following:
  - From whose point of view is the event portrayed?
  - What is considered a historical fact?
  - What is historical truth?
- Can be influenced by the bias of the historian’s culture and times  
For example: Early Colonial History was written from a racist point of view, which is now discredited, but was accepted as fact during the time it was written.  
All historians are products of their cultures and times, just as all historians are influenced by their values and world views.

#### Historical Interpretations

- Different interpretations can arise, depending on sources, interpretations and intended audiences

#### Historical Revisionism vs. Denial

- Historical Revisionism is the re-interpretation of initial orthodox views about evidence and meaning surrounding a historical event. The Assumption is that the currently accepted version of a historical event needs significant changes in interpretation
- Legitimate historical revisionism involves refining existing knowledge about an historical event. It involves examining new evidence and re-examining existing evidence. It does not deny that a historical event happened
- Legitimate historical revisionism is peer-reviewed and draws on a wide variety of appropriate sources.
- Denial rejects the entire foundation of the historical evidence and denies that the historical event took place – involves a distortion of the historical records; for example, illegitimate methodology and research tactics are used; only select sources are considered and sources that refute the denial are ignored.
- Denial is often deliberately mislabeled as historical revisionism to make it seem academically legitimate
- Often there is a lack of distinction between revisionists and deniers, with both being referred to as “revisionists.”

#### Denial of historical events often provokes efforts of legitimate scholarship to unearth the truth of an historical event

- All genocides of the 20th Century have been denied.
- All genocides of the 20th Century have qualified academic scholars working on establishing the truth and countering the denial.

## Denial of the Nanking Massacre

- Denial is often described as “Historical Revisionism” and deniers are often referred to as “Historical Revisionists”
  - Attempt to legitimate denial with reference to academia
  - Historians engaged in legitimate historical revisionism are simply called historians
- Motivations include the following:
  - Political – the prestige of a nation
  - Psychological – avoidance of guilt or culpability
  - Legal – avoidance of prosecution
  - Ideological – denial based on a belief
- Japanese Government officially denies the Nanking Massacre and the existence of Japanese Military Sexual Slavery during WWII
- Many other countries officially deny historical events, often for nationalist or political reasons: for example, Turkey officially denies the Armenian Genocide, and Iran officially denies the Holocaust
- Forms of denial of the Nanking Massacre:
  - Complete denial, claiming that civilian deaths are a part of war
  - Disputes over numbers killed, arguing that the number of people killed does not amount to a massacre
  - Distortion and Re-Writing of history; instead of writing “Japan invaded China,” writing “Japan entered China.”
  - Justifying Japan’s military imperialism as protecting Asia from racist and imperialist Western practice
  - Minimizing what occurred: Calling the Nanking Massacre the “Nanking Incident”

## Eurocentric trends in history and WWII as a global war

- The events of WWII in Europe are well-known and commonly taught in history classes – why are the events of WWII in Asia less well known and taught less frequently?
  - The Rape of Nanking was front page news in 1937, Western journalists published reports about the massacre. However, until Iris Chang published the *Rape of Nanking* in 1997, few people cared to remember WWII atrocities in Asia.
  - Importance of examining WWII as a global conflict
  - WWII start date is commonly assigned to 1939 when Germany invaded Poland, but fighting in Asia started as early as 1931.
- Much of Asia and Africa was divided into colonies or spheres of influence by Western Powers. When the ruling power went to war, the colonies had to assist.
- Global Alliances
  - Axis Alliance: Germany, Italy and Japan
  - Allies: The British Empire and Commonwealth countries, France and French colonies, Canada, Poland, Australia, etc. Eventually included: Belgium, Netherlands, Denmark, Norway, Luxemburg, the U.S.A. and the U.S.S.R., among others
- The U.S.A. was officially neutral in WWII, until Japan raided Pearl Harbor
  - Hitler declared war on the U.S.A. and the U.S.A. officially entered the war in Europe on December 11, 1941.
  - The Allies decided on the “Europe First” strategy – to win the war in Europe before focusing on war efforts in Asia.
  - It was the Japanese raid on Pearl Harbor that ultimately brought the U.S.A. into

the war in Europe.

### **Importance of historical records, sources, evidence and their uses**

- What constitutes historical sources? What makes a source reliable? Why is it important to have multiple and varied sources?
- How can one account for differences in historical records?
  - **Lack of evidence:** often documents are deliberately destroyed, lost in the destruction of war or never existed
  - **Different interpretations of the same sources:** every historian can interpret things differently based on his/her intent, audience and personal influences or biases
- Iris Chang used many sources in her research and examined all perspectives of the massacre
  - **Interviews with Chinese survivors**
  - **Interviews with Japanese soldiers**
  - **Personal diaries:** John Rabe's diary, Minnie Vautrin's diary, the diary of a Japanese soldier
  - **Video footage**
  - **Photographs**
  - **Official government and military records**
- Iris Chang's the *Rape of Nanking* narrates the events of the Nanking Massacre from three different points of view
  - **The Japanese interpretation**
  - **The Chinese interpretation**
  - **The interpretations of foreigners in Nanking**

### **Question:**

What kinds of sources do you use when researching?

## Unit 10—Handout 2-1

### Activism

**Activism:** intentional action to bring about change. Activism can be the following:

- social, political, economic, environmental, peace or justice oriented
- involve strikes, protests, rallies, petitions, writing letters, or blogging
- occur locally, regionally, nationally, or internationally
- be individual or collective

**Examples of activism include the following:**

- Iris Chang's dedication to voicing survivor experiences through researching and writing her book *the Rape of Nanking*
- Survivors' attempts to have the truth heard
- Scholars in China who dedicate extra time to working on research about the Nanking Massacre
- Peace activists in Japan who continue to work for peace and reconciliation
- John Rabe and members of the Nanking International Safety Zone who sent protest letters to the Japanese embassy during the Nanking Massacre
- Members of the Nanking International Safety Zone who stood up to and refused to comply with Japanese Imperial Army orders and intimidation
- Rev. McGee taking video footage of the atrocities during the massacre
- The Global Alliance organizing the photo display that caused Iris Chang to pursue her research with such passion
- Dr. Wong and members of the Association for Learning & Preserving the History of WWII in Asia (ALPHA) organizing book tours to bring Iris Chang to Canada
- Dr. Wong and the ALPHA producing *Iris Chang – the Rape of Nanking* docudrama
- NJ-ALPHA sponsoring educator study tours to Shanghai and Nanking

**Question:**

Do you know any activists? Discuss.

## Unit 10—Handout 2-2

### Humanitarianism

**Humanitarianism:** concern about, and action to promote human welfare; often manifested through philanthropic activities and interest in social reforms

- John Rabe, Minnie Vautrin, and members of the International Safety Zone Committee were engaged in humanitarian acts of saving the lives of those in the Nanking International Safety Zone
- Dr. Norman Bethune, a Canadian physician, treated both Chinese and Japanese soldiers wounded in China during WWII

**The Power of One** – One individual can make a difference

- Iris Chang's actions in researching and writing her book the *Rape of Nanking* are what brought awareness of the Nanking Massacre to the West
- Minnie Vautrin and John Rabe are examples of ordinary people whose actions made a huge difference

#### Questions:

1. Do you know any philanthropists? Discuss.
2. Do you know an individual who has made a difference in his or her community, the state, the country, or the world?

## Unit 10—Handout 3

### Redress and Peace Activism

1. San Francisco Peace Treaty of 1951
  - Signed between Japan and 48 other nations
  - Victim nations, such as Burma, China, India, Korea and the U.S.S.R. were not party to treaty
  - Signatory nations waive claims for Japanese Reparations
  - This treaty is often used as justification not to provide compensation to victims of WWII in Asia, such as Comfort Women or Forced Slave Laborers
2. The United Nations Convention on the Non-Applicability of Statutory Limitations to War Crimes and Crimes Against Humanity states that there is no time limit on war crime atrocities
3. Issues of redress and compensation are still in Japanese courts to this day in 2009
  - Victims seeking redress include former Comfort Women, Slave Laborers and POWs
  - As recently as March 2009 the Tokyo High Court dismissed a law suit filed by victims of China's Hainan province – the victims had been seeking damages and apologies from the Japanese government for having been forced into the Japanese Military Sexual Slavery System of “Comfort Women”
4. International Redress Movement for “Comfort Women”
  - Many international grass-roots movements have been organized to promote the issue of the International Redress Movement
  - In March of 2007 the Japanese Prime Minister openly and publicly denied that Japan had forced women into sexual slavery during WWII, provoking a reaction from the international community; as a result
  - Parliamentary Motions, acknowledging the extent of the Japanese Comfort
  - Woman Sexual Slavery system, demanding an official apology from Japan were passed in the following countries:
    - The U.S.A. in July 2007
    - The Netherlands in November 2007
    - Canada in November 2007
    - The European Union (E.U.) in December 2007
    - The Philippine in March 2008
    - South Korea in October 2008
    - Taiwan in November 2008
5. Toronto ALPHA – the Toronto Association for Learning & Preserving the History of WWII in Asia – is a volunteer, community based organization formed in 1997
  - ALPHA's mission and mandate includes:
    - Ensuring the truthfulness of historical records about WWII in Asia and promoting global awareness and recognition of this history, such that reconciliation and peace can be achieved
    - Fostering education about humanity and racial harmony, particularly for younger generations, with a focus on WWII atrocities in Asia
    - Promoting education about Asian WWII atrocities
    - Pursuing justice for the victims of WWII in Asia
  - For more information visit [www.torontoalpha.org](http://www.torontoalpha.org) or [www.njalpha.org](http://www.njalpha.org)
6. Organizations such as B.C. ALPHA, NJ ALPHA, the Global Alliance (GA) for Preserving the History of WWII in Asia, and many other international NGOs which have been working very hard on issues of peace and reconciliation. New organizations like Edmonton ALPHA and Japan ALPHA have also become active.

