

Countering Textbook Distortion: War Atrocities in Asia, 1937–1945

Yali Zhao and John D. Hoge

The globalization of industry, culture, and technology has brought increasing pressure on all societies, in the face of international scrutiny, to address their histories more honestly. Despite these trends, American history textbooks and history teaching continue to neglect an important part of World War II history: the atrocities such as the Nanjing Massacre, “comfort women,” and biological warfare experiments committed by Japanese troops from 1937 to 1945 during Japan’s occupation of parts of Asia.

In the early months of 2005, much of the world celebrated the 60th anniversary of the World War II Allied victory over Nazi Germany and Imperial Japan. Around the same time, protests erupted in Asia against a revised Japanese history textbook, *The New History Textbook*, which critics said covered up Japanese World War II atrocities.¹ The contrast of these two events should inspire teachers to teach about the Asian war crimes, the effects of which are still felt by millions of people in China, Korea, the Philippines, and Malaysia, and which negatively impact Japan’s relationship with these countries. Studying the Asian war crimes and the Japanese history textbook controversy together illustrates for students how past events continue to have a strong impact on current events and that history textbooks sometimes distort history; the exposure to different perspectives is necessary to develop students’ critical and historical thinking skills.

History textbooks often have political and cultural biases intending to instill national pride and patriotism; as Laura Hein and Mark Selden state, “History and civics textbooks in most societies present an ‘official’ story highlighting narratives that shape contemporary

patriotism.”² As a result, history textbook writers usually “... leave out anything that might reflect badly upon our national character.”³ One example of this in American history textbooks is coverage of the Vietnam War, which is treated cautiously, despite widespread criticism of the war among Americans. This type of sanitized history makes it hard to discuss important issues related to the Vietnam War, and it insulates high school students from the strong feelings and wounds associated with this aspect of American and world history.⁴ To help students better understand the past, and its direct impact on current events, textbooks and classroom teaching should accommodate multiple perspectives of important historical events, and inform students of both the Western and non-Western perspectives.

In this article, we will delve into the tension between Japan and some Asian countries regarding the aforementioned Japanese history textbook and discuss the three principal Japanese war crimes—which together are increasingly referred to as the “Asian Holocaust.”⁵ We also suggest resources to support further learning on World War II history in American social studies classes.

Reactions to the New Japanese History Textbook

In May 2005, presidents from more than 60 nations attended a ceremony in Moscow’s Red Square to mark the sixtieth anniversary of the Allied victory over Nazi Germany in World War II. Then, in August, the world (in particular Asian countries) celebrated the sixtieth anniversary of victory over Imperial Japanese. However, on April 5, 2005, right before these celebrations, the Japanese Ministry of Education approved a new edition of a history textbook for use in middle schools starting April 2006. The authorization of this new history textbook triggered immediate criticism and protests from neighboring countries in Asia, including China, North and South Korea, the Philippines, and Malaysia. Still carrying the scars of World War II Japanese aggression, and believing that the war should be fairly presented in Japanese history textbooks, governments in both North and South Korea demanded an apology and that Japan rewrite the history textbook. In China, nationwide demonstrations continued for weeks, condemning Japan for glossing over the World War II atrocities it committed against the Chinese.⁶ Many protesters boycotted Japanese products, and millions of Chinese, both at home and abroad, signed online petitions against Japan’s bid for a permanent seat on the UN Security Council. Within days, relations between China and Japan dropped to its lowest point since 1972, when the two countries had abandoned resent-

ments to establish formal diplomatic relations. The tension worsened after the Japanese prime minister insisted on visiting the Yasukuni Shrine in Tokyo, which commemorates Japan's war dead, but which is viewed by many in Asia as a symbol of Japanese militarism.⁷

Though protests in China and Korea were widely reported in the world news media, these events received little coverage in the United States. CNN Online, however, did offer some coverage nearly a week into the dispute.⁸

The Issues Behind the Controversy

History textbooks are a major source of cultural and social information that shape young people's learning. As Takashi Yoshida states, history textbooks often mirror current social and political contexts, and the presentation of historical events, especially war-related events, greatly influences the interpretation of contemporary thought, opinion, and socialization.⁹ Textbooks have an enormous aura of authority, and young people tend to believe what they read in them. As a result, they are left with an incomplete view of the past. In this case, the new history textbook not only transmitted incorrect information to students about Japan's invasion of Asia in World War II, but also reignited the hurt of war victims, and damaged regional relations.

