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WAR CRIMES AGAINST AUSTRALIAN
PRISONERS OF WAR -
THE SECOND WORLD WAR

War Crimes Against Australian Prisoners of War - The Second World War

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SOURCE: Australian War Memorial, 1943. *AWM P0406.031*. [image] Available at:
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The following essay examines the experience of Australians as Prisoners of War (POWs) in the European and Pacific theatres during the Second World War (WWII), with the intention of reforming the one-sided historical perspective where the POW experience is defined by the actions of the Japanese as captors. The widespread contested views regarding treatment of Australian POWs is still debated in today's scholastic society; this essay aims to ratify public perception regarding the Japanese and Germans as captors.

“It is the story of the thousands of Australian prisoners of the Japanese that has made the deepest and most lasting impression on the average Australian”¹

The preceding statement is a notable embodiment of society’s perspective of the POW experience. These views are contested and topical in nature, vastly influenced by the many recounts of the implacable conditions on the Burma-Thai Railway, tropical diseases and mass executions under the Japanese regime, in which one-third of Australians taken POW died in captivity². On the other hand, and not to diminish that which occurred in the Pacific theatre, little is known and almost no attention is paid to the treatment of Australian POWs in German captivity. This is conceivably due to the vast difference in physical condition and appearance of the liberated POWs in the two theatres of war after they were repatriated. A strong visual representation of the harshness of captivity and forced labour under the Japanese evokes a stirring emotional response when viewing ‘walking skeletons’³ arrive back on Australian shores. The Japanese were harsh captors, however to believe them the sole contender for such notoriety is a fictitious perception and contested element of our nation’s military history. At first glance, the approximately 3% of POWs that died in German captivity⁴ seems insignificant. However, once other factors are taken into consideration, such as the number of Australian prisoners captured in each theatre and the repatriation process, these numbers become more significant. Australian public acknowledgement of war crimes committed by the Japanese overshadows the lesser known war crimes and atrocities experienced by Australian POWs in the European theatre, influencing the chimerical perception that punitive captors only existed in the Pacific.

The Burma-Thai Railway is synonymous with Japanese brutality and the degradation of human rights. It is one of the largest influencing factors of public perception regarding the tribulation of Australian POWs. In a mandated questionnaire that all returned POWs completed, 84% of those surveyed experienced or witnessed “*rape, torture, beatings or other cruelties*”⁵, substantiating the notion that the Japanese were punitive captors. During the construction of the Burma-Thailand Railway, prisoners were faced with “*meagre food rations, disease and vicious treatment by Japanese...*”⁶, and medical necessities were

¹ Reid, R. and Moremon, J., 2002. *Stolen Years - Australian Prisoners Of War*. Canberra: Department of Veteran Affairs.

² Anzacportal.dva.gov.au. 2020. *Australian Prisoners Of War 1940-1945 | Anzac Portal*. [online] Available at:

<<https://anzacportal.dva.gov.au/wars-and-missions/world-war-ii-1939-1945/resources/australian-prisoners-war-1940-1945>> [Accessed 21 June 2020].

³ Peters, B., n.d. The life experience of partners of ex-POWs of the Japanese. *Journal of the Australian War Memorial*, [online] (28). Available at:

<<https://www.awm.gov.au/articles/journal/j28/j28-petr>> [Accessed 16 July 2020].

⁴ Anzacportal.dva.gov.au. 2020. *Australian Prisoners Of War 1940-1945 | Anzac Portal*. [online] Available at:

<<https://anzacportal.dva.gov.au/wars-and-missions/world-war-ii-1939-1945/resources/australian-prisoners-war-1940-1945>> [Accessed 21 June 2020].

⁵ 1950. *Australian War Crimes Commission - Completed Questionnaires [Australian And Allied]*. [Questionnaires] National Archives Australia, MP742/1. Melbourne.

⁶ Anzacportal.dva.gov.au. 2013. Commemorating Australian Prisoners Of War On The Burma–Thailand Railway: Wartime Snapshots No.12 | Anzac Portal. [online] Available at:

“never supplied... so doctors had to improvise with what they could”⁷. Approximately 10,000 Australian POWs involuntarily worked on the Burma-Thailand Railway at various staging camps along the line.⁸ The Commonwealth War Graves Commission avowed that “*extreme demands were made on weakened men in a merciless routine...at the hands of their captors*”⁹, as exhibited by Clarence Eldon Brooks’ emprise. Clarence Brooks (Service number VX33413), or ‘Clarrie’ as known to his mates, enlisted in the 2nd AIF 8th Division Signals and was imprisoned in Changi POW camp from 1942-1945¹⁰ after being captured in Malaya. He was forced into labour on the Burma-Thailand Railway, which resulted in a family friend noting “*he lost over half of his body weight while on the Railway*”¹¹,” exemplifying the crude atrocities that transpired. In Pacific War Crime trials held during 1945-46, 22 of the 24 Japanese soldiers tried for their barbaric actions on the Burma-Thailand railway¹² were found guilty, with 50% sentenced (and put) to death. Vilification beyond doubt in an international court of law, the Australian POWs experience under Japanese oppression.

