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The end of the civilian in twentieth century warfare: World War Two

Joyce E. Jackson Northeastern University

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A Master's Thesis

By

Joyce E. Jackson

To The Department of History

In partial fulfillment of the requirements for the degree of

Master of the Arts in the field of History

Northeastern University
Boston, Massachusetts
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THE END OF THE CIVILIAN IN TWENTIETH CENTURY WARFARE: WORLD WAR TWO

By

Joyce E. Jackson

ABSTRACT OF THESIS

Submitted in partial fulfillment of the requirements of the degree of Master of the Arts in History in the Graduate School of Northeastern University, April 2012

ABSTRACT

This research paper discusses the role of the civilian in twentieth century warfare, using World War Two as a framework. The goal is to compel the reader to re-examine the idealized conceptualization of the nature and status of the civilian in war by using real-life examples. Five case studies dealing with concentration camps in the United States, medical experimentation by the Japanese in China, rape warfare used by the Soviets in Germany, strategic and incendiary bombing of Japan by the United States, and the mobilization of the civilians as labor for war in Great Britain show that the civilian is not exempt from being specifically targeted in war or waging war themselves through means other than combat. All of these studies selected represent events that could be observed occurring in other places with other armies and civilian populations. Looking at these experiences and attempting to reconcile them with the humanitarian, popular, and legal concepts of the civilian forces one to question whether the construct is realistic.

DEDICATION

This thesis is dedicated to my parents, Francis T. Jackson, Sr. (Frank) and Kathleen B. Jackson (Kay). Thank you for the strength to stand up for what I believe in and the savvy to work the room since I am already standing. I love you, Ma and Daddy.

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Introduction

Traditional belief holds that civilians during warfare are subject to special status and protections. Wars take place on battlefields removed of civilians or, if brought into the populated areas, it is assumed the utmost care must be taken to ensure their safety. These ideals are in line with humanitarian beliefs that became more widespread during the twentieth century. Beliefs that in a modern, progressive, civilized world, to plan or execute strategic destruction of civilians is intolerable. The civilian is separate and inviolate. It is implied that they would not become active participants in waging war. The reality of war is very different. Civilians can become willing fighters, be dragooned into fighting, or suffer victimization physically, mentally, and intellectually. In recognition of these realities, conferences and conventions have been held to define the acceptable parameters of war and its impact on civilians.

International leagues and organizations have been formed to cooperate in creating commonly accepted legal and social consensus on human rights and the rules of war. Yet it is clear in practice that not only do civilians bear the brunt of destruction in warfare during the twentieth century but that they wage war despite the rhetoric to the contrary. The world may have aspired to protect civilians but the dawning of total warfare in which all resources of the nation-state are used to achieve political aim assures the categorical end of the civilian.

There have always been shifts in the attitudes and treatment of warriors and those who are not warriors in time of war and how they are viewed. Early humans would slaughter captured rival clans' males and absorb the women and children into their own tribes. Romans extended the Latin Right to some of those they conquered making them quasi-citizens. Mongols, Vikings, Germanic and Anglo-Saxons were classified as Barbarians for their behavior in

comparison with and as remonstration for supplanting that same Roman Empire so well associated with our idealization of what we deem the origins of Western civilization. The British Empire extended certain rights to their colonists in America and India. Warring tribes in Africa often took slaves from the defeated, a practice that increased when prompted by outside slave traders. The treatment of subjugated non-warrior populations has consistently shifted depending on the mores of the conquerors.

Throughout history, the methods and rules of waging war remodeled themselves, as well. Sieges gave way to set piece battles between national and professional armed forces that would replace opportunistic invading and imperial conquering forces. Clausewitz provided a nineteenth century philosophy for war with his writings that become *On* War. During the American Civil War, Union and Confederate forces confronted each other on battlefields and literally threw line after line of infantry at each other to be cut down successively though the technology of killing had changed from their Revolutionary War forefathers due to Industrial Age mechanization. World War I saw trench, chemical, and mechanized air and tank warfare. The strategies shifted driven by changes in thought and technical advances.

Just as there have been codes defining the right to engage in war (*jus ad bellum*), there are laws defining conduct during war (*jus in bello*). In fact, there may be more than one set of laws at play during any conflict. Variants of international, national, military, and religious codes may be interpreted and applied by degrees by the combatants. According to David Kennedy, "The best known legal tools for defending and denouncing military action are provided by what have come to be known as the 'law of force,' itself an amalgam of 'laws of war' distinguishing uses of force that are permissible (self-defense) and impermissible (crimes of aggression): and the "laws of war" and the "law of armed conflict" regulating conduct on the battlefield itself.¹

Modern war law stems from a succession of conferences and conventions beginning with the Geneva Conventions of 1864, 1906, 1929, and 1949 and the Hague Conventions of 1899 and 1907.

The Geneva Conventions dealt primarily with humanitarian issues while the Hague Conferences focused on military conflict. The Geneva Conventions convened after the International Committee of the Red Cross was founded by Henry Durant in 1864 in Geneva. The First Geneva Convention in 1864 dealt with the treatment of wounded and sick soldiers while the Second Geneva Convention in 1906 included those sick, wounded and shipwrecked at sea. The first Hague Convention in 1899 focused on asphyxiating gases and expanding bullets. The second Hague Convention in 1907 dealt with the "rights and duties of neutral powers" and the "laws and customs of war" (including naval warfare). World War I postponed the conference planned for 1914. This was held as the Third Geneva Convention in 1929 and dealt with the treatment of prisoners of war. It was not until the Fourth Geneva Convention in 1949 that laws regarding the treatment of civilians became a major focus, largely as a result of the treatment of civilians during World War II. These conventions became effective in 1954 and were adopted by the majority of nations. There were three Geneva Protocols added post-1949. Protocols I and II were added in 1977. They dealt with protections to victims in international and non-international conflicts. Protocol III from 2005 changed the official emblem of the neutral Red Cross to a red diamond. In Laws of War, Chris Antoniou and Michael Reisman remind us that because Hague Law dealt with armed conflict exclusively and Geneva Conventions dealt with humanitarian issues but their work was complimentary since, "There are certain common goals in the modern law of war and the international protection of human rights, for both seek to restrain governments' use of power against people subject to them."³

The worldview had shifted by the Fourth Geneva Convention in 1949. The perception of and treatment of civilians would be colored by the experiences of World War I, the Spanish Civil War, and World War II. I have chosen five cases that shed light on how civilians had war waged upon them and how they waged war during World War II. They are: 1) concentration camps in the United States; 2) medical experimentation on Chinese, Koreans, and Russians by the Japanese; 3) rape suffered by German women under Soviet occupation; 4) strategic/firebombing of Tokyo by United States; and 5) economic mobilization of nearly half of all civilians in England. None of these experiences are universal to all civilians in all countries during World War II but none are unique. These phenomena are not isolated. Concentration camps were used in Great Britain and Germany. In the German camps, Mengele and the other "Nazi doctors" performed medical experimentation on civilians (native and foreign) and captured military. Not every civilian female was raped or mass rape used as a tool of terror as in Berlin by Soviet soldiers, but there were the comfort women in Korea, mass rapes in the Russian borderlands under German control, and less numerous reports under British, United States, and French. Hamburg and Dresden burned along with Tokyo. And while half of the population was not mobilized to work in the factories of Germany and Tokyo if they were not actively serving in the military in Germany and Japan, in part it was because of the use of slave labor and that it was less culturally acceptable to utilize women to the degree Great Britain, the United States and Soviet Union did. The scale and scope of these actions beg the question whether this was the end of the civilian.

Concentration Camps

There was no ignoring what had happened to us, no way to cast aside the dismay and disbelief once we saw what we had become, prisoners in our own land. But we could not return now, nor could we awaken from this most awful of nightmares. By day, the adults put their minds and backs to the business of life and found ways to pass the days and to fashion some semblance of a normal life for all of us, as if there could be anything normal about it. But at night, when the wind howled and Mount Whitney rose up against the darkness, what staggering thoughts must have echoed through the conscious minds of all those who lay awake listening to the wind, thinking about some distant place of the heart. However much you are able to sidestep certain truths and pains and considerations during the day, at night they came creeping home to you and bring you back to yourself, bring you back to the realization of what you've allowed to have happened and what you've become. – John Y. Tateishi⁴

The Japanese American Experience Prior to World War Two

The concept of concentration camps has mistakenly come to be synonymous in the minds of the public with the extermination camps of the Nazi regime. Concentration camps were in use well before the Nazis started rounding up native and foreign so-called enemies of the Reich in the 1930s. The primary function was containment and separation not extermination, although unsanitary and crowded conditions often resulted in disease and death on a wide-scale. It was not until 1942 that the Nazis began using a limited number of camps to realize their "Final Solution" to the "Jewish Question". The term *concentration camp* originates with Spanish General Valeriano Weyler's round-up of nearly one-half million Cubans during the Spanish American War (*reconcentrados*). The first wide-scale use of such camps would occur during the Second Boer War, when Great Britain's Lord Kitchener filled concentration camps in South Africa. During World War II, concentration camps were used in both Axis and Allied nations – including the United States of America. The United States would imprison approximately 150,000 men, women and children of Japanese descent. The majority were American-born citizens.⁵

Japanese immigrants have a long history of discrimination in the United States.

Appreciable numbers began arriving in the 1890s with the highest level reached in the first decade of the twentieth century when approximately 125,000 Japanese came to the United States. Immigration tapered off to about 10,000 people a year until the Immigration Act of 1924 halted the flow of Japanese. The Japanese portion of the "Yellow Flood" amounted to about 300,000 or one percent of the 30 million immigrants who came to the United States between the end of the Civil War and 1924.

President Theodore Roosevelt signed the Chinese Exclusion Act of 1902 but it discriminated in favor of Japanese in recognition of the strength of the rapidly industrializing and militarizing Japan. Still, that did not prevent the legal segregation of Japanese school children in California schools and when Japan's most-favored nation status was revoked and the Gentlemen's Agreement of 1907-1908 established, Japan stopped issuing passports to the continental United States to laborers (immigrants were still welcome in Hawaii). Notably, passports continued to be issued "to the parents, wives and children of laborers already there." Lonely Japanese men would arrange to marry women they had yet to meet in person in exchange for providing a visa to their future wife. These ladies often sent pictures to their future husbands and became known as "picture brides."

The Oriental Exclusion League was established in 1919. It was comprised of different organizations working collaboratively, including the California Federation of Labor, the American Legion, the State Grange, and the Native Sons and Daughters of the Golden West. Although not in agreement on all issues, these organizations worked together to ensure an end to the Gentlemen's Agreement, no visas for so-called "picture brides", exclusion of Japanese immigrants, preventing Asian naturalization, and lobbied for a Constitutional amendment that

would deny citizenship to native born persons of Asian descent.⁸ When the Immigration Act of 1924 was passed, all of these goals were met with the exception of amending the Constitution.

By the beginning of World War Two, Japanese aliens and Americans of Japanese descent were being seen as a potential Fifth column. The 1940 Alien Registration Act required all resident aliens from Axis countries to register with the United States government if they were over the age of 14.9 Young Japanese-Americans enlisted in the armed services to show their patriotism. In the Army they were sent to serve in the infantry to prevent them from obtaining any sensitive information. After Pearl Harbor, Japanese-Americans were temporarily barred from serving in the military altogether, while German-Americans and Italian-Americans could serve despite the fact that the *Luftwaffe* (German Air Force) and *Kreigsmarine* (German Navy) forces in the Battle of the Atlantic were far closer far more often than Japanese Imperial Air and Naval Forces. Asian guilt would be collective, while European guilt would be singular.

<u>Internment</u>

After the December 7th attack on Pearl Harbor in 1941, Lieutenant General John L.

DeWitt, head of Western Command, contacted the Army's Provost Marshal General, Allen W.

Guillon, regarding what was to be done about the Japanese aliens and Japanese –American population on the West Coast. Approximately 112,000 out of 127,000 who were in the United States were located there. Guillon's primary concern was how to legally control civilian populations during the war. His fears of Japanese subversion were amplified by the reports he received from Army Intelligence after the fall of France. If the French fifth column appeared to have been so successful at infiltration, the United States' plan to stop this occurring in America was to "actually have to control, through their Provost Marshall Generals, local forces, largely

police" and "the Military would certainly have to provide for the arrest and temporary holding of a large number of suspects".

The majority of these "suspects" would turn out to be alien Japanese and Japanese-American citizens. The Provost Marshall met with representatives of the Justice Department at the Presidio on January 4, 1942. The Department of Justice agreed to registration of enemy aliens, condoned FBI "spot" raids, and the establishment of zones of restriction (Category A) around military and defense installations on the Pacific Coast where passes would be required. 12

On January 25, 1942, the official report on Pearl Harbor was issued by the committee of inquiry headed by Supreme Court Justice Owen J. Roberts. It mistakenly reported that the Japanese were aided by spies on Hawaii. The only Japanese spies in the United States were agents working at the consulate in Washington, D.C. On this same day, Secretary of War, Henry Stimson forwarded his recommendations to the Attorney General, Francis Biddle. Echoing General DeWitt, Stimson recommended enemy aliens be barred from eighty-six Category A zones and that a rigid pass and permit system be established for Category B zones. ¹³

Not everyone was in agreement. By February 17th, General Mark W. Clark, Deputy

Chief of Staff for Army Ground Forces for Army Chief of Staff General George Marshall's

office voiced his concern that moving masses of Japanese aliens and Japanese-American citizens
would be a detriment to the war effort because of the manpower and resources that task would
require. Despite these objections, President Franklin D. Roosevelt signed Executive Order

9066 on February 24, 1942. It granted the United States Army the authority to establish
restricted areas from which "any or all persons may be excluded" and that these people be
provided with "transportation, food, shelter, and other accommodations as may be necessary...

Public opinion on the West coast greatly supported the detention of Japanese while at the same time applying a double standard for European aliens and their children. Baseball's DiMaggio brothers (Joe, Dom and Vince) and their Italian immigrant parents were often used as an example of how European immigrants were somehow different and could become authentic Americans. Despite the lack of any evidence to support the bias, Japanese-Americans were seen as the enemy. This point of view was not exclusive to the West Coast of the United States. The Canadians used the same argument to force Japanese-Canadians from British Columbia. Future Chief Justice of the Supreme Court, Earl Warren was serving as the Attorney General for the state of California when he famously stated:

Unfortunately [many] are of the opinion that because we have had no sabotage and no fifth column activities in this State . . . that means that none have been planned for us. But I take the view that this is the most ominous sign in our whole situation. It convinces me more than perhaps any other factor that the sabotage that we are to get, the fifth column activities that we are to get, are timed just like Pearl Harbor was timed and just like the invasion of France, and of Denmark, and of Norway, and all those other countries. . . . I believe that we are just being lulled into a false sense of security and that the only reason we haven't had disaster in California is because it has been timed for a different date . . . Our day of reckoning is bound to come in that regard. 16

More twisted logic was evidenced by Congressman Leland Ford (Los Angeles), in a January 16, 1942 letter to War Secretary Stimson:

... that all Japanese, whether citizens or not, be placed in inland concentration camps. As justification for this, I submit that if an American-born Japanese, who is a citizen, is really patriotic and wishes to make his contribution to the safety and welfare of this country, right here is his opportunity to do so, namely, that by permitting himself to be placed in a concentration camp, he would be making his sacrifice. . . . Millions of other native-born citizens are willing to lay down their lives, which is a far greater sacrifice, of course, than being placed in a concentration camp. ¹⁷

The overwhelming consensus was that any action was justified against the primarily loyal Japanese to guard against the tiniest of risks. Nationally, there was a firm belief that there must be some form of Fifth Column. Even fellow-Japanese asserted that the evacuation was necessary. Right-leaning organizations like the Japanese American Citizens League (JACL) backed the president. Even the left-leaning Los Angeles *Doho* newspaper printed, ". . . this is no time to holler that our civil liberties and constitutional rights are being denied to us."

