REMEMBERING WORLD WAR II AND NARRATING THE NATION: STUDY OF TEZUKA OSAMU'S WAR MANGA

by

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Today manga (Japanese comics) pervades Japanese society and reaches a readership that spans from children to adults. Among manga, the works of Tezuka Osamu occupies a special place in the heart of the Japanese masses because Tezuka is considered as the "God of Comics." Although Tezuka passed away in 1989, his manga are still widely read inside and outside of Japan. Thus Tezuka's manga could potentially influence people's perception of Japan.

In this thesis, I conduct a discourse analysis of Tezuka's manga on World War II. Based on Homi Bhabha's definition of nation as a set of narratives, I explore the means used by Tezuka to challenge the official narrative of World War II. My goal is to demonstrate that the State's narration of a nation is volatile.

I argue that Tezuka's World War II manga both challenges and strengthens the official narrative of the wartime Japanese nation. Tezuka challenges the official narrative by giving voice to those who were absent of this narrative, mainly children and war orphans, and depicting the brutality of Japanese officers against civilians.

Tezuka also challenges the mainstream narrative by presenting the U.S. occupation of Japan as a neo-colonization period during which American soldiers abused their power. This denunciation of Japanese suffering stands at the core of Tezuka's constant call for international peace.

Yet this focus on the Japanese suffering also leads to an almost disappearance of the Imperial army's non-Japanese victims. In other words, Tezuka strengthens the official

victimhood narrative because he merely addresses the issue of Japanese war crimes. This ambiguity of Tezuka's narrative exemplifies Bhabha's idea of individual's agency in the definition of a nation.

By examining the representation of World War II in popular culture medium such as manga, this thesis also provides an in-depth understanding of Tezuka's works as well as an insight about the ongoing debate surrounding Japan's wartime responsibility.

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PREFACE

I would like to express my sincere gratitude to Dr. Dennis Hart for his witty comments as well as his continuous support throughout this project. I would also like to acknowledge the patience and dedication of Dr. Brenda Jordan and Dr. Akiko Hashimoto, who spent a considerable amount of time providing insightful comments on earlier versions of this work. Special thanks to Mr. Junzo Oshimo who helped me read and interpret several Japanese texts which I used in the thesis.

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INTRODUCTION

TEZUKA OSAMU, THE "GOD OF COMICS"

Many scholars have explored the debates surrounding Japan's role as an aggressor during World War II. While the first works on this topic focused mainly on the Japanese governments' discourses as well as Asian debates surrounding these discourses, the most recent scholarship in English tends to give a closer look at popular representations of the war. Yet scant research has been done on manga.[1] This is all the more surprising given the recent international success of Japanese comics, which constitute one form of soft power from Japan. Considering the huge amount of manga published every year, it would be impossible to propose a thorough study of the representation of World War II in Japanese comics. This research analyses the narration of World War II in Tezuka Osamu's manga by attempting to understand how Tezuka questions the mainstream narrative of nation.

Few cartoonists in the world have achieved the same degree of fame as Tezuka did in Japan. Born in 1928 in the city of Toyonaka in the Osaka prefecture, Tezuka is also known as the "God of Comics" [*Manga no Kamisama*] because he revolutionized manga in the immediate post-war period (Natsume 1997a, 17-28). Although critics debate whether Tezuka's *Shin*

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[1] In this work, the word "manga" refers to the Japanese comics published after World War II, not to Hokusai Katsushita's drawings. In Japanese, the distinction is explicit thanks to the different ways to write the word manga. Written in kanji, manga refers to late 19th and early 20th century drawings, while written in kana it mainly refers to post-World War II Japanese comics (see Onoda Power 2009, 8-10; Kure 1997, 102).

Takarajima [*The New Treasure Island*] was the first "modern manga"—i.e., the first manga to introduce cinematographic methods in comics—they never call into question Tezuka's status as the major post-war manga artist(Nakano 2005, 30-31; Ōtsuka 2008). The influential manga critic and cofounder of the Japan Society for Studies in Cartoon and Comics [*Nihon Manga Gakkai*], Kure Tomofusa, even wrote that Tezuka's manga is the origin of contemporary manga culture (1989, 225). Media's reactions to Tezuka's death in 1989 bespeak the popularity of the artist (Schodt 2007, vii). *Asahi Shinbun,* one of the most influential Japanese newspapers, devoted the first page to a long article about Tezuka's life's work (*Asahi Shinbun*, 02/09/1989, 1).

A pioneering cartoonist, Tezuka was also a prolific author. During his almost 45-year long career, he drew more than 150,000 pages of manga in various magazines (Brophy 2006, 15). Even though Tezuka's cartoonist career faced hard times in the 1960s with the rise of *gekiga*[2] and in the late 1970s, its longevity shows Tezuka's popularity among different generations. The manga industry in Japan is a competitive one. Stories are usually first published in comics magazines, and according to readers' reactions, editors publish the most popular ones in book format. Acknowledging Tezuka's popular success, Kōdansha, one of the major editors in Japan, started to publish "Tezuka's complete works" [*Tezuka manga zenshū*] in 1977. It took more than twenty years and four hundred volumes to complete this gigantic task. Some of the volumes such as *Tetsuwan Atomu* [*Astroboy*] and *Janguru Taitei* [*Kimba the White Lion*] are so popular that Kōdansha started in 2009 to publish them in pocket format.

Tezuka also encountered success abroad. In the U.S., for instance, he is mainly known for his anime *Astro Boy.*[3] Tezuka's manga also benefited from the recent success of manga in France

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[2] *Gekiga* is a specific kind of manga that was more violent and realistic than the majority of comics published in the 1960s.

[3] For a thorough study of *Astro Boy*, see Schodt 2007.

which in 2009 represented 40% of the French comics market (Ratier 2009).[4] In 2004-2005 a boom in the French translation of Tezuka's works occurred. France is now the country with the most translations of Tezuka's manga (De Bats 2009, 192).

In the recent years, people have shown a revived interest in Tezuka's manga. Japanese editors and authors used the pretext that 2008 would have been the year of Tezuka's 80th birthday to publish new editions of his works and therefore gave more visibility to Tezuka's manga among the generations born after his death. For instance, Shōdensha edited four books arranging a selection of Tezuka's short stories around three themes: war, family, and ecology. That same year, the manga researcher Takeuchi Osamu, who already edited a book on the "God of Comics" in 1989, also published a detailed biography of Tezuka (2008). 2009 was also a convenient year to reprint Tezuka's works since it was the 20th anniversary of his death; his son Makoto published a biography of his father presenting his "real personality" [*sugao*] (2009).

That same year, two major books focusing on Tezuka were published in the U.S. The first one, *God of Comics: Osamu Tezuka and the Creation of Post-World War II Manga* by Natsu Onoda Power explores the diverse texts and movies that influenced Tezuka's works in order to "situate [Tezuka] in his historical and cultural context, as well as us, the reader, in ours" (2009, 18). Although it is not the first book-length research in English dedicated to Tezuka—Schodt's study of Astro Boy was published two years earlier—,it is the first one to propose a thorough study of all Tezuka's universe. *The Art of Osamu Tezuka: God of Manga* by Helen McCarthy,

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[4] France recently became the second biggest manga's importer. The Japanese language is now the most translated language in France, before English. This success is mainly due to the numerous translations of manga into French.

the second English-language book on Tezuka published in 2009, is an illustrated biography of the cartoonist (image1). The first of its kind in English, it does not bring any new elements compared to the many Japanese biographies of Tezuka. On top of these books, the American blockbuster *Astro Boy* based on Tezuka's anime

Image 1: Promotional poster for McCarthy's book in Kinokuniya bookstore (New York, March 2010). Photo by the author.

propelled the name of the cartoonist all over the world in late 2009.

Besides McCarthy and Onoda Power's books, *Osamu Tezuka: Dissection d'un Mythe* is another noteworthy effort to explain Tezuka's universe to non-Japanese people (Brient 2009). Published by a small French editor, this edited volume gathers contributions from journalists, scholars, and editors of manga. It deals with a variety of topics from Tezuka's "visual narration" [narration visuelle] to elements of eroticism in his manga. However, the book lacks the extensive bibliography that would have been helpful to conduct further research.

THEORETICAL PERSPECTIVE AND GOAL OF THE THESIS

In this thesis, I analyze the representation of World War II in Tezuka's manga. In so doing, we will discover Tezuka's narration of the wartime Japanese nation and see to which extent his narration of the Japanese nation differs from the official one, which also became the mainstream

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narrative for several decades.[5] My goal is to show that a State's narration of the nation is never closed. It may be the most salient narrative of a nation, especially if we look at this narrative from abroad, but the exploration of popular culture and individual memories shows that the official narrative of a nation cannot be conflated with individual thoughts. The theoretical perspective of this work grows out of Homi Bhabha's definition of nation. Following Benedict Anderson who argued that a nation is first and foremost an "imagined community" (1983), Bhabha rejects the classical French and German definitions of nation and proposes to define it as a set of narratives:

> What I am attempting to formulate in this chapter are the complex strategies of cultural identification and discursive address that function in the name of 'the people' or 'the nation' and make them the immanent subjects of a range of social and literary narratives. (Bhabha 2004, 201)

Bhabha emphasizes the notions of diversity and dynamism in his definition of nation. There is no definitive definition but a set of concurrent narratives interacting among each other. Using Franz Fanon's denunciation of French colonization of Algeria and Julia Kristeva's analysis of gender issues, Bhabha shows how counter-discourses constantly defy official narratives by shading light on untouched issues such as race and gender (2004, 217-223).

However, claiming that a nation is a set of narratives does not amount to rejecting the idea that one narrative can be more salient than the others. Yet alternative narratives of nations stemming from the fringes of society constantly challenge the most prominent one. Simply put, Bhabha's definition opens space for individual agency. Analyzing Tezuka's narration of World War II provides us with a concrete example to understand how one can challenge the State's narrative of nation. From which stance did Tezuka challenge the official Japanese narration and to what extent did Tezuka's representation strengthen some elements of this official discourse?

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[5] From now on, I will use "mainstream narrative" as a synonym for "official narrative."

These are the questions which stand at the core of this paper. In answering them, I will also give insights on the work of the most famous manga author of the 20th century.

To do so, I will conduct a discourse analysis of Tezuka's manga which explicitly mentions World War II, the American occupation of Japan, or the Vietnam War.[6] Indeed, focusing only on Tezuka's representation of World War II could lead to hasty conclusions especially concerning his focus on Japanese victims. One could argue that Tezuka insists on Japanese civilians' suffering while neglecting the other Asian victims of the war because he did not fight in World War II and therefore did not directly witness Japanese war crimes in Asia. That is why I decided to contrast Tezuka's representation of World War II with his representation of the Vietnam War. Tezuka did not go to Vietnam either; he only came to know American war crimes through the media. Analyzing Tezuka's representation of the Vietnam War will help us to understand if Tezuka's lack of interest for non-Japanese Asian victims is a recurrent pattern in his works. Furthermore, most of Tezuka's manga on the Vietnam War and World War II were published during the same period which makes the comparison even more relevant. Lastly, this comparison will also permit us to have a more detailed understanding of Tezuka's representation of the American army.[7]

All the manga studied in this paper have fictional plots—love stories or depiction of the lives of fictional character—which refer to true historical events such as the bombings of Japan during the last months of World War II, the American occupation of the archipelago, or Tezuka's own experience of war. Fiction, however, does not mean historical inaccuracy; some of Tezuka's

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[6] I also included some works which do not explicitly refer to these two wars. I did it in order to give a broader understanding of Tezuka's war manga.

[7] I made the choice to study only manga which were reprinted in book format because those manga are still easily available to a wide readership and therefore have a potential influence on today's readers. While some of the manga studied here have been translated into English, I only used the Japanese versions.

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manga have been praised for their realistic description of World War II. From March to May 2007 the Shōwa Museum [*Shōwakan*] in Tokyo even organized an exhibition on life during World War II based on Tezuka's manga (Tezuka & Tezuka Purodakushon 2007).

I argue that Tezuka's World War II manga both challenges and strengthens the official narrative of wartime Japan. Tezuka challenges the official narrative, which tends to homogenize the suffering of Japanese people in the war, by giving voice to those who were often omitted by the official history—mainly children and war orphans—and depicting the brutality of Japanese officers against civilians. Tezuka also calls into question the mainstream narrative by presenting the U.S. occupation in Japan as neo-colonization where American soldiers abused their power. This denunciation of Japanese suffering rests at the heart of Tezuka's constant call for international peace. Yet this focus on the Japanese suffering neglects the Imperial army's aggression in Asia. In other words, Tezuka strengthens the official narrative of victimhood because he barely addresses the issue of Japanese war crimes. This ambiguity of Tezuka's narrative exemplifies Bhabha's idea of individual's agency in the definition of a nation.

In the first part, I explain why I chose to study a narrative of nation and World War II in manga and more specifically in Tezuka's works. Studying popular culture helps us to go beyond political and official narratives and to keep in mind the fact that, as Bhabha argued it, a nation is first and foremost a set of narratives coming from every part of society. This thesis explores Tezuka's narrative, which surely did not have the same impact as the Japanese State's narrative, but thanks to its wide readership can influence many people inside and outside of Japan. Yet as we will see, studies addressing the representation of war in manga are still in their early stages and none of them focuses exclusively on Tezuka's works.

Before proposing my analysis of Tezuka's war manga, I address in the second chapter the main issues of World War II legacies in Japan in order to put Tezuka's narrative in context.