The controversial textbook was compiled by the Japanese Society for History Textbook Reform, a group of right-wing nationalists, who sought to portray a positive view of Japan's past by removing negative depictions of Japanese aggression.¹⁰ The Japanese Ministry of Education's approval of the first version of the textbook in 2001 raised tensions with China and Korea. The 2001 version portrays the Japanese invasion of Asia as an attempt to liberate Asia, denies the Nanjing Massacre, denies biological experiments on live human beings in China, and ignores the sexual slavery of tens of thousands of mostly Korean women for the Japanese military ("comfort women").¹¹ Following the textbook's original approval, critics and



Chinese students and soldiers throw flowers into the Yangtze River to mourn the victims of the 1937 Nanjing Massacre during a memorial ceremony in Nanjing, December 13, 2001. REUTERS/China Photo ASW/DL

scholars (including many Japanese and Japanese Americans) wrote articles arguing that wartime history should be fairly presented in textbooks.¹² Despite these objections, the 2005 edition also glosses over Japanese wartime atrocities, referring to the Nanjing Massacre, in which the Japanese army slaughtered 300,000 Chinese civilians in two months, as an "incident," de-emphasizing the subject of comfort women, ignoring the biological weapon experiments committed on the Chinese, or the fact that Chinese people are still frequently injured or killed by

poisonous gas buried in northeast China by the Japanese in World War II.¹³

The Nanjing Massacre

From December 1937 to February 1938, the Japanese army carried out systematic looting, raping, and killing of civilians in Nanjing (then the capital of China, called Nanking), in what became known as the Nanjing Massacre, the Nanjing Holocaust, or the Rape of Nanking. Testimonies of Japanese soldiers who participated in the event, recordings of American missionaries

Taiwan women who were forced to be sex slaves by the Japanese during World War II, and their supporters, stage a protest outside Japan's representative office in Taipei, Taiwan, August 15, 2005. A placard reads, "Build a comfort women museum" in Chinese.

Reuters/Richard Chung
TW/DY



residing in Nanjing, official documents of the German Embassy in Nanjing, photographs taken by Japanese soldiers and Westerners living in Nanjing, as well as the verdict of the Tokyo War Crimes Trial (The International Military Tribunal for the Far East) backed estimates that 300,000 Chinese civilians were killed in those two months.¹⁴ At least 20,000 to 80,000 women were raped by the Japanese army, according to testimonies of Westerners in Nanjing at the time, and the verdict of the Tokyo Trial.¹⁵ The Nanjing Holocaust Memorial, located in Nanjing, displays evidence of the massacre. To this day, the massacre continues to stir Chinese anger because some Japanese deny its occurrence, the government refuses to make a sincere apology to China, and the prime minister continues to make annual visits to the Yasukuni Shrine.

Comfort Women

The term “comfort women” refers to the women forced to serve as sex slaves in Japanese-occupied countries during World War II. Most comfort women were

from Korea, but a significant number also came from China, the Philippines, Thailand, Vietnam, Malaysia, and Indonesia. Estimates put the number of comfort women during the war at a minimum of 50,000 and possibly as high as 200,000.¹⁶ The International Military Tribunal for the Far East (IMTFE) was set up after World War II by the Allies to prosecute Japan's war criminals; however, the issue of military comfort women was not addressed at the time.¹⁷ In recent years, the Japanese government has begun to pay some “consolation money” to some Korean victims, but not yet to victims from other nations.