There were dissenters. In a San Francisco flower industry magazine, James Omura was quoted:

... I am opposed to mass evacuation of American-born Japanese. It is my honest belief that such an action would not solve the question of Nisei loyalty. If any such action is taken I believe that we would be only procrastinating on the question of loyalty, that we are afraid to deal with it, and at this, our first opportunity, we are trying to strip the *Nisei* of their opportunity to prove their loyalty."¹⁸

ACLU lawyer, A.L. Winn spoke up concerning civil rights:

... there must be a point beyond which there may be no abridgement of civil liberties and we feel that whatever the emergency, that persons must be judged, so long as we have a Bill of Rights, because of what they do as persons. . . . We feel that treating persons, because they are members of a race, constitutes illegal discrimination, which is forbidden by the fourteenth amendment whether we are at war or peace. ¹⁹

Lt. Commander K.D. Ringle, a Naval Intelligence officer in Los Angeles, submitted a memorandum that determined ". . . the entire 'Japanese Problem' has been magnified out of its true proportion, largely because of the physical characteristics of the people; that it is no more serious than the problems of German, Italian, and Communistic portions of the United States population, and, finally, that is should be handled on the basis of the individual, regardless of citizenship, and not on a racial basis."²⁰

Secretary of War Stimson wanted civilian control of the evacuation and on March 18, 1942 the War Relocation Authority was established by Executive Order. The army would still have charge of military zones and on March 27 issued Public Proclamation No. 3 and No. 4 that established a curfew of 8:00pm-6:00am and forbade Japanese aliens and Japanese Americans to leave Zone 1. Most of the West coast work would be overseen by Colonel Karl R. Bendetsen under General John L. DeWitt and in conjunction with the Director of Wartime Civilian Control Administration (WCCA) (responsible for all civilians). Japanese under the constraints of curfew received aid from friends and religious groups.

Between June 5 and August 7 all Japanese in the two main zones were scheduled to be evacuated. But where would they go? Where would they put 100,000 people? The first leg of the journey took them to one of sixteen assembly centers, the two largest were racetracks, the Santa Anita Racetrack and Tanofran. Here they were surrounded by barbed wire, sentries with machine guns, and armed soldiers. The internees were vaccinated, interrogated and fingerprinted. This process was particularly daunting for the aliens who did not possess the best English skills. Some internees were housed in whitewashed stalls with seven people sharing a space twelve-by-twenty-four foot. At one point, Santa Anita would house 18, 527 people.

According to historian Paul Bailey, "In sixty days the race track became the thirty-second largest community in the State of California." Eventually, ten semi-permanent camps outfitted with barbed wire and military guards were scattered across the country.

What would the internees do in these relocation camps? According to WRA chief, Milton Eisenhower, brother of General Dwight D. Eisenhower, there would be five categories of work, "1. Public work—reclamation, etc., within the location centers. 2. Agriculture within the relocation centers. 3. Manufacturing within the relocation centers. 4. Private employment outside

the relocation centers. 5. Self-supporting communities might be established outside the centers." The wage scale was no more than \$21 (what U.S. soldiers received) but in actuality ranged from \$19 for work in the camps and prevailing wage for work outside the camps.²³

Educators were concerned about the interruption of higher education and in March of 1942 formed the Student Relocation Council (later renamed the National Japanese Student Relocation Council), headed by Robert Gordon Sproul, president of the University of California. The council worked to relocate students in colleges and universities outside of the zones of restriction. Initially, they were met with resistance. Schools refused to release transcripts of former students and they were prohibited from attending universities participating in government research, such as Princeton, the Massachusetts Institute of Technology, and the University of Wisconsin at Madison. The program became more accessible when Assistant Secretary of War McCloy gave his backing and Milton Eisenhower formed a committee headed by Clarence E. Pickett, executive secretary of the Quaker's American Friends Service Committee. The committee offered organization in planning to get the students back in school. By May 18, President Roosevelt accepted an Office of Education draft allowing Japanese-American students to continue their educations at "inland" institutions. Eventually 4,300 students would be sent back to school.²⁴ Not all of the students were greeted enthusiastically. In the "Battle of Parksville" at Park College, Missouri, the community collaborated to drive out seven Japanese-American students. The college governing board allowed the students to stay "because their loyalty is unquestioned."25

On June 18, 1942, Milton Eisenhower resigned as Chief of the WRA. He was dissatisfied with the way the transfers were progressing. He expressed concern but stopped short of disparaging the program stating, ". . . public attitudes have exerted a strong influence in

shaping the program and charting its direction. In a democracy this is unquestionably sound and proper." Eisenhower believed the majority of native-born Japanese were loyal. Dillon S. Meyer, an administrator from the Agriculture Department was appointed his replacement.²⁶

By November 3, 1942, all of Japanese of the West coast and a small group of Hawaiian-Japanese were either in the assembly centers administered by the Wartime Civil Control Administration (WCCA) or in the internment camps established by the War Relocation Authority (WRA). In a WRA pamphlet entitled *Questions and Answers for Evacuees*, each camp is described as a "*Relocation Center*—A pioneer community, with basic housing and protective services provided by the Federal Government, for occupancy by evacuees for the duration of the war."²⁷

Two-thirds in the camps were American born (or *Nisei*, second-generation Japanese). Of the *Nisei*, three quarters were under age 25. The Japanese alien (or *Isei*, first generation immigrants to the United States and Hawaii) demographic was nearly sixty percent over the age of 50. A third group consisted of Japanese–Americans who were either educated in or had spent time employed in Japan (or *Kibei*). Ironically, since Pearl Harbor took place in Hawaii, the smallest group of internees was the Hawaiian-Japanese. General Delos Emmons allowed only 1,875 persons moved to mainland camps out of a population of 158,000. His argument was that losing that much of the workforce would destroy the Hawaiian economy.²⁸

Since those of working age would be the first to be released for employment and higher education, the camps became a holding pen for the very old and very young.²⁹ American-born children had trouble reconciling why they were in the camps. Many blamed their parents for passing on the "Japanese face", and their frustration is evidenced in the poetry they created. This is from a young girl at Manzanar:

Father, you have wronged me grievously I know not why you punish me
For sins not done or reasons known
You have caused me misery
But through this all I look on you
As child would look on parents true
With tenderness commingling in
The languishment and bitter tears
My heart still beats with loyalty
For you are my father
I know no other ³⁰

This selection is from a high-school boy at Manzanar entitled, *That Damn Fence*:

They've sunk the posts, deep in the ground And they've strung barbed wire all the way around With machine gun nests just over there There are sentries and soldiers everywhere We're trapped like rats in a wire cage To fret and fume with impotent rage Yonder we seek the life of the night But that damned fence is flooded with light We seek the softness of the midnight air But that damned fence is in the floodlight glare They see unrest in our nocturnal quest And mockingly laugh with vicious jest With nowhere to go and nothing to do We feel terribly lonesome and blue That damned fence is driving us crazy Destroying our youth and making us lazy Loyalty we know and patriotism feel To sacrifice our utmost was our ideal To fight for our country, and die, perhaps Yet we are prevented because we are Japs We all love life and our country best Yet it's our misfortune to be here in the west To keep us penned up behind that damned fence Is someone's notion of national defence³¹

In his study, *Japanese Americans: The Evolution of a Subculture*, Harry Kitano highlights one outstanding positive aspect of the camps: all of the leadership and authority roles in the camp schools, committees, newspapers, co-operative, and block committees were headed

by Japanese.³² This was evidenced in the camp at Poston, Arizona, where Community Councils with representatives from each block were voted in by all American citizens in the Work Corps over age 21. In these sheltered communities Japanese-Americans had a chance to advance to the highest levels of leadership, something denied to them in their communities at home.³³ Their success not only proved to their wardens that Japanese-Americans were capable of participating in the highest levels of civic and business life, but the experience invigorated the internees with a confidence they would take back into the post-World War Two setting.

Of the ten camps³⁴ built, the most well-known of the relocation camps was Manzanar, located in the windy desert of Owens Valley, California. The first Japanese internees arrived in March of 1942. They were volunteers who hoped to shape the development of the camp.³⁵ Inside the barbed wire beneath the guard towers there were blocks of barracks, administration buildings, and an auditorium built by internees. The nine camp schools (eventually fullyaccredited by the State of California) shared the auditorium with the community-at-large. Other facilities included shared latrines, three large mess halls with shifts of 2,000 internees moving through for each meal, a co-operative store operated by the internees, livestock and farm supported by internees, a newspaper, post office, and everywhere long lines. One internee wrote, "We lined up for mail, for checks, for meals, for showers, for washrooms, for laundry tubs, for toilets . . . "36 The barracks were ill-suited to the brutalities of the desert, constructed of wooden frames, tar paper and batten boards and heated by oil-burning furnaces.³⁷ Merchants among the internees operated the Manzanar Cooperative. Each adult contributed \$5.00 and by the end of 1943 almost 100% of the adult population had joined. The cooperative added a mail order business since it could not send out buyers in the usual manner to procure stock and by

November 30, 1942 had made \$343,979.88.³⁸ Internees set up their own volunteer police, fire, and church and temple staffs.

Protest and Patriots

The camps were not always tranquil and not all Japanese meekly accepted their fate. On December 6, 1942, the Manzanar Riot occurred. Fred Tayama, a supporter of the Japanese American Citizens League was attacked and beaten. The War Relocation Authority (WRA) arrested several Kibei, including Harry Ueno, a kitchen worker who was organizing workers in response to rumors that supplies meant for the internees were being traded on a WRA black market. According to witness Sue Kunitomi Embrey, "Harry Ueno was a kitchen worker in Block 22. Along with other kitchen workers, he was frustrated by the lack of kitchen tools need to cook for 250 people. The workers noticed that sugar was being delivered in smaller amounts than usual. With Harry leading the group, they began to form a mess hall workers union. Complaints to the administration would be filed through the union."³⁹ Hawaiian Joe Kurihara demanded the release of those arrested and staged a demonstration with several thousand internees marching to the administration offices of the camp. When Mr. Ueno was not released from the Manzanar jail, a few hundred protestors continued their demonstrations and when they surged towards the jail they were tear gassed. After pushing an empty truck towards the jail, the protestors took fire, suffering two fatalities and nine casualties. A military policeman was also injured. The camp administrators claimed that this ended the conflict and "cleared an air that had become heavy with distrust," yet members of the JACL were sent into protective custody at a Civilian Conservation Corps camp in the Mohave and sixteen of the protesters were sent to isolation camps in Utah and Arizona.⁴⁰

Unfortunately, this was not the only episode of deadly violence in camp history. About four months later, at the smaller camp Topaz in Utah, home to about 8,000 internees, there was a fatal shooting.⁴¹ An elderly man, Mr. Wakasa, who either could not speak English or was hard-of-hearing, ran towards the outside fence after his dog while walking him. When he did not hear the command to "halt" he was shot and killed.⁴²

American-born Japanese got an opportunity to demonstrate their patriotism when Secretary Stimson announced the formation of an all-Nisei combat unit on January 28, 1943. President Roosevelt released the following statement:

No loyal citizen of the United States should be denied the democratic right to exercise the responsibilities of citizenship, regardless of his ancestry. The principle on which this country was founded and by which it has always been governed is the Americanism is a matter of the mind and heart: Americanism is not, and never was, a matter of race or ancestry. A good American is one who is loyal to this country and to our creed of liberty and democracy. Every loyal American citizen should be given his opportunity to serve this country wherever his skills will make the greatest contribution—whether it be in the ranks of the armed forces, war production, agriculture, government service, or other work essential to the war effort. 43

This drive for recruitment resulted in a questionnaire that was designed to gauge the loyalty or the Japanese respondents in the camp. Entitled, "Application for Leave Clearance" this form needed to be filled out in order to work or live outside the camp or join the service. Two questions in particular sparked a controversy. Men and women answered question No. 27, "Are you willing to serve in the armed forces of the United States on combat duty, wherever ordered?" Many men considered this an insult to be asked to serve a country that had stripped them of their civil rights and put their families behind barbed wire. At the camp at Heart Mountain Camp in Wyoming sixty-three men actively resisted the draft and were tried in the

largest mass trial in Wyoming history.⁴⁵ All were found guilty and sentenced to three years in prison by Federal District Judge T. Blake Kennedy, who stated, ": "If they are truly loyal American citizens they should . . . embrace the opportunity to discharge the duties [of citizenship] by offering themselves in the cause of our National Defense." Their appeal was rejected in March 1945.

Men answered question No. 28 in this form, "Will you swear unqualified allegiance to the United States of America and faithfully defend the United States from any or all attack by foreign or domestic forces, and forswear any form of allegiance or obedience to the Japanese emperor, to any other foreign government, power or organization?" For Nisei, answering "yes" it could be construed that one acknowledged an previously existing allegiance to Japan. For Isei, long denied citizenship in the United States, it would leave them without a country to protect them. Women had a different question No. 28, "Will you swear to abide by the laws of the United States and take no action which would in any way interfere with war effort in the United States?" Approximately 75,000 of the 78,000 internees who were eligible filled out the questionnaires. 1,500 Nisei volunteered for the service, and about 1,000 were accepted. By January 1944, all Japanese-Americans would be subject to selective service. 47 6,700 answered "No" to question No. 28, approximately 2,000 qualified their answers, and a few hundred left it blank. A small selection of people answered no to both questions and were called "no-no's" or 'no-no boys" and were sent to the high-security internment camp at Tule Lake, the largest camp, with 18,700 internees, in California. It was the only camp turned into a high security segregation center. 48 Many at Tule Lake renounced their citizenship and requested repatriation to Japan. 49

Those who did enlist served with distinction. The 442nd Combat Team (34th Division), composed of all Japanese-Americans, received forty-seven Distinguished Service Crosses, seven

Presidential Distinguished Unit Citations, three hundred-fifty Silver Stars, eight hundred-ten Bronze Stars, seven Presidential Distinguished Unit Citations, and a Congressional Medal of Honor while suffering 9,486 casualties. They served exclusively in the European theater in France, Italy, and Germany due to lingering distrust that they would aid the Japanese effort if deployed to the Pacific. While attaching the Presidential Unit Banner to the regimental colors, President Truman said they fought ". . . not only the enemy, but prejudice." ⁵⁰

There were challenges to the legality of the curfews and internment. Several cases made it through the court system up to the Supreme Court. On April 13, 1942, the Seattle Federal District Court heard the case of Mrs. Ventura, a Nisei married to a citizen of the Philippines who protested the curfew since martial law had not been declared. Judge Lloyd Llewellyn Boyd rendered the opinion that the complaint was premature and cited the extraordinary circumstance of military needs. On June 21, 1943, the United States Supreme Court ruled on the case of Gordon Kiyoshi Hirabayashi, a Japanese-American and senior at the University of Washington who refused to follow General DeWitt's orders to evacuate and was convicted in federal court of two misdemeanors of curfew violation and failure to report for evacuation. Hirabayashi's attorneys maintained that if the curfew and exclusion orders were constitutional, they should have been applied to all citizens. Once again, it was Judge Boyd who ruled and he gave the opinion that, "It must not for an instant be forgotten that since Pearl Harbor we have been engaged in a total war with enemies unbelievably treacherous and wholly ruthless . . . civilization itself is at stake in this global conflict." Appeals reached the Supreme Court. The court was unanimous in upholding the conviction.⁵¹

The next case to reach the Supreme Court was the case of Fred Korematsu, a Californian who the American Civil Liberties Union argued was a citizen of the United States being held in a

"concentration" camp because of his ancestry. The Court's opinion was divided 6 to 3. On December 18, 1944, in the majority opinion, Justice Hugo Black wrote that the existing "gravest imminent danger to public safety" after Pearl Harbor offered justification and that, "In wartime citizenship carries heavier burdens than in time of peace." That same day, the Supreme Court handed down its decision in the Endo case. Mitsuye Endo, a California civil servant with a brother in the armed forces, brought a writ of *habeas corpus* upon her internment at Topaz. She was represented by the ACLU. In, another split decision, the Court upheld the doctrine that the court did not rule on military measures after-the-fact. Justice Frankfurter wrote, "To find that the Constitution does not forbid the military measures now complained of does not carry with it approval of that which Congress and the Executive did. That is their business, not ours." In his dissenting opinion, future court prosecutor at Nuremburg, Justice Jackson maintained, "But even if they were permissible military procedures, I deny that it follows that they are constitutional. If, as the Court holds, it does follow, then we may as well say that any military order will be constitutional and have done with it."