After this introduction to World War II legacies in Japan, the third part presents some of the concurrent narratives that have attempted to make sense of these legacies and of Japan's role in World War II. In the early 1950s the narrative asserting that Japan was a victim of the war became more and more widespread. We will see the consequences of this victimhood paradigm in the popular representation of war, and especially in the depiction of war in manga during the 1950s and 1960s.

The fourth part builds on the previous contextual information to briefly present Tezuka's war manga and to explore Tezuka's motives to write on World War II. Deeply traumatised by his own experience of war, Tezuka drew war manga to denounce the horror of war and promote pacifism.

This pacifist message relies on a crude representation of the war destructions as well as a definition of the Japanese nation that insists on the violence of Japanese officers against Japanese civilians and conscripts. Tezuka proposes a narrative of the Japanese nation which refutes a homogenization of the Japanese population, but at the same time offers a dichotomous narration which relies on the double distinction civilians/soldiers and privates/officers. This will become explicit with the fifth part which takes up a discourse analysis of Tezuka's manga on World War II. This analysis also reveals the contrast between this emphasis on Japanese suffering and Tezuka's description of Japanese war crimes in Asia. While Tezuka acknowledges Japanese war crimes, he barely touches on them, therefore presenting a narrative of World War II where the victims are mainly Japanese. Based on the analysis of Tezuka's manga on the immediate post-

war period, I argue that in Tezuka's narrative, Japanese civilians are not only victims of their own officers but also of the occupying American army.

If Japanese war crimes are almost absent in Tezuka's narrative of World War II, this is not the case of American crimes in Tezuka's depiction of the Vietnam War. On the contrary, in chapter sixth I argue that American war crimes stand at the core of Tezuka's manga on the Vietnam War. This comparative analysis of Tezuka's representation of World War II and the Vietnam War reveals that the almost absence of non Japanese Asian victims in Tezuka's narrative of World War II is not due to the fact that Tezuka did not witness Japanese war crimes in Asia.

1.0   WAR, MANGA, AND TEZUKA

1.1   THE INFLUENCE OF MANGA IN JAPANESE SOCIETY

From an American point of view, it may be odd to study the representation of war in manga, since comic books in the U.S. had been, until recently, mainly targeted to children and often had a limited readership.[8] Yet the situation is different in Japan. Children formed the main readership of manga until the 1950s, but that situation has noticeably changed. In the 1950s, manga editors faced an economic challenge: To maintain their profits, they had to find a way to keep adolescents reading manga. As a result, many editors launched manga magazines targeting adolescents and some of them quickly enjoyed a large success. In 1967, one issue of *Shūkan Shōnen Magajin*, a manga magazine for young boys, sold for the first time more than 1,000,000 copies (Nakano 2004, 23). Following this success, editors proposed manga targeted to young adults in order to accompany their readers throughout their life. During the violent students' demonstrations of the late 1960s, it was not rare to see university students reading comics. Joe Yabuki, the protagonist of the manga *Ashita no Jō* [*Tomorrow's Joe*], even became a symbol of resistance and courage for some of these students (Bouvard 2007, 329). This situation surprised and disturbed adults who had always seen manga as children's texts. Harsh arguments broke out

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[8] *Maus: A Survivor's Tale* by Art Spiegelman is a major exception to this statement since it was first published in the 1980s and early 1990s.

between the supporters of manga and its critics, who thought that manga was not appropriate reading for adults (Kure 1997, 55-56). Since this period, manga editors have diversified their offerings and now, there are manga targeted to everyone, from young girls with the *shōjo manga*, to white-collar men with the *sararīman manga*, to married women with the *ladies' comics*. Thus manga acquired a huge readership. For instance, in 1995, the number of manga published in Japan reached its peak since manga became a mass product: 15 manga titles were available for every Japanese. That same year, there was only one comic book published for every American (Bouissou 2010).[9]

Among those publications, Tezuka's work still occupies a special place in Japanese people's hearts as the following two examples given by Takeuchi exemplify (2008, ii). Tezuka ranked first in a 2000's *Mainichi Shinbun* poll, whose question was: "Who is your favourite cartoonist of the 20th century?" [20 世紀に活躍した好きなマンガ家]. That same year, the channel NHK launched a program on history and asked the following question: "Who are the people who deeply changed Japanese history?" [日本の歴史を大きく動かした人物は誰か]. Tezuka ranked 15th among historical figures such as Oda Nobunaga (1st) and Toyotomi Hideyoshi.[10]

Thanks to this popularity, Tezuka's messages still reach a significant readership and represent an influential part of Japanese popular culture. Studying popular culture is crucial when it comes to the study of discourses of nationalism: It helps us to keep in mind the existence of the multiplicity of narratives pointed out by Homi Bhabha. The official political discourse on nation is neither the only one that exists nor the only one that impacts the way citizens think and define

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[9] For more information about the evolution of the manga industry during the last decades, see Nakano 2004.

[10] These two surveys do not have any sociological value; however, they are good indicators to show that Tezuka is known and appreciated inside and outside of the world of manga's fans.

a nation. Until recently, much of the English-language scholarship on Japan tended to focus only on the political discourse and in some cases conflated this official narrative of World War II with the overall Japanese population's view of World War II (Seaton 2007, 3). Yet according to a recent survey conducted by Seaton among 436 university students, the Japanese political narrative of war is far from being the most prominent element in the formation of students' "historical consciousness" (2007, 108-109). Japanese students rated different cultural items according to the extent to which these items influenced their idea of World War II. While they ranked documentaries, museums, and TV news as the most influential items, they only ranked the Japanese government 15th. On the contrary, students ranked manga 8th, just after testimonies from Japanese people who experienced the war. Even though it is somewhat artificial to precisely rate the different elements that influence an individual's historical consciousness, such a survey shows that the political narrative is not the only element at work in the formation of one's opinion. Manga also reaches a readership which stays away from academic history books, and for these people, manga probably occupies a more prominent role in the formation of their historical consciousness.

This multiplicity of influences in the formation of Japanese students' historical consciousness exemplifies the dual process constantly at stake in the formation of narratives of nation:

> The nation's people must be thought in double-time; the people are the historical 'objects' of a nationalist pedagogy, giving the discourse an authority that is based on the pre-given or constituted historical origin in the past; the people are also the 'subjects' of a process of signification that must erase any prior or originary presence of the nation-people to demonstrate the prodigious, living principles of the people as contemporaneity: as that sign of the present through which national life is redeemed and iterated as a reproductive process. (Bhabha 2000, 208-209)

Japanese students draw—consciously or unconsciously—on a variety of different narratives to build their opinion about World War II and about the role of the Japanese nation during the

conflict. Their historical consciousness is the result of a perpetual negotiation process among the different narratives surrounding them.

Tezuka himself, in presenting his narrative of World War II, draws on different elements and clearly stands up against the idea that the Japanese nation could be seen as a homogenized group of people. We will see that among the different elements that influenced Tezuka's narrative of World War II and the wartime Japanese nation, his own experience of war as a child, bullied and even beaten by Japanese officers, was central. Tezuka's own memories of the war seem to have a more significant role in his narrative of Japanese nation than the official Japanese discourse about the war. Yet if Tezuka was able to draw on his own experience to contest the official narrative of World War II and came up with his own narrative, it is not the case of the current Japanese generation who did not experience any armed conflict. Today's generation can only build its opinion on World War II using secondary sources; this is why the study of manga as well as other influential media becomes crucial to understanding the messages influencing today's Japanese people.

1.2   A REVIEW OF WAR IN MANGA

Considering the impact of manga on Japanese society as well as the recent growth of cultural studies, manga became a topic for scholarly research. However, studies of war in manga are comparatively less developed than the studies on the representation of war in Japanese history textbooks.[11] Most of the Japanese books investigating the representations of war in manga were

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[11] For the most recent one in English (as of February 2010), see Nozaki 2008.

published more than ten years ago (Ishiko 1983, Natsume 1997b). *Manga ni Miru Sensō to Heiwa Kyūjū-nen* [*Ninety Years of War and Peace Seen Through Manga*] by Ishiko Jun is the first book on the representation of war in manga (1983). Yet it is just a catalog of war manga and it does not provide the reader with any insightful analysis.

Manga to Sensō [*War and Manga*] by Natsume explores the evolution of the representation of war in manga from the immediate post-war period to the 1990s. [12] Natsume claims that this idea naturally came to him since, as a post-war child, his first contact with war occurred through television, movies, and manga (1997b, 3-5). The first chapter of the book is dedicated to Tezuka's early manga. However, unlike this paper which only focuses on stories that directly mention World War II and the Vietnam War, Natsume analyzes war in Tezuka's science fiction manga. He notes two major elements characteristic of Tezuka's early depiction of armed conflicts: the impermanence of life and pleasant situations, and the crude representation of death and corpses. We will see that these two elements are also present in Tezuka's depiction of World War II and the Vietnam War.

The most recent article on war and manga in Japanese (as of February 2010) is the short chapter titled "War and Manga" [Sensō to Manga] by Kure in the collective book *Introduction to Manga Studies* [*Mangagaku Nyūmon*] (2009). As suggested by the title of the book, this chapter is first of all an introduction to the link between war and manga and does not offer any discourse analysis. The majority of other Japanese books exploring war in manga focus on the use of wartime manga to promote imperialist propaganda (Ishiko 1995; Sakuramoto 2000; Kajii 2000).

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[12] Natsume Fusanosuke, grandson of the novelist Natsume Sōseki, is one of the leading critics of manga in Japan. Since the 1980s he has been promoting what he calls *mangagaku* [manga studies]. He currently teaches at Gakushūin College.

In sum, besides Natsume's effort, there is no book in Japanese proposing a thorough analysis of war in manga.

Even though Schodt's first book to present manga to the American audience was published in 1986, manga has only recently become a scholarly topic in the English-speaking academic world. *Adult Manga: Culture and Power in Japanese Society* by Sharon Kinsella was the first book-length study on manga published by a university press (2000). As noted by Onoda Power, English-language manga studies are currently in their initial stages and researchers are building bridges between the English-language environment and research in Japan (2009, 8). In the last few years, international conferences on manga involving American, European, Japanese, and Australian researchers took place in Paris (2007) and Kyoto (2009). Acknowledging the international success of manga and anime, recent introductory textbooks to Japanese society usually propose a chapter about Japanese comics and animation.[13]

Besides these introductory studies about the international success of manga, several efforts proposing a discourse analysis of the most popular manga have been recently published; some of them address the representation of war in manga. These articles and chapters deal with a broad range of materials. Eldad Nakar, who is the first one to write on this topic in English, explores the representation of war in airplane pilot manga from the 1960s (2003). Matthew Penney proposes a brief study of Mizuki Shigeru's war manga as well as an analysis of war-fantasy manga concluding that war-fantasy manga do not necessarily present an apology for war (2008; 2007). Responding to Penney's analysis of war-fantasy manga, Jacqueline Berndt argues that the "exclusive obsession with technical details" in the representation of war machines in many manga prevents the development of a critical description of war (2008, 316). A recent

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[13] For the most recent one in English (as of February 2010), see Craig 2009.

issue of the academic review *Mechademia* also focuses on "War/Time" in manga and anime (Lunning 2009). The disparate conclusions of these articles—some arguing that manga present a positive vision of war while others assert the contrary—shows that it is inconsistent to conceive of manga as a unified cultural artefact.

Among these articles, some of them analyze the representation of war in Tezuka's manga (Penney 2005; Gildenhard 2006; Ma 2009). However, all these works focus on the same manga, *Adorufu ni Tsugu* [*Adolf*]—probably because it is one of Tezuka's most famous manga inside of and outside of Japan (Tezuka 1996).[14] Published between 1983 and 1986, *Adorufu ni Tsugu* is a five-volume manga narrating the story of three characters named Adolf: Adolf Kaufmann, the son of a German diplomat in Japan, Adolf Kamil, a Jewish boy born of German parents in Japan; and Adolf Hitler. The plot revolves around a document which supposedly proves that Adolf Hitler has Jewish origins. Although the story is a fictional one, Tezuka referred to real historical events and inserted diverse timelines among the chapters to help readers keep in mind the historical background. This is why Gildenhard calls it a "faction," i.e., "a mixture of fact and fiction" (2006, 97).

The most interesting point about the three authors who published on *Adorufu ni Tsugu* is that their conclusions differ. Even though Ma acknowledges Tezuka's quality as a cartoonist and a storyteller, his overall appreciation of *Adorufu ni Tsugu* is negative. Ma sees in *Adorufu ni Tsugu* an anti-Semitic story because Tezuka advances that Hitler wanted to exterminate the Jews because of his own Jewish origins (2009, 190). Gildenhart advances a more nuanced conclusion and questions how to tackle such a story in which history and fiction are tightly interwoven (2006, 105). Penney is the most enthusiastic one and writes that *Adorufu ni Tsugu* "condemns all

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[14] Translated into many languages, *Adorufu ni Tsugu* was highly acclaimed during its publication in Japan. Tezuka even received the 10th Kōdansha manga prize for this work.

forms of racism and intolerance" (2005, 175). He insists on the fact that Tezuka denounces Nazi

crimes as well as the crimes committed by the Japanese Imperial Army in China:

> [...] Tezuka has used German war crimes as an opportunity to communicate similar parts
> of Japan's own past. In Tezuka's manga Germany is not a criminal "other" but instead an
> important catalyst in a larger pattern of self-reflection. (Penney 2005, 177)

To Penney, *Adorufu ni Tsugu* points out the limits of the victimhood paradigm. I will discuss in

details Penney's conclusion in chapter six after having proposed my analysis of Tezuka's

representation of Japanese war crimes in Asia.

