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The Faded Memory of Nanking:

Understanding a Tragedy and it's Impact upon the World

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History 471 A: Senior Seminar

Professor Christin Hancock

War is often a terrible thing to behold. It leads to the senseless slaughter of people on all sides regardless of what a person's background could be, for bullets and blades don't differentiate between those of differing ages, races, religions or cultural backgrounds. It brings out the darkest aspects of human nature which leads to a variety of acts that range from some of the most courageous and selfless to some of the most callous war crimes ever devised on the face of the earth. They happen for many reasons and leave long lasting impacts on our world that last to this day.

Not every massacre, genocide, or war crime committed during war is done for the same reason. They all differ and vary depending on a multitude of factors that range from social political and economic differences. Despite these differences there is a common theme to them all such as the exploitation of a group of people based upon some sort of identity. War crimes, atrocities and mass killings are often done as a result of some sort of discrimination, according to Craig Cameron's theory on *Race and Identity: The culture of Combat in the Pacific War* he states: "The pervasively atrocious behaviour by both Japanese and Allied troops during the Second World War was rationalized in part by racist ideologies."¹ Examples include the Holocaust against Jews, the Holodomor against Ukrainians, the Khmer Rouge against Cambodians and so on.

This conflict of identity has shaped the national perceptions of many historical events and influenced our social and demographic values. One such way is that it affects the human perception of historical events based upon misconceptions people create to advance their own agenda against events that actually happened. The Rape of Nanking for instance took place

¹ Craig M. Cameron,"Race and Identity: The Culture of Combat in the Pacific War," *The International History Review* 27, no. 3 (2005): 550-66. Accessed March 25, 2021. <u>http://www.jstor.org/stable/40109606</u>.

on December 13, 1937 and lasted for six weeks until about February. It was a time of infamy many have long forgotten when the Imperial Japanese Army entered the city of Nanking, China and initiated one of the largest massacres in world history. The subsequent raping, pillaging, looting, burning, killing and torture of somewhere between 200,000 – 300,000 Chinese soldiers and civilians alike, left hundreds of thousands more scarred, maimed and disfigured for life. As the anniversary for this event approaches not many people around the world remember, let alone know the Rape of Nanking ever happened. The reason for this is due to various political, social and economic factors that took place of more significance than that of the massacre like the Great Depression, the Second World War, the Cold War and the Holocaust. This combined with various methods of both intentional and unintentional censorship of the massacre covered it up and left the Rape of Nanking as an obscure memory very few know about to this very day. This paper will try to argue that in spite of the horrid tortures, senseless killings, endless suffering and maining that are confirmed by a multitude of sources, the Rape of Nanking has been censored by foreign sources out of concern for political and economic gains, distorted due to incentivized propaganda of the massacre and overshadowed by other major world events such as the Second World War, the Great Depression and the Cold War. Using historiography done on the massacre this paper will attempt to explore how the perception of the Rape of Nanking has lead the general populace around the world to disregard it over many years.

To understand how the radical divisions of identity and ideology developed between the Chinese and Japanese to commit such a massacre, one must look back into how the Second Sino-Japanese war developed into the persecution of the war crimes and how they were interpreted over later years. The Second World War and many of its war crimes were initiated during a time of global imperialism, where countries sought to expand and conquer other lands and territories for their resources and exploit native populations on the basis of racial superiority.² Japan was one such country that expanded its claims of territory across the Pacific over a need to gain necessary resources to fuel its industrialized economy.

During the latter parts of the eighteenth-century Japan and China had developed isolationist policies for themselves, secluding them from the outside world until the arrival of Western European powers.³ The relative comparison of Chinese and Japanese technologies faltered far behind that of European design leading to a period of rapid industrialization between both countries. This modernization lead to various conflicts on both parts such as the Satsuma Rebellion of 1877, the First Sino-Japanese war and the Boxer Rebellion along with several others as part of a political struggle for power in Asia.⁴ Through these contests of power the Japanese had managed to gain a vital foothold in Korea over the Qing dynasty Chinese who were dealing with corruption and political turmoil during the First Sino-Japanese war. This war would set precedence for tension between Chinese and Japanese relations as the Japanese had not only managed to surpass the Chinese in the technology race but also to subjugate them along with other Europeans. They did this with aggressive modernization of their military and industrial capabilities by adding railroads and infrastructure for better industry, sending officers to study abroad at foreign military academies and the purchasing of new and modernized naval vessels. This prompted nearly a century of humiliation for the Chinese at the hands of foreign powers and left deepening rifts between the cultures of Japan and China in many aspects.

² Ibid.

³ Giulia Valentini, "China and Japan's Responses to the West in the 19th Century," China and Japan's Responses to the West in the 19th Century (E-international Relations, November 6, 2013), https://www.e-

ir.info/2013/11/04/chinese-and-japanese-responses-to-the-west-during-the-19th-century/.

⁴ University Columbia, "The Meiji Restoration and Modernization: Asia for Educators: Columbia University," The Meiji Restoration and Modernization | Asia for Educators | Columbia University (Columbia University, 2021), http://afe.easia.columbia.edu/special/japan_1750_meiji.htm.

Religion was another key factor in the division between Japanese beliefs of *Bushido* and *Shinto* against the Buddhist and Confucian mentality of the Chinese. The Bushido code of the Japanese samurai class played a key role in defining the identity of the Japanese troops that entered Nanking. Those troops saw the mass surrender of hundreds of thousands of Chinese troops and believed them to be unworthy of living as it was believed that surrender was the greatest shame a warrior could bring upon himself, his family and those he served. Nobel prize winning famous author Iris Chang in her book *The Rape of Nanking: The Forgotten Holocaust of World War II* describes this saying: "To die in the service of one's lord was the greatest honor a samurai warrior could achieve in his lifetime."⁵ Seeing this would have developed senses of shame in the eyes of the Japanese soldiers who believed their captors should be punished through brutal of means.

Other socio-political and geo-economic factors would come into play over the years as well such as the given fact that Japan is an island nation meaning it had limited access to resources. In order for it to modernize so quickly it needed easy access to items such as coal, lumber and oil for production which sparked conflict between Japan and its neighboring countries leading to events like the Russo-Japanese war which saw for the first time an Asian nation triumph over a European one and the First World War, which saw Japan increase it's military prowess over Germany.⁶ Iris Chang reinforces this saying: "Largely because of these

 ⁵ Iris Chang. The Rape of Nanking: The Forgotten Holocaust of World War II. New York, NY: Basic Books, 1997.
20.