Closing Down the Camps

Despite the court rulings, there had been a distinct change in how the government was treating the Japanese internees. On February 16, 1944, an Executive Order was issued which transferred management of the WRA from the War Department to the Department of Interior under Interior Secretary Harold Ickes and his deputy, Abe Fortas. Secretary Ickes proposed resettlement of loyal Japanese on the Eastern seaboard and was met by resistance by such figures as Fiorello LaGuardia, the mayor of New York City.⁵⁴ This resistance became less important since by May of 1944, there was some relaxation of the ban against Japanese returning to the

West coast. The Chief of Staff, General George C. Marshall sent a memorandum making it clear:

... concerning the return of persons of Japanese ancestry to the West Coast. . . . In my opinion the only valid military objection to this move is the one presented by G-1 that the return of these people to the West Coast will result in actions of violence that will react to the disadvantage of American prisoners in the hands of the Japanese. There are, of course, strong political reasons why the Japanese should not be returned to the West Coast before next November, but these do not concern the Army except to the degree that consequent reactions might cause embarrassing incidents. ⁵⁵

The General was more concerned about public reaction than military threat. San Francisco's Palace Hotel hosted a conference in mid-January of the Pacific Coast Fair Play Committee comprised of federal, state, and private agencies, for organizing the "orderly and harmonious" integration of internees back into their communities. Representatives of other minority communities pledged support, as well. Major General Henry C. Pratt, the new leader of the Western Defense Command announced the end of West coast exclusion as of January 2, 1945. While President Roosevelt envisioned the dispersal of Japanese-Americans over the entire country, the majority returned to the West coast.

The WRA was officially shut down on June 30, 1946. From WRA, A Story of Conservation (1946):

WRA feels, in short, that the obligation of the Federal Government to the evacuees has [except for the problem of compensation for losses] been adequately discharged. Although there can never be full or adequate recompense for the experiences which the evacuated people went through, it is best, we feel, to set these down among the civilian casualties of the war and to build on the present base toward a better and more secure future for people of Japanese descent in this country. The building of that future lies largely in the hands of the still-active groups which have supported

the evacuated people throughout the war and, even more importantly, in the hands of the evacuees themselves.⁵⁷

Finally, some Japanese left the United States, 1,949 children accompanying parents and 1,116 adults as expatriates and 1,659 as repatriates to Japan. The remaining number who had renounced their citizenship but never went to Japan were legally stateless persons. San Francisco attorney, Wayne Collins worked from 1945 until 1968 to help the majority regain their citizenship. The federal courts have ruled, and the Justice Department agrees, that these renunciations were made under duress and are invalid.⁵⁸

Citizenship may have been restored but much of the property left behind by Japanese and Japanese-Americans was lost in addition to any income during the period of confinement. Evacuees had no recourse to compensation until President Truman signed the Japanese American Evacuation Claims Act in July 1948. The last claim under the act was settled in 1965. The Federal Reserve Bank of San Francisco estimates a loss of \$400 million while Congress appropriated a mere \$38 million for compensation. It was not until August 10, 1988, that President Ronald Reagan signed HR 442, An Act to Implement Recommendations of the Commission on Wartime Relocation and Internment of Civilians, acknowledging the "fundamental injustice" of the internment and apologizing on behalf of the American people to its own and the resident aliens. The act also provided restitution payments of \$20,000 to survivors. President Reagan stated, "Yet no payment can make up for those lost years. So, what is most important in this bill has less to do with property than with honor. For here we admit a wrong; here we reaffirm our commitment as a nation to equal justice under the law." 59

There is no question that the internment of Japanese-Americans violated their civil and political rights. The United States government had classified its own citizens, civilians, as the

enemy. Effectively, they were prisoners of war. Eventually, Japanese were officially allowed to immigrate into the United States once more with the 1952 McCarran-Walter Act. The act officially allowed immigration and naturalization from Japan for 185 people annually. In 1971, The Emergency Detention Act regarding internal security, Section 4001 of Title 18 of the United States Code was amended to begin: "No citizen shall be imprisoned or otherwise detained by United States except pursuant to an act of Congress." While this ensures that there will not be another Executive Order 9066, declaring war requires an act of Congress, too. There can be no guarantee that United States will not wage a future war against its own.

Medical Experimentation

We are not concerned with where they are from, how they came here. . . . More important to me than the man's death was the blood flowing in the human guinea pig's body at the moment just before his death. – Ueda Yataro, Researcher, Unit 731⁶² (Gold, Unit 731 Testimony 1996, 41)

The Beginning of Japanese Medical Experimentation on Human Subjects

In the early twentieth century, Social Darwinist theories of evolution manipulated for societal and political benefit developed into a pseudo-science called eugenics. Eugenicists sought to manipulate what they deemed hereditary traits in order to produce so-called superior individuals. Class, mental and physical disabilities, criminality, sexual preference, and race were traits that often determined racial desirability. Persons identified as possessing undesirable traits were widely used in medical experimentation. The best-known episode of experimenting on those labeled racially inferior was Dr. Josef Mengele, who oversaw forced medical experimentation on Jews, twins and Romany at Auschwitz-Birkenau. He became known as the "Angel of Death." The chief doctor at Auschwitz, Eduard Wirths, conducted experiments on female sterilization under barbaric conditions. The Nazis did numerous other experiments on altitude sickness, hypothermia, poisons, and communicable diseases. When atrocities such as these were brought to light in the Doctors Trial of 1947 in the American Zone of Occupation at Nuremburg they were designated war crimes. Less known is the program of forced medical experimentation pursued by the Japanese in China and Asia. It is the Japanese case that is examined in this section.

In 1932 the Empire of Japan established the puppet state of Manchukuo in Manchuria,

China. They experimented with biological agents on Chinese civilians in the occupied areas and

on Russian civilians who lived in the Sino-Soviet borderlands who were caught up in the conflict. Additional experimentation was done on Korean civilians under occupation and on captured Allied soldiers. Unit 731, lead by Dr. Shirō Ishii, was responsible for overseeing the experiments under the auspices of hygiene. The majority of victims were Chinese.

The Japanese Army took an interest in tactical preventive bacteriology early on after its experiences in the Russo-Japanese War. In the early twentieth century, their knowledge and research on medicine's military uses surpassed that of the United States and Great Britain. Japan and the United States did not sign the Geneva Convention of 1925, forbidding use of poisons and chemical agents. The comparative cost of maintaining a conventional army versus producing bacteria and gas were too tempting.⁶³

Shortly after the Manchurian Incident in 1932, when Chinese regular soldiers were accused of blowing up a railroad track, the Japanese occupied and established Manchukuo, setting up a puppet regime under Emperor Pu Yi. In actuality, Manchukuo was run by the Japanese Imperial Army (the army of occupation was also known as the Kwantung Army). That same year, the Imperial army established the Epidemic Prevention Research Laboratory at its Tokyo hospital under Dr. Shirō Ishii. A graduate of Kyoto Imperial University, Ishii was almost six feet tall with a booming voice and arrogant manner. Dr. Ishii was renowned for his design of a water filtration system adopted for field use by both the Imperial Army and Imperial Navy in 1933. To illustrate its effectiveness Ishii was known to urinate into the filter and drink the filtered fluid.⁶⁴ An anonymous hygiene specialist describes him as, "Ishii, the unit leader, was an exalted man—he was higher than the emperor. I thought that he was a great man because of the water filtration system he had invented. I almost cried from appreciation."

In 1933, after the Japanese were securely established in Manchukuo, Ishii and his associates set up his their first facility, named Tōgō, at a soy sauce distillery outside Harbin, China in the town of Beiyinhe. Eventually the Japanese developed two sites. One concentrated on vaccines and traditional research while the other conducted biological and chemical experiments on human subjects. Beiyinhe would be cleared and razed. Using cheap Chinese labor, in only two years the facility, including an airstrip, was finished. The outbuildings included offices, barracks, mess areas, warehouses, munitions storage, and a parking lot. The research building contained a block for human subjects or prisoners (who the Japanese dehumanized by referring to them as *maruta* meaning "logs"), laboratories, and a crematoria. It became known as the Zhongma Fortress. 67

According to the Chief of the Sanitation Section of Ministry's Medical Bureau, Colonel Ryūiji Kajitsuka, the unit had no official number, but was referred to as the Water Supply and Prophylaxis Administration of the Kwantung Army:

Detachment 731 was formed by command of the Emperor of Japan Hirohito, issued in 1936. The Emperor's command was printed and copies of it were sent to all units of the Japanese Army for the information of all the officers. I myself was shown this command and the detachment's personnel list accompanying it, and certified the fact with my private seal.⁶⁸

Subjects were treated differently depending on the experiment. They may be shackled hand and foot but given proper diet and an occasional liquor to maintain baseline good health. The balanced diet was not offered because the researchers were particularly humane, but required baseline good health so as not to skew their research data. When subjects were not able to participate in further experiments, they were often euthanized by injection. ⁶⁹

The force in charge of procurement of patients for experiments performed by Unit 731 was an elite group of military police known as the *kenpeitai*. Former *kenpeitai* officer, Miou Yutaka describes how prisoners were transported:

We were the Special Handling forces of the *kenpeitai*, in charge of taking prisoners for the experiments of 731. We knew the prisoners would be used in experiments and not come back. We tied them with ropes around their waists, and their hands behind their backs. They couldn't move. We took them by train in a closed car, then the Unit 731 truck would meet us at the station. It was a strange truck—black with no windows. A strange-looking vehicle.⁷⁰

In 1936 there was an attempted escape by a subject named Li. During a Japanese festival he planned to use the guards' distraction to his advantage. While handing back his utensils after his meal, Li knocked his guard in the head and grabbed the keys off his belt. Li opened the cells and those still strong enough ran with him out into the compound luckily into a power outage caused by heavy downpour. Using the darkness as cover, the escapees formed a human ladder with Li at the bottom and as he was about to scale the wall, shots rang out killing him. Ten more escapees were shot while about twenty made it outside. Many of them died from exposure or were recaptured. Some of the men made it to a village. Interviewed in 1984, one of the village residents recalled:

That night I heard footsteps behind the house, then someone banging on the door. Outside there were seven men wearing leg shackles. My brother grabbed an axe to defend us, but when we heard their story he put down the axe, we took the men to a cave on the east side of the house, and we started breaking off the shackles. We were still working on them when the Japanese came to the edge of the village tracking down the escapees. First, we broke off a shackle from just one leg, so they could at least run while holding the other shackle. And then, they left the village. Later, they managed to meet up with the other remaining escapees and all eventually teamed up with resistance fighters. But the

secret of the Fortress was out. The Japanese had managed to keep things quiet for five years, but at last the time had come for a move.⁷¹

Pingfang and Unit 731

In 1938 a new site was built closer to Harbin. At Pingfang, villages were emptied and residents given paltry compensation. The complex became known as Pingfang and was run by Ishii. His two brothers, Misuo and Takeo worked at the facility, as well. Many of the prison guard commanders were recruited from the Ishii family village of Kamo. These men retained a sense of feudal loyalty to the Ishii family.⁷² A walled city of six kilometers, Pingfang was constructed by the Suzuki Group working round-the-clock shifts. It boasted high voltage wires and a dry moat. Finished around 1939, all surrounding 150 buildings were limited to one story, headquarters was surrounded by the moat, and a pass system initiated. Square prison blocks (*ro*) were constructed housing men and the women and children separately. The average population was around two hundred with a maximum capacity of four hundred. The human subjects were referred to as *maruta* which was the Japanese word for "log." A former researcher there, Ueda Yataro discusses the dehumanization of the prisoners:

To these guards, the people in here have already lost rights. Their names have been exchanged for just a number written across the front of their shirts and the name *maruta*. They are referred to only as *Maruta* Number X." Cells were single or multiple occupancy with windows facing the corridor, and multiple opening in the middle of the door and by the floor for subjects too weak to stand for blood draws. The walls were thick concrete and the floor wooden. Flushing toilets were provided. Three crematoria were constructed. A Unit 731 member noted, "The bodies always burned up fast because all the organs were gone, the bodies were empty.⁷³

Unit 731 was divided into eight divisions: 1) First Division, bacteriological research; 2) Second Division, warfare research and field experiments; 3) Third Division, water filter

production; 4) Fourth Division, bacteria mass production and storage; 5) the Educational Division; 6) the Supplies Division; 7) General Affairs Division; and 8) Clinical Diagnosis Division. The Third Division and Clinical Diagnosis division remained in Central Harbin, while the others were moved to Pingfang.⁷⁴

Drugs were sometimes provided to dull the pain of repeated experimentation. Wano Takeo, a hygiene specialist divulged:

My main work was examining blood, urine, and feces, and looking for changes in hemoglobin. (Pingfang) we used a lot of Chinese workers. Some couldn't work without heroin, and we gave it to them. . . . Unit 731 was working to make biological weapons. For that, it is also necessary to have a knowledge of treatment of disease. Our division went to treat people, but our work required the dissection of maruta. Our data was used in the development of biological weapons, and the total direction of all our efforts was toward warfare. ⁷⁵

Pingfang is remembered for its human experimentation and Unit 731. Unit 731 did not officially come into existence until August of 1941, but the name became synonymous with all medical experimentation on human subjects overseen by the Epidemic Prevention Research Laboratory in Asia. Sub-units doing medical research on civilians were also established in Beijing, Nanjing, Guangzhou (also known as Canton), and Singapore. ANDA was an open air testing ground about one hundred-twenty kilometers from Pingfang. The South Manchurian Railway Sanitary Institute at Darien was attached to the unit. It produced mass quantities of vaccine and under those auspices was used to legitimate transfer of researchers. Xinjing's Unit 100, the Hippo-Epizootic Unit of the Kwantung Army (or Kwantung Army Stables), was commanded by Lt-General Yujirō Wakamatsu, it focused on veterinary pathogens designed to infect domesticated livestock. They mass-produced anthrax, glanders, and red dust bacteria. In Guangzhou, rats were bred for distributing pathogens, experiments were done on typhus, and

subjects were starved under the guise of "nutrition" experiments. The bodies were purportedly dissolved in a pond of chemicals. Unit 1855 was stationed in Beijing. After Japan occupied Singapore in February of 1942, rat catchers were employed to breed diseased fleas.