Unit 731 Biochemical Warfare Experiments

Unit 731 was a secret military medical unit of the Imperial Japanese Army that researched biological warfare through human experiments during its occupation of China and other Asian countries (1932-1945). It was first started at Harbin in northern Manchuria (China) in 1932 by the order of Japan's highest military command, with the approval of

Emperor Hirohito. It had four bases in northern Manchuria and one at Dalian in the south. As war progressed, Unit 731 established branches all over China, and later in Singapore and Myanmar in Southeast Asia. All of these bases were engaged in human experiments.¹⁸ Some of these experiments included performing invasive surgery on living beings to remove and study organs (vivisection), using humans as bacteriological experiments, and infesting populated areas with disease-ridden fleas. Although large amounts of evidence exist about Unit 731's biochemical warfare experiments, precise estimates on the number of Chinese, Koreans, Mongolians, Allied civilians and prisoners of war (especially Russian POWs) who were directly or indirectly killed by Unit 731's experiments are difficult to establish (ranging from several thousand to 200,000).¹⁹ Sheldon Harris, author of *Factories of Death: Japanese Biological Warfare 1932-45 and the American Cover-up*, estimated the deaths from human experimentation at 20,000 in East and Southeast Asia. No state other than Nazi Germany has ever

engaged in such broad scale, inhumane, pseudo-scientific experimentation on humans.

American Textbook Coverage of World War II in East Asia

Instruction on Japanese atrocities committed in Asia during World War II has been largely absent in American social studies classrooms. Yali Zhao, one of the authors of this article, examined eight American and world history textbooks commonly used in middle and high school social studies classrooms: *United States History* (Prentice Hall); *Discover Our Heritage* (Houghton Mifflin); *Boyer's The American Nation* (BL Harcourt/Holt); *History of the World* (Houghton Mifflin); *World History: The Human Experience* (McGraw-Hill/Glencoe); *The World: Past and Present* (Harcourt/Holt); *Journey across Time* (McGraw-Hill/Glencoe); and *World Cultures* (Pearson/Prentice). Review of World War II contents in these textbooks revealed no mention of any of the three major war crimes committed by Japanese troops. Zhao also conducted an informal survey with 55 social studies teachers, which indicated that only 7 out of 55 knew about the Nanjing Massacre. Some had learned of it through Iris Chang's book, *The Rape of Nanking: The Forgotten Holocaust of World War II*, and others heard of it from friends who had read the book. None of them had ever taught about these war crimes in their history classrooms.

There could be a variety of complicated social and political reasons for the absence of these atrocities from American textbooks: the Cold War between the United States and the former Soviet Union; the establishment of a communist regime in China; the Korean War in 1950; and the Vietnam War in 1960s. While these are all important events and deserve to be studied, the Asian war atrocities must not be omitted.

Almost every American knows about Nazi Germany and the Jewish

Holocaust, but very few know about the Nanjing Massacre, the enslavement of comfort women, and Unit 731's warfare experiments, as well as their impacts on current events. These events are critical aspects of World War II history and will give students a more complete understanding of the war, the horrors of which expanded beyond Nazi carnage in Europe to engulf Asian countries as well.

Social studies researchers and educators have long argued that teaching should expose students to multiple perspectives of historical events, and that history textbooks should include different voices to promote students' critical thinking skills. Despite these arguments, American history textbooks, in general, present a white, middle-class, Eurocentric view of the world.²⁰ The two recurring topics in social studies books and the media about World War II, as it relates to Asia is that Japan bombed Pearl Harbor, and the United States bombed Hiroshima and Nagasaki.²¹ If history classes covered World War II more comprehensively, Americans would have better understood the tensions between Japan and other Asian countries, and understood the significance of Chinese and Korean protests against Japanese attempts to censor history in the revised textbook.