⁶ Facing History. "Japanese Imperialism and the Road to War." Japanese Imperialism and the Road to War. Facing History and Ourselves, 2019. https://www.facinghistory.org/resource-library/teaching-nanjing-atrocities/japanese-imperialism-androad-

war#:~:text=Japanese%20imperialism%20was%20not%20simply,of%20mission%20and%20racial%20superiority.&text =Advocates%20of%20Pan%2DAsianism%20in,Asian%20territories%20from%20Western%20imperialism.

successes, the early part of the twentieth century was a euphoric time for Japan. Modernization had earned for the country not only military prestige but unprecedented economic prosperity."⁷ These wars would generate a sense of superiority within the Japanese in that they were destined to rule all of Asia leading them to believe all other Asian races were inferior to them. Cameron Craig's article states: "The cultural framework that gave rise to Japanese ultra-nationalism between the world wars was constructed on assumptions about the inherent cultural superiority of the Yamato race."⁸ The ideology that the Japanese Yamato race were destined to rule the Asian world spread into the minds of Japanese politicians and militarists and eventually took hold of the entirety of Japan itself becoming a fundamental to their culture. This would serve as a foundational pillar to the mindset of the Japanese that lead them to the Rape of Nanking.

The Europeans would also come to play a major role in influencing the Japanese mindset. The Treaty of Versailles saw the Japanese excluded from talks after the German surrender in 1918 leaving a mark of shame upon the Japanese by leaving them out of the sphere of influence, thus drawing greater rifts between themselves and the western world.⁹ It created a sense that if the Japanese were to be recognized as a great empire itself like those of the British, French and Dutch then it would have to challenge those empires and rival them in power. Craig Cameron describes this saying: "Similarly, the desperation with which European powers clung to their Asian empires in the inter-war period had less to do with rational cost benefit calculation than with their symbolic role in upholding the dominant cultural discourses at home."¹⁰ The

 ⁷ Iris Chang, *The Rape of Nanking: The Forgotten Holocaust of World War II* (New York, NY: Basicbooks, 1997). 24.
⁸ Craig M. Cameron "Race and Identity: The Culture of Combat in the Pacific War." *The International History Review* 27, no. 3 (2005): 550-66. Accessed March 25, 2021. http://www.jstor.org/stable/40109606. 554

⁹ Andrew Gordon. *A Modern History of Japan: From Tokugawa Times to the Present*. 3rd ed. (New York: Oxford University Press, 2014).

¹⁰ Craig M. Cameron "Race and Identity: The Culture of Combat in the Pacific War." *The International History Review* 27, no. 3 (2005): 550-66. Accessed March 25, 2021. <u>http://www.jstor.org/stable/40109606</u>. 555.

humiliation felt by the Japanese in regards to this would be a stain upon their honor, one that needed to be cleaned no matter the cost.

A combination of all these factors influenced the mindset of the Japanese at the time and were what lead to the outbreak of the Second Sino-Japanese War in 1937 that lead to the subsequent Rape of Nanking. Japanese soldiers motivated by idealistic propaganda of superiority and invincibility believed themselves to be more privileged than those of other Asian communities giving them the excuse to invade when the Marco Polo Bridge Incident happened along the Manchurian border broke out into all out war. Japanese soldiers and higher echelons of command thus sought to impose this power on others and show the world that Japan was as capable of creating an empire as any European power leading them to not only commit but also encourage atrocities across Asia.

By December of 1937 the Japanese Imperial Army had conquered most of northern China and Shanghai, the former capital of China. The Capital was moved as a result of the Japanese advance, further inland to a city of cultural and strategic importance known as Nanking, now presently called Nanjing. The Japanese needed to capture the city in order to seize control over the Yangtze River which was connected to various waterways crucial to river traffic in inner China, as seen in this attached news article.¹¹ As a result the Japanese 10th Army advanced towards the capital but were hindered in their movements as a result of Chinese guerilla forces. This prompted the Japanese commander to initiate an anti-guerilla war policy known as the three all's, under the guidance of General Yasuji Okamura. The three all's were a policy to kill all,

¹¹ Barber, Lawrence. "Pacific Shippers Eye Asiatic Seas." Oregonian, December 10, 1938. https://infoweb.newsbank.com/apps/news/documentview?p=AMNEWS&docref=image/v2%3A11A73E5827618330%40EANX-NB-12A60E512AEDFF98%402429243-12A072EA225C7685%4017-12A072EA225C7685%40.

burn all and loot all that existed to prevent Chinese guerilla forces from using the resources in the countryside.¹² It resulted in the mass pillaging, rape and destruction of many Chinese homes and lives. It was only in this campaign did the Japanese Army use this tactic and proved to be very effective in deterring the guerilla forces of the Chinese 8th Red Army.

By the time the Japanese Army had reached the outskirts of Nanking Chinese defenses had been cast into disarray. General Tang Shengzhi of the National Revolutionary Army found the defense situation hopeless due to a lack of air power, lack of equipment such as radios and field guns, poorly trained conscripts, little cohesiveness within his army's ranks and an inability to communicate due to language barriers between Cantonese, Mandarin and Hunanese speaking troops that all spoke in different dialects. The lack of resources and cohesion lead to a quick downfall of the city as Japanese troops managed to easily take down Chinese defenses one at a time with superior artillery, tanks, air power and infantry tactics.

Order in the ranks soon broke down and when the call to retreat was finally given from Chiang Kai Shek himself, chaos ensued as the command staff were ordered to abandon the city leaving a situation in which it was every man for themselves. As Chang wrote: "Some officers ran about the city haphazardly informing anyone they came into contact with to pull out. These soldiers took off. Other officers told no one, not even their own troops."¹³ Trapped by the Japanese against the Yangtze River many tried to swim in desperation only to drown by fast currents while others would blend into the civilian population by stripping their uniforms and

¹² New World Encyclopedia contributors, "Second Sino-Japanese War," Second Sino-Japanese War (New World Encyclopedia, November 2, 2019), https://www.newworldencyclopedia.org/p/index.php?title=Second_Sino-Japanese_War&oldid=1026575.

¹³ Chang, Iris. The Rape of Nanking: The Forgotten Holocaust of World War II. New York, NY: Basic Books, 1997. 76.

gear stealing civilian clothes. John Rabe, a businessman and head of the Nazi party in China, describes the scene in his journal writing: "If it had come to a battle here in the streets bordering the Zone, fleeing Chinese soldiers would no doubt have retreated into the Safety Zone, which would then have been shelled by the Japanese and perhaps even totally destroyed because it was not demilitarized."¹⁴ This would turn into a major problem later on for both the Japanese and the people living in Nanking as the Japanese had issued orders to begin hunting down Chinese soldiers leading them to initiate mass slaughter and rape in their hunt for escaped POW's.