Approximately twenty thousand personnel staffed the units involved in medical research outside of Japan. 78

Looking for easily transmissible pathogens, Unit 731 and its sibling units studied: influenza, gas gangrene, epidemic hemorrhagic fever (EHF), cholera, botulism, typhoid, $f\bar{u}g\bar{u}$ (blowfish) toxin, glanders, meningococcus, tularemia, tsutsugasmushi, brucellosis, typhus, dysentery, and fever. Dysentery, cholera and typhoid were the easiest to spread. Stinking smut and nematosis were also researched as crop saboteurs.⁷⁹

In 1942, Master Sergeant Warren W. Whelchel, U.S. Army and Major Robert Peaty, Royal Army Ordnance Corps, were held at a Japanese prisoner of war camp at Mukden. Along with fellow American, Australian, British and New Zealander soldiers they were subjected to Typhoid-paratyphoid A inoculations. Sergeant Whelchel recalled:

A group of five or six Japanese medical personnel entered our barracks and called out various prisoner-of-war numbers that we'd been assigned. They gave us various shots discriminately; not all the prisoners were given the same shots. Then, some were tested through oral or rectal smears. Later, some were inspected for the welts the injections had caused, and more rectal and oral smears were taken. At the time we were the only ones to be given this particular treatment and the Japs were keeping accurate records of every one of us in this one barracks. 80

Unit 731's printer, Naoji Uezono confirms, "As regards the white prisoners at Hōten (Mukden), many of our scientific teams were there and I don't know for what purpose but they certainly did go there." Most of the experiments on prisoners of war dealt with typhoid and dysentery.

Researchers took advantage of the ample supply of human subjects to induce diseases and track their effects from the time of initial infection. They worked through interpreters to gauge the appropriate time to examine subjects' organs for damages through dissection. The use of anesthesia varied. Many subjects were dissected alive. One former unit member remembered:

As soon as the symptoms were observed, the prisoner was taken from his cell and into the dissection room. He was stripped and placed on the table, screaming, trying to fight back. He was strapped down, still screaming frightfully. One of the doctors stuffed a towel into his mouth, then with one quick slice of the scalpel he was opened up. 82

Not all subjects who underwent live dissection died immediately.

Experiments and research were not strictly limited to biological and chemical agents.

Ostensibly, a medical unit dedicated to hygiene in the field, Unit 731also did research on sexually transmitted diseases. In order to track the course of various diseases, female subjects were infected through various methods, including rape. Resistors would be shot. If subjects became pregnant, research was done on the effects of the diseases on the fetus and babies were born in captivity. Experiments were done on frostbite, air pressure, dehydration and starvation. Human subjects were boiled alive, exposed to large doses of x-rays, electrocuted, spun in giant centrifuges, and were given plasma transfusions with horse blood. 84

An Open Secret

In considering the concept of the civilian in warfare, it is of special importance to consider that the majority of those involved as researchers and some staff were Japanese civilians themselves. In fact, up to thirty percent of the unit was staffed by civilians. The atrocities taint all of the Japanese medical community. It may have been spearheaded by the military, including

Dr. Ishii, but the researchers and students who staffed Unit 731 were affiliated with major research universities, such as Tokyo Imperial University and Kyoto University. The results of the experiments were often published in national and international academic journals with thinly veiled euphemisms used to disguise the subjects' identities as human beings. Naoji Uezono, a printer for Unit 731, also confirms that scientific papers were also printed in-house for distribution. Unit member, Mr. Ojima, interviewed in 1994, stated, "Some things have to be corrected. There were no soldiers at Unit 731. They were all civilian employees." Some of the civilians were given honorary or temporary ranks.

Still the nature of the research conducted was not public knowledge. Tokyo Imperial University serologist, Dr. Sue Akimoto recalls:

I was very shocked when I arrived and found out about the human experiments. Very few of those scientists had a sense of conscience. They treated the prisoners like animals. The prisoners were the enemy, they would eventually be sentenced to death. They thought the prisoners would die an honorable death if, in the process, they contributed to the progress of medical science . . . I was very frightened although my work involved no human experiments. I wrote my resignation to Maj-Gen Kikuchi, the research chief, three or four times. But there was no way to get out. I was told that if I left I might secretly be executed. 87

In addition to university students, research labs were staffed by members of the Manchurian Youth Corps, a quasi-military corps comprised of teenagers under contract as laborers. Youth Corps members were given cursory training in bacteriology, math, biology, and foreign languages. Rats harvested in Manchukuo were sent back to Saitama Prefecture in Japan where Youth Corp's members distributed them to schoolchildren to raise. The United States Army would use the same farm families after the war to rear rats for viral research they would do in the Tokyo-based Unit 406.89

Rats and fleas played an important role in the transmission of biological agents. At Pingfang, rats were not the only mechanism for breeding infected fleas. Subjects were also used. These prisoners were sworn to secrecy, put in isolation, instructed to keep their clothes on at all times to give the fleas a better breeding environment, and did their own cooking and cleaning to spare the jailors the risk of infection. Above all, they were instructed not to kill the fleas. An optimum daily output of one hundred fleas per person was desired. 90

Not all of the research and field work done by these units in Japan were of a sinister nature. Dr. Shirō Ishii developed an outstanding field water filtration system. In 1937, a large percentage of the work of the units did was installing those filtration systems in response to a massive cholera outbreak in the Kwantung Army.⁹¹

Incidents of the Japanese using biological weapons in the field include the Nomonhan Incident during the Battles of Khalkhin Gol in the Summer of 1939. A "medical" field unit released typhoid germs downriver near the Soviet border. Kanagawa University professor, Tsuneishi Keiichi discusses the incident:

The use of BW at the Nomonhan Incident is also recorded in the testimony at the Khabarovsk military trials in 1949. But if intestinal typhoid germs are dumped into a river, they will become ineffective almost immediately. The Ishii people surely knew that. Rather than actually conducting biological warfare, it seems more likely that it was a method of gaining publicity for the unit, as well as a drill. But the Nomonhan Incident was definitely the first use of BW by the Japanese army. 92

Ishii Shiro later claimed that all use of the biological weapons was defensive since there was the danger that the enemy might use such tactics in retaliation.

The four main areas of human experimentation were in cholera, epidemic hemorrhagic fever (EHF), the plague, and frostbite. A village near Cinan was infected with cholera using dogs as carriers resulting in a mortality rate of twenty percent of those who came in contact with

the infected animals. EHF was not known in Japan. Endemic to China for years, the Japanese first identified it after a succession of outbreaks along the Soviet border in 1938. The results of experiments done on Chinese civilian subjects were published in the *Japan Journal of Pathology*. The description of the injection of a saline solution infused with ground ticks from infected rats into monkeys whose organs were ground to produce a purer form of pathogen does not make sense when the data from the "monkeys" is interpreted. Different breeds of monkeys have different vital signs and bio-chemical characteristics. Not only was no breed named (as is the practice); all the variables indicate human subjects. This thinly veiled deception was used for the most part because the journal was available internationally. Human experimentation in China was an open secret in Japanese scientific circles. The plague was investigated because of its high mortality rate and swift incubation period. Unit 731, in collaboration with Unit 1644 out of Nanjing, spread plague aerially on cotton, wheat, cloth, and corn scraps over the Kaimingjie area. Over one hundred people died. The area remained quarantined into the 1960s and the records of a Chinese disease specialist record how the epidemic was contained:

On the twenty-ninth, three days after the Japanese plane came. I entered the Ningbo area that had been attacked. The first thing I did was separate the people seriously affected, those lightly affected, and the healthy ones. Then, I encircled the infected area of the attack zone with a wall about a meter deep and a meter and a half high, so that rats could not escape. Six hundred people were moved south. When November came, we burned everything in the enclosed area, and in this way we stopped the plague from spreading. According to my records, ninety-seven people died. ⁹³

Unit 731 worked strenuously to develop better ways of dispersing pathogens. At the testing grounds at ANDA, different bomb prototypes were developed. High explosives killed the insects, so glass and ceramic bombs were developed. The porcelain bombs carried tetanus, anthrax bacilli, typhoid, and dysentery. The Imperial Army developed "mother and daughter"

bombs," radio-linked so that when the "mother" hit the ground the "daughters" would detonate dispersing their payload of pathogens. No particularly effective mode of transmission was determined. Former unit member, Mr. Okijima describes some of the dispersal experiments:

We used the airfield inside the Unit 731 complex. A truck filled with eggs drove into the airport. Several hundred eggs were broken into a drum and mixed, then loaded onto a plane. The meteorological team was checking wind direction and velocity. We placed square boards, fifty centimeters to a side, on the ground at regular intervals and had the eggs sprayed from the air. Then, we studied the boards to see what kind of dispersal and coverage we got. Once we used the inside of a huge mausoleum-type structure and a stopwatch to measure the rate of fall of rice husks in a windless environment. We poured dyes into the Songhua [Sungari] River to see how far they travel and what concentrations remain at various distances from the source. This was to determine the effectiveness of an attack by pathogens added to rivers. ⁹⁵

The frostbite research was headed up by Dr. Yoshimura Hisato, a physiologist from Kyoto Imperial University. He hoped to use his findings to assist in survival of submariners and pilots. Since the Manchurian Incident, the Japanese Imperial Army had suffered rampant frostbite with treatment consisting of treatment by topical ointments and amputations. Dr. Yoshimura's experiments were done year-round in his refrigerated lab at Pingfang or outside during winter. A witness describes one of the outside experiments:

People were taken from prison into below-freezing temperatures. They were tied up, with their arms bared and soaked with water. Water was poured over the arms regularly; sometimes the ice that formed on them would be chipped away and water again poured over. The researcher would strike the limbs regularly with a club. When an arm made a sound like wooden board's being hit, this indicated that the limb was frozen through, and from there different methods of treatments were tested. Legs and feet were exposed to similar treatment. 96

Dr. Yoshimura became famous for changing the standard of treatment for frostbite. In the future, frostbite victims would have the affected areas submerged in water slightly above body temperature. In the early 1980's, Dr. Yoshimura's history of human experimentation was exposed. He spoke to the Mainichi newspaper in 1981:

Human experimentation? Maybe my subordinates did that, but I never did. But you people are thinking wrong. Even [if] that did happen, it was war. The orders came from the country. All the responsibility lies with the country. The individual is not responsible. ⁹⁷

A consultant to the 1973 Japanese Arctic Expedition, he was appointed the first president of the Japanese Meteorological Society. Dr. Yoshimura was expelled from the society when word of his experiments leaked. He claims he resigned because he was suffering from tuberculosis. He also eventually stepped down as President of Kyoto Prefectural University of Medicine. The two-story refrigerated laboratory still stands among the ruins of Pingfang.

Ishii Shiro received a promotion to the rank of general in March of 1941. His official military biography states that he handed command of Unit 731 over to Lt-Gen Masaji Kitano in August of 1942, but Kitano maintains that Ishii never relinquished control. Until March of 1945, Ishii's title would be Chief of the 1st Army's Medical Administration and instructor at Tokyo's Army Medical College.⁹⁹

The Imperial Army had planned to deploy biological agents against American forces. First on Saipan but the ship conveying the team sunk. Ito Kageaki, who raised plague fleas, confirms an officer said it was also planned for Okinawa, ". . . this kind of tactic was not permitted until now, but if we employ it, it will be against the American landing at Okinawa." Eno Yoshio describes plans finalized in March of 1945 for an attack of the American mainland:

The plan was initiated as a joint army-navy project under the code name 'Operation PX.' It called for the sub to approach the American shore, then launch its plans and spread plague, cholera, and perhaps other pathogens from the air. The submarine crews would run ashore carrying germs. The entire attack was planned as a suicide mission.¹⁰¹

Operation PX was scuttled by the Chief of the General Staff, General Umezu Yoshijiro, for fears that the pathogens would spread worldwide and Japan would be vilified.

Aftermath

As the end of the war unfolded and Japan realized that it could not win, a concerted effort was made to erase all physical and documentary evidence of Unit 731 and its operations, including the human research subjects. Mr. Uezono describes their fate:

All of us had to begin the evacuation work. First of all the marutas were killed. Then their bodies were also put in the incinerator. The specimens taken from human bodies were also put in, but there were so many that they just wouldn't burn. So we took them down to the Sungari River and dumped them in. ¹⁰²

Most of the physical plant at Pingfang was dismantled and destroyed. Unit 1644 at Nanjing was converted to use as a hospital. Skeleton crews manned the sites while most of the researchers and staff, including Ishii, fled via the South Manchurian Railway. According to an un-named witness, "In Manchuria, Ishii boarded the train for one leg of the journey, during which he set forth his rules that members were not to take jobs in public offices, were not to contact each other from then on, and were to 'take this secret to the grave.'" Dr. Ishii returned to Japan by plane with films and records documenting the work done by Unit 731.

Commencing in September of 1945 the American occupation command begin investigating the activities of Unit 731. Lt. Col. Murray Sanders, a bacteriologist from Camp

Detrick, Maryland, was the lead investigator. He was met upon his arrival in Japan by an interpreter, Dr. Naito Ryoichi, a member of Unit 731 and a close associate of Shirō Ishii. Lt. Col. Sanders had never even heard the unit. Dr. Naito promised information in exchange for immunity from trial for members. Ishii himself would eventually end up under house arrest and was questioned repeatedly by the Americans and the Soviets. After approximately ten weeks, Lt. Col. Arvo Thompson replaced Lt. Col. Sanders. Thompson was in the Veterinary Corps at Camp Detrick. Both concluded and it was agreed that for the record that civilian scientists and research facilities were not involved in any illicit activities, but this was in exchange for research information from the Japanese. ¹⁰⁴

No war criminals at the International Military Tribunal for the Far East were charged for use of biological or chemical weapons or research on human subjects. The Soviet Union held independent trails at Khabarovsk on Christmas Day in 1949. Twelve Japanese men who were prisoners of the Soviet Union were tried and found guilty. All were given two to twenty-five year sentences. The Commander-in-Chief of the Kwantung Army, General Otozō Yamada was one of the defendants. Although surely under duress, he stated that Unit 731, "... was formed with the object of preparing for bacteriological warfare, chiefly against the Soviet Union, Mongolia, and China... to employ the bacteriological weapons against any other enemy state or enemy army... the United States and Britain, in particular." The Soviet news agency, Tass, sent bulletins worldwide and a year after the trial began, the worldwide Associated Press wire service distributed this information, even in Japan. Yet a *New York Times* story, dated December 27, 1949, officially denied that General MacArthur's headquarters had any knowledge or evidence of human experimentation or biological weapons research. The Americans kept to their

deal with the members of Unit 731. The Soviets later commuted the sentences from Khabarovsk on December 13th, 1956 and the men were sent home to Japan. 107

Many former members of Unit 731 used the information gleaned from their research to establish successful academic and commercial careers, despite Ishii's instruction to remain out of the limelight. Naito Ryoichi, Kitano Masaji, and Futagi Hideo established the Midori Fuji (or Green Cross) pharmaceutical company. Not all former members of Unit 731 denied responsibility for their crimes, Dr. Yuasa Ken, an army officer, admitted performing live dissections in Shanxi Province. Dr. Yuasa admits:

I operated on living Chinese for whom I had no hatred whatsoever to gain surgical ability in order to win the war . . . I went over and pushed the other one to the operating table. I had no feeling of apology or doing anything bad. The farmer was resigned to his fate, and he lowered his head and walked forward. I didn't want to get my clothes dirty from him; I wanted to look sharp. He went as far as the operating table but didn't want to lie down. A nurse using broken Chinese told him, 'We're using ether; it won't hurt, so lie down.' She gave me a wry smile when she said that. She had been working there for a long time, and when I happened to meet her again much later and asked her about it, she didn't remember. She was handling so many vivisections it was routine. People who repeat evil acts do not remember them. There is no sense of doing wrong. 109

The farmer died, his body was cremated.