Tessa Morris-Suzuki also deals with the representation of war in comics and manga in a

recent book (2005, 158-205). Barely touching on the work of Tezuka, Morris-Suzuki mainly

focuses on manga about Hiroshima and Nagasaki's bombings. She points out that novels and

memoirs can only convey the feelings and memories of the survivors through words, while

manga has more impact on readers since it also offers a graphical representation of the cities'

destruction (2005, 159). Among manga describing the destruction of Hiroshima and Nagasaki,

Hadashi no Gen [*Barefoot Gen*] by Nakazawa Keiji (b.1939) is probably the most famous one.

Nakazawa Keiji's representation of Hiroshima after the atomic bombing was so crude that his

editors asked him to censure some of his drawings (Morris-Suzuki 2005, 162-163). Although

Hadashi no Gen was published in 1973, Japanese children still read it and Japanese middle

school teachers still use it in class to promote pacifism (Shimazu 2003, 111; Itō & Omote 2006;

Yoshimura 2006).[15]

This brief overview of scholarship investigating the representations of war in manga

shows that little has been done on this topic, whereas, as seen earlier, manga wields a significant

influence in the formation of young Japanese's historical consciousness. All of the

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[15] One of my friends told me that when he was in middle school in Osaka in the Mid-Nineties, his teacher exhorted
the children to read *Hadashi no Gen*.

aforementioned studies focus mainly on one or two stories and none of them is entirely dedicated to Tezuka's works. Before presenting my analysis of Tezuka's war manga, the following two chapters introduce the main debates as well the most salient narratives about World War II legacies in Japan in order to understand in which context Tezuka wrote his manga.

2.0   DEBATES SURROUNDING JAPAN'S ROLE DURING WORLD WAR II

2.1   STATE, HISTORY, AND NATION

Defining the nation represents a crucial stake for the State, since it helps to legitimate a government as well as unify a population. In order to manipulate history and make it fit in their narrative of nation, the State uses diverse means. In France, for instance, leaders have used "sites of memory" [*lieux de mémoires*] such as memorials dedicated to soldiers who lost their life for the country, as well as famous figures of French history to reinforce nationalism (Nora 1997). By paying homage to famous French people of the past, French leaders spark the feeling of an invisible link between today's French and their ancestors. They strengthen the French "imagined community." Needless to say, some of the worst periods of French history, such as collaboration during Nazi occupation, have little place in these kinds of homage. Everything that could endanger the homogenizing power of the official narrative of nation disappears. Gender, social classes, and race usually do not have any space in official narratives of nation.

Laws are another effective means to promote an official history. A good example of this judicial rewriting of history is the law on colonization promulgated by the French government on February 23rd, 2005. The article 4 claimed that textbooks had to underline the positive role of French occupation—a euphemism to say colonization—overseas, and more particularly in North

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Africa. Before the national uproar provoked by this law, the French Supreme Court eventually suppressed this article in 2006.

Whatever the efforts of governments to present their narrative of nation as historical truth and to homogenize a diverse population under the totalizing notion of nation, a multiplicity of concurrent narratives exist and sometimes acutely challenge this official narrative. It is especially the case concerning highly controversial periods of the past such as war and colonization. Thus, before presenting the different narratives of nation in Japan, the following section presents the main issues concerning World War II legacies in Japan.

2.2 WORLD WAR II LEGACIES IN JAPAN

There are many debates within Japan and Asia concerning Japan in World War II; I will only focus on three main issues that come time and again in the political sphere: the role of Japan in the outbreak of the war and more specifically the role of the Emperor, the massacres committed by the Imperial Army in Asia, and the use of sexual slaves by the Japanese army. I will analyze how Tezuka tackles these themes in his manga in chapters five and six.

When Hosokawa Morihiro became Prime Minister in 1993 his declaration about Japan's role in the war stirred up a national outcry. What did he say? He claimed that Japan had conducted an "aggressive war" in Asia (McCormack 2001, 277). Hosokawa faced such a harsh public disagreement that several days later, he corrected his statement and talked about aggressive "behaviour" instead of war. Two years later, that is, the year of the 50th anniversary of the end of World War II, the Diet's adoption of a text acknowledging the aggressive role of Japan during World War II raised national protests. War veterans' movements denounced this

text and presented a petition against it signed by more than five million people (Roulliere 2004, 109). Although Japanese government officially apologized to its neighbours for the war, these examples show that the question of Japan's responsibility in the outbreak of the war is still a sensitive topic.

Emperor Hirohito's responsibility in the outbreak of the war has also been a controversial topic. Hirohito became emperor of Japan in 1926, and was therefore the Head of the State when the archipelago pursued its colonial expansion throughout Asia. The Meiji Constitution of 1889 clearly expressed that the emperor was the Head of the State and that he was the one sanctioning laws (article 6). This is only the legal status of the emperor and this tells us nothing about the actual legislative process; however, given Hirohito's position as the constitutional monarch in the Japanese political system, he had moral and political responsibilities in the outbreak of the war. By not judging the emperor among other Japanese political leaders during the Tokyo trials, Americans prevented the rise of criticisms regarding Hirohito's responsibility (Dower 1999, 27; 319-345). They did so mainly because of the insistence of MacArthur, some Japanese officials and American scholars who believed that the emperor could play a symbolic role of unification of the Japanese nation within the new democratic system enforced by the U.S.[16] This led to an almost impossibility to question the role of the emperor in World War II. As noted by Doak, most of the political groups which attempted to define Japanese nationalism after World War II accepted the existence of an emperor—at the notable exception of Japanese Marxist groups (2007, 113-114). This impossibility to overtly criticize the role of the emperor in World War II climaxed with Hirohito's death in 1989: In a climate of national mourning, no newspaper dared to touch on this issue (Field 1993, 22-25). In the months following the emperor's death,

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[16] Keeping the emperor as the Head of the Japanese State was also a demand of the Japanese government in its negotiation with the Allies to stop the war (Igarashi 2000, 23).

however, the debate about his responsibility gained more visibility within the public sphere. Whatever the importance of this debate, it is a largely symbolic one since Hirohito will forever remain legally innocent from Japan's colonization of Asia.

A third issue arose with the Tokyo trials: the crimes and wanton killings committed by the Imperial army in Asia. Despite the public revelation of these crimes during the trials, Japanese governments of the 1950s and 1960s barely acknowledged them. Japanese politicians first apologized for these crimes in the 1970s, but other Asian governments did not believe that these excuses were sincere apologies (Penney 2005, 37). Since the reestablishment of diplomatic relations between Japan and its neighbours (1956 with the Philippines, 1965 with South Korea, and 1972 with China), this question of wartime crimes and apologies has frequently re-emerged at the regional level. This was for instance the case with Chinese and Korean government criticisms of former Prime Minister Koizumi Junichiro official visits to the Yasukuni shrine—a Shinto shrine where souls of class A war criminals are enshrined. Following the controversy surrounding these visits, a group of Chinese and Japanese scholars decided to cojoin their effort to conduct research on Nanjing massacres. Despite this international collaboration, this group of scholars has not yet come to a common interpretation of Nanjing massacres (Japan Times 02/02/2010).

The more recent issue of "comfort women" [*jūgun ianfu*, also known as *wianbu* in Korean]—a euphemism to designate women forced to serve as sexual slaves for the Japanese army—also poisons Japanese diplomacy in Asia. This question publicly arose in the early 1960s with the investigation of the journalist Senda Kakō for the *Mainichi* newspaper. In 1976, Senda's articles on comfort women were edited together and became the first Japanese book on the topic (Hicks 1996, 306). Focusing mainly on Korean comfort women, the book enjoyed a popular

success with more than 500,000 copies sold (Seaton 2007, 49). When it was published, the issue of comfort women was already well-known in Japan but from a domestic point of view, i.e., the abduction of Japanese women—mainly from poor background—in order to send them to Asia to serve as sexual slaves for the army. Despite the popular success of books investigating the comfort women's issue, the Japanese government did not make any statement about its role in this state-planned sexual slavery which involved as many as 200,000 women from all Asian countries—with the vast majority of women coming from Korea, Japan, and China (Shimazu 2003, 109).[17] The comfort women's issue became a central topic in Japan's war memory when in 1991 former Korean comfort women filled a lawsuit against the Japanese government in order to obtain an official recognition of what happened to them during the war. This was the first of a long series of judicial actions undertook by former Korean comfort women (McCormack 2001, 248; Hicks 1996, 308-309). Despite historical evidences proving the role of the Japanese state in this sexual slavery system, some politicians still refuse to admit that comfort women were slaves. This is, for instance, the case of former Prime Minister Shinzo Abe who, in 2007, declared that comfort women were no more than prostitutes.

All these issues and others come to the spotlight time and again through the debate surrounding Japanese history textbooks. According to the School Education Law of 1947, all textbooks must meet the requirements set up by the Ministry of Education to be used in schools.[18] In other words, the Ministry of Education screens textbooks through a certification process. History textbooks represent an effective political medium for the government to convey the official view of history through mandatory education. The debate about history textbooks

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[17] There are still many arguments concerning the exact number of comfort women. The figures I used come from Kim-Gibson 1999.
[18] For more information about the procedure, see the website of the Ministry of Education: http://www.mofa.go.jp/policy/education/textbooks/index.html [retrieved on February 19, 2009].

changed into a legislative and political one when in 1965, historian Ienaga Saburō (1913-2002) decided to sue the Japanese government after the Ministry of education asked him to rewrite many parts of one of his textbooks. Ienaga became a symbol of the debates on war legacies in Japan and fought all his life to obtain the insertion of Japanese war crimes in history textbooks. Based on this panorama of issues surrounding World War II legacies in Japan, it is now possible to explore how post-war Japanese governments handle these issues in their narrative of the Japanese nation as well as the responses to this official narrative.

3.0   NARRATIVES OF WAR IN JAPAN

3.1   THE MAINSTREAM NARRATIVE: JAPAN AS A VICTIM OF WORLD WAR II

Despite the aforementioned debates, the idea that Japan was a victim of World War II seems to have been the most salient point of view about war within the archipelago up to the early 1990s. This thought can be traced back to the announcement of surrender by Emperor Hirohito: "The enemy has for the first time used cruel bombs to kill and maim extremely large numbers of the innocent […] To continue the war further could lead in the end not only to the extermination of our race, but also to the destruction of all human civilization" (quoted in Dower 1999, 36). In Hirohito's words, not only was Japan a victim of American cruelty, but it was also the savior of humanity.[19] Hirohito's denunciation of the American use of atomic bombs gave way to a more complex narrative of the end of the war.

The use of atomic bombs against Japan as well as the non-judgement of Hirohito during the Tokyo trials gave birth to what historian Igarashi Yoshikuni calls the "foundational narrative of postwar relations between Japan and the United States," which relies on a genderization of the U.S.-Japan's relationship:

> Through the bomb, the United States, gendered as male, rescued and converted Japan, figured as a desperate woman. Hirohito's so-called divine decision to end the war participated in this drama by accepting the superior power of the United States. Despite

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[19] Most of Japanese people did not understand Hirohito's declaration of surrender when it was broadcasted on the radio. Nonetheless, this declaration shows that the victimhood paradigm can be traced back to 1945.

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its hyperbole, this popular narrative was effective in defining the two countries' perception of the war and how it ended. (2000, 20)

Igarashi shows that this gendered narration of U.S.-Japan relations permeated many elements of Japanese popular culture, from TV shows, to movies.[20] We will see in the following chapters that Tezuka also proposes a gendered narration of post-war Japan-U.S. relations. Yet, if Tezuka depicts the U.S. as a gendered male, his narrative emphasizes the potential danger of the U.S. for the archipelago through the hyper-sexualization of American soldiers.

Igarashi notes that this foundational narrative of World War II has two main consequences. First, it exonerates the emperor from any political responsibility in the war (2000, 26). Hirohito became the man who saved Japan from its racialist and colonialist drifts. Second, in putting the bombs at the core of the U.S.-Japan's relations, it emphasizes the suffering of Japanese citizens and therefore marginalizes the suffering of Asian people under Japanese domination (2000, 35).

Atomic bombs became the symbols of Japanese people's victimhood only when the American occupation ended in 1952. Indeed, during the American occupation of the archipelago, the Supreme Commander of the Allied Powers (SCAP) imposed a strict system of censorship to the Japanese media. This American censorship relied on the ten points of the Press Code published by the SCAP in 1945. Among these ten points, the one stating that nothing should "disturb public tranquillity" was at the origin of the censorship of materials dealing with atomic bombs and their consequences on Hiroshima and Nagasaki's population (Braw 1991, 41; 89-142). The first book about Nagasaki and the consequences of the atomic bomb on the population was published only after the editor made many compromises to comply with SCAP's censorship

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[20] Dower also asserts that the post-war period gave birth to a gendered relation between Japan and the U.S. (1999, 137).

(Dower 1999, 197). The multiplication of memoires from Hiroshima and Nagasaki's survivors [*genbaku mono*] helped the victimhood paradigm to get more credit among the population. As John Dower wrote it, this kind of memoires presented war "primarily in terms of its destructive effects on Japanese" (1999, 199).

Post-war Japanese officials promptly adopted this idea that Japan was a victim of war, for it helped them to hide their responsibility during the conflict. Indeed, many of post-war officials were also members of the wartime Japanese government (Shimazu 2003, 105). In claiming that Japan was a victim of war, they implicitly claimed that they themselves were also victims of it. The idea that Japan fought for a just cause also slowly gained more popularity within the Liberal Democratic Party (LDP), the political party which came to power in 1955 and ruled Japan for more than five decades. Among members of the LDP and conservative intellectuals, many believed—and promoted the idea—that Japan invaded Asia to free Asian people from Western colonization. Thus, for these people, Japan's role during the war could not be conflated with the role of an aggressor.