With the mixing of Chinese troops into the local populace and even fleeing into the Nanking International Safety Zone, Japanese troops began raiding local houses going door to door to search for them. While doing this many troops would often loot, pillage, and rape any women they could find as part of the Three All's Policy leading to subsequent atrocities. Atrocities ranged on a massive scale from mass rape, murder, torture and intimidation as recorded in copious amounts of documentation from members of the International Safety Zone Committee in Timothy Brooks book, *Documents on the Rape of Nanking*.¹⁵ "On December 17 in a small house behind my house at Siao Tao Yuen, Kan Ho Yen, a woman was raped and stabbed. If she gets medical aid today she can probably be saved. The woman's mother was badly beaten in the road. (Rabe)".¹⁶ "On December 20, at 7:30 p.m. a 17-year old married girl, 9 months pregnant was raped by two Japanese soldiers; at 9 p.m. labor pains began; baby was born at 12 p.m. She was brought to the University Hospital this morning because they could not get through

¹⁴ John Rabe. *The Good Man of Nanking: The Diaries of John Rabe*, edited by Erwin Wickert, translated by John Woods, 67. New York, NY: Alfred A. Knopf, Inc., 1998.

 ¹⁵ Timothy Brooks. *Documents on the Rape of Nanking*. Ann Arbor, MI: The University of Michigan Press, 1999.
¹⁶ Ibid. 31.

on the streets at night. Mother is hysterical but baby is doing well. (Wilson)"¹⁷ What this serves as are first person eye witness testimony by third party figures of the Safety Zone such as Minnie Vautrin and John Magee to the events unfolding in Nanking at that time. They act as physical proof to a more unbiased view of the massacre at the time.

These memoirs still last today and are stored in the Yale library archives as a fundamental piece of evidence to the massacre. American missionary priest John Magee took several photographs and even documented film of injuries suffered by Chinese refugees. Some of these photos and images are very disturbing so I would suggest some sense of preparedness on the reader's part before going any further into the paper.



Japanese officers and commanders did little to stop the killing and raping. Instead they actually encouraged it by holding contests to see who could slice off the most heads. A contest between Japanese Second Lieutenants Toshiaki Mukai and Tsuyoshi Noya ended up being miscalculated

¹⁷ Ibid. 45.

¹⁸ Magee, John. Persons Executed by the Japanese Soldiers in Various Parts of the Grounds of Ku Ling Temple, Nanking, after the Fall of the City. February 23, 2018. Yale University Library: Divinty Library. https://divinity-adhoc.library.yale.edu/Nanking/Images/YDS-RG008-265-0002-0001.jpg.

¹⁹ Magee, John. Persons Executed by the Japanese Soldiers in Various Parts of the Grounds of Ku Ling Temple, Nanking, after the Fall of the City, December 12, 1937 – Second View. February 23, 2018. Yale University Library: Divinity Library. https://divinity-adhoc.library.yale.edu/Nanking/Images/YDS-RG008-265-0002-0004.jpg.

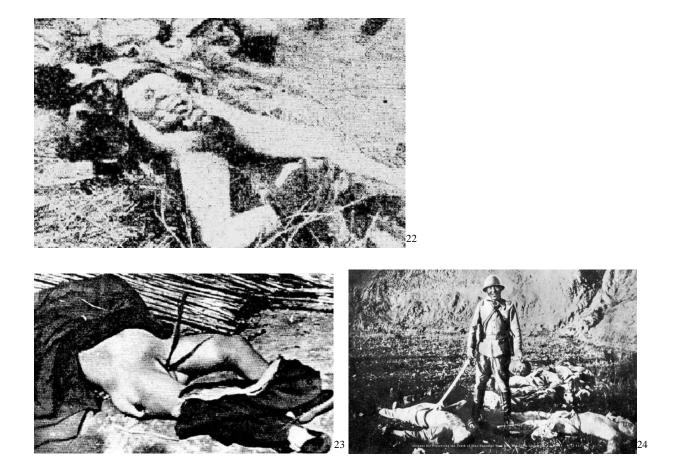
due to both men exceeding the limit. As a result the contest was extended to an additional fifty heads. Japanese combat photographers would even photograph and film the mangled body parts and abused corpses of people who were slaughtered using them as trophies to symbolize their victory and domination over the Chinese people.



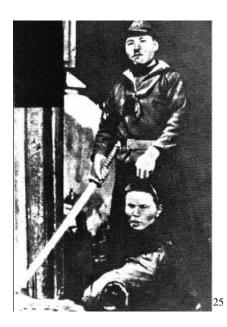


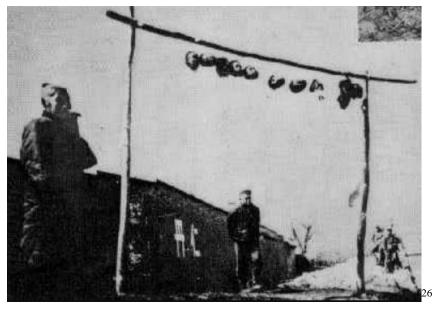
²⁰ Asami, Hizume. "Contest to Kill First 100 Chinese with Sword Extended When Both Fighters Exceed Mark-Mukai Scores 106 and Noda 105." *Japan Advertiser*. 1937.

²¹ Iris Chang, The Rape of Nanking: The Forgotten Holocaust of World War II (New York, NY: Basic Books, 1997).



²² Ibid. ²³ Ibid. ²⁴ Ibid.





Japanese soldiers and media who were present would record the various atrocities in gruesome detail, as seen above. The brutality and desecration committed on such a tremendous scale made it seem almost impossible for anyone to not know about the Rape of Nanking as numerous reporters, journalists, political embassy personnel attached to China were all present to

²⁵ Ibid. ²⁶ Ibid.

witness and report the massacre. Yet sadly today if anyone in Japan, America or Germany were to be asked about what the Rape of Nanking was, almost no one can say so. The general populace of the world has let the memory of the massacre fade away into history. Looking at the factors that chipped away at Nanking will help to better exemplify how its memory has been forgotten overtime.