Serologist Sueo Akimoto wrote a book on medical ethics but left academia having difficulties reconciling his experiences at Pingfang. In an interview he said:

I will regret it to my death. I was silent for thirty years and nothing can change that. These people were my friends, and I did not have the courage to condemn them . . . It's astonishing; these people have no shame. Their work in Manchuria had nothing to do with patriotism. It was an elitism that grew like a monster. 110

Sixty-seven year old Ishii Shiro died on October 9, 1959. Kitano, who chaired his funeral committee, states:

Ishii's grave is in Gekkei-ji temple where he had latterly spent much time in religious reflection. In a religious ritual, part of one of Ishii's bones was buried beneath Unit 731's memorial, the Seikon Tower, in Tokyo's Tama Cemetery. It was done as a mark of respect, a Buddhist custom for someone highly revered.¹¹¹

The Japanese experimentation on human subjects is a clear case of abuse on civilians and prisoners of war during wartime. If this could be explained as an isolated incident, then perhaps it would be dismissed as an anomaly. However, we know that many suffered during the same period in Germany in their concentration camps. At the same time experiments are going on in the United States at Tuskegee on African-Americans and on Russians in the gulags that began prior to World War Two and will last long after the end of the war. We have seen that medical ethics dealing with experimentation human subjects have changed dramatically as a result, but in times of war civilians have continued to suffer at the hands of healers.

Rape Warfare

I figured out that it was Sunday, April 29. But Sunday is a word for civilians, at the moment without meaning. There are no Sundays on the front. – Anonymous, *A Woman in Berlin*¹¹²

The Diary

During World War II millions of women (and a smaller percentage of men) were raped by indigenous, invading and occupying forces on all sides. There are many reasons for this occurrence including revenge, demoralization of an enemy population, the misogynistic view that rape is somehow a natural expression of frustrated male energies, and the extension of the psychology in war to dehumanize and objectify an enemy with the act of rape being an extension of that objectification. This section discusses the rape of women in Germany by the invading and occupying Soviet forces, primarily in Berlin. However, as with all cases in this paper, the atrocities were not limited to this one example of Russian-on-German violence. Millions of women on the Russian borderlands were raped by the invading *Wehrmacht* (German Armed Forces) earlier in the war. French and Italian women were raped by both Axis soldiers and the Allied liberators. The case in Germany is noteworthy because the intense concentration of rapes in the months following the arrival of the Soviets made what is usually a concealed occurrence part of everyday culture.

It is difficult with any certainty to discern the number of women raped in Germany in the Spring of 1945. Excluding foreign slave laborers from Poland and Russia, there were an estimated two million victims. In May, 1945, the majority of the two million civilians in Berlin were women and children, leaving them vulnerable to these abuses. After a review of hospital records, a best estimate for the number of rape victims in Berlin range from 95,000 to 130,000. 113

In his book, *Exorcising Hitler*, historian Frederick Taylor gives an estimate of one hundredninety thousand, and posits this explanation for the escalation of rapes in the first months of Soviet occupation:

For a while, in the early summer of 1945, the instance of rape actually got worse again – a fact blamed on older, more educated men being released back to Russia early in order to assist with post-war reconstruction, leaving behind in Germany mainly younger men, many recruited late in the war from areas such as Belarus and the Ukraine, occupied for years by the *Wehrmacht*. Men from such regions were imbued with a deep loathing of everything German. 114

He also believed that the Russians may have viewed the women "as a form of German property." ¹¹⁵

There is no definite explanation for the cause of rape in war and there is debate as to whether it should be considered a side effect or act of war in itself. War rape may be seen as either an incidental by-product of acts by individual soldiers or as a strategic effort to demoralize and humiliate a conquered enemy. 116

The most renowned account of that period is an anonymous diary. An incomplete English version of *A Woman in Berlin: Eight Weeks in the Conquered City: A Diary*, published in the United States in 1954 and in Germany in 1959. The book's reception in Germany was contentious as it was seen as "besmirching the honor of German women". When a complete version of the diary was published fifty years later, a German journalist claimed to have identified the author, but her estate failed to verify her identity. I have chosen to leave the purported author's name out of this paper out of respect for her wishes. Her diary goes beyond her own personal experiences during the invasion and occupation and provides keen observations

of the general climate and sufferings of the women she encountered. An educated and cosmopolitan woman, the author had the advantage of speaking basic Russian. She was able to acquire a minimal level of security from random and gang rapes through a series of relationships with Russian officers. She wrote:

I hear that other women have done the same thing I have, that they're now spoken for and therefore taboo. . . . By no means could it be said that the major is raping me. One cold word and he'd probably go his way and never come back. So I am placing myself at his service of my own accord. 118

The anonymous woman witnesses Russians arguing over the fate of one of her neighbors:

By the flickering light of a so-called Hindenburg lamp—a wick in tallow encased in cardboard—I see the baker's wife in a recliner, her ashen face, her twitching mouth. Three Russians are standing next to her. One is jerking her up by the arm, but when she tries to get up, another shoves her back in the chair as if she were a puppet, a thing. . . . The officer joins the conversation, not with a tone of command but as among equals. Several times I hear the expression 'ukaz Stalina.' Stalin's decree. Apparently Stalin has declared that 'this kind of thing' is not to happen. But it happens anyway, the officer gives me to understand, shrugging his shoulders. One of the two men being reprimanded voices his objection, his face twisted in anger: 'What do you mean? What did the Germans do to our women?' He is screaming. 'They took my sister and . . .' and so on. I can't understand all the words, only the sense. ¹¹⁹

This episode brings out several pertinent themes. The baker's wife appears to be in stupor. After experiencing multiple rapes and gang-rapes, many women simply stopped fighting and complied in order to mitigate the violence of the attacks. Some were so psychologically numb after their initial experiences that they went limp out of an internal sense of self-preservation or in hopes that their demeanor would discourage attackers. The officer mentions

"Stalin's decree" forbidding rape, yet upon hearing reports of the outrages, Stalin's attitude was that the behavior was to be expected in young male soldiers. He reportedly said to Milovan Dijlas, a Yugoslavian communist leader, "Can't he understand it if a soldier who has crossed thousands of kilometers through blood and fire and death has fun with a woman or takes some trifle?" There is no discrimination between rape and consensual sexual intercourse. One of the soldiers challenges the officer by justifying the activity as revenge for the rape of his sister by German soldiers.

The German civilians had a particularly difficult time accepting that the atrocities described by Soviet soldiers as perpetrated by German soldiers were true. Later in the diary, the anonymous woman describes and encounter with a young Soviet describing just such an incident:

The second Russian guest is a young boy of seventeen, a former partisan who joined up with the westward advancing troops. He looks at me, brow deeply furrowed, and asks me to translate that in his village German soldiers stabbed some children to death and took others by the feet and bashed their heads against the wall. Before I translate, I ask, 'Did you hear that? Or see it yourself?' He gazes off and says in a stern voice, 'I saw it twice myself.' I translate.

'I don't believe it,' answers Frau Lehmann. 'Our soldiers? My husband? Never!' Fraulein Behn tells me to ask the Russian whether the soldiers in question had 'a bird here' (on their caps) or 'a bird here' (on their arms)—in other words, whether they were *Wehrmacht* or SS. The Russian understands the question right away—the villagers probably learned to make that distinction. But even if it was SS men in this case and similar ones, our conquerors will consider them part of the 'nation' and charge us accordingly. Talk like this is already making the rounds; today at the pump I heard several people say, 'Our boys probably weren't much different over there.'

Historian Elizabeth Heineman holds that:

The recent conduct of the Germans in the east, however, was only one of many factors contributing to women's fears of the coming Soviet conquest. German stereotypes of brutal, semi-human peoples of Asia had a centuries-long history, and the Nazi Party had made official portrayals of 'Red Hordes,' 'Tartars,' 'Huns,' and 'Asiatics' part of its racial and political vocabulary. As the war drew to a close, depictions of Soviet brutalities, and specifically, of rape, became an important tool in urging Germans to fight to the last breath. 122

Why?

In trying to answer the question as to why the rapes occurred with some frequency, the anonymous woman muses over some German women's underwear advertisements that it may be sexual frustration:

They're bound to be interested in that—all men are. But they can't get it at home. Maybe that's a mistake. If pictures like that were available, the men could fill their fantasies with all those idealized figures and wouldn't wind up throwing themselves on every woman in sight, no matter how old or ugly. I'll have to give this some more thought. 123

Of course, with the benefit of decades of research on the psychology of rapists, we know that individual, gang, and mass rapes are not the result of mere sexual frustration but about objectification, power, and control.

It is unusual for rape to become an everyday, open experience for the majority of women outside of circumstances such as war. These victims were forced to attempt to incorporate mass rape into their lives or emotionally disintegrate. This entry elucidates the phenomena:

What else did the day bring? Another stair victim, once again an older woman, bout sixty; the younger ones don't dare venture into the stairwell by day. This time it was one of the three dressmakers, the black-pudding sisters. They'd heard that Anatol's men had

vacated their apartment, so they made their way into the abandoned rooms, escorted by our deserter. Together they fished a sewing machine out of the trash and general clutter and lugged it up two flights of stairs. Then one of the aunties went back down by herself, to salvage some other sewing equipment—and ran right into the hands of a Russian. When the widow spoke with her it was nearly evening and the dressmaker was still sobbing on the sofa in the bookseller's apartment, surrounded by a whole bevy of women, moaning and groaning. 124

These circumstances wore down the women and the men of Berlin. The anonymous author relates a story a woman told her while gathered at a water pump. The Russians had come down into the basement where a group of apartment dwellers had hidden and singled out a woman. One of the men of the group shouted, "Well, why don't you just go with them, you're putting all of us in danger!" The author describes this caustically as, "A minor footnote in the Decline of the West." However, sometimes the presence of German men prevented rapes. A Mr. Leo Borchard, who spoke Russian, was able to prevent the rape of one girl by claiming she was his daughter. 126

Throughout the diary, the woman hopes for the return of her fiancé, Gerd. And when he does he cannot accept what has happened to her. When she shows him her diary, she relates, "'For example, what's that supposed to mean?' he asked, pointing to 'Schdg.' I had to laugh: 'Schändung,' of course—rape. He looked at me as if I were out of my mind but said nothing more." Eventually, their relationship ended. Many German men could not reconcile their inability to protect their loved ones and simply turned away or blamed the women. This gave the rapists a dual-edged weapon. Not only could they humiliate and degrade the women of Germany, but they could emasculate the men of Berlin. Other women, traditionally a source of

support for female victims of rape, turned on each other, as well. When the author is left to be assaulted, she confronts the women in her building:

... a whole group of women, with the widow in the lead, sobbing lamentably, 'Don't be angry with me!' (As of yesterday we've calling each other with the familiar du.) A number of women around her sobbing as well. I just laugh in the face of all the lamentation. 'What's the matter, I'm alive, aren't I? Life goes on!' Life goes on!'

Her steely attitude illustrates the toughness victims were forced to develop. Some women even tried to make a joke out their circumstances. A popular expression among them was, "Besser ein Iwan auf dem Bauch als ein Ami auf dem Kopf!" or "Better a Russki on the belly than a Yank on the head!" 129

That does not mean that women did not offer each other support and share the burdens of their pain. In a particularly poignant entry a woman describes her friend, Elvira's, gang rape:

'They lined up,' his wife whispers to us, while the redhead stays silent. 'Each took his turn. She says there were at least twenty, but she doesn't know exactly. She had to bear the brunt of it herself. The other women wasn't well.'

I stare at Elvira. Her swollen mouth is sticking out of her pale face like a blue plum. 'Show them,' says the distiller's wife. Without a word the redhead opens her blouse and shows us her breasts, all bruised and bitten. I can barely write this; just thinking about it makes me gag all over again.

We left the rest of the Vaseline. There was nothing to say, so we didn't try. But Elvira started talking on her own, although we could barely understand, her lips were so swollen. 'I prayed while it was happening,' she said, or words to that effect. 'I kept on praying: Dear God, thank you for the fact that I am drunk.' Because before the boys lined up they plied her with whatever they'd found, and they kept giving her drinks in between. And for all of this we thank the Fuhrer. ¹³⁰

Not only did Elvira suffer additional trauma to protect the sickly woman, but, in a seemingly small gesture, the author leaves the prized Vaseline for her.

No female was safe from the scourge of rape. The very old and the very young became victims. Even a group of nuns working in a military hospital were raped and infected with syphilis. ¹³¹ Ultimately, there were victims who committed suicide rather than live with the memories and public and private shame.

The Germans did attempt to speak to the occupiers about the problem of mass rape.

When the author was left by the fellows in her building to be raped, her rage prompted the group to go to a Russian officer, but to no avail:

I start yelling: 'You pigs! Here they rape me twice in a row and you shut the door and leave me lying like a piece of dirt!' And I turn to leave. At first they're quiet, then all hell breaks loose behind me, everyone talking at once, screaming, fighting, flailing about. At last a decision: 'We'll all go together to the commandant and ask for protection for the night.'

"And so finally a small platoon of women, along with a few men, heads out into the evening twilight, into the mild air smelling of fire, over to where the commandant is said to be staying. . . . He looks at the pitiful group of people come to complain and laughs, laughs at my stammering. 'Come on, I'm sure they didn't really hurt you. Our men are all healthy.' He strolls back to the other officers. We hear them chuckling quietly. I turn to our gray assembly. 'There's no point.' 132

As a matter of public health, the mass rapes could not be ignored. Stations were set up by the German medical community to treat the epidemic of sexually transmitted diseases, injuries, and unwanted pregnancies. These pregnancies were referred to as *Russenkinder*, literally "Russian children." On August 18, 1945, a woman named Ruth Friedrich pondered the fate of these children two hundred thousand children, ". . . who don't know who their own fathers are,

are the products of violence; conceived in fear; and delivered in horror. Should they be allowed to live?"¹³⁴

The controversy the diary caused in German in 1959 shows that the society had made an effort to forget the mass rapes. But how could the community blot out the reality of the tragedies forever? The anonymous woman considered sagaciously:

But here we're dealing with a collective experience, something foreseen and feared many times in advance that happened to women right and left, all somehow part of the bargain. And this mass rape is something we are overcoming collectively as well. All the women help each other by speaking about it, airing their pain, and allowing others to air theirs and spit out what they've suffered. Which of courses doesn't mean that creatures more delicate than this cheeky little Berlin girl won't fall apart or suffer for the rest of their lives. ¹³⁵

Remembering

In the immediate aftermath of the war, individual women's reactions to their rapes differed. Some numbered it among the many miseries they had to confront with the end of the war. Others could never process the experience and either lived with the psychological and emotional damages or committed suicide. Historian Elizabeth Heineman observes:

Women's immediate reactions to rape varied widely. Some women seem to have experienced rape as one problem among many: it was a horrible episode, but so were many other events of the winter and spring of 1945. For others, rape was an earth-shattering experience. The fact that rape was often accompanied by shooting—either of the victim, or others with her, or simply reckless shooting into the air—meant that women had to fear rape as a mortal danger, not 'just' as a painful and traumatic episode. Some families and fiancés reacted with disgust even as women returned tattered and bleeding; others felt but could not express their sympathy. Where internal injuries, sexually transmitted disease, or pregnancy resulted, women's feelings of lasting damage were confirmed. ¹³⁶

How did the Germans incorporate this collective experience into their history and public discourse? Immediately after the war, Germans were busy trying to rebuild their devastated country. Their cities had been destroyed by bombs and battles. A generation of young men had been lost. Millions of ethnic Germans were expelled from neighboring countries and sent back into a Germany that was being divided into East and West. The world was focused on punishing the Nazi war crimes while Germans tried to come to terms with their own victimizations. Robert G. Moeller wrote that:

Germans—East and West—identified themselves as victims of a war that Hitler started but everyone lost. However, rhetorics of victimizations did not lead to demands for revenge or retribution, and they tended to solidify, not dissolve, the bases for social solidarity in both postwar states. In this sense, Germans came to terms with defeat far more successfully than they did in 1918...¹³⁷

Michael Hughes questioned the validity of that solidarity, stating, "West Germans constructed it in part by excluding from their victim community most of the Nazis' intended victims: Jews (despite the restitution legislation that parliament reluctantly passed), many of the politically persecuted, asocials, homosexuals and Sinti and Roma."