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

## **Unit 10—Handout 4**

### **Reflections on the Rape of Nanking**

**Broadcast Date: Dec. 12, 1997, CBC**

**Go to the following website:**

[http://archives.cbc.ca/war\\_conflict/war\\_crimes/clips/16791/](http://archives.cbc.ca/war_conflict/war_crimes/clips/16791/)

Take notes while listening. Respond to the broadcast in writing and share yours with a group of 3 or 4 students. Appoint a spokesperson who can then share the group's response with the rest of the class.

Summary: In December 1937, the Imperial Japanese Army marched into the Chinese capital of Nanking and began a six-week campaign of murder, rape, looting and arson that has gone down as one of the most savage war crimes in history. Sixty years later, some Chinese historians, both young and old, worry that this dark chapter of history may one day be forgotten. In this 1997 report, Winnie Hwo explains the history behind the Nanking massacre and explores the importance of speaking for the estimated 300,000 people silenced during the brutal Japanese invasion.



## Unit 10—Handout 5-1

### Japanese Denial

At the Hiroshima museum it is easy to feel victimized . . . .  
But we must realize that we were aggressors too.  
—Murakami Hatsuichi, curator

#### Discussions of Denial, Reconciliation, and Redress

Read the following three articles by Jones, McLoughlin, and Selden. Make notes as you read. Then summarize the articles' main points. Share these with your group (3 or 4) first, appointing a recorder to record your insights. After your discussion, a spokesperson, appointed by the group, should then present the group's consensus to the class.

#### Denial of the Rape of Nanking by Adam Jones

A conscious attempt has been made by “revisionists” in Japan to deny or downplay the involvement of the Japanese military in massive atrocities during World War II. In September 1986, the Japanese education minister, Fujio Masayuki, referred to the Rape of Nanking as “just a part of war.” In 1988, a 30-second scene depicting the Rape of Nanking was removed from Bernardo Bertolucci’s *The Last Emperor* by the film’s Japanese distributor. In 1991, censors at the Ministry of Education “ordered textbook authorities to eliminate all reference to the numbers of Chinese killed during the Rape of Nanking because authorities believed there was insufficient evidence to verify those numbers” (Chang, *The Rape of Nanking*, 208). And General Nagano Shigeto, a Second World War veteran appointed justice minister in spring 1994, told a Japanese newspaper that “the Nanking Massacre and the rest was a fabrication.”

Until the recent resurgence of interest in the Nanjing Massacre, the atrocities and their survivors had been largely forgotten. “After the war some of the survivors had clung to the hope that their government would vindicate them by pushing for Japanese reparations and an official apology. This hope, however, was swiftly shattered when the People’s Republic of China (PRC), eager to forge an alliance with the Japanese to gain international legitimacy, announced at various times that it had forgiven the Japanese.” Despite the fact that “the PRC has never signed a treaty with the Japanese relinquishing its right to seek national reparations for wartime crimes,” no such reparations have been sought—or offered. Overseas Chinese have, however, mounted increasing activist efforts. “The 1990s saw a proliferation of novels, historical books, and newspaper articles about the Rape of Nanking. . . . The San Francisco school district plans to include the history of the Rape of Nanking in its curriculum, and prints have even been drawn up among Chinese real estate developers to build a Chinese holocaust museum.” (Chang, *The Rape of Nanking*, 223-24.) Chang concludes her book, itself an important contribution to the revival of interest in these ghastly events, with a call for justice, however delayed.

Japan carries not only the legal burden but the moral obligation to acknowledge the evil it perpetrated at Nanjing. At a minimum, the Japanese government needs to issue an official apology to the victims, pay reparations to the people whose lives were destroyed in the rampage, and, most important, educate future generations of Japanese citizens about the true facts of the massacre. These long-overdue steps are crucial for Japan if it expects to deserve respect from the international community—and to achieve closure on a dark chapter that stained its history (Chang, *The Rape of Nanking*, 225)

Source: Adam Jones, Gendercide. [http://www.gendercide.org/case\\_nanking.html](http://www.gendercide.org/case_nanking.html)

## Unit 10—Handout 5-2

### China Waits—Justice, Apology, and Reconciliation: China, Japan, and World War II (1931-1945)

by Maryann McLoughlin

At the end of WW II in August 1945, China (as well as other Asian countries) had expected an apology from Japan for Japan's war crimes, in particular for the Rape of Nanking, Japan's experimental germ warfare program, for the horrors suffered by Chinese "comfort women," and for the Japanese treatment of POWs, particularly POWs used as slave laborers. China is still waiting.

China (and Japan) has seen the efforts Germany has made to apologize and to pay reparations in order to achieve some closure for the atrocities committed by Germany in Europe during WW II. Germany has not only apologized for the past but has looked toward the future; Germany has a superior education program in place along with laws that protect all its citizens against hate crimes and prejudice. China continues to wait.

The United States is initially to blame for the failure of Japan to confess its blame and apologize. Immediately after WW II, the United States felt that it was important not only to get Japan back on its feet as a democracy but also to have Japan as a bulwark against the "Reds." The U.S. was fearful of Stalin, and of China and Korea becoming Communist. The U.S. wanted a democratic ally in the Pacific where it could have military bases, even after the occupation was over. Indeed, to this date, the US has military bases on mainland Japan and Okinawa.

Another reason Japan did not apologize is that the US had dropped bombs on Hiroshima and Nagasaki, so many Japanese saw themselves as the victims instead of the victimizers. Moreover, at the International Military Tribunal Far East, only a few high-level generals were prosecuted and punished. For example, General Matsui, who was horrified at what was done at Nanking while he recuperated from a tuberculosis attack, was tried and hanged. Emperor Hirohito and Prince Asaka, his uncle, were left to live comfortable lives, even though they had as much to do with the massacre at Nanking as had Matsui. Matsui and a few others like him were fall guys. General MacArthur who oversaw the occupation told the US government that Hirohito should not be brought to trial because leaving him on the throne would simplify MacArthur's occupation and pacification of Japan.

So China waited. And still waits. There have been efforts since 1945 to reconcile, to educate, to achieve closure; however, especially in recent years, the Japanese seem to be going in the opposite direction of justice and apology. For example, Prime Minister Koizumi went several times to the Yasukuni Shrine, a shrine that glorifies the war criminals of WW II and is a symbol of Japan's militaristic past. (This action of Koizumi's is similar to Reagan's visit to Kolmeshöhe Cemetery in Bitburg, West Germany, where Waffen-SS are buried along with American soldiers.)

Additionally, many Japanese school textbooks are revisionist, covering up Japan's aggressive and brutal behavior during the war. These coupled with an upsurge in Japanese nationalism and calls to create a Japanese military do not seem to create an atmosphere of justice and reconciliation between Japan and China and Chinese victims.

What would justice look like? Justice would mean that Japan would settle the suits filed by Chinese victims such as the one filed by Li Xouyin, a civilian survivor of the Nanking massacre who was raped multiple times as well as stabbed thirty-seven times by Japanese bayonets. Justice would mean that the Japanese Diet would enact legislation recognizing the WW II war crimes of the Japanese. Justice would mean that reparations would be paid to the victims—the "comfort" women who were forced into wartime brothels, Chinese victims of Japanese medical experiments, rape victims of the Nanking massacre, slave laborers deported from China (and Korea) to labor in Japanese mines, and to the ill-treated POWs, for example, those on the Bataan Death

March.