Examining the events that took place directly after the massacre occurred will highlight how the reporting on Nanking was part of a cover-up by the Imperial Japanese Government. When word of the massacre had reached Tokyo the Japanese government immediately began a campaign of covering up the incident.²⁷ They withheld the departure of foreign diplomats and journalists who still remained in the city saying it was a part of their own protection and had their belongings searched upon exit for any evidence to prove to the world of the atrocities taking place. Iris Chang writes "George Fitch witnessed the beginning of this on December 15, the day he drove some of the foreign correspondents out of the city to the riverfront so that they could board a gunboat for Shanghai. When Fitch tried to drive back into Nanking from Hsiakwan, a Japanese sentry stopped him at the gate and refused to let him reenter."²⁸ The inhibition of foreign sources to enter is a clear demonstration that the Japanese military and higher echelons of command were make conceited attempts to control information going in and out of Nanking. Many of the various photographs and newsreel footage were confiscated by the lock down and no foreigners were permitted from entering the city on any basis.

²⁷ Wikiwriters, "Censorship in the Empire of Japan," Wikipedia (Wikimedia Foundation, June 30, 2021), https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Censorship_in_the_Empire_of_Japan.

²⁸ Iris Chang. *The Rape of Nanking: The Forgotten Holocaust of World War II*. New York, NY: Basic Books, 1997. 147.

The few foreigners that did come were under the strict control and supervision of the Japanese state department. An intense propaganda campaign was issued by the Japanese government at home to replace the image of any massacres printed by the Japanese press with that of triumphant victory and joyous liberation for the Chinese people.



The Japanese populace were so oblivious to this censorship they even created special Nanking noodles they would sell in the streets as part of their victory celebration.³⁰ All these were the result of falsified information being spread by Japanese censorship efforts in the form of propaganda leaflets and posters accompanied with press censorship and falsified news stories, many of which were destroyed during the last days of World War II.

²⁹ Ishaan Tharoor. 2012. Japanese School Boys Celebrating the Fall of Nanking. World Time. https://world.time.com/2012/12/13/the-nanjing-massacre-scenes-from-a-hideous-slaughter-75-yearsago/photo/japanese-schoolboys-celebrating-fall-of-nanking/.

³⁰ "Nanking," Nanking (noodledelight, 2017), https://www.noodledelight.com/dishes/nanking.html.



¹ The censorship of the Imperial Japanese government has built up a

false narrative upon the events surrounding the massacre in Nanking of 1937 and resulted in the dissolution of the validity of various facts and evidence to the mainstream populace. What this did was scrub the memory of the massacre with falsified information which is still considered true in Japan. Propaganda has also lead to the creation of various conspiracy theories regarding the validity of the massacre leading to the Japanese believing Nanking and other historical events have never happened or to misinterpret them as they happened. "On the 29th, in the city of Tungchow (thongzhou), some 250 Japanese residents were murdered by the Chinese troops, and this incident was being called the 'Tungchow Massacre'".³² In this example the slaughter of 250 Japanese residents took place as a result of the Tungchow Mutiny, when Japanese forces bombed troops of the East Hopei Government in Manchuria after they mutinied during a battle with Kuomintang forces of Nationalist China. The quote, taken from Takemoto's *The Alleged 'Nanking Massacre': Japan's Rebuttal to China's Forged Claims* makes it sound as though the Chinese troops slaughtered innocent civilians out of spite for their race which is untrue. This is clear evidence of

³¹ The Nanking Massacre (Mount Holyoke College, 2015), https://solonanking.weebly.com/propaganda.html.

³² Takemoto Tadao and Ohara Yasuo, *The Alleged 'Nanking Massacre': Japan's Rebuttal to China's Forged Claims* (Tokyo, JPN: Meisei-sha, Inc., 2000), 11.

the disruption of factual evidence to real-life events in modern Japanese literature to portray the Japanese as the victims of the war rather than the aggressors.

The Japanese have also written about disputing the accuracy of the statistics surrounding how many people were killed in the massacre. M. Kanzako and Akira Kashima, Japanese nationalists and possible members of a Yakuza group, discuss this in their book *Making of the* Rape of Nanking: A Big Lie from World War II. In it they dispute how the statistics for the massacre are inaccurate due to overestimations and comparisons of various documents that counteract the conception of 300,000 people being massacred and another 300,000 being protected in the safety zone. "Assuming he used the same type of scientific methodology, his report can be considered trustworthy. Two thousand four hundred civilians-innocent men, women, and children-is a large number of victims to be sure. But it is not 300,000, and the numbers do matter."³³ While it is warranted some of the data depicted on the massacre does seem to counter-act each other depending on the source material, it does not serve as valid evidence to outright deny the entire event all together. Despite this the authors insist on their evidence which contradicts some of their arguments most of the time though and is based off of arguments that contradict various amounts of historical evidence. It seems the author is just trying to confuse the reader by presenting a falsified argument while using large scientific words to sound smart as if they know what they are doing. This confusion acts as a way to brainwash the reader and convince them of their point of view.

Either way, the effect of these literature pieces are clear as they reinforce the nationalistic agenda of the Japanese government. As Chang has written "In Japan competing stories of what

³³ M. Kanzako and Akira Kashima, *Making of the Rape of Nanking: A Big Lie from World War II* (Toronto, Ontario: Toronto Seiron, 2020), 20.

happened during World War II continue to appear. According to a currently popular revisionist view, the country bears no responsibility for the wholesale murder of civilians anywhere during the war."³⁴ The reason Japan has not taken responsibility dates back to the post World War II era. When Japan surrendered on September 2, 1945 the state of East Asia was thrown in disarray as the Japanese Empire fell apart. The Great Powers of the Soviet Union and America were scrambling to gather as much territory as possible before the other was to get it.³⁵ This grab for power and influence, fueled by the worsening divide of communist and capitalist ideologies, prompted the foundations for the Cold War. It was this tension, combined with Japanese societal devotion to their Emperor who was revered as a living god, that drove American policy in occupied Japan to adopt more constructive approaches with the Japanese government.³⁶ The American occupation wanted to rebuild Japan into a suitable ally as a means of containing Soviet expansion. They also didn't want to invoke a serious possibility of rebellion against them if they were to charge the Emperor with war crimes and lead to further conflict and bloodshed, not to mention a bad situation the Soviets would be more than willing to exploit.

As a result, many notorious war criminals such as Prince Asaka of the Imperial Royal Family were excluded from the International Military Tribunal of the Far East hearing, also known as the Tokyo Trials.³⁷ Many details about the investigation of the Imperial family were overlooked so long as the Emperor endorsed the occupation and reconstruction of Japan. Some war criminals were held responsible such as General Iwane Matsui, commander of the Central Japanese Army. "*MATSUI*, Iwane. The accused MATSUI is charged under Counts 1, 27, 29, 31,

³⁴ Iris Chang, *The Rape of Nanking: The Forgotten Holocaust of World War II* (New York, NY: Basic Books, 1997), 201.