While the monstrous behavior of Soviet "liberators" was spoken of only in private in West Germany due to social delicacies and in East Germany because of the ruling regime, the collective memory of the rapes came to stand for the collective victimization of Germans and Germany itself. The real physical violation of German women became the metaphorical violation of Germany in racial, political, and national terms. In the East, Western capitalist and fascist aggression was to blame for all miseries. In the West, civilization itself was violated by the Soviets and the behavior of "Asiatics," implying their supposed racial inferiority.

In West Germany, the government would not provide compensation under the Law to Aid Victims of War unless one could prove permanent disability. Children from rape received no support because children were seen as the "natural result of sexual intercourse." It was not until the late fifties that a small number of women would receive support through the Law Regarding Compensation for Work and Damages Resulting from the Occupation. Many still refused to come forward due to the social stigma against rape victims.

During the 1960s and 1970s, there was a shift in historical analyses of German history and public memory focusing on Nazi crimes and German accountability with a focus on the Holocaust. West Germany extended its statute of limitations on murders committed by Nazis in service of the Third Reich. Children born after World War Two began to question their parents' involvement in the war. The primary view of Germany as a victim of the "Hitler gang" and Soviet aggression came under fire. The collective memory moved from Germans as collective victims to Germans as bearing collective guilt.

In the 1980s, Germans called for histories and public discourse that included remembrance of their own sufferings, including the rapes. The crimes of the victors should be recounted along with the crimes of Nazis. However, there were fears that inclusion of these events would somehow result in a measurement of comparative suffering and that German suffering would be viewed as atonement for the sins of the Holocaust. Robert Moeller said, "... calls for Germans to remember their losses triggered vehement negative responses from those who claimed that any attempt to tell the story of German victims would inevitably lead in the direction of apologia and the false equation of German suffering with the crimes committed by Germans." ¹⁴⁰

During the 1990s and into the twenty-first century, how the Second World War and its aftermath are remembered continues to evolve. Now that the overwhelming majority of Germans were born after 1945, there is historical and public space to remember both the crimes of the Nazis and the suffering of the German people. Historians, sociologists, filmmakers, and writers have brought the subject of the rapes back into the public discourse. In October 2000, German writer Günter Grass stated how "curiously disturbing" that "we remember only belatedly and with hesitation the suffering that came to Germans during the war. It was finally time," Grass mused, to give voice to the "silence of the victims." ¹⁴¹

Mass Rape In War

The experience of German women at the end of World War Two would affect how mass rape in war was dealt with in 1990s Yugoslavia. Feminist and psychological analyses developed in the 1970s consider rape an exertion of power of men over women—a form of gender violence. Because of the studies done through this lens, feminist activists were able to recognize what was happening in Yugoslavia when Serbs began raping Bosnian Muslim women and move to intervene. Pascale Bos stated that:

These rapes are part of a larger conflict in which a great deal of violence is inflicted on men as well as women. . . . If one instead focuses on war only insofar as rape is concerned and perceives these rapes mainly as an expression of patriarchal male-on-female violence, the larger context of a war remains obscured, and the roles women potentially play as agents in war remain unclear. . . . In both the German and Yugoslav cases, the rapes cannot be analyzed outside the historical-political content of these particular wars, which were conflicts with a strong ethnic or racial dimension. ¹⁴²

The international feminist response to the rapes in Yugoslavia was divided at first.

Should the acts be viewed as gendered crime or characterized as racial? Did they constitute a form of genocide? Bos thought:

... it seems to imply that German women were victims only. However, in the analysis of the rapes in Bosnia-Herzegovina, racist motives behind the rapes were instead highlighted to such an extent, and were deemed so central to the definition of harm (as rape was argued to be a form of genocide), that racial categories threatened to become reified. Yet precisely because the racial ideology the Nazis employed has been so universally and profoundly delegitimized, reviewing the German case can serve as a warning against reifying notions of supposed racial difference in defining the harm of rape. . . . Feminist analyses of wartime rape have been formed by a theoretical understanding of 'everyday rape' that emerged through feminist activism . . . the analysis of rape as primarily motivated by power and control (sex is merely the chosen vehicle through which to inflict harm on a woman rather than the motive for the act) was pathbreaking. 143

When the International Criminal Tribunal for the former Yugoslavia (ICTY) was formed in 1993, the rapes were brought before the court. For the "first time in history, rape was treated was a crime of war before an international court, an important breakthrough in international humanitarian law. Wartime rape was now considered a crime in terms of harm done to the woman, and as a separate war act that could be prosecuted as such." ¹⁴⁴

In retrospect, there is no doubt that the rapes in Germany in 1945 constitute war crimes against civilians. But the German women's and German society's struggle to understand and incorporate this episode into their personal and public memories and histories profoundly changed the world reaction in Yugoslavia.

Strategic Carpet and Incendiary Bombing

I think it well also for the man in the street to realize that there is no power on earth which can protect him from bombing, whatever people tell him. The bomber will always get through. . . . The only defense is in offense, which means you have to kill more men and children quicker than the enemy if you want to save yourselves. – Stanley Baldwin¹⁴⁵

Strategic Bombing

When discussing firebombing, first and foremost, the city of Dresden comes to mind. Many scholarly, personal, and fictional accounts have been written about the 25,000 who perished in the firestorm of February 1945. The debate continues today over whether or not the city was a valid target or simply an attempt to slaughter civilians to break German morale. Hamburg, too, was another old German city that lost over 40,000 people in July of 1943 to British and American incendiary bombs. There is a tendency to focus on these raids as the epitome of destruction aimed at civilians with the exception of the use of the atomic bombs. However, beginning in February of 1945, the United States embarked on what would be the largest and deadliest set of raids using a combination of explosive and incendiary bombs on the cities of Japan. Tokyo, in particular, would suffer, losing sixteen square miles and one hundred thousand lives in one night – higher than the immediate death tolls of either atomic bombing. This section discusses the Tokyo firebombing.

During World War I aeronautical engineering was in its infancy. Airplanes were used mostly for reconnaissance, air-to-air combat, and tactical missions on the battlefront directed at military forces with bomb payloads that were very light utilizing guidance that was without much precision. The Germans (beginning with dirigibles) and British developed crude strategic bombing methods. During the 1920's, the British began developing their theories on strategic bombing and used it as an inexpensive way to suppress colonial unrest. Meanwhile the Italians

and Americans developed the idea that a strategic use of air forces against an enemy's vital centers with a large bomber force would be invulnerable to fighter attack. The Germans utilized this sort of attack in April of 1937, during the Spanish Civil War, when Luftwaffe in support of General Francisco Franco, bombed the town of Guernica in Spain, killing over 1,500 civilians. The action resulted in worldwide public moral outrage at that time. As with Dresden, there is continued discussion today over the actions at Guernica.

During the 1930's, the United States Army developed a strategic bombing doctrine of its own that shared with the British and Italian models these tenets: 1) striking at an enemy's homeland was crucial for victory; 2) bomber forces would always reach the target; and 3) there was no effective defense against bombers. The American strategy offered two additional concepts: 1) heavily armored bombers flying at high speed at high altitudes could complete bombing missions successfully without fighter escort; and 2) strikes against key economic and industrial targets would cripple an enemy's ability to fight and frustrate the civilian population. After 1939, practical experience of the bomber formations vulnerability promoted the use of fighter escorts and the development of radar helped to blunt the German air offensive and improved night bombing ¹⁴⁶ The new advances were not refined to the point of precision. Radar technology was in its infancy and the Norden bombsights employed by the Army and Navy may have allowed for better targeting from high-altitude but the results were variable.

Air tactical operations continued to take place in support of ground battles and reconnaissance and weather monitoring advanced. Aircraft carriers changed the face of naval warfare, ushering in the end of the age of the great battleships. The engineering of long-range, four engine, heavy bombers allowed for strategic targeting far behind enemy lines, with targets chosen for their military, economic, and psychological impact.¹⁴⁷

The United States Navy had been preparing for operations in the Pacific since the end of the Philippine-American War. By the mid-1930's, advances in Japanese airpower convinced the Navy it would take at least two years to fight its way across the Pacific. In collaboration with the Army, a Pacific war would be conducted initially with, ". . . a defensive strategy at the start of the war, followed by a navy push combined with economic warfare." ¹⁴⁸

Based on his experiences fighting the Japanese with the American volunteers in the Chinese Air Force during the 1930s, Lieutenant General Claire L. Chennault, of Flying Tigers fame, and Secretary of the Treasury Henry Morgenthau were early proponents of strategic bombing in the Pacific War. They faced considerable resistance from Secretary of War Henry Stimson for moral reasons. Army Chief of Staff George Marshall expressed concern that concentrated efforts in the Pacific would divert resources from the European air war. President Franklin D. Roosevelt approved a new plan submitted by the Joint Army-Navy Board in July of 1941 for the use of China-based American bombers for incendiary bombing of Japan. As a result of a committee of operations analysts report, in June 1944 the Joint Incendiary Committee was established to devise a plan for the destruction of the six main industrial areas on Honshu.

The primary plane used in the proposed raids was the new B-29 Superfortress rather than the B-17 Flying Fortress used in daylight raids in Europe. ¹⁵¹ A critical problem was the lack of bases available to launch raids. In order to facilitate an effective and sustained campaign the bases had to in the range of the Japanese home islands.

XXI Bomber Command and the Defense of Tokyo

As islands in the Marianas, Marshall, and Caroline island chains were liberated from Japanese rule, bases were established in 1944 by the XXI Bomber Command. Working under General Haywood Hansell, they were able to commence the assault on Japan. The first mission

from the Marianas took place on November 24, 1944. Eighty-three of the one hundred-eleven Superfortresses reached Tokyo, flying at an altitude averaging thirty thousand feet. Seventeen crews aborted with engine failures while the eleven did not bomb due to mechanical difficulties. The results of the precision daylight bombings were less than successful. Ferocious weather conditions and difficulties operating at such high altitudes made for a poor outcome. The situation would change markedly in January 1945 when General Hansel was replaced by General Curtis LeMay. 152

The results of LeMay's initial raids in February and early March were unimpressive, so he switched techniques. The failure of precision bombing at high altitude due to weather conditions warranted a change. Winds at thirty thousand feet often reached one hundred-thirty-five miles per hour causing extreme drift angles for the bombardiers. When the group commander announced a night attack on Tokyo at low altitude with no armament he was met with silence. It was difficult to believe LeMay's plan would meet with success. But on March 9, a night attack at low altitude set the paper and wood city of Tokyo afire. The next day, the *New York Times* reported, ". . . a blanket of fire was thrown over an area of fifteen square miles in the heart of Tokyo early today." The firebombing was not an accidental by-product of strategic bombing where fires broke out on the ground due to damage and were fed by the atmosphere. The bombs used were incendiary, created specifically to burn.

The Japanese had been preparing for the expected onslaught, and although the civil defense and anti-aircraft measures were weak, a concerted effort to evacuate Tokyo had met with some success. Almost a quarter of the population had been evacuated, leaving six million people inhabiting Greater Tokyo. Shelters like those utilized during the Blitz in London were not practical due to the geological substratum and lack of supplies to build and reinforce them. A

succession of firebreaks were spread throughout the city but with only about eight thousand poorly outfitted firefighters available, there was little to be done to halt the firestorm. Civil defense measures were handled by the mayor and sixty-five thousand civil servants. For each of the city's thirty-five wards a ward chief was appointed by the mayor. The chiefs were responsible for disseminating information about protective measures. With the first B-29 raids, the wards became more organized, forming defense groups and neighborhood and block associations. The Home Ministry was responsible for constructing firebreaks but the defense of homes was left to the individual homeowners and inhabitants.

March 9, 1945

This March 9th raid consisted of three hundred-twenty-four Superfortresses with roughly two thousand tons of bombs leaving Saipan for the fifteen hundred mile trip to Tokyo. By 12:30am, the Japanese Eastern Army Command was receiving reports that bombers were approaching at a surprisingly low altitude. The raid lasted for two hours and forty minutes. When the fires started over Tokyo, the updrafts rocked the unarmed planes. Fighters on the ground were activated with an eventual fourteen B-29s lost and forty-two damaged.¹⁵⁷

The citizens on the ground were unprepared. Toshiko Higashikawa, then twelve, recalled:

I grabbed my rucksack and ran down the street to join the others . . . We hurried through the streets, joining the fleeing crowd. Buildings were burning everywhere. Father was wearing his big backpack. It was very scary and the hot wind from the fires burned our faces. When a plane came over very low, we all ducked and tried to hide ourselves. We could see the bombs coming out of the planes; sometimes they exploded in the street in front of us. There was fire everywhere. I saw one person caught by the claws of the fire dragon before you could say Jack Robinson! Her clothes just went up in flames. Another two people were caught, and burned up. The bombers just kept coming. ¹⁵⁸

Toshiko, her mother and two sisters survived the night but she would never see her father or seven month-old baby brother again. For the rest of her life Toshiko had an almost uncontrollable fear of fire. 159

Toshiko's "fire dragon" was relentless. Mrs. Higashi Komagata was a twenty-four year old housewife from the neighborhood of Honjo. She was at home with her eight month-old twin daughters, Atsuko and Ryoko, and four year-old son, Kiichi when the raid began. The group was heading towards Yokogawa Park when a fireball struck Kiichi's air raid hood. Mrs. Morikawa tried to drown the flames in the park's pool. The smoke and heat were scorching their lungs. The girls had already succumbed to the hostile conditions and although Mrs. Morikawa begged her son to stay conscious, she passed out herself. When she awoke, a civil defense officer directed her to an aid station but forbade her to take the bodies of her daughters. After covering them with a wet jacket, she made her way to the aid station but no doctor was available and little Kiichi died. 160

In less than one hour, with the virtually unchallenged B-29's dropping incendiary M-69's at fifteen foot intervals over the lower city, the neighborhoods of Edo Gawa, Koto, Chuo, Minato, Oota, Katshushika, Kita, Itabashi, Shinjuku, and Shibuya were engulfed. Of the thirty-five Tokyo neighborhoods, twenty-nine were bombed. The high winds fed the fires creating what the Japanese refer to as *goryu kasai* (or linked fires). Asphalt was melting, and toxic fumes, heat and smoke made it impossible to breath. Forty percent of the houses were destroyed in the effected neighborhoods. The firefighters faced a hopeless situation. When the hose companies were sent out they discovered many of the water mains had been destroyed. By 3:00am the individual fires had linked to form huge conflagrations. The firefighters could no

longer effectively fight these fires so they joined forces with the police and volunteers to focus on rescue efforts. ¹⁶² Eighty brave firefighters lost their lives that night, with an additional five-hundred forty missing including the volunteers. ¹⁶³