Future Collaborative Efforts Needed

History textbooks are young people's principal source of history. These textbooks not only tell about the past, but they present the political views of their government, as well as its relationships and conflicts with other countries. There are many controversial historical events, and it is a daunting task for both textbook authors and teachers to provide instruction when they are confronted with conflicting or distorted accounts.²² It is not the place of teachers to resolve all the disputes over controversial issues. However, primary source documents can be used to provide a more accurate picture of history. Friendly and constructive dialogues

RESOURCES

Teaching about World War II in Asia

NANJING MASSACRE

There are numerous primary and secondary sources available about the Nanjing Massacre. Perhaps the most notable source for students is *The Rape of Nanking: the Forgotten Holocaust of World War II* by Chinese American writer Iris Chang. The commonly used term "Rape of Nanking" came from this title. The book describes the horrific massacre in great detail and includes extensive evidence: (1) personal journals kept by Westerners in Nanjing; (2) official Japanese military communiqués; (3) testimonies of former Japanese soldiers who took part in the events; (4) reports from American journalists in the area; (5) video footage taken by Americans; (6) photographs taken by Japanese soldiers; (7) records from the German Embassy in Nanjing; (8) the war crimes trials in which more than 1,000 people testified about the atrocity, with over 460 specific reports of murder, rape, arson, and looting; (9) newspaper clippings from Japanese publications; and (10) the physical evidence of bodies left in burial pits throughout Nanjing.¹

The following websites also provide information, including primary source documents and photographs, about the Nanjing Massacre:

1. WWW Memorial Hall of the Victims in the Nanjing Massacre (1937-1938), humanum.arts.cuhk.edu.hk/NanjingMassacre/NM.html (in Chinese and English). An actual memorial, located in Nanjing—where countless bones of those killed were excavated—was built in 1985 to commemorate the victims. Many primary documents and photographs are exhibited on this online memorial that counter Japanese denial of the massacre. Students can have a virtual tour of this memorial and read all the documents in English.
2. The Chinese Holocaust Museum of the United States tells about the temporary Chinese Holocaust Museum built in

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Oakland, California, to commemorate the tens of millions of Chinese who died during Japan's invasion and occupation of China (1931–1945).² A permanent museum is planned for Washington D.C. This website provides information on Japanese war atrocities, including the Nanjing Massacre, comfort women slavery, and warfare experiments. More information on the museum is available at www.sunsetbeacon.com/archives/richmondreview/2005editions/Apr05/holocaustmuseum.html. The museum's own website was under construction at press time.

3. Online Documentary: the Nanking Atrocities

www.geocities.com/nankingatrocities
This website provides a systematic and detailed account of what happened before, during, and after the Nanking Massacre, including a substantial amount of primary sources. This website has been listed as an essential academic reference by a number of international educational institutions.

COMFORT WOMEN

Teachers may feel uncomfortable teaching young people about this issue. However, it is necessary to let students know that such human rights violations occurred. Exploration of the following sources will help students learn about this issue.

1. Voices of "Comfort Women," www.library.american.edu/about/exhibits/comfort_women.html

This website was developed by the American University Library Exhibits Team in cooperation with the Washington Coalition of Comfort Women, Society for Studies of Japanese Aggression against China, AU Chinese Students and Scholars Association, and AU Taiwanese Student Association, to give former comfort women, silenced by shame and trauma, back their voices. This is an excellent website with background information, personal stories of former comfort women, the exhibit at the Martin Luther King, Jr., Memorial Library installed in September 2002.

2. Comfort-Women.org, www.comfort-women.org/v2

Developed by the Washington Coalition for Comfort Women Issues, Inc., this website is one of the most comprehensive on comfort women. It provides detailed information about the history of comfort women, photos of comfort women, reports to the United Nations, legal documents, news articles and much more.

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should be established as to how to present certain historical events in textbooks.