This idea that Japan was a victim of World War II whose role was misunderstood by Western powers became the official narrative and mainstream paradigm to remember the war. Nonetheless, one must not confuse this paradigm with an alleged amnesia of World War II: Japan's mainstream paradigm is a selective remembrance of the war in which Japanese suffering stands at the core of the official discourse. By insisting on the suffering of the Japanese survivors of Nagasaki and Hiroshima's atomic bombings —and at the same time, overlooking the fact that many Koreans and foreigners were also victims of the same bombs—pacifist movements within

Japan helped strengthen this victimhood paradigm outside of the political sphere (Orr 2001, 35;38).[21]

3.2   THE COUNTER-NARRATIVES: REJECTION AND EXACERBATION OF THE VICTIMHOOD PARADIGM

Despite the pervasiveness and longevity of the victimhood paradigm within and outside of the political sphere, diverse categories of people called it into question as early as the 1960s.[22] Oda Makoto (1932-2007), an intellectual who also founded a social movement against the Vietnam War, was the first among the pacifists to publicly criticize the victimhood paradigm and its major consequence, the disappearance of Asian victims killed by the Japanese army (Orr 2001, 6). As we have seen earlier, historian Ienaga also advocated all his life for the insertion of Japanese war crimes in textbooks. This struggle over war memory has also involved associations and organized social groups (Seraphim 2006). In this debate, the importance of class and gender should not be neglected; some unions, such as the teacher's union, used a Marxist framework of class struggle to look back at the war period and criticize the victimhood paradigm (Seraphim 2006, 12).

The first testimonies of former privates of the Imperial army who took part in Japanese war crimes in Asia appeared in the 1970s and underwent a surge during the 1980s (Seaton 2007, 49). Yoshida Yūto (b.1913), a former soldier dispatched in continental Asia during the war, was

[21] For more details on the place granted to the Korean victims in the commemoration of Hiroshima's bombing, see Yoneyama 1999, 151-186.

[22] The longevity of the victimhood paradigm is partly due to the low turnover among Japanese politicians. Former officials of the Japanese empire dominated post-war political life for a long time.

among the first Japanese soldiers to publicly describe the comfort women system and confess his own crimes in two books: *Chōsenjin Ianfu to Nihonjin* [*Korean Comfort Women and the Japanese*] published in 1977 and *Watakushi no Sensō Hanzai* [*My War Crimes*] published in 1983. This multiplication of testimonies culminated in 2001 with *Riben Guizi* [Chinese expression which literally means "Japanese devils"], a Japanese documentary by Matsui Minoru which gathers testimonies of former Japanese soldiers at the dawn of their lives.

The increase of counter-narratives as well as the judicial claims of former Korean comfort women helped to give more space to non-Japanese victims within the mainstream narrative. Since the early 1990s, the traditional commemorative programs broadcasted each year in early August to remember Hiroshima and Nagasaki's tragedies have presented Japan as an aggressor and touch on the issue of Asian victims (Seaton 2007, 130). However, these programs' main focus is still the suffering of Japanese people. This evolution of Japan's official narrative of World War II and therefore of the narrative of the Japanese nation exemplifies Bhabha's idea that a nation is a set of concurrent narratives never foreclosed. In Japan's case, it is clear that dissident narratives of World War II coming from the fringes of society as well as outside of Japan contributed to a rewriting of Japan's official view of World War II in which crimes and gender issues obtained more space.

This opening of the paradigm to non-Japanese victims also gave birth to radical criticisms from right-wing intellectuals who even now refuse Japan's responsibility in the war as well as Japanese war crimes in continental Asia. Since the early 1990s, the word war itself does no longer carry a negative meaning in Japan (Itō 2004, 152). The most popular and successful of these radical revisionists is probably the mangaka [comic artist] Kobayashi Yoshinori (b. 1953) whose political manga *Sensōron* [*On War*] published in 1998 encountered popular success.

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The rise of counter-narratives struggling to gain acknowledgment for Asian victims and the revival of revisionist discourses that totally negate Japanese atrocities show that the debate about Japan's role during the war is still open and that the victimhood paradigm, once the most salient narrative of war, is facing many changes and challenges. Before exploring the position of Tezuka within these narratives, it is necessary to understand the major narrative of war that could be found in manga published before and during Tezuka's works.

3.3   PRE-WAR AND IMMEDIATE POST-WAR MANGA

Children's manga exhorting patriotic values emerged in the early 20th century. Exalting the so-called Yamato spirit [spirit of Japan] those children's manga mainly targeted to young boy encountered wide success. Editor Kōdansha sold more than 250,000 copies of the manga *Nichibei Miraisen* [*The Future War between Japan and the U.S.*] (Griffiths 2007). Yet the government of this era did not pay attention to manga. Japanese officials became interested in manga with the breakout of the war against China in 1937 because they saw in comics a convenient way to bring nationalistic and militaristic propaganda to poorly educated people (Schodt 1986, 57). Tezuka himself remembered that during wartime, manga was an instrument of propaganda (Tezuka 1999, 50). As a result of this use of manga by the Imperialist government, SCAP harshly censored Japanese comics in the immediate post-war period (Natsume 1997b, 25). To escape this strict censorship, the first post-war manga tackling the issue of war adopted a science fiction's point of view (Shimizu & alii 2005, 60). Manga on World War II emerged only in the mid-1950s and enjoyed popular success among children until the late 1960s (Nakar 2003, 58; Itō 2004).

In his study of airplane pilot manga for young boys—manga depicting young pilots of the Imperial Army during World War II—Nakar notes that most of the airplane pilot manga published between 1957 and 1967 celebrated the heroism and the courage of young Japanese soldiers (2003, 74). Avoiding death and the representation of enemies, these comics depicted World War II only from the point of view of Japanese airplane pilots. They also presented young pilots as good boys dedicated to the defense of their homeland, while depicting Japanese officers as villains who abused their power (2003, 67-69). Despite controversies about this celebration of war and courage of Japanese soldiers, airplane pilot manga encountered great success among young boys. This representation of war romanticizing the sacrifice of young kamikaze was not peculiar to manga. As noted by Ivan Morris, the figure of the hero, who faithfully dedicates himself to reach his goal but eventually fails, could be found in many post-war novels (Morris 1975, 276-334). Television programs and movies also portrayed Japan as a victim of the conflict and blamed generals and the former regime for having ruined the country.

Among the mass of manga which offered this positive representation of war, it was still possible to find dissident narratives of World War II which did not present a romanticized image of the conflict. *Garo*, an avant-garde manga magazine founded in 1964 and published by Seisandō, an independent editor, pioneered as the first critique on celebrating World War II. *Garo* was able to propose this harsh criticism of war and of the official narrative of the wartime Japanese nation because, unlike the major manga magazines, it was not driven by commercial incentives but by political motives (Holmberg 2007, 19-20).

By the end of the 1960s, manga focusing on World War II became less popular among children. Driven by their quest for profits, major manga editors stopped publishing war manga in their comics magazines. The values standing at the core of these war manga—courage and

fighting spirit—, however, still pervaded manga targeted to young boys. The disappearance of war manga gave way to the rise of sports manga which extolled the dedication of young sportsmen to become the best of their category (Itō 2004, 169-170). This is during this period of an almost total disappearance of war manga from the major comics magazines that Tezuka published most of his war manga. But before presenting these manga, the following chapter unravels some of the motives that gave birth to Tezuka's war manga.

4.0   ORIGINS OF TEZUKA'S WAR MANGA

4.1   TEZUKA'S YOUTH: AMERICAN BOMBINGS AND POST-WAR RECONSTRUCTION

Born in 1928, Tezuka was still a young boy when the war broke out.[23] In 1941 he moved from his hometown Takarazuka to Yodogawa to go to high school. That same year Japan declared war against the U.S., and officials mobilized the whole population to support the war effort. In 1943 the Japanese government passed a law stipulating that schoolboys had to work in factories to help the country. In March 1945, the government ended up transforming most schools into mini-boot camps, in case of an American invasion. Tezuka, nicknamed *chibi* [midget] had a hard time during these military exercises, as he also worked in a factory in the Yodogawa area of Osaka.[24]

Wartime conditions of life and the immediate post-war period left a deep imprint in Tezuka's mind as the following anecdote exemplifies. For the presentation of his autobiography to the media in 1969, Tezuka recreated a post-war black market in the hall of the hotel where he was holding the press conference, and began his presentation by stating:

> 私の出発点は戦争直後です。当時を忘れないでまた新しい出発をしたいと思い、
> こういう趣向にしました (Tezuka 2007, 74)

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[23] Unless indicated, all the biographical information in this part comes from Tezuka's autobiography (1999).
[24] For more details on this period of Tezuka's life, see Takeuchi 2008, 58-63.

My starting point is the immediate post-war period. I came up with this idea [of recreating a black market] because I would like to have a new start without forgetting this period.[25]

Tezuka published his first comics in a regional newspaper in 1946. World War II and the immediate post-war period were therefore doubly important for him: They were the starting point of his cartoonist's career, and periods of material hardships that he would remember for the rest of his life.

Yet, as noted before, SCAP prohibited any representation of the war, any reference to post-war famine, and criticism of the American army of occupation. Thus Tezuka adopted a science-fiction point of view for his first war manga, *Heigen Taihei Ki* [*Chronicles of the Peace Prairie*] published in 1950.[26] It is only in 1957—that is, in the early years of the war manga boom—with the publication of *Fukugan Majin* [*Multi-Eyed Devil*] that Tezuka drew his first manga which explicitly mentioned World War II. Although the story starts with images of Tokyo's bombing in the last months of the conflict, it is mainly a science-fiction story which does not linger on the war itself. Also published in 1957, *Hitokui Misaki* [*Man-Eater Mountaintop*] was Tezuka's first war manga without any science-fiction elements. One year later, Tezuka published *Ari to Kyodai* [*Ants and Giants*], the story of two war orphans who, after a childhood friendship, became enemies. The first 37 pages of this 236-page long story take place during World War II and the American Occupation.

After these three stories published in the late 1950s, Tezuka abandoned manga on World War II and its aftermaths for ten years. However, he kept drawing war manga but adopted a science-fiction stance in which unnamed countries went to war against each other. In other words, Tezuka abandoned war manga while this specific kind of manga was undergoing a surge

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[25] All translations from the Japanese are the author's unless otherwise indicated.
[26] For an exhaustive list of war manga (including science-fiction manga), see Naiki 2005.

in publication and popularity among children. The reasons for this halt are unclear. Tezuka's biographies and interviews do not mention if Tezuka expressed the desire to publish manga on World War II in the late 1950s and early 1960s. However, if that were the case, the popularity of airplane pilot manga during this period probably prevented Tezuka's manga on World War II from being published in major comics magazines. The manga industry in Japan is profit-driven and competitive; profits are the primary incentive dictating editors' commercial strategies. Because most manga glorified the war, publication of Tezuka's war manga denouncing the war presented a financial risk for editors as well as for Tezuka. Tezuka's artistic disagreement with *Garo* editors also represented an obstacle for his publication in the magazine.

Tezuka returned to non-fantasy war manga in 1968 with *Shokei wa San Ji ni Owatta* [*The Execution Ended at 3*], a dark story about the execution of a former Nazi. The same year, he also published *Jō o Tazuneta Otoko* [*The Man Who Visited Joe*] about an American soldier who fought during the Vietnam War, which is the first story in which he referred to this conflict. The publication of *Jō o Tazuneta Otoko* and Tezuka's other manga on the Vietnam War concurred with the escalating protests against the Vietnam War in Japan. As we will see in chapter 6, Tezuka's Vietnam War manga criticizing Japan's support for American bombings echoed these popular demonstrations.

The early 1970s also saw the multiplication of manga intertwining mangaka's own experiences of war with fictional elements (Takeuchi 2008, 244). For instance, *Hadashi no Gen* by Nakazawa Keiji was first published in 1973. Tezuka also started drawing this kind of semi-autobiographical manga with *Kami no Toride* [*Fortress of Paper*] in 1974.

Fortress of Paper integrates aspects of Tezuka's youth with fictional elements, such as Ōsamu's encounter[27] with a young girl called Akamoto Kyōko. Tezuka's experience of Osaka and Yadogawa's bombing by the U.S inspired certain pages of the manga.[28] In his autobiography, Tezuka compares the city after an American raid to Dante's description of hell (Tezuka 1999, 43). He then describes precisely the heaps of charred bodies that he saw. Looking at *Fortress of Paper*, it is clear that Tezuka's memory of burning corpses wielded influence on his graphical representation of Yadogawa's bombing (Tezuka 2007a, 37). As Tessa Morris-Suzuki points it out, the images of war that we saw strongly shape our representation of war (2005, 163). In Tezuka's case, these images are not only textbooks' pictures; they also stem from his direct experience of war. We will see in the following chapter that other experiences shape Tezuka's representation of war.