It is amazing to me that these reparations have not been paid. Three generations have passed since WW II. During most of this time, Japan has been extremely prosperous, yet the Japanese governments continue to deny reparations to poor people to whom this money would mean much to their health and quality of life. Iris Chang, in *The Rape of Nanking*, writes that even a little money would enable these by now very old victims to buy air-conditioning.

Why apologize? An unconditional apology would mean that Japan could achieve closure for this nightmare time in their history. An apology would readmit Japan to the international community. It would mean their dignity and self-esteem would be restored. Finally, an apology would mean the end of hostility from Chinese victims as well as other Asian victims. As late as 1997, when I was in China, I heard middle-aged Chinese talk about how much they hated the Japanese. These were my contemporaries who had not experienced war crimes first hand but had learned from their parents and grandparents to hate the Japanese for what was done during WW II. An apology would help to eliminate the Chinese distrust of Japan and create stronger bonds between these two countries.

What would reconciliation be? The Japanese must acknowledge their responsibility and express remorse for what they did. They must come to terms with the past. There needs to be dialogue—a complex process but an important part of the peace building process.

China waits.

Works Consulted: Chang, Iris. *The Rape of Nanking: The Forgotten Holocaust of World War II*.  
Li, Peter. *Japanese War Crimes: The Search for Justice*.

## Unit 10—Handout 5-3

### Japanese and American War Atrocities, Historical Memory and Reconciliation: World War II to Today by Mark Selden *Asia-Pacific Journal: Japan Focus*, April 21, 2008

#### The Nanjing Massacre and Structures of Violence in the Sino-Japanese War

. . . Substantial portions of the Nanjing Massacre literature in English and Chinese—both the scholarship and the public debate—treat the event as emblematic of the wartime conduct of the Japanese, thereby essentializing the massacre as the embodiment of the Japanese character. In the discussion that follows, I seek to locate the unique and conjunctural features of the massacre in order to understand its relationship to the character of Japan's protracted China war and the wider Asia Pacific War.

Just as a small staged event by Japanese officers in 1931 provided the pretext for Japan's seizure of China's Northeast and creation of the dependent state of Manchukuo, the minor clash between Japanese and Chinese troops at the Marco Polo Bridge on July 7, 1937 paved the way for full-scale invasion of China south of the Great Wall. By July 27, Japanese reinforcements from Korea and Manchuria as well as Naval Air Force units had joined the fight. The Army High Command dispatched three divisions from Japan and called up 209,000 men. With Japan's seizure of Beiping and Tianjin the next day, and an attack on Shanghai in August, the (undeclared) war began in earnest. In October, a Shanghai Expeditionary Army (SEA) under Gen. Matsui Iwane with six divisions was ordered to destroy enemy forces in and around Shanghai. The Tenth Army commanded by Gen. Yanagawa Heisuke with four divisions soon joined in. Anticipating rapid surrender by Chiang Kai-shek's National Government, the Japanese military encountered stiff resistance: 9,185 Japanese were killed and 31,125 wounded at Shanghai. But after landing at Hangzhou Bay, Japanese forces quickly gained control of Shanghai. By November 7, the two Japanese armies combined to form a Central China Area Army (CCAA) with an estimated 160,000-200,000 men. [5]

With Chinese forces in flight, Matsui's CCAA, with no orders from Tokyo, set out to capture the Chinese capital, Nanjing. Each unit competed for the honor of being the first to enter the capital. Historians such as Fujiwara Akira and Yoshida Yutaka sensibly date the start of the Nanjing Massacre to the atrocities committed against civilians en route to Nanjing. "Thus began," Fujiwara wrote, "the most enormous, expensive, and deadly war in modern Japanese history--one waged without just cause or cogent reason." And one that paved the way toward the Asia Pacific War that followed.

Japan's behavior at Nanjing departed dramatically from that in the capture of cities in earlier Japanese military engagements from the Russo-Japanese War of 1905 forward. One reason for the barbarity of Japanese troops at Nanjing and subsequently was that, counting on the "shock and awe" of the November attack on Shanghai to produce surrender, they were unprepared for the fierce resistance and heavy casualties that they encountered, prompting a desire for revenge. Indeed, throughout the war, like the Americans in Vietnam decades later, the Japanese displayed a profound inability to grasp the roots and strength of the nationalist resistance in the face of invading forces who enjoyed overwhelming weapons and logistical superiority. A second reason for the atrocities was that, as the two armies raced to capture Nanjing, the high command lost control, resulting in a volatile and violent situation.

The contempt felt by the Japanese military for Chinese military forces and the Chinese people set in motion a dynamic that led to the massacre. In the absence of a declaration of war, as Utsumi Aiko notes, the Japanese high command held that it was under no obligation to treat captured Chinese soldiers as POWs or observe other international principles of warfare that Japan had scrupulously adhered to in the 1904-05

Russo-Japanese War, such as the protection of the rights of civilians. Later, Japan would recognize captured US and Allied forces as POWs, although they too were treated badly. [6]

As Yoshida Yutaka notes, Japanese forces were subjected to extreme physical and mental abuse. Regularly sent on forced marches carrying 30-60 kilograms of equipment, they also faced ruthless military discipline. Perhaps most important for understanding the pattern of atrocities that emerged in 1937, in the absence of food provisions, as the troops raced toward Nanjing, they plundered villages and slaughtered their inhabitants in order to provision themselves. [7]

Chinese forces were belatedly ordered to retreat from Nanjing on the evening of December 12, but Japanese troops had already surrounded the city and many were captured. Other Chinese troops discarded weapons and uniforms and sought to blend in with the civilian population or surrender. Using diaries, battle reports, press accounts and interviews, Fujiwara Akira documents the slaughter of tens of thousands of POWs, including 14,777 by the Yamada Detachment of the 13th Division. Yang Daqing points out that Gen. Yamada had his troops execute the prisoners after twice being told by Shanghai Expeditionary Army headquarters to “kill them all”. [8]

Major Gen. Sasaki Toichi confided to his diary on December 13:

... our detachment alone must have taken care of over 20,000. Later, the enemy surrendered in the thousands. Frenzied troops--rebuffing efforts by superiors to restrain them--finished off these POWs one after another.... men would yell, “Kill the whole damn lot!” after recalling the past ten days of bloody fighting in which so many buddies had shed so much blood.

The killing at Nanjing was not limited to captured Chinese soldiers. Large numbers of civilians were raped and/or killed. Lt. Gen. Okamura Yasuji, who in 1938 became commander of the 10th Army, recalled “that tens of thousands of acts of violence, such as looting and rape, took place against civilians during the assault on Nanjing. Second, front-line troops indulged in the evil practice of executing POWs on the pretext of [lacking] rations.”

Chinese and foreigners in Nanjing comprehensively documented the crimes committed in the immediate aftermath of Japanese capture of the city. Nevertheless, as the above evidence indicates, the most important and telling evidence of the massacre is that provided by Japanese troops who participated in the capture of the city. What should have been a fatal blow to “Nanjing denial” occurred when the Kaikosha, a fraternal order of former military officers and neo-nationalist revisionists, issued a call to soldiers who had fought in Nanjing to describe their experience. Publishing the responses in a March 1985 “Summing Up”, editor Katogawa Kotaro cited reports by Unemoto Masami that he saw 3-6,000 victims, and by Itakura Masaaki of 13,000 deaths. Katogawa concluded: “No matter what the conditions of battle were, and no matter how that affected the hearts of men, such large-scale illegal killings cannot be justified. As someone affiliated with the former Japanese army, I can only apologize deeply to the Chinese people.”

A fatal blow ... except that incontrovertible evidence provided by unimpeachable sources has never stayed the hands of incorrigible deniers. I have highlighted the direct testimony of Japanese generals and enlisted men who documented the range and scale of atrocities committed during the Nanjing Massacre in order to show how difficult it is, even under such circumstances, to overcome denial.

Two other points emerge clearly from this discussion. The first is that the atrocities at Nanjing—just as with the comfort women—have been the subject of fierce public controversy. This controversy has erupted again and again over the textbook content and the statements of leaders ever since Japan’s surrender, and particularly since the 1990s. The second is that, unlike their leaders, many Japanese citizens have consistently recognized and deeply regretted Japanese atrocities. Many have also supported reparations for victims.

The massacre had consequences far beyond Nanjing. The Japanese high command, up to Emperor Hirohito, the commander-in-chief, while closely monitoring events at Nanjing, issued no reprimand and meted



out no punishment to the officers and men who perpetrated these crimes. Instead, the leadership and the press celebrated the victory at the Chinese capital in ways that invite comparison with the elation of an American president as US forces seized Baghdad within weeks of the 2003 invasion. [9] In both cases, the ‘victory’ initiated what proved to be the beginning not the end of a war that could neither be won nor terminated for years to come. In both instances, it was followed by atrocities that intensified and were extended from the capital to the entire country.