For this purpose, joint efforts are necessary to counter biased texts. Serious efforts were made in 1989 when the Japan-South Korea Joint Study Group on History Textbooks was created in response to criticisms of Japanese textbooks. The joint research by Japanese and Korean scholars was able to offer new perspectives on certain historical issues related to Japan and Korea, but had difficulty achieving historical consensus.²³ Since the protests in Asia against the 2005 release of Japan's history textbook, scholars have renewed efforts to create a common textbook. According to *The Korea Times*, Korean and Japanese women's rights organizations are planning to publish a joint women's history textbook in both countries to counter the distortion in Japan's official textbook.²⁴ *The Japan Times* also reports that an unofficial supplementary textbook on the modern history of Japan, China, and South Korea has recently been compiled by people from all three countries.²⁵ This textbook, called *The History that Opens the Future*, was written by 53 scholars, teachers, and members of citizen groups who have been concerned about the impact of the contentious history text ever since its first version was approved by the government in 2001. Most of the book is about Japan's World War II atrocities in China and the Korean Peninsula, and the ensuing political fallout over the years. The textbook, published in Japanese, Chinese, and Korea, went on sale in these three countries in June 2005.

Of course, supplementary textbooks will not solve the dispute about how the war is represented in history textbooks. German government officials have acknowledged their war crimes, and taken action regarding international criticism of their textbooks. Scholars, teachers, and concerned citizens from different countries should continue to work collaboratively to examine their

respective nations' textbook contents for biases or distortions. As Kathleen Masalski has suggested, teachers should teach both master narratives and counter narratives, and they need to help students realize that "history is not what's in the textbook, but a process of argument that is shaped by who is making the argument and when and where."²⁶

Exposure to the dark side of one's own nation's history does not necessarily lead to contempt or disillusionment, but may inspire young people to think about their history seriously and take actions that prevent injustices. Again, a good example is Germany, where despite existing controversies over German history and the identification of the nation in the public arena, school textbooks in general reflects a consensus in condemning the Nazi past and excluding references to the past glories and power of the German nation. This has helped Germans to break from the past, and to assume more European and global responsibilities.²⁷ It is necessary for textbooks to deal with history frankly. The world has become increasingly interdependent, and it is our responsibility to face history and advance toward a better society.

The Japanese history textbook controversy should serve as a lesson for America, China, and other countries. As Masalski remarked, American students and teachers "might examine American textbook narratives while imagining that Mexican, Japanese, Vietnamese, or Middle Eastern scholars and students are over their shoulders as they teach and learn about American interpretations of the war with Mexico, the war in the Pacific, in Southeast Asia, or in the Middle East."²⁸ There are, no doubt, different narratives and interpretations regarding the same events in the history textbooks of different countries, but both history textbook writers and history teachers must move toward a more open discussion of the past. 🌐

Notes

1. These events were widely reported in April 2005. BBC News reports are available at news.bbc.

co.uk/2/hi/asia-pacific/4411771.stm, and *China Daily* news reports are available at www.chinadaily.com.cn/english/doc/2005-04/06/content_431575.htm.

2. Laura Hein and Mark Selden, "The Lessons of War, Global Power, and Social Change," in *Censoring History: Citizenship and Memory in Japan, Germany, and the United States*, eds. L. Hein and M. Selden (Armonk, N.Y.: M.E. Sharpe, Inc., 2000), 3.
3. James Loewen, *Lies My Teacher Told Me: Everything Your American History Textbook Got Wrong* (New York: Simon and Schuster, 1995), 3.
4. Hein and Selden, 3-50; Loewen.
5. Iris Chang, *The Rape of Nanking: The Forgotten Holocaust of World War II* (Penguin Group, 1998); Dai Sil Kim-Gibson, *Silence Broken: Korean Comfort Women* (Ho-ho-Kus, N.J.: Dai Sil Productions, 1999); Greg Smith, "Jewish Holocaust and Asian Holocaust—Humanity Education in School," (Speech at International Citizen's Forum on War Crimes and Redress: Seeking Reconciliation and Peace for the 21st Century, Tokyo, Japan, December 12, 1999) www.vcn.bc.ca/alpha/speech/GregSmith.htm; United Nations Commission on Human Rights, "Japan's World War II Slaves," 56th Session, Agenda Item 14, retrieved from website of the Humanitarian Law Project, hlp.home.igc.org/docs/56_14.html.
6. The Japanese Society for History Textbook Reform prepared and translated controversial chapters four and five of the 2005 *New History Textbook* (Atarashii Rekishi Kyokasho, published by Fusosha, Tokyo®), www.tsukurukai.com/05_rekisi_text/rekishi_English/English.pdf.
7. The Yasukuni Shrine, located in Tokyo, commemorates Japan's war dead, however some of those buried there were convicted of war crimes by the International Military Tribunal for the Far East after World War II, including wartime prime minister Hideki Tojo. For