³⁵ Wikiwriters, "Cold War in Asia," Wikipedia (Wikimedia Foundation, November 29, 2021), https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Cold_War_in_Asia.

³⁶ *Emperor*, *Youtube*, 2013, https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=POOxe1jvKoE.

³⁷ *Tokyo Trials, Netflix,* 2017, https://www.netflix.com/title/80091880.

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32, 35, 36, 54 and 55. The Tribunal holds the accused MATSUI guilty under Count 55, and not guilty under Counts 1, 27, 29, 31, 32, 35, 36, and 54. Accused MATSUI, Iwane, on the Counts of the Indictment on which you have been convicted, the International Military Tribunal for the Far East sentences you to death by hanging.³⁸ It has however, been disputed whether General Iwane Matsui was actually responsible for the events of the massacre as he was ill during the time his army initiated the atrocities, thus transferring command to Prince Asaka. It is often more likely that he was made into a scapegoat by the American occupation forces as a means to divert attention away from the Imperial family.³⁹ This censorship on the behest of the American occupation force was made out of the necessity of the global geo-political situation with the Soviets and resulted in enabling the continued establishment of Japanese right wing nationalistic sentiment.

The development has resulted in the political turmoil between the Democratic Japanese government and the Communist Chinese dictatorship over issues such as border disputes, the issue of genocide of Uyghur Muslims in Xinjiang and the modern dispute over Taiwan. Every time Japanese delegates try to negotiate a settlement over these problems, Chinese Delegates bring up these social and political issues blocking any further development to them leading to a lasting tension that could spark a third World War in the near distant future.

However, the Japanese are not the only ones at fault for distorting the details of the historical accuracy of the events of the massacre. The Chinese are also at fault for creating intensive propaganda surrounding the event to advance their national interests through an ever changing political landscape. After the surrender of Japan in 1945 the Chinese had resumed their

 ³⁸ Timothy Brook, *Documents on the Rape of Nanking* (Ann Arbor, MI: The University of Michigan Press, 1999), 265-267.
³⁹ Peter Chen, 2012.

civil war between nationalist forces of Chiang Kai Shek and communist forces of Mao Zedong. During the conflict both sides waged propaganda campaigns to advance their interests over the other by blaming the other for collaborating with the Japanese or incentivizing the slaughter of civilians through guerilla warfare. Yet even when the communists took power and ousted the nationalists they still used the Rape of Nanking as a tool of propaganda to gain influence over adversaries or whenever it suited the national needs. Chang writes: "During the Korean War the PRC (People's Republic of China) distorted the history of the massacre in newspaper articles to depict the Americans as the villains of Nanking who assisted the Japanese in the carnage."⁴⁰ This lead to a disfiguration of the facts and details of the massacre and would go on to help incentivize Japanese propaganda as differing sources had differing pieces of data and statistical

evidence.

The result of these tall tales and lies of propaganda is a deepened rift between Chinese and foreign relations that still plagues the country today. The ever globalized atmosphere of our modern world has left China paranoid of almost any foreign contact and shaped the modern Chinese foreign policy in its dealing with the West and other rivals like Japan and Korea. It has lead to the development of a tough and strong stance against much foreign trade and cooperation, leaving the Chinese populace brainwashed with communist propaganda. As Chang wrote "In the local newspaper, Lewis Smythe saw articles that accused the Safety Zone foreigners of giving over the city to the Japanese and turning over thousands of women for raping."⁴¹ These accusations still permeate today in the minds of many Chinese diplomats.

 ⁴⁰ Iris Chang, *The Rape of Nanking: The Forgotten Holocaust of World War II* (New York, NY: Basic Books, 1997), 185.
⁴¹ Ibid.

The United States is even somewhat at fault for censoring the massacre as it was taking place. Japanese censorship had managed to silence much of the flow of information coming out of Nanking but there were still some small efforts made by members of the Nanking Safety Zone to show the world the horrors unfolding inside the city. George Fitch was an American missionary stationed in Nanking at the time of the massacre and managed to smuggle several rolls of film taken by John Magee, a fellow missionary, out of the city to America where he showed it to various government officials and newspaper outlets. He pleaded for some sort of intervention from anyone to deal with what was happening yet despite his harrowing efforts no action was ever taken. What few articles published about the situation in Nanking by various newspapers were only sub-articles and not front page news.⁴² Most headline activities were taken concerning the situation at home with the Great Depression that left the United States in an isolationist foreign policy. Too busy at home to care for foreign matters as more than 25% of the entire U.S. population go unemployed, hungry and desperate.⁴³

The fact that American society was blatant in its racism and discrimination at the time of the massacre also kept Nanking off the front page of foreign news outlets. Many people simply didn't wish to care for events happening across an entire ocean. Especially since the people involved were not of Western European descent. In the newsreel by Frank Capra called *The Battle of China*, the narrator makes several racist remarks against people of Asian heritage.⁴⁴ It serves as a significant piece of evidence to show the American perspective of the situation in China. The people across the Pacific of Asian descent were considered less important than those of Caucasian skin color, which adheres to the imperialistic culture of the time. Why should

⁴² Arthur Menken, "Survivor Tells of Nanking Fall," *Seattle Daily Times*, December 24, 1937.

⁴³ The Great Depression Newsreel, 2015, https://youtu.be/ZZ-lwLEsRS8.

⁴⁴ Frank Capra, *The Battle of China (1944)*, 2011, https://youtu.be/TlkrgOmsbVY.

Americans have to care for any Asian people who were killed in a war that doesn't involve themselves.

The only other foreign third party source that was able to provide insight to the massacre were those of the German legation present in Nanking. John Rabe, often referred to as the great Buddha of Nanking, was a German business man and head of the Nazi party in China. He came to China to represent German interests, but as the war progressed he became the head of the Nanking International Safety Zone Committee and began organizing the establishment of the zone. Using his Nazi credentials John Rabe was able to actively save a great many lives by chasing off Japanese soldiers from looting, killing or raping people. "When the gates to my garden are opened to let my car leave the grounds-where I have already taken in over a hundred of the poorest refugees-women and children on the street outside kneel and bang their heads against the ground, pleading to be allowed to camp on my garden grounds. You simply cannot conceive of the misery."⁴⁵ The fact a Nazi businessman shows more care and respect for the lives of Chinese civilians trapped in the throngs of war than any foreign government could comes to show how controversial the events of the massacre are portrayed.