Following the Nanjing Massacre, the Japanese high command did move determinedly to rein in troops to prevent further anarchic violence, particularly violence played out in front of the Chinese and international press. Leaders feared that such wanton acts could undermine efforts to win over, or at least neutralize the Chinese population and lead to Japan’s international isolation.

A measure of the success of the leadership’s response to the Nanjing Massacre is that no incident of comparable proportions occurred during the capture of a major Chinese city over the next eight years of war. Japan succeeded in capturing and pacifying major Chinese cities, not least by winning the accommodation of significant elites in Manchukuo and in the Nanjing government of Wang Jingwei, as well as in cities directly ruled by Japanese forces and administrators. [10]

This was not, however, the end of the slaughter of Chinese civilians and captives. Far from it. Throughout the war, Japan continued to rain destruction from the air on Chongqing, Chiang Kai-shek’s wartime capital, and in the final years of the war it deployed chemical and biological bombs against Ningbo and throughout Zhejiang and Hunan provinces. [11]

Above all, the slaughter of civilians that characterized the Nanjing Massacre was subsequently enacted throughout the rural areas where resistance stalemated Japanese forces in the course of eight years of war. This is illustrated by the *sanko sakusen* or Three-All Policies implemented throughout rural North China by Japanese forces seeking to crush both the Communist-led resistance in guerrilla base areas behind Japanese lines and in areas dominated by Kuomintang and warlord troops. [12] Other measures implemented at Nanjing would exact a heavy toll on the countryside: military units regularly relied on plunder to secure provisions, conducted systematic slaughter of villagers in contested areas, and denied POW status to Chinese captives, often killing all prisoners. Above all, where Japanese forces encountered resistance, they adopted scorched earth policies depriving villagers of subsistence.

One leadership response to the adverse effects of the massacre is the establishment of the comfort woman system immediately after the capture of Nanjing, in an effort to control and channel the sexual energies of Japanese soldiers. [13] The comfort woman system offers a compelling example of the structural character of atrocities associated with Japan’s China invasion and subsequently with the Asia Pacific War.

In short, the anarchy first seen at Nanjing paved the way for more systematic policies of slaughter carried out by the Japanese military throughout the countryside. The comfort woman system and the three-all policies reveal important ways in which systematic oppression occurred in every theater of war and was orchestrated by the military high command in Tokyo.

Nanjing then is less a typical atrocity than a key event that shaped the everyday structure of Japanese atrocities over eight years of war. While postwar Japanese and American leaders have chosen primarily to “remember” Japan’s defeat at the hands of the Americans, the China war took a heavy toll on both Japanese forces and Chinese lives. In the end, Japan faced a stalemated war in China, but one that paved the way for the Pacific War, in which Japan confronted the US and its allies.

The Nanjing Massacre was a signature atrocity of twentieth century warfare. But war atrocities were not unique to Japan. . . .

**Professor Selden’s article goes on to discuss America’s history of atrocities. You can read the full text at the following website:**

<http://www.britannica.com/bps/additionalcontent/18/33966931/Japanese-and-American-War-Atrocities-Historical-Memory-and-Reconciliation-World-War-II-to-Today/fulltext>

## **Endnotes to portion of article included:**

[5] The following discussion of the Nanjing Massacre and its antecedents draws heavily on the diverse contributions to Bob Tadashi Wakabayashi, ed., *The Nanking Atrocity 1937-38: Complicating the Picture* (New York and London: Berghahn Books, 2007) and particularly the chapter by the late Fujiwara Akira, "The Nanking Atrocity: An Interpretive Overview," available in a revised version at Japan Focus. Wakabayashi, dates the start of the "Nanjing atrocity", as he styles it, to Japanese bombing of Nanjing by the imperial navy on August 15. "The Messiness of Historical Reality", p. 15. Chapters in the Wakabayashi volume closely examine and refute the exaggerated claims not only of official Chinese historiography and Japanese deniers, but also of progressive critics of the massacre. While recognizing legitimate points in the arguments of all of these, the work is devastating toward the deniers who hew to their mantra in the face of overwhelming evidence, e.g. p. 143.

[6] Utsumi Aiko, "Japanese Racism, War, and the POW Experience," in Mark Selden and Alvin So, eds., *War and State Terrorism*, pp. 119-42.

[7] Presentation at the Tokyo International Symposium to Commemorate the Seventieth Anniversary of the Nanjing Massacre, December 15, 2007.

[8] Yang Daqing, "Atrocities in Nanjing: Searching for Explanations," in Diana Lary and Stephen MacKinnon, eds., *Scars of War. The Impact of Warfare on Modern China* (Vancouver: UBC Press, 2001), pp. 76-97.

[9] The signature statement was that of George W. Bush on March 19, 2003: "My fellow citizens, at this hour, American and coalition forces are in the early stages of military operations to disarm Iraq, to free its people and to defend the world from grave danger... My fellow citizens, the dangers to our country and the world will be overcome. We will pass through this time of peril and carry on the work of peace. We will defend our freedom. We will bring freedom to others and we will prevail."

[10] Timothy Brook, *Collaboration: Japanese Agents and Local Elites in Wartime China* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 2005).

[11] Tsuneishi Keiichi, "Unit 731 and the Japanese Imperial Army's Biological Warfare Program," John Junkerman trans., Japan Focus.

[12] Mark Selden, *China in Revolution: The Yen'an Way Revisited* (Armonk: M.E. Sharpe, 1995); Chen Yung-fa, *Making Revolution: The Chinese Communist Revolution in Eastern and Central China, 1937-1945* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1986); Edward Friedman, Paul G. Pickowicz and Mark Selden, *Chinese Village, Socialist State* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1991); Chalmers Johnson, *Peasant Nationalism and Communist Power: The Emergence of Revolutionary China* (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 1962). In carrying out a reign of terror in resistance base areas Japanese forces anticipated many of the strategic approaches that the US would later apply in Vietnam. For example, Japanese forces pioneered in constructing "strategic hamlets" involving relocation of rural people, torching of entire resistance villages, terrorizing the local population, and imposing heavy taxation and labor burdens.

[13] Yuki Tanaka, *Japan's comfort women: sexual slavery and prostitution during World War II and the US occupation* (London ; New York : Routledge, 2002). This systematic atrocity against women has haunted Japan since the 1980s when the first former comfort women broke silence and began public testimony. The Japanese government eventually responded to international protest by recognizing the atrocities committed under the comfort woman system, while denying official and military responsibility. It established a government-supported but ostensibly private Asian Women's Fund to apologize and pay reparations to former comfort women, many of whom rejected the terms of a private settlement. See Alexis Dudden and Kozo Yamaguchi, "Abe's Violent Denial: Japan's Prime Minister and the 'Comfort Women,'" Japan Focus. See Wada Haruki, "The Comfort Women, the Asian Women's Fund and the Digital Museum," *Japan Focus* for Japanese and English discussion and documents archived at the website.



## **Unit 10—Handout 6**

### **Efforts at Redress**

#### **The Japanese Position**

The Japanese do admit that some atrocities and murders happened, for example, at Nanking; however, they dispute the numbers and will not proffer a formal, unambiguous apology nor will they pay reparations to the victims. Their prime ministers continue to go to the Yasukuni Shrine, a symbol of Japan's militaristic past.

#### **Why?**

- The Japanese claim that they were assuring their self-preservation and the stability of East Asia.
- By admitting to atrocities they place the emperor, the state, and the ruling government in a bad light. Some of the current Japanese leaders are relatives of the wartime leaders. They do not want to shame the emperor or the state.
- The Japanese see themselves as victims—the U.S. and Great Britain cut off their oil supply and especially because of the atomic bombings of Hiroshima and Nagasaki.

#### **What have the survivors done to seek redress?**

**They have demonstrated and law suits have been filed:**

- By comfort women
- By survivors of germ warfare
- By survivors of the Nanking Massacre
- By POWs forced to work as slave laborers

#### **Other Efforts Seeking Redress:**

##### **Global Alliance and NJ-ALPHA**

- Efforts to educate about the Pacific War and Japanese atrocities
- Study Tours to China to study the massacre sites and germ warfare units
- Conferences and workshops

#### **Rape of Nanking Redress Coalition**

- A multicultural group that includes Japanese Americans
- Japanese soldiers who served in China during this period have come forward to testify about their crimes. Some have allowed access to their wartime diaries.
- Japanese have put together exhibits to show their fellow citizens what happened in China.
- Japanese citizens have demonstrated along with Chinese, Koreans, and American POWs.