4.2   TEZUKA'S MOTIVATIONS TO WRITE ON WAR: PACIFISM AND THE RESPECT OF HUMAN RIGHTS

Most of Tezuka's war manga, either on World War II or the Vietnam War, were published from the late 1960s to the mid-1980s, that is, just after the boom of war manga celebrating the courage of young Japanese pilots. The main message of Tezuka's manga was clearly at odds with the former airplane pilot stories. Tezuka believed he had the moral responsibility to explain what war was to younger generations who never experienced it (Tezuka 1997, 92). The main premises

[27] Here, there is a pun based on the many ways to write Osamu using Chinese characters. While Tezuka Osamu writes his name with the following characters 治虫, he uses 大寒[Great Cold] to spell the name of *Kami no Toride*'s protagonist.
[28] American bombs destroyed 57% of Osaka city (Dower 1999, 46).

underlying Tezuka's representation of war are pacifism, i.e., *"the doctrine that all violence is unjustifiable"* and the respect of human rights (Princeton online dictionary). Tezuka concludes *Tezuka Osamu no Manga no Kakikata* [*Tezuka Osamu's Techniques to Draw Manga*], a manual explaining the basic tricks of manga, with the following words: "When writing manga, there is something that we must respect and this is basic human rights" ［しかし、マンガを描く上で、これだけは絶対に守らねばらぬことがある。それは、基本的人権だ。］ (Tezuka 1997, 231).

　　Jorō Gumo [*The Spider Girl*] published in 1971 in the magazine *Shūkan Shōnen Kingu,* exemplifies this attitude. In this story which takes place during World War II, some Japanese officials ask Majima, a young painter, to draw propaganda posters for the government. The young boy refuses and answers:

　　戦争が正義なんですか？日本がしかけたのに！ (Tezuka 2007a, 67)
　　That war, a just war? While it's Japan which started it!

Unlike some LDP politicians who promoted the view that Japan began to invade Asia to free the continent from Western colonization, Tezuka asserts that Japan aggressed Asia. Yet we will see that this denunciation of Japan's role in the outbreak of the war does not amount to a denunciation of Japanese war crimes. Furthermore, the word "Japan" in this short excerpt does not designate the whole Japanese nation. As we will see in chapter 6, Tezuka refuses to define the wartime Japanese nation as a unified entity. Here, "Japan" means those who started the war in Japan, that is, officers and officials.

　　Like Majima, Tezuka never drew manga promoting war or hatred. During the wartime period, he was too young to be a professional cartoonist, and once he started his career as a mangaka, he remained true to his moral values and only promoted peace in his works. Tezuka did so because he believed that manga's messages could have a deep impact on their readers.

Talking about mangaka who stopped drawing comics during World War II because they did not want to comply with the Japanese government propaganda, Tezuka asserts:

> ぼくは、マンガというのは（映画を含めてであると思うけど）闘いの武器だと思う。 (Tezuka 1997c, 130)
> I believe that manga (and also movies) is a fighting weapon.

For Tezuka, manga is a weapon, but not a weapon to kill: it is a weapon to promote peace and eradicate violence.

Not only does Tezuka condemn war, but he also condemns those who fought for it. Majima's assertion that World War II is not a just war can be extended to armies, whatever the nationality of their soldiers. That is one of the messages of *Tai Shōgun・Mori he Iku* [*The Great General - Going to the Forest*] published in 1976 in *Gekkan Shōnen Janpu*. This story takes place sometimes at the end of World War II and narrates the journey of a Japanese officer whose plane crashed somewhere in Vietnam. After having overcome many dangers in the jungle, the general eventually reaches a village where only two adolescents are living. Surprised, the general asks to one of the adolescents where all the other inhabitants are. The young boy explains him that an army came to the village and killed everyone. To which the Japanese general answers that this army cannot be the Imperial Army because the Japanese Army would never commit such horrific crimes. Rather than clarifying the nationality of the army, the young protagonist simply states that a "just army" does not exist ［正義の軍隊なんてどこにもいない！］ (Tezuka 2007a, 129).[29]

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[29] Looking at the graphical representation of the soldiers who committed the massacre, there is no doubt that they are Westerners. They have big noses, one of the soldiers has a lot of hair on his forearm, and the last one even has an anchor tattoo (Tezuka 2007a, 127). I asked some of my Japanese friends if they thought these soldiers could be Japanese, and they all answered that to them, they were Westerners.

Not just World War II, Tezuka criticizes all wars. *Anaphylaxis*, a comic of Black Jack[30] published in 1973 in *Gekkan Shōnen Chanpion*, narrates the story of a young soldier seriously wounded in the so-called "Arab war" (Tezuka 2004, 87). His father, a famous general asks Black Jack to save his son's life. While recovering from the surgical operation, the young soldier discovers that his father wants to send him back to the front line. After shouting that he hates war, the young man commits suicide to avoid going back to the battlefield (Tezuka 2004, 11). To Tezuka, regardless of the aggressor or victim, he refuses to support any military conflict. This call for international peace is also omnipresent in Tezuka's science-fiction manga *Tetsuwan Atomu,* which stars a little robot fighting against villains to bring peace and justice to the earth (Schodt 2007, 4; 133; Satō 1989).

Tezuka also expressed his concern that Japan was forgetting the horror of war, and wanted to inform the young generation to know that war was not a game. This constitutes the main theme of *The Trip to 1985* [*1985 e no Shuppatsu*], one of Tezuka's last war manga published in 1985 in *Gekkan Shōnen Janpu*. The three protagonists, Kazuo, Kimiko, and Tetsu, are young children who have lost their parents during World War II. Thanks to an old fortune-teller, they make a time travel and arrive in Japan in 1985. What they see in the future revolts them: Children of the 1980s are playing with fake guns and movies' posters show people engaged in killing (Tezuka 2007b, 236-237).[31] Kazuo decides that he and his friends should meet the director of the factory producing these fake guns. The three friends finally manage to talk with the director of the toys factory and they discover that the director is Kazuo himself. His wife

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[30] Black Jack, a brilliant surgeon who illegally performs his work in exchange of huge amounts of money, is a recurrent character in Tezuka's works.
[31] This future is also the 1985-present, since 1985 is the date of publication of the story.

is Kimiko and Tetsu works for them. The young Kazuo is upset to see that he has completely

forgotten the hardship of war. Mad with rage, he lectures the 1985-Kazuo:

> 親兄弟を殺され浮浪児になってさ二度と戦争ごめんだって　　ちかったんだ
> ぜ。。。それをなんだ四十年もたったらケロッとわすれやがって！！ (Tezuka
> 2007b, 244)
> Our families were killed and we became street children. So we said that war should never
> happen again. We swore it… And forty years later, we completely forgot it, as if nothing
> happened!!

Back to 1945, Kazuo, Kimiko, and Tetsu decide to break up to ensure that they will not

set up the toys factory in the future. It is a hard decision to take because they are close friends,

and Kazuo even loves Kimiko, but they prefer to become separated rather than forgetting the

war. Four years before his death Tezuka wanted to ensure that the generation who experienced

the war, and the younger generation who had never directly experienced any armed conflict,

would keep in mind the horror of war. Besides this will to remember the horror of war, Tezuka

also drew war manga to fulfil editors' commissions. This is the case of Tezuka internationally

claimed *Adorufu ni Tsugu* (Tezuka 1997, 92). However, even when Tezuka drew war manga in

response to editors' requests, he always promoted pacifism and human rights.

The majority of Tezuka's war manga were published by major manga editors—that is,

editors which treated manga as a purely commercial product. These editors published Tezuka's

war manga because they believed that these stories had a significant readership, not because they

wanted to change Japanese children and adolescents' perception of the war. Despite Tezuka's

representation of Japan as an aggressor during World War II, his pacifist message was in

accordance with 1970s and 1980s' children and adolescents' mainstream idea about the war.

During the 1960s and 1970s, the idea expressed in Japan's constitution that the

archipelago would be the first pacifist country in the world slowly took roots in the post-World

War II generation. This generation violently opposed Japan's official support for American

bombings of Vietnam in the late 1960s. At the same time, airplane pilot manga, which faced many public criticisms for their positive depiction of World War II, abruptly disappeared from comics magazines. Thus, children born in the 1960s grew up in a society where pacifism and denunciation of armed conflicts became the mainstream idea. If Tezuka war manga represented a rupture with the airplane pilot manga of the 1950s and 1960s, his release by major manga publishers also reflected the tacit acceptance of pacifism in post-war generations.

Tezuka's call for international peace became one of the major themes promoted by critics of his manga and by Tezuka Production—the firm holding the copyrights of Tezuka's manga. For instance, the manga critic Ishiko published a book titled *Heiwa no Tankyū* [*The Quest for Peace*] in which he argues that the call for peace is a theme common to every Tezuka's manga (2007, 1). Tezuka production published a small collection of words and sayings from Tezuka's manga, whose chapter 6 is titled "hate for war" [*sensō he no ikari*] (Tezuka 2007, 89-100). While pacifism is a key concept to understand Tezuka's war manga, it tells us almost nothing about his narrative of World War II. In the following chapter, I explain this discrepancy by analyzing Tezuka's war manga.

5.0 TEZUKA'S REPRESENTATION OF WORLD WAR II: A PACIFIST VOICE WITHIN THE VICTIMHOOD PARADIGM

5.1 *THE CRASH* [*TSUIRAKUKI*]: DECONSTRUCTING FORMER AIRPLANE PILOT MANGA

In 1969 Tezuka published in *Shōnen Chanpion*, a comics magazine for young boys, an airplane pilot story titled *Tsuirakuki* (Tezuka 2004, 220-250). This story stands for a strong criticism of the airplane pilot manga published during the preceding decade. The protagonist, Okuno Ryūichi, is a pilot in the air force of an unknown country.[32] While on a mission to bomb an enemy's military base, Ryūichi's plane is shot down, and crashed in the jungle. Ryūichi is reported missing and the officers of his unit decide to make up a story based on this incident. They claim that the enemy shot Ryūichi's plane, and that Ryūichi, who knew that he would die, crashed his plane against the enemy's control tower in a desperate and heroic act. This story of a suicide attack is clearly a reference to the infamous kamikaze during World War II. Ryūichi's officers use the alleged sacrifice of the young soldier to reinforce patriotism within the army and the whole population. Ryūichi becomes a national hero whose name is even cited in history

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[32] Although this manga is one of the first works by Tezuka to tackle the issue of war from a realistic point of view, the author does not situate the story in a particular country. Tezuka begins *Tsuirakuki* with these words: "This story is a fiction, so you can relate it to the near future of any country of your choice" ［これは架空の物語であるだから舞台も未来のどこかの国のできごとと思ってくだされ ばいい。。。］ (Tezuka 2004, 220)

textbooks. Yet he survived the crash and managed, after manifold difficulties, to go back to his air base. When his superiors learn that Ryūichi is alive, they ask him to go back to his plane and crash it against the enemy's control tower. Ryūichi reluctantly obeys to the orders, but finally comes back to his base; he could not sacrifice his life for his country. His superiors decide to put an end to this situation: They shot Ryūichi and put his almost unconscious body in a plane in order to force him to crash on the enemy's base. The story ends with the crash of Ryūichi's plane against a control tower, but the readers are left with a doubt. It seems that Ryūichi, who fainted just after taking off, crashed his plane against his own base.

While during the previous decade, cartoonists depicted young heroes not afraid of death, Tezuka shows a young boy who does not want to die. Heroism no longer exists in this story. Tezuka stands up against the idea that young kamikaze were willing to crash their plane against American vessels. While facing the enemy, Ryūichi is crying and calling for his mother (Tezuka 2004, 225). His last thought does not go for his country, but for his mother. Furthermore, Tezuka stresses the sadness of Ryūichi's mother; she is not proud of her son's sacrifice. Standing alone before the memorial dedicated to her son, she sobs and claims that she did not want him to die or to become a war hero [リュウイチや… 死んでほしくなかったよ… ほんとは軍神なんかになって ほしくなっかたよ…] (Tezuka 2004, 237).[33] Tezuka's representation of Ryūichi's mother in front of the war memorial insists on the loneliness of the mother. The war memorial is gigantic compared to the woman—about seven times the height of the woman and the trees surrounding the memorial reinforce the darkness of the scene. Not only does Tezuka criticize the

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[33] The word *gunshin* [軍神] designates more than a simple war hero. A *gunshin* is the spirit of a soldier killed on the battlefield. From 1868 to 1951, the spirits of soldiers—included Korean and Chinese during the colonization of Asia—who gave their life for Japan were enshrined in the Yasukuni Jinja in Tokyo.

myth of the war hero, but he also claims that family and relatives do not feel any pride from having a relative who sacrificed his life for the sake of the country.

Even though Tezuka does not directly represent death and corpses in this story, he depicts violence, and more precisely the violence of officers against Ryūichi. Six pages of this thirty-page manga—that is, twenty percent of the whole story—show the violence of Ryūichi's officers against the young pilot. The protagonist is beaten, strangled and finally shot by his own army. The enemy is no longer the one Ryūichi was fighting against. Tezuka represents the "official enemy" in only six frames. The real enemies are officers and those who collaborate with them to lure the citizens. We will see in the next part that the opposition between generals and citizens comes time and again in Tezuka's work.

In this manga, Tezuka also criticizes the manipulation of history by officials, who rewrote history textbooks to include a romanticized version of Ryūichi's death in order to reinforce the nationalistic feeling within the population. *Tsuirakuki* was published only three years after Ienaga decided to sue the government for making him rewrite parts of his history. The Japanese media highly scrutinized Ienaga's trial, and Tezuka probably knew about it when he drew *Tsuirakuki*. The part in *Tsuirakuki* dealing with the textbooks' rewriting can probably be seen as a reference to the Japanese government policy toward textbooks.