more information, see www.japan-guide.com/e/e2321.html.

8. See CNN online news, "Long History of Friction," April 11, 2005, edition.cnn.com/2005/WORLD/asiapcf/04/11/china.japan.background/index.html.
9. Takashi Yoshida, "History Textbooks: For Whom and for What Purpose?" in *Viewpoints*, the Association of Asian Studies, Ann Arbor, Michigan, December 2000, www.aasianst.org/Viewpoints/yoshida.htm.
10. Yoshiko Nozaki, "Japanese Politics and the History Textbook Controversy, 1982-2001," *International Journal of Educational Research* 37 (2002): 603-622; Kathleen Woods Masalski, "Examining the Japanese History Textbook Controversies," ERIC Clearinghouse for Social Studies/Social Science Education (ERIC: ED464010, 2002).
11. Kanji Nishio and Atarashii Rekishi Kyokasho, "Information Concerning New History Textbook 2001," Center for Research and Documentation on Japan's War Responsibility (JWRC), www.jca.apc.org/JWRC/center/english/appeal2.htm. See other research articles on the JWRC website at www.jca.apc.org/JWRC/center/english/index-english.htm.
12. Ibid; Tim Beal, Yoshiko Nozaki, and Jian Yang, "Ghosts of the Past: the Japanese History Textbook Controversy," *New Zealand Journal of Asian Studies* 3, no. 2 (December 2001): 177-188.
13. Maciamo, "Sino-Japanese Relations," *Japanese Reference* (April 18, 2005), www.jref.com/society/sino-japanese-relations.shtml.
14. The total number of victims in the Nanking Massacre has long been controversial. The International Military Tribunal for the Far East stated in its 1947 judgment that "over 200,000" civilians and prisoners of war were murdered in Nanking and its immediate vicinity during the first six weeks of the Japanese

occupation. The judgment concluded that some 190,000 were executed on a massive scale at various execution sites and 150,000 were individually massacred. That number was based on burial records submitted by two charitable organizations (the Red Swastika Society and the Chung Shan Tang), other burial societies, and eyewitness accounts.

At the Nanking War Crimes Tribunal in 1947, the verdict on Lieutenant General Tani Hisao, who commanded a division of the Japanese army implicated in the Nanking Massacre, quoted the figure of more than 300,000 victims. In Nanjing, China, 300,000 is the official estimate engraved on the stone wall at the entrance of the Memorial Hall for Compatriot Victims of the Japanese Military's Nanjing Massacre. However, it was impossible to establish the exact number of deaths, because of the ongoing Japanese occupation in Nanking and other parts of China. The following website provides detailed information about the early and current controversy over the death toll of the Nanking Massacre: www.geocities.com/nankingatrocities/Table/table.htm.

15. The numbers 20,000 to 80,000, determined by Chinese historians, have also long been used by China's government and in Chinese history textbooks. The same figures became widely cited in the West after Iris Chang published *The Rape of Nanking*. Chang established this estimate from missionaries and Westerners who had resided in Nanking, particularly John Rabe (a member of the Nazi Party), who saved hundreds of thousands of Chinese lives. Rabe recorded his observations, people's accounts, experiences, letters, diaries, pictures, and oral affirmations. See Ignatius Ding, "Rabe's Records of 'The Rape of Nanjing' Discovered," (1996) WWW Memorial Hall of the Victims in the Nanjing Massacre, humanum.arts.cuhk.edu.hk/NanjingMassacre/NMNR.html.