## **Why is Redress Important?**

- Because of the lasting distrust and even hatred of many for whom the memory of Japanese atrocities is still painful, Japan should make a “sincere, unambiguous apology and pay reparations to its victims although compensation will not erase the pain and suffering” (Li 240).
- Japan must come to terms with the past and educate Japan’s youth about their war past.
- Redress is the only way that the international community can achieve closure and reconciliation with Japan’s past.

## **Drawing the line between the past & the present and the present & the future**

- The events of the past still affect us today:
- Survivors are still impacted by the effects of WWII
- Denial of the Nanking Massacre and other war atrocities by the Japanese Government has often complicated international relationships between Asian countries
- For reconciliation between nations that were formerly enemies to happen, it is important that the current generation not be blamed for the deeds of previous generations.

## Unit 10—Handout 7

Read the following articles about lawsuits by survivors:

*International Herald Tribune* March 11, 2001

### CHINA/JAPAN: Chinese Survivors Recall Horror of Japan's Germ Warfare Attacks

By Doug Struck *Washington Post Service*

**TOKYO** The old Chinese men were nervous. It had taken them six decades to get here. They told the Japanese court about their relatives, the victims of Japan's germ warfare, the targets of Japan's still unpunished medical experimentation unit in World War II.

They told how the bubonic plague dropped by Japanese Imperial Army Unit 731 had spread from village to village from 1940 to 1942. How it rode with the mourners of one funeral back to their homes to cause the next. How it caught the father of 8-year-old Ding De Wang at a rural wedding, and in two days gripped him in convulsions and turned his body hideously black.

"He couldn't say anything to me before he died," said Mr. Ding, now 68. "All he could do is look at me and cry."

Mr. Ding and three other Chinese witnesses told their horrific stories to a mostly empty courtroom last week. They are plaintiffs in a lawsuit brought by 180 Chinese citizens alleging that crimes against humanity committed by the notorious medical experimentation unit have gone unacknowledged and unpunished.

The suit, first filed in 1997, has received little attention in Japan. It is given scant chance of winning, and its impact has been numbed by ponderous progress; there have been only five hearings in the case and no decision is expected until year's end. But most aggravating to the plaintiffs is the refusal of the Japanese government to address the allegations. Against piles of mounting evidence the Japanese government insists it does not know what the wartime unit did.

"Almost 50 years after the war, the Japanese government has not admitted or apologized for the existence of Unit 731 or their experiments," said Keiichiro Ichinose, a lawyer for the plaintiffs. "The cruelty of what happened is equal to that of the Nazis."

The charge gets to the heart of lingering resentments in Asia that Japan has not adequately faced up to its wartime invasions of Korea, China and Southeast Asia.

Some of the worst brutality involved Unit 731, based in northeast China, which carried out grotesque medical experiments on thousands of prisoners. The unit tested and developed biological weapons, spreading bubonic plague, cholera and typhus. The Chinese government says the diseases killed 270,000 civilians, although that estimate is largely guesswork.

Mr. Ichinose and a handful of Japanese scholars have joined the Chinese plaintiffs because they say they fear that Japanese historians will erase the unit's crimes from historical records.

"In Japan, there is a strong reactionary historians' group," said Takao Matsumura, a professor at Keio University who has joined the suit. "They are trying to educate the younger generations with a strange historical philosophy" that negates Japanese guilt.

The Japanese Education Ministry in 1965 ordered a textbook author to delete references to Unit 731 - as well as references to Japan's invasion of China and massacre in Nanjing - because there was "no credible scholarly research" to corroborate them. The order led to a 32-year legal fight that ended when the Supreme Court said the ministry was wrong.

"Even if we don't win the case, by filing the lawsuit, a lot of historical facts become revealed and become clear," Mr. Matsumura said.

For the Chinese witnesses at the trial, the motivation is more personal. “Neither the Japanese government nor the Japanese people had the right to violate our lives,” said Zhou Hong Gen, 71, a retired municipal worker who said he lost 15 family members to the plague.

“The Japanese government committed a crime against us,” he told the court last week. “Shouldn’t they be responsible for this? This is why I came from China to Japan.”

The suit is part of a worldwide trend to seek legal redress of history. Claims from prisoners and victims of Japan’s wartime activities have been filed around the world, but in Japanese courts, they have consistently been dismissed.

Government lawyers have offered no rebuttal to the testimony presented in court, claiming that there is no legal jurisdiction for the case. But the plaintiffs are heartened that the Tokyo District Court has not thrown out the case.

“Through this trial, this is the first time the whole grand picture of damage caused by Unit 731 has been revealed,” said Makato Ueda, a professor at Rikkyo University in Tokyo.

The government was forced to acknowledge the existence of the unit a decade ago, but has refused to acknowledge the unit’s actions.

“We do not have enough evidence or documents to say what experiments took place,” said Kenko Sone, an official in the China bureau of Japan’s Foreign Affairs Ministry. “We have not been able to confirm clearly what happened with Unit 731.”

That explanation contradicts painstaking evidence compiled by historians and journalists, and the vivid testimony in this court case. Yoshio Shinozuka, 76, who was drafted at age 15 to perform chores in Unit 731, testified in November that he had helped prepare biological weapons and had witnessed experimentation on human prisoners.

Mr. Shinozuka said he helped cultivate fleas on rats - and then bottled the fleas using a contraption made from a bathtub in a third floor room. The fleas were then infected with the plague, mixed with wheat to draw rats that would be carriers, and dropped by airplane on several civilian areas in China.

Mr. Shinozuka said he also helped doctors who injected bubonic plague into prisoners and then cut them open to see the effect of the disease.

Few members of the unit have faced consequences for their actions. Some officers became pillars in the Japanese medical establishment after the war. Lower-ranking unit members lived out quiet lives, chastened by the vows they took upon entering the unit never to discuss its activities, on pain of death.

Source: *International Herald Tribune* Posted on 2001-03-11

## **Verdict in another lawsuit by Wang Xuan and 180 Chinese plaintiffs:**

One of the plaintiffs, Wang Xuan, lost nine relatives in a 1942 plague outbreak after the notorious Unit 731 of the Japanese Imperial Army, based in the northeastern Chinese city of Harbin, scattered lethal microbes over her village in east China’s Zhejiang Province.

## **August 30, 2002 Tokyo District Court**

**Judges agreed that the accusations were accurate** but ruled that Japan would neither formally apologize nor pay any compensation. They based their ruling on an agreement made in 1972 between China and Japan when diplomatic relations were normalized. This 1972 agreement stated that China would give up claims for compensation involving wartime related damages. Appeal filed May 20, 2003.

A Japanese high court on Tuesday **rejected compensation appeals** by 180 Chinese victims of Japan’s World War II biological warfare program (*China Daily*, July 20, 2005).

## **Women's International War Crimes Tribunal 2000**

The Emperor Hirohito was posthumously brought to justice when the presiding judge proclaimed him guilty of the responsibility for the Japanese military's sex enslavement of women during WWII.

## **House Resolution 121, July 30, 2007**

United States House of Representatives House Resolution 121 (H.Res. 121) is a resolution about "comfort women" which Mike Honda, a California congressman of Japanese ancestry, introduced to the American House of Representatives in 2007. It asks that the Japanese government apologize to "comfort women" and include curriculum about them in schools.

This resolution was passed on July 30, 2007.

## Unit 10—Handout 8

### Questions for Reflection

1. Who should decide what gets put into official educational curricula? Who should decide what gets left out?
2. Which forces have attempted to bury this part of history and with what motivations? Which forces are trying to bring this history to light and with what hopes?
3. “There is the injustice of the massacre; the second injustice is if we don’t know of it.” What is your opinion about this statement?
4. Why has Japan never apologized or compensated victims of the Nanking Massacre and of the other Japanese atrocities during WWII? What reasons do they have to deny the massacre and other war crimes?
5. What is your reaction to the statement that many deny that this massacre ever happened?
6. Is it possible, after such atrocities, to move on to Peace and Reconciliation? Why, or why not, and how can this be done? Why might it be important?

## Unit 10—Handout 9

### The Controversy in Japan: Another Phase of the Controversy

By M. Kajimoto

In August 1993, four years after the demise of Emperor Hirohito, a significant transformation took place in Japan's official stance on the nation's role during World War II.

That month, Hosokawa Morihiro became the first prime minister who did not represent the long-dominant Liberal Democratic Party (LDP) in 38 years.

Immediately after he took office, Hosokawa formally announced, "It [the Sino-Japanese War and the Pacific War] was a war of aggression, and it was wrong."

On August 23, in his maiden policy speech to the Diet, Hosokawa apologized for Japan's past aggression and colonial rule for the third time.