5.2   TEZUKA'S REPRESENTATION OF DEATH, DESTRUCTION, AND WAR ORPHANS

In his study of Tezuka's manga published immediately after the war, Natsume points out that the element of death is omnipresent in Tezuka's works (Natsume 1997b, 17-18). Every situation of

happiness is ephemeral. This feeling of impermanence and instability is omnipresent in all Tezuka's war manga studied here. For instance, *Kanon*, published in 1974 in the comics magazine *Manga Akushon*, narrates the story of Kanō, a young man who goes back to his former middle school to attend an alumni reunion. There, he meets with the ghosts of his former comrades, and remembers his schooldays during the war. The day of graduation, Americans bombed his school and the majority of his friends died.[34] Kanō's young teacher was literally shredded by bullets while protecting him (Tezuka 2007b, 20). In drawing such crude representations of death, Tezuka probably wants to shock his young readers, and to show them that war should not be celebrated.

Tezuka also portrays the consequences of bombings for those who were "just" wounded. In *Kami no Toride*, the young Akamoto Kyōko survived the bombing of her home. However, bombs disfigured her and she would never be able to fulfil her dream of becoming a famous dancer.

Hardships as a result of the war did not end with the surrender of Japan in August 1945. After American bombing, famine and malnutrition caused thousands of deaths. The strict censor imposed by SCAP during the American occupation, however, forbade any allusion to "black market activities" and "overplaying starvation" in media (Braw 1991, 63-64). Japanese citizens were starving to death but it was impossible to overtly criticize this situation until the end of the occupation. The food shortage also severely affected Tezuka; an excerpt from a discussion between him and Ishiko exemplifies this point:

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[34] Although Tezuka never explicitly claims that the planes which bombed the school belong to the U.S. Air Force, two elements in the story lead the reader to think that they are American planes and that the action took place during World War II. First, the bombing takes place thirty years ago, that is—if we refer to the publication date of the story—, 1944. Second, Kanō identifies the planes as B29, which were the planes used by the U.S. to bomb Japan (Tezuka 2007, 17).

だけれども、何よりもぼくらを襲ったのは空腹なんです（笑）。負けても勝っ
てもいいから、腹いっぱい食べたい、これだけ子どもの唯一の願いでしたから。も
う厭世主義にならざるを得なかったような状態だったですから。米だけでは足り
ないから、もう最後には恥も外聞も捨てて、泥棒までしましたよ。かぼちゃ泥棒、
いも泥棒、ぼくら学生が、徒党を組んでやるわけです。 (Tezuka 1997, 83)
But what hit us the most severely was the lack of food (laughs). Children did not care
about victory or defeat; they only wanted a full belly. Due to the conditions, we all
became pessimist. Rice was not enough, you know. So we ended up forgetting about any
kind of shame and became sneak thieves. Students and pupils formed diverse groups and
stole cabbages and potatoes.

Tezuka depicts immediate post-war Japan's life in *Sukippara no Burūsu* [*The Hungry Belly Blues*] published in 1975 in *Shūkan Shōnen Kingu*, the first volume of *Dotsuitare* published in 1979 in *Yangu Janpu*, and *The Trip to 1985* (already mentioned in chapter 5). These stories insist on the difficulties to find food during the mid- and late 1940s. The first volume of *Dotsuitare* precisely depicts the different means used by some of the Japanese townsfolk to bypass food rationing and get vegetables from the countryside (Tezuka 1993, 69-89). The semi-fictional story *Sukippara no Burūsu* counts Tetsurō Ōsamu's strive for food during the American occupation.[35] Ōsamu and his friends are so starving that they go to the countryside to steal vegetables. Tezuka's representation of people stealing food in these stories does not convey any criticism of this behavior. On the contrary, Tezuka insists on the fact that people stole food because they were literally starving to death and had no other solution. The protagonist of *Sukippara no Burūsu* even says that in the end there exists no difference between war and post-war. In both cases, people do not have enough food to eat (Tezuka 2007a, 238).

The war left more than 120,000 war orphans and homeless children in Japan. However, Japanese government's policies to help these children remained scant (Dower 1999, 63). Not only did the government neglect this issue, but it also omitted war orphans from its narrative of World War II. On the other hand, Tezuka's war manga war focuses on the hardship of war

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[35] Tetsurō Ōsamu [鉄郎大寒] is the fictional counterpart of Tezuka Osamu in this story.

orphans. For example, Tezuka's first war manga *Fukugan Majin* published in 1957 narrates the story of a child who lost his mother and one of his eyes during Tokyo's bombing. The main characters of *Yotsuya Kaidan* [*Horror Tales of Yotsuya*], a short story published in 1975 in *Shōkan Shōnen Janpu, Dotsuitare*, and *Ari to Kyodai* are also war orphans.[36] All these stories share two common features. First, Tezuka insists on the trauma of children who saw their parents dying in front of them. Talking about his experience of war, the protagonist of *Yotsuya Kaidan* recalls his mother by stating: "I did see my mum's face until the last moment. I clearly remember that the fire completely burnt her face" ［オレ最後まで見てたんだよかあちゃんの顔が火でむくれあがってまっくろに こげてくのをよはっきりおぼえてるよ］ (Tezuka 1982, 93). A dramatic graphical representation of these memories illustrates the child's words (Tezuka 1982a, 92). Optimism is the second common point of these stories. These children experience hard times especially in their younger age, but they manage to escape from poverty and some of them even realize their dreams. This is the case of *Yotsuya Kaidan*'s protagonist who, despite being one-eyed, becomes a famous baseball player.

War also destroyed natural habitat. Tezuka, who frequently touched on environmental issues in his manga,[37] shows the destruction of nature during the war in *Monmon Yama ga Naiteiruyo* [*The Mountain Monmon is Crying*] published in 1979 in *Gekkan Shōnen Janpu*.[38] In this story, Tezuka insists on the fact that American bombings were not the only cause of the destruction of nature. Japanese government was also accountable for the destruction of its own environment since it ordered deforestation of huge parts of the archipelago to sustain war effort.

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[36] *Yotsuya Kaidan* is an adaptation of a famous Kabuki play from the 19th century.
[37] See for instance the collection of short stories: Tezuka, Osamu. *Hinshi no chikyū o Sukue*. Tōkyō: Shōdensha, 2007.
[38] The title is a pun based on the expression "*monmon to suru*," which means "mental anguish."

These representations of death, destruction, and malnutrition all serve to show the horror of war to young generations. This denunciation of war stands at the core of Tezuka's pacifist message. Yet as the following section shows, Tezuka does not propose a homogenising narrative in which the whole Japanese population appears a victim of the war.

5.3   CRITICISM OF THE JAPANESE ELITES AND OFFICERS: VICTIMIZATION OF THE CIVILIANS

A harsh criticism of Japanese elites, specifically the officers, dominates this representation of death and suffering of the Japanese population. Tezuka insists on showing the brutality and cruelty of officers toward privates. In *Hitokui Misaki,* for example, one of the officers purposely sends the weakest soldiers of his unit to the battlefield while they have no chances to win against the enemy (Tezuka 1994). This cruelty became widely known in Japan after a group of discharged soldiers publicly denounced the violence of their officers (Dower 1999, 58-59).

Tezuka also insists on the brutality of the army against civilians. *Kami no Toride* portrays soldiers who abuse their power against schoolboys. The officer in charge of the military training of Ōsamu's class beats the young boys as soon as he finds a pretext to do so. For instance, when boys were carrying heavy bags on their back, the soldier uses his truncheon to beat those who did not perform well. The height of cruelty becomes explicit when the officer after having beaten the schoolboys, asks them to say thank you (Tezuka 2007a, 13). Later in the story, a soldier beats Ōsamu because he left the bomb shelter before the end of the air-raid warning. The soldier then accuses Ōsamu of being 'unpatriotic' [*hikokumin*], a word that comes frequently in soldiers' mouth when they punish civilians. With this depiction of the officers' cruelty, Tezuka shows that

in name of nationalism and imperialism, Japanese political elite and officers were in fact ruining their own country.

In *Jorō Gumo,* Tezuka depicts a cruel government which tortures civilians who do not support the war effort. Majima, a young painter, refuses to draw propaganda posters. With his refusal to help the government, the secret police pours acid in his eyes so that he can never draw again (Tezuka 2007a, 77-78). In *Dotsuitare*, an officer beats the schoolboy Takatsuka (another fictional avatar of Tezuka) simply because he licked some melted chocolate from the rubble of a candies factory (Tezuka 1993, 13). Tezuka also denounces the lies that the Japanese army propagated to obtain a full participation of the population toward the defence of the country. Thanks to his artificial eye, the young protagonist of *Fukugan Majin* is able to see when people are lying. This supernatural capacity permits him to know that Japanese officers are lying when they claim that many civilians died during the last American raid (Tezuka 1983, 130).

However, Tezuka does not deny that some civilians took part in the war of their free will. In *Jorō Gumo*, Marubashi, who was studying painting with the same master as Majima, agrees to draw propaganda posters for the government. He is even the one who denounced his friend Majima for being unpatriotic and asked the secret police to pour acid in Majima's eyes. But this kind of character is rare in Tezuka's war stories, and Tezuka makes Marubashi pay a high price for his participation in war propaganda. Spiders kill the young man, while Majima survives the torture, even though he remains blind for the rest of his life.

This emphasis on officers' violence against both soldiers and civilians presents a narrative of the Japanese nation in which the population is divided. On the one hand, there are officers and officials who keep promoting war using lies and violence, while on the other hand the great majority of the population and conscripts just wants a normal and quiet life. Torturing

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and killing civilians who denounce the political propaganda (see *Jorō Gumo* and *Fukugan Majin*), Japanese officers in Tezuka's war manga almost appear as colonizers in their own country trying to impose militaristic ideas that are foreign to Japanese civilians. While colonialism relies on the distinction between colonizers and colonized subjects, Japanese officers in Tezuka's narrative divide the world in two categories: the good citizens, that is, the ones who support the war effort, and the bad ones [*hikokumin*] who neither believe nor participate in the war effort.

Unlike colonialism where the border between the colonized subject and the colonizer is based on racist presuppositions, the line between good and bad citizens here relies on the acceptance of Japan's military beliefs.[39] Tezuka proposes a narrative of the nation in which the majority of Japanese people are victims of the war, and therefore not responsible for what the government and military leaders do. By doing so, Tezuka assumes that the majority of civilians shared the same pacifist values as his (Tezuka 1997, 96). In asserting that the State brutally imposes his vision of the world to reluctant civilians, Tezuka implicitly claims that the major part of Japanese civilians never truly adhered to the militaristic propaganda. Therefore, despite the difference between pre- and post-war values, the shift appears natural in Tezuka's manga since Japanese people never wanted the war.

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[39] Japan's colonization of Asia was also based on the racial premise of Japanese superiority.

5.4   THE AMERICAN OCCUPATION OF JAPAN

The radical change of political ideology after the war did not happen without an external trigger; the U.S. imposed it to the Japanese nation during their occupation of the country. For Japanese people living in major cities as well as in Okinawa, it was common to see American soldiers. While walking in the streets, Tezuka bumped into six American soldiers who told him something in English. Unable to understand what they said, Tezuka did not answer and the American soldiers brusquely punched him. Tezuka was deeply shocked by the fact that after having punched him they left as if nothing happened:

> 年のころは、ぼくとほとんど変わらない米兵である。自分をなぐりつけて、大声で笑いながら、去っていった米兵のあとにとり残されて、このときほど腹の立ったことはなかった。
> ただ、なぐられてもがまんしなければならないという屈辱は、いまでも頭から消えないで残っている。 (Tezuka 1997b, 160-161)
> The American soldiers were about the same age as me. I never felt so upset in my life when they punched me and left laughing. The shame of having to endure such an act has been permanently implanted in my memory.

The encounter of Tetsurō Ōsamu, the protagonist of *Sukippara no Burūsu* and fictional avatar of Tezuka, with American soldiers grows out of this painful memory. Yet the encounter depicted in this story slightly differs from Tezuka's experience. Tetsurō is punched in the face because he tried to prevent an American soldier from tearing up one of his drawings. The representation of American soldiers in this short story presents two characteristics common to Tezuka's representation of the occupation army: Americans are exaggeratedly stronger than Japanese people and they act as if Japanese are inferior to them (Tezuka 2007a, 230).

In Tezuka's war manga, the end of the Japanese officers' colonization of Japan leads to an American colonization of the archipelago based on the alleged physical and intellectual superiority of Americans. The first volume of *Dotsuitare* and *Otsune,* a short story published in

1971 in *Shūkan Shōnen Kingu* exemplify how American soldiers despised Japan. In *Dotsuitare*, an American jeep knocks over a young war orphan and does not even stop. Mad with rage, Yamashita Tetsu, a young war orphan, tries to kill one of the Americans involved in the accident. His attempt is unsuccessful and he has to live a clandestine life to escape from the American warrant issued against him. In *Otsune*, the general in charge of the demolition of Haneda expresses his contempt and incomprehension toward Japanese people when they do not want to demolish Haneda's Shinto shrine: "Humph, Stupid Japanese!" [フン日本人のバカメ] (Tezuka 1979, 199). In *Ari to Kyodai,* Tezuka also depicts an American soldier who points his gun toward a child in order to obtain information about someone who stole American rationing tickets.

Tezuka's representation of American occupation also gives birth to a gendered narrative of the U.S.–Japan's relations in which Japanese women appear either as prostitutes—or at least, easy girls willing to become American soldiers' girlfriends in exchange of food and material wealth—or as sexual prey that American soldiers used to satisfy their desire. Here is for instance the description of the American occupation that Tezuka adds right after having depicted the aggression of Tetsurō by an American soldier in *Sukippara no Burūsu*:

> 占領軍の乱暴は　ひどいものでありました
> あちこっちで　なぐられたり殺されたり
> 女の子がイタズラされたりしました　それでも
> アメリカ兵は　たべものとお金を持っていたので
> たべていくために　女の中には　自分から
> アメリカ兵のいいなりになる者も　いたのでありました　(Tezuka 2007a, 231)
> The occupation army was extremely cruel… [American soldiers] killed and engaged in fighting everywhere…They molested girls…and on top of that, because they had money and food, some of the Japanese girls tried to be in good terms with them in order to eat.