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www.countryreports.org

3. Comfort Women, en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Comfort_women

Wikipedia, the free encyclopedia, is a popular website for current events. This specific website provides a large amount of information about comfort women. It links to academic research, Japanese documents, and tons of other resources not only about comfort women, but also the Nanjing Massacre and warfare experiments.

WARFARE EXPERIMENTS: 731 UNIT

The following websites provide detailed information about the Japanese biochemical weapon experiments on living human beings.

1. Unearthing the Crimes of Unit 731, www.china.org.cn/english/2004/Oct/108634.htm
Japan had always denied carrying out biochemical experiments in China during World War II, until 180 Chinese victims, who were injured from canisters of poisonous gas buried by the Japanese in northeast China, sought compensation from Japan in August 2002. The China Internet Information Center provides history and evidence of Unit 731's germ warfare and reveals how the World War II chemical weapons still injure Chinese people today.

2. Photos on 731 www.howardwrench.com/photos/Manchuria-Unit-731
This website, which belongs to senior *New York Times* correspondent Howard French, provides pictures of Unit 731 headquarters, where the Japanese army conducted biological and chemical warfare experiments on Chinese and Korean prisoners.

3. History Undercover, Unit 731: Nightmare in Manchuria www.history.com/classroom/admin/study_guide/archives/thc_guide.0566.html
This site is developed by the History Channel and it includes a study guide. It is a great resource for teaching about Japanese World War II biochemical weapon experiments.

Notes

1. Iris Chang, *The Rape of Nanking: The Forgotten Holocaust of World War II* (Penguin Group, 1998).
2. Some Chinese historians estimate that 35 million Chinese died, while Western historians put the figure at 20 million.