Despite this Mr. Rabe's accounts help to provide further analysis of foreign outlook on the Rape of Nanking to how other countries viewed the massacre. Rabe's efforts to save the citizens of Nanking were abruptly cut short when he was forced to be recalled home by the German foreign state department of the time. Upon his return he had planned to show Adolf Hitler a film reel of the Japanese atrocities in Nanking and was awarded for his selflessness that were given to him by the Chinese government. Yet, as he soon came to realize after hosting

⁴⁵ John Rabe, *The Good Man of Nanking: The Diaries of John Rabe*, ed. Erwin Wickert, trans. John E. Woods (New York, NY: Alfred A. Knopf, 1998), 75.

many meetings with press officials concerning the issue, Rabe's efforts would ultimately be in vain as the distribution of the massacre footage did not serve the best interests of the Nazi government. Chang writes: "...if Rabe had expected a sympathetic response from Hitler, he was gravely mistaken. A few days later two members of the Gestapo arrived on his doorstep to arrest him."⁴⁶ After being interrogated for several hours he was released on the condition he was to never speak of the incident again. This blatant censorship of John Rabe and several other German officials from Nanking such as Eduard Sperling and G. Schultze-Pantin was an order initiated by foreign powers to delegitimize the claims of the massacres and continue to propagate and foster nationalist sentiment in Japan. This suppression of the truth by foreign outlooks on the matter has resulted in the destruction of copious pieces of valued evidence to prove the massacre took place and has allowed the modern interpretation of the history of this event to be altered due to the lack of evidence.

From this analysis it is clear that the foreign outlook on the Rape of Nanking was influenced by various factors such as geo-political events of the time like the Cold War, Great Depression and Chinese Civil War. These events enabled the Japanese to create a whitewashing campaign for their role in the Nanking massacre. This combined with the embellishment of European Imperialism lead to a misdiagnosed understanding of various events surrounding the massacre and has lead to the distortion of evidence that can prove otherwise. This disillusionment on the evidence has enabled many to believe the massacre of Nanking was either untrue, unreal, insignificant or simply unavoidable as a result of uncontrollable forces that lead to a clash of cultures.

⁴⁶ Iris Chang, *The Rape of Nanking: The Forgotten Holocaust of World War II* (New York, NY: Basic Books, 1997), 190.

The Rape of Nanking has been censored by various sources and methods over the years for a multitude of reasons. Yet as we draw to a close concerning the analysis of what has happened in the events both during and directly after the massacre, how has the world viewed the event to this day? The responses vary depending on who is asked as sources from historical documentaries, pop cultured movies, media, books and even modern art identify a window into this aspect of how the modern world has responded to these interpretations of the historical events. They range from insightful commentary, honored tribute to the victims, and even down right denial or misinterpretation to the events.

Starting off with the modern Asian perspective one can see how the massacre has shaped the communist nation's cultural identity via their use of propaganda. China's state-run news agency, The Global Times identifies this in their article.⁴⁷ It has damaged the Chinese people's perception of the Japanese in our modern society and left lasting rifts both socially and politically between the two nations that can be seen in just about every news outlet that exists to this day. Issues concerning the Taiwan crisis, North Korea's nuclear weapons, North Korea' human rights abuses, Uyghur genocide and many other issues. It has strained the ability for the Chinese and Japanese to work together in bringing an adequate sense of justice to the victims of the massacre.⁴⁸

https://www.globaltimes.cn/page/202101/1212167.shtml.

https://www.japantimes.co.jp/news/2021/10/21/national/china-japan-survey/.

⁴⁷ Global Times, "Beyond Polls: How Do Chinese and Japanese View Each Other?," Beyond polls: How do Chinese and Japanese view each other? (Global Times, January 7, 2021),

⁴⁸ Global Times, "Japan's Hatred toward China Morally Dirty: Global Times Editorial," Japan's Hatred Toward China Morally Dirty (Global Times, September 9, 2021), https://www.globaltimes.cn/page/202109/1233882.shtml.

Jiji, "Chinese People's Impression of Japan Worsens, Survey Shows," Chinese people's impression of Japan worsens, survey shows (The Japan Times, October 21, 2021),

⁴⁸ Joe Evans, "Japan Pledges to Defend Taiwan against China in Historic Policy Shift," How Japan's pledge to defend Taiwan against China may tip Asia's balance of power (The Week, July 8, 2021),

https://www.theweek.co.uk/news/world-news/asia-pacific/953415/what-japans-defend-taiwan-means-balance-power-asia.

This is not to say that there are no Japanese or Chinese people who do not acknowledge the atrocities committed during the massacre. In fact several Chinese and Japanese authors have written and published books on the subject despite criticism and death threats from ultra-right wing nationalist groups. Yuki Tanaka, a history professor at the University of Hiroshima, wrote a book known as *Hidden Horrors: Japanese War Crimes in World War II* that dives into the various atrocities committed by the Imperial Japanese Army in the Second World War and analyzes them by asking the question: why did they happen? In regards to his research he writes "These interviews gave me the valuable opportunity to contemplate human behavior and consequently deepened my knowledge of the nature of human beings considerably."⁴⁹ The various atrocities range from the abuse of allied POW's, comfort houses and allegations of rape, along with various massacres that took place including the Rape of Nanking. His analysis helps offer a great deal of understanding the motivations and inclinations of the Japanese soldiers at that time providing context to the massacre.

Bob Tadashi Wakabayashi, a history professor at York University, Toronto who specializes in Japanese political thought and World War II in East Asia, also wrote a book on Nanking known as *The Nanking Atrocity 1937-38: Complicating the Picture* which provides a historiographical analysis of Japanese and Chinese writers on the Nanking Massacre. He

⁴⁸ Tim Kelly, "Japan Lists China as Bigger Threat than Nuclear-Armed North Korea," Japan lists China as bigger threat than nuclear-armed North Korea (Thomson Reuters, September 27, 2019), https://www.reuters.com/article/us-japan-defence/japan-lists-china-as-bigger-threat-than-nuclear-armed-north-korea-idUSKBN1WC051.

Mikyoung Kim, "Human Rights Policies of China and Japan towards North Korea: Domestic Agendas and International Norms," *North Korean Review* 6, no. 1 (2010): pp. 6-19, <u>http://www.jstor.org/stable/43898182</u>. ⁴⁸ Ben Dooley and Hisako Ueno, "Japan Is Finding It Harder to Stay Quiet on China's Abuse of Uyghurs," Japan Is Finding It Harder to Stay Quiet on China's Abuse of Uyghurs (The New York Times, April 1, 2021), https://www.nytimes.com/2021/04/01/world/asia/japan-uyghurs-xinjiang.html.