Despite the severe conditions, some civilians, like housewife Miwa Koshiba, managed to keep their families safe. With two of her five children safely evacuated to the countryside, Mrs. Koshiba was at home on March 9 with her elderly parents, husband, and three youngest children when they heard the alarm. Mrs. Koshiba placed her little ones in a deep hole covered with wood that was dug in her back garden. Her husband carried his mother-in-law on his back while she guided her father to the safety of a shelter. Returning to her children she found the shelter cover on fire. Dousing the flames, she found her children safe, although six year-old Aiyawa had burnt his face and neck. She began her trek towards the Sumida River, about one-half mile away but stopped for cover in a large sewer pipe. Bathing the children in the fetid water to keep them cool and with eyes swollen shut from grit, wind and heat, Mrs. Koshiba managed to keep them alive. After the worst had past, she made her way with her three children to the safety of the Fukagawa Middle School where they were reunited with her husband and parents. ¹⁶⁴

Mrs. Koshiba and her family were successful in finding a shelter in Fukagawa Middle School. Sometimes the refuges themselves were more dangerous. Mr. Hiratsuka Saki and his father were getting ready to retire for the night when they heard the air raid sirens. They grabbed some bedding and their knapsacks and gathered the womenfolk and headed out into the night. A few doors down from their home, they noticed people entering the concrete Yashuda Bank. With no room on the ground floor, the Sakis headed down into the jam-packed basement. Hiratsuka lost his family in the crowd. The building caught fire and as the ground shuddered, the basement shifted. The windows were ablaze and the walls were hot to the touch. People began

passing out from the heat and smoke. In an effort to provide relief from the heat, he turned a valve on a large pipe. The pipe broke and water started filling the basement. The water continued to rise and by the time it reached close to the ceiling only a handful of people, including Hiratsuka and his father were alive. As bodies floated by, the younger Saki desperately pressed against the metal door, scorching his hands. Finally, a group of civil guards broke the door open from the other side with sledgehammers, freeing Mr. Hiratsuka, his father, and a few others. 165

Mrs. Tatsu Sakai was at home while her husband was still at work when the raid began. Following her block committee's advice, she had dug a shallow hole in her back yard. She hunkered down in the hole with her cocker spaniel. Both were saved as their home was destroyed. They had been walking for two hours when they happened upon Mr. Sakai under a bridge on the Sumida River. 166

Masatake Obata

There are many compelling accounts from the people in Tokyo on March 9, 1945. One of the most compelling stories is that of Masatake Obata. Mr. Obata was a retired soldier who ran a small airplane parts manufacturing company. He served as an air raid warden for his block. That night his wife and four children were hosting his two visiting sisters. When the warning sirens sounded, Mr. Obata instructed his wife to take the children and his sisters to the safety of Fuji Park. He donned his warden's uniform with its anti-shrapnel steel helmet and went on patrol. Meeting up with the neighborhood association, he was told to redirect his family to Sumida Park. Mr. Obtata began going door-to-door to assist evacuating his neighbors.

After checking on all his charges, he headed off to Sumida Park to meet up with his family. Along the way he encountered people complaining their protective hoods were catching fire and soon he found himself batting at the flames of his own. Suddenly a bomb dropped ten feet from him. It was a cluster bomb and one of the bomb-lets detached and blew up in his face. Mr. Obata's helmet redirected the force against his jaw, throwing him to the ground where his helmet concussed him. When he regained consciousness, his clothes were still burning and as he put them out he noticed his hands and feet were burnt and his toes had melted down. Somehow he got to his feet and made it to a deep trench by the side of the road. In the trench he found seven others. Mr. Obata rallied them to stay conscious until dawn. ¹⁶⁷

With the arrival of daylight, Mr. Obata headed to Sensoji Hospital seeking treatment. He was tended to by a doctor and nurse who treated and bandaged his burns. The bandages covered his entire body with the exception of his eyes – which were swollen shut. When the nurse asked which ward Mr. Obata should be taken to, the doctor replied:

It's not necessary to take him to any ward. Take him down to the morgue in the basement. Let him join the other dead. There is no hope. 168

Mr. Obata was still conscious but could not answer. Silently, he said to himself, "I won't die. . . . I won't! . . . I won't!" Mr. Obata would lie in the basement drifting in and out of consciousness over the next few days as the bodies mounted around him.

Meanwhile, Mr. Obata's brothers and mother came looking for him. Leaving the burnt remains of his home, they started contacting the hospitals and civil authorities. Mr. Obata's mother went to Sensoji Hospital on March 12. The hospital misidentified him as "Ogata" and said he was not there. Yet, his mother intuitively knew her son was there. She canvassed the

building calling his name. When she came to the top of the basement stairs she asked what was down there and was told the morgue. Mrs. Obata insisted on going down into the morgue. Hearing his mother's call, Mr. Obata raised himself and issued a garbled noise. Then he felt his mother's embrace. Mrs. Obata had her son released and workers from his factory pulled his stretcher with a bicycle cart to her home. Her personal physician was not capable of providing the level of care Mr. Obata required. The Obata brothers took him to the railroad station, determined to have him sent to a military hospital. When the railroad authorities caustically remarked, "Sorry, we don't sell tickets to dead men," the brothers appealed to an ordnance officer in charge of procurement that they were acquainted with. The officer made sure Mr. Obata and one of his brothers was given passage on a train for the military hospital at Murawa. 170

At first, an oral surgeon refused to operate on Mr. Obata with his broken jaw and lipless face. Obata's brothers insisted and assured the hospital they would not be held liable if their brother died. When the hospital did not have penicillin and other medicines, one of the brothers would go to army hospital in Tokyo and get them. Mr. Obata went through dozens of procedures. He would be scarred and lose some mobility in his hands and feet, but he would survive. Mr. Obata's wife, children and sisters perished in the raid. 171

After the war, Mr. Obata turned his business over to his brothers and dedicated his life to lobbying for aid to victims of the firebombing.¹⁷²

Tokyo in Ruins

Nearly sixteen square mile of Tokyo had been destroyed. Sixty-three percent of the commercial district and eighteen percent of the industrial district lay in waste. Along with these, many residential districts were obliterated.¹⁷³ The Japanese estimated two hundred sixty-one

thousand homes were destroyed leaving approximately one million people homeless. After viewing photos of the area after the bombings, General LeMay simply stated, "We've got them." 174

Pharmaceutical companies ramped up production on penicillin but there was not enough medical staff to treat all of the wounded.¹⁷⁵ Many suffered burns, breathing difficulties, and conjunctivitis. There were substantial delays in delivering food and other supplies to the capitol because the army's air transport was depleted from servicing ongoing battles on the islands of the Pacific.¹⁷⁶

While the Americans avoided bombing the Imperial Palace and compound, Emperor Hirohito insisted on touring the destruction. On March 11, his limousine took him to the banks of the Sumida River where he stopped at the refugee camp nearby. The Emperor was clearly moved by the plight of his people and in an unprecedented move stopped twice to speak with survivors. This was unheard of in Japan. One can only imagine what the Shōwa Emperor thoughts were as no official diary entries on the events remain.

As a result of the March 9 bombing, efforts were ramped up to evacuate the major cities of Japan. City blocks were destroyed to create twenty firebreaks one hundred to two hundred meters wide. Tokyo was bombed again on April 2, April 3, April 7, April 13, April 15, May 24, May 26, July 20, August 8, and August 10, 1945. Just over half of the city, or twenty-two square miles, was annihilated. Millions were homeless and over one hundred thousand lost their lives. The Tokyoites would become so familiar with the sight of the B-29's they were jokingly referred to as "B-san." Thousands remained in the bombed out sections of the city.

Living in patched up buildings and digging shelter beneath them, they reasoned they were safer there believing that further attacks were unlikely.¹⁸⁰

In a desperate attempt to combat the B-29's, Imperial Headquarters announced the formation of a special unit of suicide pilots called the Shinten ("heaven-shaking") who would launch their fighters directly at the bombers. These "wild eagles" were lauded as national heroes. ¹⁸¹ Japanese air defenses were never centralized, under the auspices of the Imperial Army, each prefecture had its own distinct unit working independently. In total there were only about five hundred fighters in Japan with two groups of night fighters. ¹⁸²

Was Tokyo a valid target? There have long been moral objections to the incendiary bombings of the Japanese capital. The overwhelming majority of those killed and wounded were unquestionably civilians. Carpet bombing using incendiaries is by its nature indiscriminate.

Still, the American public supported the campaign. Thoughts of Pearl Harbor, the Bataan Death March, Peleliu, and the forces still fighting on Iwo Jima diminished sympathetic impulses. John Dower noted:

With the firebombings, we crossed the line that we had said was clearly beyond the pale of civilization. The American reaction at the time was that they deserved it. There was almost a genocidal attitude on the part of the American military, and it extended to the American public. ¹⁸³

The doctrine of reaping widespread destruction in order to demoralize an enemy population is debatable. However, one of the main justifications for the bombing was that the city itself was a factory. The civilians remaining in the city during the bombings either did not have the resources to leave or were working – with the majority working in war industries. Factories that were not supporting the military efforts prior to war were converted to

accommodate military needs. Piecemeal work was done in individual homes. Hoito Edoin, in his book, *The Night Tokyo Burned*, goes as far as to state, "In effect, Tokyo had become one huge arsenal." The official mission report of XXI Bomber Command stated unequivocally, "The object of these attacks was *not* to indiscriminately bomb civilian populations. The object was to destroy the *industrial and strategic targets* concentrated in the urban areas." Despite the success of the tactics, carpet bombing with incendiaries decreased. The three main reasons were that air support was needed for the naval and ground wars, stocks of incendiaries had been depleted, and the bomber crews were fatigued. 187

In Japan today, the atomic bombings of Hiroshima and Nagasaki overshadow the Tokyo firebombings in history and popular memory, despite the fact that more people perished as result of the firebombings of Japanese cities. There are controversial annual national ceremonies of remembrance of the soldiers who died during the war and each year in August people from around the world remember Hiroshima and Nagasaki. Yet, it was not until 2002 that a small museum dedicated to the firebombings, driven by survivors and funded by donations, was opened in Tokyo. The Japanese government and historians may have been reluctant to bring the firebombings into the public history discourse because of the drive to ally the country with the United States after the war and reluctance to examine the wartime leadership's judgment in distributing war production throughout civilian neighborhoods. Focusing on the atomic bombings also bolsters a sense of victimhood. In an interview in 2002, survivor Hiroshi Hoshino said, "When I go to speak to schools about what happened, the students just stare at me blankly. Of course, everyone knows about the atomic bombings, but many people are not aware of the napalm attacks at all."

The incendiary bombing of Tokyo clearly targeted the civilian population for demoralization and destruction as much as it did the war production in the city. Like Dresden, Hamburg, and Cologne, in Germany, it forces a deeper look at Allied actions. It also reinforces the necessity for a re-examination of the role of the civilian in war.

Laborers Waging War

. . . If all do their duty, if nothing is neglected and if the best arrangements are made as they are being made, we shall prove ourselves able once again to defend our island home, to ride out the storm of war, and to outlive the menace of tyranny, if necessary for years, if necessary alone. - Prime Minister Winston Churchill, Address to the House of Commons, May 4, 1940¹⁸⁹

Planning

There is a surfeit of illustrations of war being waged against civilians. In what ways do civilians wage war? Examples run the gamut from bond drives directly financing the conflict to partisan warfare. Yet, the strongest exemplars can found in the economic mobilization of civilian labor in support of the war. During World War II, the United States and Soviet Union had the population, resources, and geographical space to effectively mass produce the supplies and armaments required for modern warfare. The Soviet Union had been the only nation to produce munitions on the same scale as a rearming Germany during the 1930's, with approximately twenty percent of the government's budget going towards defense. The United States had superior industrial technology but had planned very little due to its geographical isolation from potential belligerents. Great Britain was only spending seven percent of its budget on defense in 1938, but with war looming in Europe, started ramping up its programs. During the next seven years, one-half the civilian population in Great Britain would be mobilized in support of the war. The other Allies never approached these figures. This section will outline the British civilian labor mobilization and British war economy. 190

The channels for managing the infrastructure of the home front were based on those utilized during the First World War. In 1915, the Land Army was formed with civilians working

agricultural jobs vacated by those in military service. The Ministry of National Service was established in 1917. It compiled the Schedule of Reserved Occupations. This list consisted of professions and trades suited for sustaining the framework of mechanized warfare who were generally exempted from military conscription. In 1922, the Ministry of Labor, Manpower Sub-Committee, Ministry of Munitions, and Cabinet established policies regarding military transcription, issued a Schedule of Protected Occupations, and assigned the administration of human resources to the Ministry of National Service in an effort to balance the anticipated competing demands of the military and industry in preparation for future conflicts.

Tensions mounted in Europe during the 1930s and preparations accelerated. By June of 1939, the Ministry of Agriculture and Fisheries reformed the Land Army as the Women's Land Army. Although it was called an army and run by a ministry, it was a civilian organization headed by Lady Denham. The initial workers were volunteers who were interviewed and given a medical examination in order to join. With one-third of the workers coming from urban areas, many of the women learned through on-the-job experience. Eventually women would be designated to work in agriculture through conscription. Ninety thousand women would work in the Women's Land Army during World War Two. ¹⁹²

On August 1' 1939, the Ministry of Supply was created to supply munitions for land forces and control the flow of materials to the military and civilian populations. Later that month, the Cabinet established the Ministry of Labor and National Service. ¹⁹³ Industrial needs were prioritized into three groups. Group I included aircraft and other vehicles, chemicals, engineering, explosives, metal goods manufacturing, motors, oils, and shipbuilding and repair. Group II consisted of agriculture, mining, national and local government services, transport and

shipping, and utilities (including electricity, gas and water). Group III dealt with banking and commerce, civil engineering, clothing and textiles, distribution, and food and drink. 194

The outstanding question was the total demands on British human and material resources and could they be met with the strain caused by military conscription?

Winston Churchill summed up the situation succinctly, "At the root of all questions of manpower lies in the size of the army." The goal was to enlist one million recruits during 1940. Coincidentally, an increase in the size of the services required and increase in the industrial labor forces. Even conservative estimates of overall demand challenged manpower capacity. The lofty production goals, particularly of the Admiralty and Ministry of Aircraft, were something to strive for. The pool of appropriate conscripts was still limited to men ages eighteen to forty. Of the eight million in this group roughly half would be employed in areas on the Schedule of Protected Occupations. An additional half million were still exempt from service because they were under the call-up age of twenty.

The obvious answer was to look to the women. According to economists W.K. Hancock and M.M. Gowing, "The total of women to be recruited—not counting transfers from less essential to more essential occupations—was 1,690,000." At the time there were seventeen and one-half million females between the ages of fourteen and sixty-four with only six and one-half million employed. However, only two and one-half million were single or widowed and some of these would still have families that relied on them for support in the home. There could be no choice but to include the married women. ¹⁹⁶ In the meantime, British production was supplemented in March 11, 1941, when the United States Congress passed the Lend-Lease Act. ¹⁹⁷

Manpower

In July of 1941, the number of skilled laborers was still short by ten thousand. Women had been the primary pool of applicants the previous year, but the need to employ them in the munitions factory had since skyrocketed. The projections for 1942 were even more daunting. The national services were seeking an additional eight hundred twenty-nine thousand men and four hundred sixty-two thousand women. This meant that munitions needed to add three hundred fifteen thousand men and four hundred sixty thousand women. With one quarter of the eight million men and women suitable already engaged in either the military or civilian defense and industry, all of the labor reserves that could readily be incorporated were exhausted. These reserves had been filled by the unemployed, non-industrial workers, and nearly one million workers reassigned from Group III occupations. Also, the International Labor Force was formed to register and find employment for all anti-Fascist aliens. Unemployment plummeted and the shift of workers from non-industrial jobs and Group III jobs would have a major impact on the standard of living.