"I would thus like to take this opportunity to express anew our profound remorse and apologies for the fact that past Japanese actions, including aggression and colonial rule, caused unbearable suffering and sorrow for so many people," said Hosokawa.

In 1995, the Diet passed a resolution on Japan's responsibility for World War II that acknowledged the nation's guilt for "acts of aggression" and "colonial rule." However, the compromise statement was criticized in some Asian countries due to its lack of the word "apology" and of any reference to specific brutal acts committed by Japanese troops during the war.

The same year on August 15, the 50th anniversary of the end of WWII, Prime Minister Murayama Tomiichi went much further than the resolution by stating:

During a certain period in the not-too-distant past, Japan, through its colonial rule and aggression, caused tremendous damage and suffering to the people of many countries, particularly those of Asia. In the hope that no such mistake will be made in the future, I regard, in a spirit of humanity, these irrefutable facts of history, and express here once again my feelings of deep remorse and state my heartfelt apology.

"Such a conciliatory domestic environment," writes historian Yoshida Takashi, the co-author of *The Nanjing Massacre in History and Historiography*, "provoked intense challenges" from Japanese conservatives and nationalists.

Senior LDP politicians such as environmental agency chief Sakurai Shin and education minister Shimamura Yoshinobu continued to make statements that played down Japan's wartime aggression between 1994 and 1995.

When interviewed by a national newspaper, *Mainichi*, in May 1994, newly appointed justice minister Nagano Shigeto told the paper that the Pacific War was a war of liberation and the Nanjing Massacre was a mere "fabrication."

His perception of Japan's involvement in WWII and his remarks on this specific historical incident infuriated the Japanese people as well as people in China and South Korea. Two national newspapers, *Asahi* and *Yomiuri*, criticized Prime Minister Hata Tsutomu for not taking immediate action. Consequently, Nagano was forced to resign only ten days after taking office. Hata subsequently sent a letter of apology to his Chinese counterpart, Li Peng, and telephoned South Korean President Kim Young Sam.

At this point in the mid-1990s, the Nanking Atrocities once again came forward in the political arena, creating a foundation for another phase of ongoing polemic. The vanguard was a professor of education at Tokyo University, Fujioka Nobukatsu. Frustrated by the "pervasive Tokyo War Crimes Trial view of history" and "masochistic" descriptions of Japan's imperial past in school textbooks approved by the Ministry of Education, Fujioka and his collaborators co-founded *Jiyushugi Shikan Kenkyukai*, or the Association for the Advancement of A Liberalist View of History, in January 1995, and *Atarashi Kyokasho wo Tsukuru Kai*, or the Society for Creating New History Textbooks, in December 1996, aiming to revise what he dubbed



Japan's "masochistic education" in history. Fujioka and the two groups enjoyed large support from a variety of individuals including 62 lawmakers from the LDP, academics and novelists. Among other things, Fujioka questioned the death tolls of the Nanking Atrocities in the textbooks. He indicated the figures of hundreds of thousands were "groundless" and criticized especially those textbooks that quoted the number of "200,000" or "over 100,000" without attribution.

Claiming to have been persuaded by "thorough and innovative" research on the topic by Higashinakano Shudo, a professor of intellectual history at Asia University, Fujioka later concluded that there was no massacre in 1937 Nanking.

Throughout 1999, Fujioka and Higashinakano continued to contribute articles and essays to magazines and newspapers that sternly condemned other historians and reckoned the Nanjing Massacre as a latter-day fabrication.

Meanwhile, the two organizations founded by Fujioka also cooperated in disseminating Fujioka and Higashinakano's view on the Nanking Atrocities. For instance, on July 31, 1999, the Association hosted a symposium in Tokyo that called the Nanjing Massacre "the biggest lie of the 20th century."

On January 23, 2000, a citizens' group called "The Group to Rectify One-sided Wartime Exhibitions" organized a conference also dubbing the Rape of Nanking "the biggest lie of the 20th century" in the semi-public Osaka International Peace Center (commonly known as Peace Osaka in Japan).

Unlike the previous symposium or any other comparable forums, this particular conference, which invited Higashinakano as one of the key panelists, engaged keen attention from the media worldwide, especially in China.

About a week before the event took place, Chinese newspapers such as *Renmin Ribao* and *China Youth Daily* began reporting on the provocative title and the meeting's intention to play down the Atrocities.

Beijing officially urged Tokyo to take action to stop the forum. While assuring China of the Japanese government's stance that the Nanjing Massacre was an undeniable fact, the Foreign Ministry said that it had no right to intervene in an event organized by citizens.

In Nanking, one day after the conference was held, about 500 people gathered to protest at the Memorial Hall for Compatriot Victims of the Japanese Military's Nanjing Massacre. "The conference broke Chinese people's hearts," says Zhu Chengshan, the director of the Memorial Hall. It was the worst in the recent controversy. They conspicuously denied the historical fact and even labeled it 'the biggest lie' in the 20th century. Does freedom of speech mean that you can say anything to hurt people? "Does freedom of speech mean that you can say anything to hurt people?" asks Zhu Chengshan. (Interview by author on March 24, 2000.)

In China the mass media harshly criticized the event in their newspaper articles, editorials, and TV programs. Many local newspapers reprinted the editorial piece in *Renmin Ribao* titled "Who's fabricating the 'lie'?" written by Zhu. In the headline for its editorial piece *China Youth Daily* even used the term, "riben guiji," a derogatory expression meaning Japanese devils. Shanghai TV made a lengthy news document titled "Wrath of Nanjing."

In Japan there was a difference of opinion about the event. Some argued that as long as it is not illegal, anyone should be allowed to speak one's opinion freely. They said because Peace Osaka was a semi-public institution, the door must be open for everyone. Thus no one had the right to stop the event. Others argued that since the Peace Osaka was established "not to forget the tremendous damage inflicted by Japan on people in China and other Asia-Pacific countries as well as people in Korea and Taiwan under colonial rule," the administrators of the facility should have stopped any event that contradicted the principle. They said it was too harmful to be protected under freedom of speech and pointed out that if it had been in Germany, the conference would have been a punishable crime.

About two and a half months later in Peace Osaka, those Japanese who were against the theme of the previous conference organized another meeting called "What the Nanjing Massacre calls for from Japan."

This forum, which was held on April 8, 2000, also attracted media attention in Osaka and in Nanking. The forum was reported by the Chinese media as a rebuttal to the decision made by the Peace Osaka. The panel urged public officials to face Japan's past deeds squarely. Among the panelists were Zhu and Yoshida Yutaka of Hitotsubashi University.

**Yoshida Yutaka, Interview by author on February 24, 2000.**

Yoshida Yutaka is a historian at Hitotsubashi University. He has published various books and articles on the Imperial Army's involvement in wartime atrocities. He has done extensive research on the Army records and other historical evidence of the Nanking Atrocities in Japan.

Q: In the United States the Nanking Atrocities are often typified in the context that Japan has never admitted the evildoings of their countrymen during World War II. It seems many people, including some newspapers and scholars, believe Japanese in general don't acknowledge the Rape of Nanking. Some even say the Japanese government has been trying to cover things up and gloss over the history. What do you think of that claim?

Yoshida: It is not entirely groundless to claim that Japan has been avoiding owing up to the past. But it is not like 1960s or 1970s anymore. The society has gone through a major change. For instance, today every textbook mentions the Nanjing Massacre. On several occasions the Japanese government has officially acknowledged that large-scale atrocities took place. Yes, there are a variety of voices in Japan now. But I personally think the debate whether it actually happened or not ended when Kaikosha [a war veterans' organization holding some 18,000 members] admitted the fact and apologized for it in mid-1980s. Since then our task has shifted to the analysis of the historical context of the Nanjing Massacre.

Q: But it is also true that in Japan there are still people who deny that the Nanking Atrocities ever happened, isn't it?

Yoshida: Yes, but their argument is primarily based on an arbitrary interpretation of international law, which even conservative scholars wouldn't agree with. They say executing plain-clothes soldiers and stragglers are not massacres. But as I indicated in my research, it is indisputably unlawful to kill them without any legal procedure. It seems even right-leaning scholars are criticizing the interpretation of the law by the 'denying camp.' So I think they will have to take it back soon. Frankly, I do not want to be bogged down in today's controversy. It simply lacks the most important aspect of the historical analysis, which is, why it happened. What drove the Japanese troops to go on the rampage in the way they did in Nanjing, that's what the research should be about.

Q: In Japan, some people question the credibility of certain historical materials relating to the Nanking Atrocities. Do you think it is an attempt to downplay the atrocities or an academic inquiry?