16. It is hard to determine the exact number of comfort women as many documents about them were destroyed. The estimate of 100,000 to 200,000 was cited by Ustina Dolgopol and Snehla Paranjape in their report "Comfort Women—The Unfinished Ordeal (Final Mission Report)," published by the Geneva-based International Commission of Jurists (UN Consultative NGO, 1994), item 10, p.205; Dolgopol and Paranjape adopted this figure from the findings of Japanese researchers, principally Yoshimi Yoshiaki and Saburo Lenaga, both reputable historians and scholars. In 1992, Yoshiaki unearthed official documents concerning the establishment and control of "comfort stations" that had been preserved in the Defense Agency's National Institute of Defense Studies; in his book *Comfort Women: Sexual Slavery in the Japanese Military During World War II*, Yoshimi Yoshiaki provides a wealth of documentation and testimony, and estimates the total number of comfort women to have been at least about 50,000 and possibly as high as 200,000; see also www.comfort-women.org/Unfinished.htm. Bonnie Oh in *Legacies of the Comfort Women of World War II*, eds, also presents the same estimate. Margaret Stetz and Bonnie B.C. Oh (East Gate Books, 2001).
17. "Still Waiting after 60 Years: Justice for Survivors of Japan's Military Sexual Slavery System," Amnesty International Report (2005) web.amnesty.org/library/Index/ENGASA220122005?open&of=ENG-JPN.
18. Poland Hung, "Integrating the Sino-Japanese War (1932-1945) into the World War II History Curriculum in High School," retrieved on April 15, 2005 from www.chineseholocaust.org/edu1.html.
19. It is extremely difficult to determine the precise number of casualties because the experiment research sites and military documents were largely destroyed by the Japanese authorities after the war. Three thousand civilians were killed in the experiment field at Ping Fan, headquarters of Unit 731. The number of Chinese civilians killed directly or indirectly by the warfare experiment is generally put at 200,000. This number included civilians and POWs killed directly in the experiment field and indirectly by plague-infected animals released by the Japanese as the war was ending. For more information, see *People's Daily Online*, "Archives Give Up Secrets of Japan's Unit 731" (August 3, 2005) english.people.com.cn/200508/03/eng20050803_200004.html; *China Daily*, "China Recalls Germ Warfare Experiments" (May 6, 2006) www.chinadaily.com.cn/english/doc/2005-05/06/content_439768.htm; Gary Reynolds, "U.S. Prisoners of War and Civilian American Citizens Captured and Interned by Japan in World War II," www.aiipowmia.com/wwii/r130606ww2.html; Sheldon Harris, *The Factories of Death: Japanese Biological Warfare 1932-45 and the American Cover Up* (N.Y.:Routledge, 2002); Yuki Tanaka and Toshiyuki Tanaka, *Hidden Horrors: Japanese War Crimes in World War II* (Westview Press, 1998); and Daniel Barenblatt, *A Plague upon Humanity: The Secret Genocide of Axis Japan's Germ Warfare Operation* (U.K.: HarperCollins, 2004). Sheldon Harris, "Japanese Biomedical Experimentation during the World-War-II Era," in *Textbooks of Military Medicine*, eds. Dave E. Lounsbury and Ronald F. Bellamy (United States Office of the Surgeon General Department of the Army, 2003), www.bordeninstitute.army.mil/ethicsbook_files/Ethics2/Ethics-ch-16.pdf.
20. James Jankowski, "Clearly Written Textbooks with a Eurocentric Thrust," *The Textbook Letter* (May-June, 1995); Jankowski, "Elaborate Presentation, Conventional Approach," *The Textbook Letter* (July-August 1996); Jankowski, "This Spin-Off Book Focuses on the Evolution of the West," *The Textbook Letter* (January-February, 1999); Loewen, *Lies My Teacher Told Me*.
21. Thomas Holmes, "The Dropping of Atomic Bombs on Japan," *Social Education* 69, no. 4 (2005): 209-213; Frans Doppen, "Teaching and Learning Multiple Perspectives: The Atomic Bomb," *The Social Studies* 91, no. 4 (2000): 159-169; Donna Nesbitt, "Hiroshima: A City with Peace as Its Purpose," *Social Studies and the Young Learner* 10, no. 3 (1998): 21-23; Karen Schill, "Multiple Perspectives on Hiroshima," *Social Studies and the Young Learner* 10, no. 3 (2000): 5-6; Masato Ogawa, "Sixth Grade Students' Development of Historical Perspective: World War II and the Atomic Bombing of Hiroshima and Nagasaki" (ERIC Document 449 098). Retrieved June 2, 2005, from www.eric.ed.gov.
22. Hein and Selden, 3-50.
23. Kimijima Kazuhiko, "The Continuing Legacy of Japanese Colonialism: The Japan-South Korea Joint Study Group on History Textbooks," in *Censoring History: Citizenship and Memory in Japan, Germany, and the United States*, 203-225.
24. Chung Ah-Young, "Japan to Publish Joint History Textbook," *The Korea Times* (April 7, 2005), times.hankooki.com/lpage/200504/kt2005040716524968040.htm.
25. Eriko Arita, "Tri-nation History Text Aims to Counter Whitewash," *The Japan Times* (May 25, 2005), www.japantimes.co.jp/cgi-bin/getarticle.pl?nn20050525f1.htm.
26. Masalski, "Teaching Democracy, Teaching War: American and Japanese Educators Teach the Pacific War," in *Censoring History*, 285.
27. Yasemin Nuhoglu Soysal, "Identity and Transnationalization in German School Textbooks," in *Censoring History*, 127-149.
28. Masalski, "Examining the Japanese History Textbook Controversies," ERIC Clearinghouse for Social Studies/Social Science Education (ERIC: ED464010, 2002).

YALI ZHAO is an assistant professor of social studies and multicultural education at Georgia State University in Atlanta, Ga. She can be reached at yzhao@gsu.edu. JOHN D. HOGE is an associate professor of social science education at the University of Georgia in Athens. He can be reached at jdhoge@uga.edu.