Unlike the foundational narrative of World War II which presented American soldiers as heroes who brought democracy to Japan (Igarashi 2000), Tezuka's narrative of immediate post-war

Japan insists on the brutality of American occupation and the sexual crimes committed by American soldiers. Democracy is absent of Tezuka's depiction of the American occupation.

What is even more striking in the excerpt above is that Tezuka asserts that Japanese women, who hung around American soldiers, did it only to get food and survive. In other words, because of the violent nature of the American occupation and the poverty in which Japanese people were living, Tezuka believes that colonial relationships subsumed and even annihilated any possibility of love between American men and Japanese women. While Tezuka does not condemn those who stole food to survive, his representation of Japanese women hanging around American soldiers is more critical. For instance, in *Sukippara no Burūsu*, these women have grotesque faces compared to the other Japanese girl protagonists of the same story (Tezuka 2007a, 229). They appear as dolls that American soldiers use at their convenience. They do not even say a word when one of the soldiers that they accompany strongly punches Tetsurō.

Tezuka also exposes the paradox of Japanese women's prostitution in American bases through the character of Yamashita Miho in *Dotsuitare*. The young girl and her brother Tetsu lost their parents in an American air raid and ended up living in a shack. When Tetsu understands that his sister wants to prostitute herself to American soldiers, he punches her and reminds her that the B29 killed their mother (Tezuka 1993a, 157-158). To which Miho answers that she is too young to find any other job. Unlike the other prostitutes of *Sukippara no Burūsu*, Tezuka depicts Miho with the same degree of details as every non-prostitute woman of the story. It is because here, Tezuka wants to point out the chain of events leading to the prostitution of a teenager. Miho is doomed to prostitute herself because American bombs which brought democracy to Japan also killed her parents and destroyed the major part of the city where she lives. Although Miho is a fictional character, her life exemplifies the fate of thousands of young Japanese women

who worked as prostitutes for American soldiers. However, financial incentives were only one of many reasons which led to their decisions. According to a 1946-survey, many prostitutes said "they chose their way of life simply "out of curiosity"" (Dower 1999, 134).

American soldiers also appear as rapists in Tezuka's war manga. *Umi no Shitei* [*Brothers of the Sea*] published in 1973 in *Shōkan Shōnen Chanpion* narrates the story of a brother and a sister born from the multiple rapes of an Okinawan woman by an American soldier. Focusing on the destruction of seashores and the discrimination against the young protagonists because of the circumstances of their birth, this story also presents a harsh criticism of American soldiers. Not only did American soldiers rape an Okinawan woman numerous times, but they also lied to her when they first arrived in the island. They promised her that if she guided them to her village they would kill no one, but as soon as they reached the village they went on a rampage and killed every villager they saw (Tezuka 1980, 94-95). The graphical abstraction of American soldiers' faces emphasizes their cruelty: The soldiers are smirking and their eyes are only represented by a white spot giving them a threatening look.

This critical depiction of the occupying American army coincides with the disclosure of American atrocities in Vietnam. In 1969, the world learned the My Lai massacre, a mass murder of hundreds of Vietnamese civilians at the hands of American soldiers. Because of the Vietnam War and the disclosure of American war crimes, the positive image of the U.S. slowly eroded in Japan. While in 1965, 49% of the Japanese people ranked the U.S. as their favorite county in the world, only 18% still preferred the U.S. over other nations in 1973 (Havens 1987, 4). Tezuka's criticism of the occupying American army therefore reflects this drastic change in Japan's public opinion regarding the U.S.

Through his depiction of war orphans, prostitutes, Okinawa inhabitants, and children born from the rapes of Japanese women and American soldiers, Tezuka gives voice to the voiceless and space to those who were absent of the official narrative of the immediate post-war which only focuses on the macro-level, that is, the political transition from a militarist state to a democratic and peace-loving nation. In so doing, Tezuka deconstructs the foundational narrative of war in which Americans symbolize democracy. How could the U.S. still stand for democracy while its army rampages, kills, and rapes Japanese people rather than helping them to rebuild their country destroyed by American bombs? At the same time, Tezuka offers a totalizing portrayal of the occupying troops in which the majority of American soldiers seems to despise Japanese people. Tezuka also deconstructs the mainstream narrative of war which tended to homogenize the Japanese nation under the notion of victimhood. In Tezuka's war manga, women and children are those who suffered the most from the war and its aftermaths.[40]

5.5   THE JAPANESE IMPERIAL ARMY IN ASIA

While Tezuka grants a significant space to Japanese victims of American occupation, his narrative of Japan's invasion of continental Asia gives significantly less space to Asian victims of the Imperial army. Among Tezuka's war manga, four stories touched on the occupation of Asia by the Japanese Imperial army: *Hitokui Misaki* mentioned in chapter 5; *Suzu ga Natta* [*The Bell Rings*] published in *Shōnen Chanpion* in 1969; the second volume of *Adorufu ni Tsugu* published in the literary review *Shūkan Bunshun* between 1983 and 1985; and *Middonaito・*

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[40] Until recently, the English scholarship about the American occupation of Japan tended to neglect the violence of the occupation. However, recent scholarship challenges this portrayal by showing rapes and racist behaviors towards Japanese were common (Tanaka 2002; Roehner 2009; Svoboda 2009).

Ashigarayama no Kintarō [*Midnight・Kintarō from Ashigara Mountain*] published in 1986 in *Shūkan Shōnen Chanpion*. These four stories tackle the presence of Japanese army in Asia from three different points of view: the victimization of Japanese soldiers by their officers, a romance between a Japanese soldier and a young indigene; and the brief denunciation of Japanese war crimes.

Hitokui Misaki is one of Tezuka's earliest war manga and the first story in which he depicts the Japanese army abroad. This short story focuses on a fight between the Japanese army and an unknown enemy over a small mountain in the Pacific islands. Besides some war tanks, airplanes, and an aerial view of the battlefield, Tezuka never represents the enemy against whom Japanese troops are fighting. He focuses mainly on conflicts within the Japanese army and insists on the cruelty of one officer who sent his weakest soldiers to the battlefield, while he believed that they had no chance to come back alive. As in *Tsuirakuki*, the official enemy disappear behind the internal enemy: cruel officers. Here, Tezuka adopts the same stance than in his manga depicting Japanese army in Japan: He presents Japanese conscripts as victims of their officers. In this story, Tezuka also depicts an officer—whose rank was lower than the cruel one—who expresses empathy for the soldiers of his unit and even stands up against his superior's orders. Yet, despite the compassion of this low-rank officer for his troops, Tezuka insists on the fact that his opposition to the cruel officer is more symbolic than effective, since the latter take decisions without listening to the sympathetic officer. Tezuka proposes a nuanced portrait of Japanese officers, but insists on the fact that in the end, the most important officers mislead and brutalize the conscripts. As for Asian victims of the Japanese army, Tezuka does not mention them in this story. But one must keep in mind that this story was published in 1957, that is, when Japan was

still diplomatically isolated from Korea and China, and when the State's narrative of war was still overlooking Japanese war crimes in Asia.

Twelve years later, while the social movements against the Vietnam War reached their climax in Japan and American war crimes were widely known, Tezuka published *Suzu ga Natta* in which he tackled for the first time the issue of Japanese war crimes abroad. In this short story, Tezuka explores the theme of remorse through the example of three people who all experienced dramatic events at some point in their life One of the protagonists recalls an incident that happened when he was fighting in the Malay Peninsula more than twenty years ago—that is, if we refer to the date of publication of the story, during World War II. He entered in a house where he found a young woman with her child. Shaking and sweating, she was obviously terrified by the sight of the soldier. Sure that she he was hiding arms, the soldier asked her to take them out but he only obtained an answer in a language that he noted as "bestial" [*chikushō kotoba*]. While the woman was trying to reach something, the soldier killed her with her child discovering that she was getting some money. The soldier was obviously shocked and begs pardon for what he did (Tezuka 1982, 20-21). More than a depiction of the Japanese army war crimes, this manga shows the process that leads an individual to commit murders under wartime conditions.

While *Suzu ga Natta* only focuses on a peculiar crime committed by an individual disturbed by remorse, the second volume of *Adorufu ni Tsugu* denounces crimes committed by the Imperial army in China (Tezuka 1996, 7). Tezuka published *Adorufu ni Tsugu* in the mid-1980s, a period during which more and more former soldiers of the Imperial army were publicly talking of the crimes they committed in continental Asia. It was therefore easier for Tezuka to publish a manga presenting Japanese war crimes than during the late 1960s. Even though Tezuka

explicitly depicts the Imperial army war crimes, I am more reserved than Penney who sees in these images a strong denunciation of Japanese war crimes (2005, 177). First, the representation of these war crimes occupies only two pages in the second volume of a five-volume story. The denunciation of Nazi crimes overwhelms Japanese war crimes and I am sceptical about the fact that people reading the five volumes of the story would have the impression that *Adorufu ni Tsugu* stands for a strong criticism of Japanese Imperial Army. If Tezuka truly wanted to address Japanese war crimes, he could have written a story dedicated to them.[41]

Second, immediately after depicting the Imperial army crimes, Tezuka adds the following: "The government agency in charge of the war hid this situation and no one among the Japanese knew about it"［その真相を大本営の幹部達はひたくしにしていて日本の大衆はだれひとり知らなかった］(Tezuka 1996, 9). This affirmation is true but exaggerated. Most of the Japanese people learned about the crimes of their army only during the Tokyo trials in 1946, but many of the men who served in Asia and went back to the mainland before the end of the war were aware of Japan's war crimes (Dower 1999, 486). Furthermore, in putting this assertion immediately after the representation of Japanese crimes in China, Tezuka emphasizes the difference between the civilians of the mainland lured by the government and the soldiers— many of whom were simple civilians before being sent abroad—in China.

Lastly Tezuka's representation of Japanese war crimes presents a major difference with his narrative of Japanese civilians' life during the wartime period and the American occupation of the archipelago: the absence of victims' testimonies. Tezuka does depict bodies of Chinese children killed by the Japanese army, but he never adopts their points of view to narrate Japan's

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[41] Ma advances the same argument when he claims that Tezuka could have written a story called *Hiro* if he wanted to denounce Japanese war crimes (2009, 191).

colonization of continental Asia. While Tezuka's narrative of World War II and its aftermaths concretely depicts the life of war orphans, Japanese conscripts, and other people from the fringes of Japanese society, his depiction of Japanese war crimes does not present the life of Chinese people under Japan's colonization. The Chinese corpses depicted in *Adorufu ni Tsugu* make Japan's war crimes visible, but at the same time make Chinese people everyday suffering disappear. The fact that Tezuka did not witness Japanese cruelty in Asia could partially explain the absence of non-Japanese Asian victims' voices in his war manga. Yet this explanation falls short since as we will see in the last chapter, Tezuka adopts the point of view of Asian victims in his narrative of the Vietnam War. This is all the more surprising because Tezuka wrote his manga on the Vietnam War around the same time of the publication of *Adorufu ni Tsugu*.

Middonaito・Ashigarayama no Kintarō is the last manga in which Tezuka explores relationships between the Imperial army and colonized populations. Unlike *Adorufu ni Tsugu* which depicts corpses of Japanese army's victims, this manga looks at the Japanese colonization of Asia through the lens of a love story between a Japanese soldier and an inhabitant of the Pacific island where the soldier is stationed. Both fall in love, marry, and have a child called Rob. Such love stories may have existed, but they were definitely not common. When Tezuka wrote this story, Japanese war crimes in Asia were well-known in Japan, albeit absent from the official narrative of World War II. The discrepancy between this story and the multiplication of alternative narratives of war giving more space to non-Japanese victims becomes even more intriguing if one keeps in mind that Tezuka drew war manga to denounce the horror of war. The main focus of Tezuka in this story is not to criticize war but to denounce Japan's racism against non Japanese, yet, to do so, Tezuka proposes a romanticized version of relationships between a

Japanese soldier and a native woman in which suffering undergone by the colonized population disappears.

More important here is the difference of treatment between on the one hand relationships between Japanese women and American soldiers, and on the other hand between colonized women and Japanese soldiers. In *Dotsuitare* and *Sukippara no Burūsu*, Tezuka proposes a narrative in which colonial and hierarchical relations prevent any possibility of love between Japanese women and American soldiers. However, in *Middonaito・Ashigarayama no Kintarō*, he depicts a love story between a Japanese soldier and a native woman without advancing the idea that this relation was motivated by economic issues. In fact, Tezuka suggests that it is the Japanese soldier who first fell in love with the young woman (2007b, 92). The only element of colonial hierarchy underlying this relation appears with the end of the war, when the soldier goes back to Japan leaving his wife and his child on the island.

These four stories show that even if Tezuka acknowledges Japanese war crimes in Asia, non-Japanese Asian victims are almost totally absent of his narrative of World War II. This absence of Asian victims becomes more visible compared to Tezuka's manga on the Vietnam War.