Yoshida: We should be aware of the limitation of historical material. Any evidence does not reflect all the facts in one piece. So we should put them together in perspective. Better yet, we can only come up with an image. We cannot reconstruct the past exactly as it happened no matter what evidence we have. What disturbs me most is that those 'deniers' are using the materials we have gathered over a long period of time, or the ones Kaikosha collected, and just twist things around. In the academia of history, they are not productive; rather, they are living in the world of interpretation.

I must say I learn a lot even from some conservative historians when they try to prove their point with their own research and with new evidence they unearthed. Although my view of a certain historical incident such as the Nanjing Massacre may differ from their view, I can still discuss details in a scholarly fashion. But those 'deniers' have their conclusions first. Then they lay down the available evidence to back up their belief, which inevitably forces them to interpret the material in a way no one else would do.

Q: In your recent writing on this topic "Did no one really know about the Nanjing Incident?", you indicated the Emperor might have known what was going on in Nanking. Are there any new findings to suggest that?

Yoshida: I didn't mention this in that paper but I have known for quite some time that Hallet Abend [*New York Times* correspondent in Shanghai] wrote in his book *Pacific Charter* that the Emperor knew about the Nanjing Massacre. According to the book, a high civilian Japanese official told Abend that he informed the Emperor of the atrocities in Nanjing. But it seems there is too much dramatization in his book. It tells us that this official spent two hours on his knees at the Emperor's feet, whispering into the Emperor's ear what had happened following the capture of Nanjing. His feet became numb and he had to have assistants massage his legs. It is hard to take at its face value, isn't it? The story is too dramatic to be true.

I would say it is probably a safe bet to assume this high official was Hidaka Shinrokuro, an able diplomat in Shanghai who was well known among foreigners there. A biography of Hirota Koki [then foreign minister] tells that he and Hidaka discussed the conditions in Nanjing. Hidaka in fact testified about what he knew about the atrocities in the Tokyo War Crimes Trial. Since he returned to Japan once in the beginning of 1938, it is quite likely that he reported the information he had at the time to the government. But there is no evidence that he reached the Emperor. Abend's book isn't enough to verify the fact. So I simply quoted the chamberlain to the Emperor [who wrote that many in the administration knew about what happened and recalled the Emperor often saying "The Army is different from what it used to be during the Russo-Japanese War"]. The Emperor might have known, but it is not proven.

Source: Kajimoto, M. *The Nanking Atrocities*. 2000. Web. 20 July 2010. <http://www.nankingatrocities.net/>

### Questions:

1. Discuss the Japanese attitudes toward the Nanking Massacre as depicted in this article.
2. Respond to the interview of Yoshida Yutaka. Share your respond in a group of three or four.

## Unit 10—Handout 10

### Japan's last vets of Nanking massacre open up France: International News 16 May 2010

AFP—Sawamura broke into a cold sweat when he was ordered to bayonet a Chinese peasant as soldiers crowded around the spectacle, taunting him to execute the captive.

“You captured him, so you get rid of him,” his lieutenant barked, yanking the 21-year-old soldier toward his writhing victim, only days after Japanese troops had overrun the Chinese city of Nanking in December 1937.

“I stumbled forward and thrust the blade into his body until it came out on the other side,” said Sawamura, who is now 94 years old. “We were told not to waste bullets. It was training for beginners.

“I have told myself for the rest of my life that killing is wrong,” said the veteran of the Imperial Japanese Army, who declined to give his surname, in an interview with AFP at his home in Kyoto.

Sawamura is one of a fast-dwindling number of Japanese former soldiers who took part in the Nanking massacre, considered by historians the worst wartime atrocity committed by the Japanese army in China.

Historians generally estimate about 150,000 people were killed, thousands of women raped and thousands of homes burned down in an orgy of violence until March 1938 in what was then the capital of the Chinese Nationalist government.

In a joint study by a Japan-China history research committee released this year, China said the true number was above 300,000 victims, while Japanese scholars estimated that anywhere between 20,000 and 200,000 were killed.

Sawamura—who now spends his days tending his plants and decorating his house with his grandchildren's pictures—is one of the last Japanese alive who played a part in the massacre in the city now called Nanjing.

Few veterans have ever spoken about what in Japan remains largely a taboo subject, and most have taken their testimonies quietly to their graves.

But this year, in a last-ditch effort to keep their dark memories alive, Japanese activist Tamaki Matsuoka released a documentary, *Torn Memories of Nanjing*, in which veterans speak for the first time on film about the mass killings and rapes.

#### Assignment:

In a brief essay of one or two paragraphs, respond to this article about Sawamura, a former Japanese soldier who participated in the Nanking Massacre. Share your response with a group of three or four.

## Unit 10—Suggested Bibliography

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- Chang, Iris. *The Rape of Nanking: The Forgotten Holocaust of World War II*.
- Giangreco, D. M. *Hell to Pay: Operation Downfall and the Invasion of Japan, 1945-1947*. Annapolis: Naval Institute P, 2009.
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- Tenney, Lester. *My Hitch in Hell*. Washington, DC: Potomac Books, 2007.
- Weller, George, and Anthony Weller. *First Into Nagasaki*. New York: Crown Books, 2006.

### DVDs

- The Inheritance of War*. DVD. Ashley Karras and James W. Parkinson, 2009.
- Torn Memories of Nanjing*. DVD. 2010.

### Websites

- [http://edmontonalpha.org/study\\_guide.pdf](http://edmontonalpha.org/study_guide.pdf)
- [http://www.gendercide.org/case\\_nanking.html](http://www.gendercide.org/case_nanking.html)

## Appendix A

### Timeline of Origins and Events of The Asia-Pacific War, 1931- 1945

1894	The first Sino-Japanese War begins.
1895	Shimonoseki Treaty. After defeat in the Sino-Japanese War, China unwillingly cedes Taiwan to Japan and pays a financial indemnity.
1902	The Anglo-Japanese Alliance is signed. Japan and Great Britain agree to assist one another in safeguarding their respective interests in Asia. The Alliance is renewed in 1905 and 1911.
1905	Upon Russia's defeat in the Russo-Japanese War of 1904-05, the U.S. mediates the Treaty of Portsmouth. The treaty forces Russia to give up its concession in the southern Manchuria to Japan and recognizes Japan as the dominant power in Korea. China unwillingly signs another treaty with Japan, recognizing Japan's imperialistic rights in southern Manchuria. After the Treaty of Portsmouth, the Taft-Katsura memorandum is signed between Japan and US. This agreement recognizes US control of the Philippines.
1907	Some major conventions on the laws of war are made in the Hague Conference of 1907, including the Hague IV: Laws and Customs of War on Land.
1910	Japan's "official" annexation of Korea.
1914 - 1918	World War I starts. Japan as one of the Allied countries against Germany occupies Shantung Peninsula of China, and assumes the imperial rights of Germany in that region.
1926	Hirohito becomes Emperor of Japan.
1929	The Geneva Convention Relating to Prisoners of War
1931	The Japanese Imperial Army launches a full-scale attack on Manchuria, northeast China.
1932	The Japanese Imperial Army seizes Manchuria and establishes the puppet state of Manchukuo. Japan establishes biological warfare units in Japan and China.
1933	The League of Nations declares the Manchukuo is not a legitimate state and calls for the withdrawal of Japanese troops. Japan withdraws from the League in protest. Expanding from Manchuria, the Japanese Imperial Army gains control of much of North China.
1937	"Marco Polo Bridge Incident." Japan's full-scale invasion of China begins. Peking (now Beijing) and Shanghai are captured. When Nanking (now Nanjing), the capital, falls, the Japanese military commits the Nanking Massacre. The military sexual slavery system for the Japanese military expands rapidly after the Nanking Massacre.
1939	World War II starts in Europe with the attack on Poland.
1940	Japan moves into northern Indo-China (now Vietnam, Laos, and Cambodia). Japan joins the Axis Alliance with Germany and Italy
1941	Tojo Hideki becomes Prime Minister of Japan. Japan raids Pearl Harbor on December 7. British Malaya and Hong Kong are simultaneously attacked. The Pacific phase of World War II begins. Hong Kong falls on December 25. Of the 1,975 Canadian soldiers sent to defend Hong Kong, 290 are killed in action and 1,685 are captured and interned by the Japanese military. 267 die in internment.
1942	Forced relocation and internment of Japanese Americans in the United States and Japanese Canadians in Canada begin. By May 1942, Japan has gained control over wide territories including Hong Kong, Philippines, Vietnam, Laos, Cambodia, Thailand, Burma (now Myanmar), Malaya (now Singapore and Malaysia), Dutch East Indies (now Indonesia), and many other Pacific islands.