At the height of the mobilization in mid-1943, the Ministry of Labor statistics showed forty-nine percent of the total working population was employed in some form of war work. The same statistics for the United States ran at about forty percent. ¹⁹⁹

How had this mobilization been carried out? The Emergency Powers Act of May 1940 endowed the Minister of Labor with extensive powers. Anyone in the United Kingdom could be directed to perform any service in any location under any conditions for however many hours for whatever pay was deemed necessary. Great Britain was the first nation to officially conscript women. Unoccupied persons were required to register with the ministry and employers were

expected to be prepared to produce records for workers currently employed. The ministry could also dictate how plants could be managed, but used this power sparingly.²⁰⁰

After compulsory registration, workers were allocated based on Group distribution. Young, unmarried people without familial obligations may be expected to report immediately in plants located far away from their homes. The geographical redistribution and retraining was extremely stressful. Workers faced a myriad of difficulties such as traveling to their new jobs and getting care for their children if they had any. Housing was the most serious challenge. Due to the bombings, by the end of 1942, about two and one-half million were living in crowded conditions in buildings that had only received cursory repairs. The hours were brutal. Royal Ordnance and factories engaged in defense contracts were required to run shifts round-the-clock every day of the week. All holidays were postponed. Any employees moved to strike were referred the National Arbitration Tribunal since strikes and lockouts were prohibited. Strikes did continue and most were regarding wage increases. Anyone who refused assigned work could not receive unemployment benefits.

Considering the high demand for conscripts projected for 1942, the War Cabinet lowered the age of eligible young men to eighteen and one-half years of age, decided on a case-by-case basis whether a male in a reserved occupation was excused from service, and proposed a National Service Act. The legislation called for all persons between the ages of eighteen and sixty to undertake some form of national service. This effectively raised the age of males eligible for military service to age of sixty-one. Serving in administrative and clerical positions, these men would free up the young women currently serving in these positions for industry. The act was also unprecedented in its compulsory recruitment of women into the Auxiliary Services or Civil Defence. The bill was passed in December of 1941.

During the first two years of the war, there had been a distinct shift away from apportioning people into Groups on an equitable basis. Labor would be distributed where the raw materials and high priority production programs existed. Exceptions might be made for individual firms. Under the June 1940 Restriction on Engagement Order, no one could leave their job or be fired from their job without the consent of a National Service officer. The largest source of workers available for transfer to vital industries were women who were not already employed full-time in reserved occupations or who worked at companies whose production was less than seventy-five percent dedicated to war efforts. The resulting forced turnover frustrated employers to no end. Only proof of dire domestic hardship as a result of transfer or employer verification a person was indispensible could prevent compulsory transfer. So began the immense migration of workers.²⁰⁵

In order to combat the drain on production of goods for civilians, the government concentrated production in fewer factories so that staffing could be done most efficiently. Keeping up production of these goods may have been the lowest priority, but they were a priority. In order to maintain morale and for the welfare of those who continued to work in any capacity, it was important to have some creature comforts. Hancock and Gowing remind us that, "... the essential truth remains that the Labour of which Mr. Bevin was Minister was not a mere collection of 'hands' nor simply the figures in a statistical table, but a vast multitude of men and women with human bodies and human hearts, both of which are breakable commodities." Of course, improved morale meant higher worker production output. A rationing system was put in place in order to assure equitable distribution of necessities. Key items like gasoline, cooking fats and sugars would be available to all. In order to fight inflation, price controls were instituted.

At the height of production, between 1942 and 1944, the total population of Great Britain averaged forty-seven million. The labor pool for that same period was a little over twenty-two million. During this period, with the production programs in place, serious obstacles began to appear. Factories needed to be built or renovated to house the specialized machinery. The machinery itself needed to be forged. Once in place, skilled laborers were needed to machine the tools and run the presses. There were also concerns about maintaining the import of raw materials. The number of operations was ramped up with the entry of the United States and Soviet Union into the war. The demand for troops escalated resulting in the call-up age being reduced to eighteen years of age. The shipbuilding and aircraft programs were having a difficult time adapting to the shifting demands driven by the frontlines. Strategy and production needed to be linked. At the same time there was a coal crisis. ²⁰⁹

Communicating re-prioritizations and changes to labor programs was a challenge.

Decisions were officially handed down through the minutes of the War Cabinet or from directives issued under Prime Minister Churchill. A core of program ministers (including the ministers of labor, supply, and munitions) and civil servants became the conduit for relating changes to industries and workers. This proved problematic for communicating policy shifts to minor fields or interests whose representatives were not part of the various committee meetings. In the early stages of mobilization speed was of the essence. In these later stages the speed at which efforts could be redirected became paramount. For the most vital war industries, direct government intervention was sometimes necessary for swift implementation. 210

The transition of workers from non-industrial and the least-essential Group III jobs would have to begin in earnest in order to keep up with the needs of the military. Unfortunately, upon review the War Cabinet could not implement this shift solely from these categories without

devastating civilian morale due to the projected impact to standards-of-living for civilians. In order to fulfill the munitions and Group I industry demands, the government had to extract workers from Group II industries and augment with workers from government and civil services, prisoners of war, and men and women deemed unfit for military service. By December of 1942, the allocations were cut from two and one-half million to one and one-half million to allow for more realistic planning.²¹¹

Workers Stories

In 1943, *Mass Observation* published an account on the workers experience in a report entitled *War Factory*. Although the name and location of the factory were not disclosed due to security concerns, the investigation and interviews therein are useful representatives of life in a machine shop in England during the war. This particular factory employed approximately one hundred women and twenty men as machinists as assemblers with males in the mostly managerial roles. They worked night and day twelve hour shifts with one day a week off on Saturdays. The shift changes at 8:00am and 8:00pm were tumultuous affairs as workers going on-shift had a three minute window to clock in before any penalty was incurred. Once they had checked in, workers often lingered in the cloakrooms and lavatories. It took about one-half-hour before the floor was humming at full capacity. A break was scheduled for ten o'clock, dinner at one o'clock, and tea at six o'clock. Throughout the day the pace of production would rise and fall due to the proximity of a scheduled when there would be what was described as much "lavatory-mongering". It was not unusual for there to sporadic outbursts of song to speed the monotonous work along. 212

A cross-section of women was interviewed, but the majority of women were described as "country girls" with little industrial experience. There was twenty-eight year old "plain and heavy" Hilda who was quite content to work on her knitting during breaks. Twenty-year old Peggy, boisterous and beautiful who were dresses and stockings beneath her overalls and spent much of her time avoiding work and laughing off threats of jail from management for her chronic malingering. Mary was young mother of two at twenty-two years of age, who did not have to work but did so in order to distract herself from the loneliness now that her husband was away in the Royal Air Force. Edith was a fifteen year old who had worked in the factory for a year and was carrying on a liaison with a twenty-five year old charge hand. At twenty, Sadie worked one of the hand presses and was the only-child of a local couple.²¹³

For some women, working in a factory provided an opportunity for independence and the chance to live their lives in their own way. The following is from a profile and interview of a worker named Molly:

A queer, old-fashioned looking little thing, with glasses, and a rather high, childlike voice. The way she wears her clothes and her hair makes her look well over thirty, though actually she is twenty-four. She worked on a drilling machine. She is usually working on one of the drilling machines, and she is almost the only girl there who really and positively enjoys the work, for its own sake, and not because of the wages, or companionship, or patriotism or anything else. Her particular job is just as dull as anyone else's, and yet she talks about it with real enthusiasm—she will rush up to you during a break and describe just what kind of part she is drilling now, how fast she can do them, what the charge-hand said when he saw how many she had done:

'A lovely job I've got to-day,' she will say eagerly. 'Nice clean little brass parts, the drill goes through them lovely. Oh, I'm enjoying it. I did a thousand of them before eleven o'clock, and I called Lou (the charge-hand) and showed him what I'd done, and he was ever so surprised.'

She never joins in the fierce rushes at dinner time and the end of the day. She usually stays at her machine until the buzzer has actually sounded, and the others are tearing for the canteen; she then goes in a leisurely way to the now empty cloakroom, and only goes up to the canteen when the rush and queue have subsided:

'I don't believe in all this rushing,' she says. 'You don't get things any quicker. I get my dinner just as good as anyone else when I go quietly after they've all got theirs.'

Technically speaking, Molly is a conscript, called up with the 24's, but really the manner of her coming was much more than that of a volunteer. It seems that when she registered she was in service, working as parlourmaid in a fair-sized country house. When it came to the registration of women, her employer was very anxious not to let her go . . .

Molly has no close friends in the factory or in the town, and she hardly ever goes out anywhere in the evening. She is billeted with an elderly landlady and who specially asked for someone who was quiet, and would not go out much in the evening. Molly prides herself on being this sort of person:

'I'm not one for rushing about like some of these girls. When I've finished work I like to go home and stop there. A real little home, that's where I asked them to put me. I can't understand why some of them want to be out all the time. You'd have thought they'd be tired, wouldn't you? Just rush in and change their dress and rush out again, every single night. It would kill me. But there's terrible rumours going round about them. They don't get in till two in the morning—that sort of thing.'

The only social event she goes to is the Sunday afternoon tea run by her chapel. Again she has not made many friends here, but she seems to enjoy going. Apart from that, she spends her evenings writing letters, sewing, and reading. . .

Although she seems to lead such a dull life, Molly is one of the happiest, most contented girls in the factory. She sums it up herself:

'I'm happy here because I put my heart into it. If it I was always trying how little could I do like some of them, I'd be fed up like the rest of you. But I'm always like that. If it's only mending a stocking, I put my heart into it, and I can enjoy it. People laugh at me, they say, 'Why don't you go out and enjoy yourself, Molly?' And I say, I *am* enjoying myself. Whatever you see me doing, you know I'm enjoying it. That's why.'²¹⁴

The Big Question

Mobilization reached its capacity in 1943. From that point, the overall number in the labor force began declining through the end of the war. Recruitment from outside Group I was insufficient to offset normal wastage. To provide any manpower to offset the wastage, induction of women into the military was reduced and all women up to the age of fifty had to register for employment. In order to sustain production, program demands had to be cut with assurance that the stated minimums would be met. Though at this point the major difficulties in maintaining production was not so much a lack of labor, but a lack of specially skilled labor and technical hold-ups.²¹⁵

The biggest question in planning for 1944 was how long the war with Germany last? Projections of the military course of the war were required to make the best allocations of resources. If the Germans were defeated by the end of 1944 then it would be possible to start lowering production of munitions to be delivered in 1945. If the war continued far beyond 1944, it would become impossible to sustain the war effort. The British operated on the first assumption and began to lower labor allocations. Either way, American aid would be necessary. Luckily, the United States' mobilization was well underway.

The post-D-Day planning for manpower allocations in the Summer of 1944 was the last to focus on the war. With an eye towards demobilization, the planners began considering the impact of returning soldiers and rationing on the peacetime economy. The distribution of labor had decided everything during World War Two, from the numbers of troops to where people worked and lived and even decided the contents of their closets and cupboards. The numbers for the peak of mobilization in 1943 never truly reflected the number of women who worked to

support the war effort, since two part-time workers were counted as one (with approximately seven hundred-fifty thousand women workers in 1943 and nine hundred thousand in 1944, respectively). Another million workers over sixty-five and one million volunteers were not counted.²¹⁸

In the late stages of the war, the youngest women workers not engaged in vital war industries were to be released to the Services and non-essential industry. Single women would volunteer for the Services but only the nineteen year olds would be called up under the National Service Act of 1941. Eventually, complete demobilization was done by Groups on a structured basis in order to avoid flooding the job market and to keep wages and prices stable.²¹⁹

Three days after the German invasion of the Low Countries on May 10, 1940, Winston Churchill gave his first speech as Prime Minister to the House of Commons. He famously stated that, "I have nothing to offer but blood, toil, tears, and sweat." The people of Great Britain would follow the lead of their Prime Minister offering their blood, toil, tears and sweat. The percentage of the civilian population who contributed to the war effort in Great Britain during World War Two was unprecedented. It would have been impossible for the British to rely solely on Allied aid. Not only did they support their own soldiers and those at home, they also provided a great deal of support to the Allied forces stationed in Britain in preparation for D-Day. Despite the fact that conscription was used, I am in agreement with Hancock and Gowing that, "The great transfer of resources from civilian to direct war purposes would have been impossible without the country's approval."

Conclusion

Rape, bombing, torturous experimentation, forced containment, and toil in war industry are only some of the realities of civilians during World War Two. That these examples may be found in numerous other countries —Allied and Axis— to varying degrees, reinforce that civilians were not removed from conflict. They were metaphorical and literal targets. They were viewed as a resource for the homefront or potential resources of the enemy.

Due to the widespread victimization of civilians during World War Two, one of the main focii of the Fourth Geneva Convention of 1949 was the protection of civilians during war.

Article 3. Section 1 states:

Persons taking no active part in the hostilities, including members of armed forces who have laid down their arms and those placed hors de combat by sickness, wounds, detention, or any other cause, shall in all circumstances be treated humanely, without any adverse distinction founded on race, colour, religion or faith, sex, birth or wealth, or any other similar criteria. ²²¹

There's no evidence that the Japanese-Americans sent to the internment camps supported Japan's war effort against America. Medical experimentation on human subjects of a similar nature to those performed on Chinese civilians by the Germans prompted an entire re-evaluation and codification of medical ethics (though questions about the ethics of using the results of such research lingered). German women were no threat to the Soviet Army. In no way could any of these groups be seen as having an "active part" in hostilities.

Prior to World War II, Article 22 of the Hague Rules of Aerial Warfare had established: "Aerial bombardment for the purpose of terrorizing the civilian population, of destroying or damaging private property not of military character, or injuring non-combatants is prohibited." And when legitimate targets be, ". . . so situated that they cannot be bombarded without the indiscriminate bombardment of the civilian population, the aircraft must abstain from

bombardment."²²³ Clearly, the Tokyo raids would be considered criminal under this rubric. The United States has argued that because the war industries had been dispersed throughout the city, the targets were valid. Also, they were convinced that the act was proportional or even humane when compared to an invasion where more lives would be lost.

Economically, when nearly one half of a country's civilians are working to arm and outfit the fighting forces, can their actions be considered so far removed from the hostilities? If munitions factories, shipyards, and railroad stations and the workers inside are considered legitimate targets, are they not "combating" the enemy in the larger sense? *In Of Law and War*, David Kennedy reinforces this point, "Of course, it is but a short step from here to 'effects-based targeting'—and the elimination of the doctrinal firewall between civilian and military, belligerent and neutral." This is what is commonly referred to as "collateral damage."

The reader may very well think that the Geneva Convention of 1949, the establishment of a strict code of human experimentation, and the formation of the United Nations and its International Criminal Court of Justice would have rendered this questioning moot. The international community had collectively decided to protect civilians and there would be an end to widespread atrocities and war crimes against civilians. Unfortunately, this is not so. Tamils are held in concentration camps in Sri Lanka. An accidental release of anthrax from a bioweapons research facility killed civilians in Sverdlovsk, USSR in 1979. Mass rape in Bosnia. Carpet bombing in Vietnam. None of these threats to civilians has really disappeared. The conventions, protocols, and international organizations promoting humanitarian law have been largely ineffectual in practice because of they lack the means and/or the lack of collective will to enforce them. The term "non-combatant" which originally meant a person attached to the military but supporting rather than fighting in it has become a popular synonym for "civilian".

Based on the experience of World War Two and on what has happened since then, our actions and our words are marking the end of the civilian.

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