6.0   TEZUKA'S VIETNAM WAR

6.1   TEZUKA'S CRITICISM OF JAPAN'S SUPPORT FOR THE VIETNAM WAR

It could be argued that Tezuka focuses on American bombings of the archipelago and barely touches on Japanese war crimes abroad because he was in mainland Japan during the war and did not witness these crimes. However, Tezuka describes in details American crimes during the Vietnam War while he has never been to Vietnam. Before entering into details, it is necessary to briefly explain the repercussions of the Vietnam War in Japan in order to understand the context underlying Tezuka's manga on the Vietnam War.

Until 1965 and American bombings of North Vietnam, the Vietnam War had little impact on the political life of the archipelago, yet the Japanese government's support for these bombings gave birth to contestations within and outside the political field (Havens 1987, 42). A majority of Japanese people disapproved American bombings and their government support to these bombings (Havens 1987, 50). Oda Makoto, the first pacifist intellectual who publicly criticized the victimhood paradigm, along with other intellectuals such as Ōe Kenzaburō founded in 1965 *Beheiren*, a social movement against the Vietnam War. The social protestation against the war reached its climax in June 1970 with a national manifestation which gathered between 774,000 and 1,500,000 people (Havens 1987, 207). The denunciation of the Vietnam War also gave birth to many student movements which challenged the Japanese government in the late 1960s. Cases

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of American atrocities in Vietnam were well-known in Japan thanks to the works of diverse social movements as well as the media and politicians against Japan's support to the U.S.

Tezuka, who did not take part in these social movements, expressed his disapproval of American and Japanese politics in Vietnam in an article published in 1965 (Schodt 2007, 134). He also denounced Japan's support for American war effort in two short manga stories: *Toketa Otoko* [*Melted Guy*] published in 1969 in *Shōnen Chanpion*; and *Ierō Dasuto* [*Yellow Dust*] published in 1972 in *Yangu Komikku*. In the first one, published the year of the disclosure of the My Lai massacre, Tezuka depicts the Japanese student movements against the Vietnam War and criticizes the scientific collaboration between Japan and the U.S. to develop chemical weapons.

The second story, *Yellow Dust*, narrates the kidnapping of American children and their teacher in Okinawa by three Japanese men who helped Americans in Vietnam—but did not fight along them. One of the kidnappers justifies the kidnappings and the rape of the American teacher by claiming that he lost the habit to control his desires during the war (Tezuka 2007b, 205). Tezuka's hate for war is obvious; however, the message of this story is more complex than a call for peace.

In *Yellow Dust*, Tezuka portrays a Japan who has an inferiority complex toward the U.S. This is especially obvious with one of the kidnappers who rapes the American teacher and claims that even though he raped many girls in Vietnam, he wanted to have sexual relations with a "white woman" (Tezuka 2007b, 201). The kidnapper appears proud to finally have raped an American girl. In raping her, he symbolically breaks with the Japanese complex of inferiority toward the U.S; he inverts the relationship described by Tezuka between the occupying American army and the Japanese population in which Japanese girls were sexual prey for American soldiers.

Nevertheless, this inversion is only temporary because at the end of the story, the Japanese government officially apologizes for the kidnappings. These official excuses elude the fact that the U.S. is partly responsible for this incident because the American army secretly stored in their Okinawa base the chemical weapons that led to the tragic massacre of all children at the end of the story.[42] The final image depicting Japan's government excuses physically exemplifies the inferiority of Japan in its relation with the U.S. The Japanese diplomat on the right of the image is shaking and sweating while bowing in front a tall American official who does not express any emotion (Tezuka 2007b, 213).

With this story, Tezuka proposes a narrative in which the American colonization of Japan in the immediate post-war period gives birth to a neo-colonial relationship between Japan and the U.S. American soldiers are not anymore abusing their power to date or rape Japanese women, but American diplomats still acts as if they are superior to the Japanese people. In insisting on the fact that Americans were secretly keeping chemical weapons in their Okinawa base, Tezuka criticizes the existence of American bases in Japan and the fact that the Japanese government was not aware of American activities in these bases.

Tezuka's denunciation of Japan's policy authorizing the American use of Okinawa bases was not unique. In fact, since the first arrival of the U.S. army in Okinawa in 1945 to its return under the control of the Japanese government in 1972, Okinawa had been a constant source of diplomatic friction between Japan and the U.S. The presence of American military became the focus of anti-Vietnam War movements in Japan when American airplanes took off from these bases in 1965 to bomb Vietnam without informing the Japanese government (Havens 1987, 76-

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[42] The food that the children ate was infected by a chemical weapon that the American army secretly stocked in the base. After having eaten this food, the children went mad and killed their kidnappers. Hearing gunshots coming from the base, American soldiers mistakenly believed that the kidnappers were killing the hostages and launched an attack killing all of the children.

77). Therefore, it does not come as a surprise that *Yellow Dust* was published in a major manga magazine. Editors probably had thought that this manga would be successful since it presented a popular criticism of the U.S. army and Japan's official policy at that time.

6.2   KILLING CIVILIANS: TEZUKA'S REPRESENTATION OF THE AMERICAN ARMY IN VIETNAM

On top of this criticism of Japan's government support for the U.S. war effort, Tezuka also depicts American army in Vietnam. As in his narrative of World War II, Tezuka emphasizes the cruelty of officers. Yet, while the cruelty of Japanese officers mainly targets their own troops and Japanese civilians, Tezuka depicts American officers who abuse their power to commit wanton killings in Vietnam. The main character of *Mahō Tai* [*The Evil Officer*], a short story published in 1975 in *Shūkan Shōnen Chanpion*, stands for the typical example of a heartless officer who takes pride in killing innocent civilians. Unlike the Japanese soldier of *Suzu ga Natta*, the protagonist of *Mahō Tai* expresses no remorse for his crimes; he even seems proud of what he did.

Tezuka's narrative of the Vietnam War presents two major differences with his narrative of World War II. First, Tezuka strongly emphasizes the denunciation of American war crimes against civilians in his Vietnam War manga. Four of the six Tezuka's stories on the Vietnam War focus on the American killings in Vietnam, while only two of his manga denounce Japanese war crimes in Asia. Furthermore, unlike the American war crimes in Vietnam which stand at the core of the different stories, the Japanese war crimes depicted in *Suzu ga Natta* and *Adorufu ni Tsugu* appear only as peripheral elements.

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I.L. Minami kara Kita Otoko [*I.L. The Boy who Came from the South*] published in 1970 in *Biggu Komikku*, exemplifies these differences in the treatment of non-Japanese victims in Tezuka's narratives of World War II and of the Vietnam War. In this short story, Tezuka depicts a former American soldier who raped Vietnamese women during the Vietnam War. While in his narrative of World War II Tezuka depicts Japanese army relationships with the colonized women through a love story, he uses a rape story to depict American army relations with the Vietnamese women. Yet this use of rape to depict American soldiers' relations with native women is not a complete rupture with Tezuka's narrative of World War II. As we have seen in the precedent chapter, Tezuka proposes a gendered narrative of World War II in which American soldiers appear as sexual threat for Japanese women.

The second difference between Tezuka's narrative of World War II and his narrative of the Vietnam War lies in the means that Tezuka uses to depict non-Japanese Asian victims' suffering. In his narrative of World War II, Tezuka gives a significant space to Japanese civilians' suffering—and especially to the suffering of those who were absent of the mainstream narrative of war—while at the same time he does not depict the suffering of Asian populations during Japan's colonization of Asia. Contrasting with this disappearance of non-Japanese victims of the Imperial army, Tezuka proposes a lively account of the Vietnamese population's suffering during the Vietnam War. The description of the rape of a Vietnamese woman in *The Boy who Came from the South* occupies almost three pages of the nineteen-page long story while the description of Japanese war crimes occupied only two pages in *Adorufu ni Tsugu*, a manga of more than one thousand pages. In *Mahō Tai*, the Vietnamese children whose parents were killed by the so-called "evil officer" give a moving account of the execution of their families. With

tears running down their faces, they beg the surgeon Black Jack not to save the evil officer's life because of what he did to their families.

In *0 Jigen no Oka* [The 0-Dimension Hill], published in *Shūkan Shōnen Chanpion* in 1969, Tezuka adopts a more original point of view to describe Vietnamese civilians' suffering during the war. The protagonists of this story are children from all over the world with a common point: They feel a deep sadness when they hear the same particular song and claim that they want to go back to a Vietnamese village called Rienta. Thanks to a UNESCO organization, all the children make the trip to Rienta. Once there, the spirits of Rienta's children whose families were massacred by the American army during the war enter in possession of the children bodies and use them to denounce what American soldiers did to their families.

As in his denunciation of American war crimes during World War II and the immediate post-war period, Tezuka uses war orphans and women's voices to denounce American crimes during the Vietnam War. This denunciation of American crimes cannot be conflated with any kind of racism against Caucasians or American people. Tezuka never promoted racism in his works. He was not a communist either. This leads us to the following question: Why does Tezuka, so prompt to denounce American war crimes, neglect Japanese war crimes in his narrative of World War II? There is no definitive answer to this question. When Tezuka wrote his manga on the Vietnam War, there were many social movements in Japan denouncing American war crimes. Yet, Tezuka also wrote his manga on World War II when the voices of Asian victims of the Japanese army and the denunciation of Japanese war crimes became more visible in Japan.

The difference of nationality of the perpetrators appears as a possible reason to explain this discrepancy. Simply put, Tezuka did not write a criticism of Japanese war crimes as acute as

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the one he proposed for American war crimes because he could not entirely break with his own position within the Japanese nation. Criticizing Japanese war crimes amounts to criticizing parts of Tezuka's own identity, while denouncing American war crimes has probably less impact on Tezuka's identity.

The ambivalent position of Japanese conscripts as both victims (of their officers) and victimizers (of non-Japanese Asian populations) offers another possible explanation to the difference of treatment of war crimes in Tezuka's manga. Tezuka presents a narrative of World War II in which the Japanese nation is divided between on the one hand warmongers—mainly officers and officials—and on the other hand victims of these warmongers, that is, most of the civilians and conscripts. This deconstruction of the totalizing concept of nation gives birth to a dichotomous narrative of nation in which Japanese people are either victims or victimizers. There is no space in Tezuka's narrative for a large number of people who are both victims and victimizers. Fully acknowledging the active role of Japanese conscripts in Imperial Army war crimes would have called into question Tezuka's dichotomous narrative of nation.

CONCLUSION

Tezuka's portrayal of war first and foremost represents a call for international peace. However, his manga on World War II and the American occupation of Japan also attempts to make sense of Japan's role in the war by emphasizing the suffering of Japanese people; by separating victims and victimizers; and by criticizing American occupation of Japan.

Tezuka's depiction of the suffering endured by Japanese during the war illustrates a rupture with the 1950s and 1960s' war manga, which avoided any representation of death. This crude depiction of Japanese suffering contrasts with the almost-absent depiction of Asian victims at the hands of Japanese army in Tezuka's war manga. From this point of view, Tezuka's manga differed from the Japanese narratives of World War II in 1980's, which revealed the growing grievances of Asian war victims. This quasi-absence of Asian victims becomes more evident in comparison to Tezuka's manga on the Vietnam War, which insists on American crimes against Vietnamese civilians.

This focus on Japanese people suffering, however, does not give birth to a homogeneous narrative of the nation in which the whole Japanese nation was a victim of the war. On the contrary, Tezuka's narration of the Japanese nation relies on two divisions. The first one is an emphasis on the separation between officers and civilians. This focus probably grew out of Tezuka's personal war experience. Mobilized to work in a war factory, Tezuka physically experienced the violence of Japanese officers. This war experience became the main premise of

Tezuka's representation of World War II. In his manga, the majority of civilians are victims of Japanese officers' brutality due to their reluctance to support the war effort.

The opposition between officers and conscripted soldiers is the second division in Tezuka's narrative of the Japanese nation. Not only are officers brutal against civilians, but they also employ violence with their troops. By breaking away from the idea of a united nation, Tezuka proposes a narrative in which only the government and officers are responsible for the war. Japanese civilians were involved in the war effort; however, the majority of them did it either reluctantly or out of patriotism. As for Hirohito, Tezuka never mentions his name in his manga. The emperor is the major absent character of his narrative. Thus, Tezuka's narrative of the war partly strengthens the victimhood paradigm and contributes to what Yoneyama calls the "phantasm of Japanese civilian innocence" (1999, 11).

Yet Tezuka also challenges the official narrative by giving voices to children and women, who were absent from the narrative. In doing so, he challenges the mainstream portrayal of war characterizing the American occupation of Japan as a democratic effort. In Tezuka's manga, American soldiers are not saviours who helped Japanese civilians to topple Japan's imperialist government, but they are depicted as colonizers with no respect for Japanese culture. Even though the post-war period represents rupture with the wartime ideology, Tezuka claims that living conditions remained the same for the majority of the Japanese people, as they suffered from malnutrition and were submitted to the violence of soldiers.

Tezuka's narrative of World War II demonstrates that the victimhood paradigm should not be conflated with a denial of Japanese war crimes. It also exemplifies Bhabha's idea of individual agency in the definition of a nation. This ambiguity also exemplifies the fact that "private memories and public war narratives are inextricably linked" (Seaton 2007, 37). If

Tezuka's manga reflects some of the elements of the official narrative about the wartime Japanese nation, it also defies it according to Tezuka's own experience of the war. Tezuka depicts most of the Japanese population as victim of the war because his memories of World War II were largely based on his personal suffering at the hands of Japanese officers and American soldiers to a lesser extent.

Unlike Tezuka, the younger generation who has not experienced World War II can only build its idea of the wartime Japanese nation through other people's accounts of the war. This is why the study of these accounts, such as the one explored here, will be increasingly essential to understanding how young Japanese people understand Japan's role in World War II.

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