- 1945** The first atomic bomb is dropped on Hiroshima on August 6, 1945. The Soviet Union declares war on Japan on August 8, 1945. The second atomic bomb is dropped on Nagasaki on August 9, 1945. Japan surrenders on August 15, 1945. World War II ends.
- 1946** The Charter of the International Military Tribunal for the Far East is formulated and the Tribunal is set up to prosecute instigators of the War.
- 1951** The San Francisco Peace Treaty is signed between Japan and 48 other nations. Some states are not parties to the Treaty, including Burma, China, India, Korea, and the Soviet Union.



## Appendix B

### Timeline of Events of The Nanking Massacre

<b>Early 1937</b>	Japanese planes begin dropping bombs on Nanking. There are more than 100 flyovers.
<b>September 25, 1937</b>	The most horrific bombing occurs from 9:30 a.m. – 4:30 pm. Five hundred bombs are dropped, and over 600 citizens of Nanking are killed. A refugee camp was also hit, which resulted in over 100 deaths. The Nanking Central Hospital was bombed, along with radio stations, power plants, and water works.
<b>November 20, 1937</b>	Japanese forces begin their approach to Nanking and the city falls into chaos.
<b>November 23, 1937</b>	Three fronts are created by the Japanese Imperial Army in their attack on the city: Eastern front, Central front, and the Western front. The Eastern front of Japanese troops appeared along the railway from Shanghai to Nanking. The Central front was the railway from Nanking to Hangzhou. The Western front began in Changde, Xuandcheng and Wuhu and circled Nanking.
<b>December 1937</b>	The three fronts reach the outside of the city early in December.. The battle breaks out between the Nanking Garrison Army and the Japanese Imperial Army. The Chinese Army, with about 100,000 soldiers under General Tang Shenshi abandons its position.
<b>December 12, 1937</b>	Misty Flower Terrace was attacked and fell to the Japanese. At 2:00 p.m., the gate of Zhonghua was stormed, and Nanking was then open to the invading Japanese troops.
<b>December 13, 1937</b>	Japanese troops under General Iwane Matsui occupy the city, and Phase I of the Nanking Massacre begins.
<b>December 14, 1937</b>	Tank battalions and artillery battalions led the way into Nanking. People in the street were massacred, and many troops went on a killing rampage. Japanese troops were instructed to, “Kill all, rape all, loot all.” Japanese troops opened the gate of Yijuang, and charged to the Xhongshan Wharf and the Xiaguan Railway Station.
<b>December 16, 1937</b>	Over 5,000 refugees were bound together and taken in trucks to Xiaguan station to be murdered.
<b>December 17, 1937</b>	General Matsui exclaimed that the Japanese troops were being disrespected by the Chinese because they were shutting their doors and closing their shops to the invaders.
<b>End of December</b>	The clearing of the streets begins. The horrors of the Rape of Nanking are occurring throughout the city as people are brutally murdered, women are raped and tortured, and many are transported out of the city to be massacred by Japanese troops along the Yangtze River.

<b>January, 1938</b>	The world learns of the Nanking Massacre, but is unaware of the scope of brutality and horror.
<b>February 1938</b>	The bodies are either burned or buried in mass graves that were discovered many years after the war.

Source: U.S., Department of State, Publication 1983, *Peace and War: United States Foreign Policy, 1931-1941* (Washington, D.C.: U.S., Government Printing Office, 1943), pp.3-8

## Appendix C

### Writing Standards 9-12

1. Write arguments to support claims in an analysis of substantive topics or texts, using valid reasoning and relevant and sufficient evidence.
2. Write informative/explanatory texts to examine and convey complex ideas, concepts, and information clearly and accurately through the effective selection, organization, and analysis of content.
3. Write narratives to develop real or imagined experiences or events using effective technique, well-chosen details, and well-structured event sequences.
4. Produce clear and coherent writing in which the development, organization, and style are appropriate to task, purpose, and audience. (Grade-specific expectations for writing types are defined in standards 1–3 above.)
5. Develop and strengthen writing as needed by planning, revising, editing, rewriting, or trying a new approach, focusing on addressing what is most significant for a specific purpose and audience.
6. Use technology, including the Internet, to produce, publish, and update individual or shared writing products in response to ongoing feedback, including new arguments or information.
7. Conduct short as well as more sustained research projects to answer a question (including a self-generated question) or solve a problem; narrow or broaden the inquiry when appropriate; synthesize multiple sources on the subject, demonstrating understanding of the subject under investigation.
8. Gather relevant information from multiple authoritative print and digital sources, using advanced searches effectively; assess the strengths and limitations of each source in terms of the task, purpose, and audience; integrate information into the text selectively to maintain the flow of ideas, avoiding plagiarism and overreliance on any one source and following a standard format for citation.
9. Draw evidence from literary or informational texts to support analysis, reflection, and research.
10. Write routinely over extended time frames (time for research, reflection, and revision) and shorter time frames (a single sitting or a day or two) for a range of tasks, purposes, and audiences.

## Reading Standards 9-12

1. Cite strong and thorough textual evidence to support analysis of what the text says explicitly as well as inferences drawn from the text, including determining where the text leaves matters uncertain.
2. Determine two or more central ideas or themes of a text and analyze their development over the course of the text, including how they interact and build on one another to provide a complex analysis; provide an objective summary of the text.
3. Analyze a complex set of ideas or sequence of events and explain how specific individuals, ideas, or events interact and develop over the course of the text.
4. Determine the meaning of words and phrases as they are used in a text, including figurative, connotative, and technical meanings; analyze the cumulative impact of specific word choices on meaning and tone (e.g., how the language of a court opinion differs from that of a newspaper); analyze how an author uses and refines the meaning of a key term or terms over the course of a text.
5. Analyze and evaluate the effectiveness of the structure an author uses in his or her exposition or argument, including whether the structure makes points clear, convincing, and engaging.
5. Determine an author's point of view or purpose in a text in which the rhetoric is particularly effective, analyzing how style and content contribute to the power, persuasiveness, or beauty of the text.
6. Integrate and evaluate multiple sources of information presented in different media or formats (e.g., visually, quantitatively) as well as in words in order to address a question or solve a problem.
7. By the end of grade 9, read and comprehend literary nonfiction in the grades 9–10 text complexity band proficiently, with scaffolding as needed at the high end of the range. By the end of grade 10, read and comprehend literary nonfiction at the high end of the grades 9–10 text complexity band independently and proficiently.
8. By the end of grade 11, read and comprehend literary nonfiction in the grades 11–CCR text complexity band proficiently, with scaffolding as needed at the high end of the range. By the end of grade 12, read and comprehend literary nonfiction at the high end of the grades 11–CCR text complexity band independently and proficiently.

## Speaking and Listening Standards 9–12

1. Initiate and participate effectively in a range of collaborative discussions (one-on-one, in groups, and teacher-led) with diverse partners on grades 11–12 topics, texts, and issues, building on others' ideas and expressing their own clearly and persuasively.
2. Integrate multiple sources of information presented in diverse formats and media (e.g., visually, quantitatively, orally) in order to make informed decisions and solve problems, evaluating the credibility and accuracy of each source and noting any discrepancies among the data.
3. Evaluate a speaker's point of view, reasoning, and use of evidence and rhetoric, assessing the stance, premises, links among ideas, word choice, points of emphasis, and tone used.
4. Present information, findings, and supporting evidence, conveying a clear and distinct perspective, such that listeners can follow the line of reasoning, alternative or opposing perspectives are addressed, and the organization, development, substance, and style are appropriate to purpose, audience, and a range of formal and informal tasks.
5. Make strategic use of digital media (e.g., textual, graphical, audio, visual, and interactive elements) in presentations to enhance understanding of findings, reasoning, and evidence and to add interest.
6. Adapt speech to a variety of contexts and tasks, demonstrating a command of formal English when indicated or appropriate. (See grades 9–10 & 11–12 Language standards 1 and 3 for specific expectations.)

## Language Standards 9–12

1. Demonstrate command of the conventions of standard English grammar and usage when writing or speaking.
2. Demonstrate command of the conventions of standard English capitalization, punctuation, and spelling when writing.
3. Apply knowledge of language to understand how language functions in different contexts, to make effective choices for meaning or style, and to comprehend more fully when reading or listening.
4. Determine or clarify the meaning of unknown and multiple-meaning words and phrases based on grades 9–10 reading and content and grades 11–12 reading and content, choosing flexibly from a range of strategies.
5. Demonstrate understanding of figurative language, word relationships, and nuances in word meanings.
6. Acquire and use accurately general academic and domain-specific words and phrases, sufficient for reading, writing, speaking, and listening at the college and career readiness level; demonstrate independence in gathering vocabulary knowledge when considering a word or phrase important to comprehension or expression.