⁴⁹ Toshiyuki Tanaka, *Hidden Horrors: Japanese War Crimes in World War II* (Boulder, CO: Westview Press, 1998), xvii.

commends the work of many western authors like Iris Chang and her 1997 best selling book *The Rape of Nanking* that has been uncritically adopted and popularized by Western audiences on the subject but at the same time also notes how authors like her deflate Japanese exculpatory narratives in an effort to serve specific ideological agendas. "In sum, both conservatives such as Komori and leftists such as Kasahara make valid points. Courtesy is, after all, a two way street. If Chinese historians who write about Nanking and other Japanese war crimes cling to their use of ethnic slurs-however legitimate this may seem in their own eyes owing to past victimization-the result will be to alienate increasing numbers of younger Japanese who otherwise would be sympathetic to the Chinese cause."⁵⁰ This provides a middle grounded historiographical analysis to how people of varying political stances interpret the massacre and offers an ample reflection that shows how the massacre has deepened the rift between Japanese and Chinese relations to this day.

One of the most insightful works though comes from a Chinese computer scientist Fei Fei Li and editors Robert Sabella and David Liu who offer an interesting collection of insights to how various people across the world have interpreted the massacre in their book *Nanking 1937: Memory and Healing*. The book is a collection of analyses by various historians, academic scholars and other people who offer insight to the Rape of Nanking and how it is perceived today. There is Higashinakano Shudo, a Japanese historian and professor of intellectual history at Asia University who believes the Rape of Nanking of 1937 was a hoax. He writes "records of history can survive when everyone recognizes the truth. Therefore, facts are never deleted from the historical record. Untruths are destined to be deleted from the historical record. No records

⁵⁰ Bob Tadashi Wakabayashi, *The Nanking Atrocity, 1937-38: Complicating the Picture* (Oxford, NY: Berghahn Books, 2007), 398.

exist to confirm evidence of a 'Nanking Massacre."⁵¹ He offers an interesting perspective as an intellectual as to why many Japanese don't acknowledge the massacre in his argument where he doubts the validity of official documentation taken by people at the massacre due to a variety of statistics regarding how many people died and how the Chinese had brought upon these atrocities to themselves as a result of the brutality involved on all sides of the Second Sino-Japanese War.

The book also offers various Chinese perspectives as well. Sun Zhaiwei, Chinese editor in chief of the book *The Nanking Massacre*, writes about how the massacre was a result of Chinese soldiers blending into the civilian populace and doesn't assign blame to the Japanese nor the Chinese soldiers for the massacre. "The large number of soldiers who put down their weapons and merged into the civilian population gave the Japanese troops an excuse to search, capture and kill. After the invading Japanese troops entered Nanking, it was precisely under the pretext of looking for 'Chinese soldiers' that they wantonly captured innocent civilians, killing or wounding them at will."⁵² The book ultimately serves as a resource of various Chinese and Japanese writings on the Rape of Nanking, offering varying viewpoints on the subject and leaving it up to the reader to interpret for themselves what actually happened on those fateful days of December 1937. Though it is an interesting take upon the historical precedence of the Rape of Nanking, the presentation by various authors distorts the historiography of the Rape of Nanking based upon the interpretation of individuals who can have their own biases and agendas to add to the confusion of events.

⁵¹ Higashinakano Shudo, "The Overall Picture of the 'Nanking Massacre," in *Nanking 1937: Memory and Healing*, ed. Robert Sabella and David Liu (Armonk, NY: M.E. Sharpe, 2002), pp. 95-117, 114.

⁵²Sun Zhaiwei, "Causes of the Nanking Massacre," in *Nanking 1937: Memory and Healing*, ed. Robert Sabella and David Liu (Armonk, NY: M. E. Sharpe, 2002), pp. 35-46, 45.

Other Japanese authors take a more hands on active approach to the investigation of the massacre. Honda Katsuichi is a Japanese war journalist who reported on Vietnam and had first hand experience to the horrors of war. He wrote a book based on personal investigations of the Rape of Nanking in the 1970's known as The Nanking Massacre: A Japanese Journalist Confronts Japan's National Shame. It's an insightful reading about his journey through China and how he links the physical sites and locations along with the testimony and stories of the survivors he interviewed to the event. "Although a small part of the story was revealed at the Tokyo War Crimes Trials, many people regarded these proceedings as nothing but a 'kangaroo court set up by the victors,' and they were not widely reported in the mass media."⁵³ Katsuichi provides as an insight from his own childhood view of the massacre. He gives an interesting and controversial perspective of those who were on the ground during the massacre. He interviewed sources from both Japanese, Chinese and Korean people who were there during the massacre, taking photos of their injuries and several historic places around Nanjing. His interviews of Japanese soldiers and civilian personnel who were in Nanking paint that of a totally different picture than what the Chinese had perceived of during the events in December 1937. The differing views show how varying experiences of people affect their actions and interpretations of the events that unfolded. Whilst many Chinese obviously saw what the Japanese did as an act of brutality the Japanese who committed theses atrocities often reflect upon the massacre as a necessary evil as part of the nature of war, much like the modern movie Nanking: City of Life and Death.⁵⁴

⁵³ Katsuichi Honda, *The Nanjing Massacre: A Japanese Journalist Confronts Japan's National Shame*, ed. Frank Gibney, trans. Karen Sandness (Armonk, NY: M. E. Sharpe Inc., 1999), xxv-xxvi.

⁵⁴ Nanking: City of Life and Death, Nanking: City of Life and Death (Media Asia Entertainment Group, 2021), https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=Yx_ervF7h7w.

On the other side of the coin, many Japanese nationalist groups have tried to erase the memory of Nanking. Some of them, like the Uyoku Dantai have gained influential positions in government with figure heads like Otoya Yamaguchi, head of the Greater Japan Patriotic Party, and use various yakuza outlets to enforce their political agenda and target anyone who stands against them, like Japanese Socialist Inejiro Asanuma.⁵⁵ What this has done is generate a sense of fear in the Japanese community that even after eighty-four years later, the Japanese government continue to censor the public with violence and intimidation over the impact of the massacre. It's worked so well that almost all modern Japanese people don't even know about what happened in China and how brutal the Japanese military were in their campaign for China and Asia. Iris Chang comments "Sad to say, the world is still acting as a passive spectator to the second Japanese rape-the refusal of the Japanese to apologize for even acknowledge their crimes at Nanking, and the attempts by Japanese extremists to erase the event from world history."⁵⁶ Yet despite these setbacks "Public awareness of the Nanking massacre increased substantially between the time I first started to research this book and the time I finished it."⁵⁷ Changes are coming in terms of the awareness raised about this historic event.

In the United States, a Chinese American reflects on the history of the Rape of Nanking through his art.⁵⁸ Here he has created several murals as a means of paying tribute to those who died.

⁵⁵ Matthew Hernon, "On This Day in Japan: The Assassination of Japan Socialist Party's Inejiro Asanuma," (Tokyo Weekender, April 19, 2021), https://www.tokyoweekender.com/2020/10/day-japan-assassination-japan-socialist-partys-inejiro-asanuma/.

⁵⁶ Iris Chang, *The Rape of Nanking: The Forgotten Holocaust of World War II* (New York, NY: Basicbooks, 1997), 222. ⁵⁷ Ibid, 223.

⁵⁸ Li Hu, "Nanking," Li Hu Art (Li Hu Art, 2015), http://www.lihuart.com/nanking.



 ⁵⁹ Li Hu, 2019, Li Hu | Chinese-American Artist, 2019, http://www.lihuart.com/nanking/78yl6ow6ajvpxzaur29gqly02qv5i4.
⁶⁰ Li Hu, 2019, Li Hu | Chinese-American Artist, 2019, http://www.lihuart.com/nanking/0styajl3jipywe4x8a06fzivpxshf8. He captures the agony and despair of the victims involved through darkened color depictions of various people such as Japanese soldiers and Chinese civilians. The ominous gloom of the characters stands in stark contrast to the bright colors that drip down the page ominously like dried blood. The emotionless faces of the people in the painting inspires a sense of guilt in the minds of the viewer which makes them question, why did this happen? It stands in stark contrast to the Japanese perspectives offered in the form of literature rather than visual development.

That's not to say there is no visual representation of the events that happened in Nanking. Various works of art such as movies, comics, manga and documentaries have been made by several Western productions depicting the massacre. Works like the movie *John Rabe*, the movie *Flowers of War*, the movie the *Children of Huang Shi*, the film *Nanking: The City of Life and Death* and even the film *The Last Emperor* have various depictions of the events that happened. Some act as tribute to the courageous sacrifices made by foreign nationals to save the lives of many innocent Chinese people like the movies *John Rabe*⁶¹, *Flowers of War*⁶² and *The Children of Huang Shi*.⁶³ Others take a more controversial stance surrounding the events such as the movies *The Last Emperor* and *Nanking: The City of Life and Death* by exploring the aspects of the massacre from the sides of both the Chinese and Japanese perspectives.

Documentaries have been an important staple of output for historical interpretation of the massacre over the years. One very famous documentary is *Nanking*, a 2007 documentary that brings the stories of famous and significant people who were witnesses to the massacre to life through various actors that read off parts of the memoirs, letters and diaries they had written in

⁶¹ John Rabe (Benjamin Herrmann, 2009), https://www.imdb.com/title/tt1124377/.

⁶² Jin Ling Shi San Chai The Flowers of War, Tubi, 2012, https://tubitv.com/movies/301333/the-flowers-of-war?start=true&utm_source=google-feed&tracking=google-feed.

⁶³ Children of Huang Shi, Youtube, 2008, https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=XphjGS9V1nE.

regards to the event.⁶⁴ This combined with various newsreel footage and photographs taken during the massacre, along with numerous Chinese survivors coming forward to share their emotionally moving stories of their harrowing experiences. Watching it really gets me worked up every time I see it and invokes a lot of emotional sentiment towards the victims of the massacre. It's a stunning documentary unlike anything ever produced and is worth the watch at every moment. What this has done though is reinforce the typical Western belief that the Japanese were utmost savage monsters during the Second World War. It does not offer much insight to the Japanese perspective with only a few minor testimonies and mentions of Japanese diaries. This damages the perception people have of the Rape of Nanking and see it only depicts a one-sided picture.

The most recent depiction of the consequences pertaining to the Rape of Nanking is the 2017 release on Netflix of a docuseries called the *Tokyo Trials*.⁶⁵ It's a four episode series of events that depict how the International Military Tribunal of the Far East (IMTFE) was conducted by the Allied powers of World War II and how they prosecuted and attempted to bring justice to the war crimes committed by the Japanese Imperial Military. It provides an interesting take into how the national agendas of almost all Allied countries involved and internal divisions between various countries and their perceptions of justice interfered with the IMTFE's ability to provide a unanimous consensus in prosecuting the Japanese war criminals. This accompanied with the movie *Emperor*⁶⁶ provides a window into how America and Western powers overlooked many of the crimes committed for the sake of preserving and retaking control of their over seas colonies and creating a bulwark between themselves and communism.

⁶⁴ *The Rape of Nanking, Youtube*, 2007, https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=OnbNSgUpLRk.

⁶⁵ *Tokyo Trials, Netflix,* 2017, https://www.netflix.com/title/80091880.

⁶⁶ Emperor, Youtube, 2020, https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=POOxe1jvKoE&t=273s.

So what can be concluded from all this development and analysis? For starters it's obvious that the Rape of Nanking was not committed out of some unforeseen spur of the moment, or because the Japanese are evil and that white America and its European allies are the defenders of the world. These acts were done with a reason. That reason is the combination of a multitude of factors that influenced the Japanese soldiers to commit these atrocities, such as racism, imperialism, cultural differences and misunderstanding, the use of guerilla warfare by the Chinese that indistinguished people from combatants and noncombatants, the desperation of Chinese troops to avoid capture by the Japanese and hide themselves within the civilian populace, the stress and horrors of war strained upon Japanese troops, the lack of proper logistics to deal with the mass surrender of Chinese soldiers and many other things that came into play of what took place in Nanking. The fog of war and the differences in national customs and practices had obscured too much of the vision for Japanese soldiers and commanders to realize what they were doing was wrong enabling them to turn to their more animalistic side of thinking and initiate the atrocities.

What consequences came as a result of this? To sum it up the resulting aftermath was a series of mismanaged handlings of the International Military Tribunal and the Allies due to a number of social, economic and political factors involved during the time of the massacre and the post Second World War era that lead to justice not being fully served. Events such as the Great Depression, the Second World War, the Holocaust and the Cold War overshadowed the massacre and the war crimes trial to afford any real sense of justice to be carried out. The result was a distortion of events surrounding the massacre that has been passed down through generations to this very day. It has shaped our societal views on the matter ranging from the Western singular viewpoint, the Chinese distorted communist propaganda and the Japanese

downright denial of the entire event. It has left a tragic injustice to the victims involved and left deep and lasting scars on the world and the nature of humanity that permeate to this day.

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