The men of ‘Gull Force’ and their experience as POWs on Ambon Island in Indonesia further bolsters the fabric and identity of being a prisoner of the Japanese¹³. Conditions at Ambon’s Tantui camp were starkly depicted in the Australian War Memorial (AWM) exhibition ‘The Stolen Years’ as being a place where “*starvation and brutality prevailed*”¹⁴, where “*three-quarters of the prisoners of war there had died by the time the camp was liberated*”¹⁵. POWs that were accused of ‘*trading for food outside of the camp*’ were brutally beaten and tortured, with eleven prisoners disappearing, “*presumed executed*”¹⁶. Furthermore, the ‘long carry’ was a nonsensical exercise in which POWs were forced to carry bombs and bags of cement “*for no practical reason*”¹⁷. One soldier that fell victim to these perverse conditions was Allan Spokes (service number VX27270). An Acting Lance Corporal from the 2/21 Australian Infantry Battalion, Spokes was captured at Ambon in 1942 and placed in Tantui camp. Subjected to limited rations, back-breaking work and torture at the hands of his

<<https://anzacportal.dva.gov.au/resources/media/file/commemorating-australian-prisoners-war-burma-thailand-railway-wartime-snapshots-no12>> [Accessed 14 June 2020].

⁷ Department of Veterans Affairs, n.d. *Jim Kerr, Ex Prisoner-Of War, Burma-Thailand Railway Video*. [video] Available at:

<<https://anzacportal.dva.gov.au/resources/jim-kerr-ex-prisoner-war-burma-thailand-railway-video>> [Accessed 16 June 2020].

⁸ Refer to Appendix A for more information

⁹ Cwgc.org. n.d. *Prisoners Of War And The Burma Railway*. [online] Available at:

<<https://www.cwgc.org/history-and-archives/second-world-war/campaigns/war-in-the-east/prisoners-of-war-and-the-burma-railway>> [Accessed 30 June 2020].

¹⁰ The Argus, 1945. Australian Prisoners of War at Singapore. [online] p.p2. Available at:

<<https://trove.nla.gov.au/newspaper/article/963899>> [Accessed 30 June 2020].

¹¹ 2020. *Interview With Adrian Bibby*.

¹² Adapted from National Archive Guides. See Appendix B for further information.

¹³ Refer to Appendix C for more information

¹⁴ Awm.gov.au. n.d. *Stolen Years: Australian Prisoners Of War | The Australian War Memorial*. [online] Available at: <<https://www.awm.gov.au/visit/exhibitions/stoloneyears/ww2/japan/ambon>> [Accessed 4 July 2020].

¹⁵ Loc. Cit.

¹⁶ Anzacportal.dva.gov.au. n.d. *Australian Prisoners Of War 1941-1945 | Anzac Portal*. [online] Available at:

<<https://anzacportal.dva.gov.au/resources/media/file/australian-prisoners-war-1941-1945#8>> [Accessed 9 July 2020].

¹⁷ Loc Cit.

captors, Spokes died on July 14th 1945 less than one month before the camp was liberated¹⁸. As with the perpetrators of war crimes on the Burma-Thai Railway, Japanese soldiers were put on trial accused of war crimes at Tantai camp, 43 of the 98 were found guilty and sentenced¹⁹, thus reinforcing the oppression suffered by Australian POWs under their Japanese captors.

The infamous Sandakan Death Marches, denoted as “*the single greatest atrocity committed against Australians in war*”²⁰ by the AWM is a superlative example of the callous actions enacted by Japanese captors against Australian POWs. Two marches occurred, the first between January and March 1945, where 455 prisoners left Sandakan for Ranau²¹. Keith Botterill recounted how if a prisoner was too weak, “*they would pull them...off the track and bayonet...or shoot them*”²². The escape, recapture and torture of Albert Cleary, where for eleven days he was “*beaten, tied to a log...spat and urinated on...*”²³, further highlights the barbarous actions committed during the marches. The second march departed Sandakan on 29 May 1945, with 500 men who were “*sicker and even more malnourished*” than those on the first march²⁴. By war’s end, only 6 of the approximately 1000 prisoners that commenced the marches survived, by escaping into the jungle. 84 Japanese soldiers were put on trial for war crimes relating to the Sandakan Death Marches, 71 were found guilty receiving sentences ranging from 5 years imprisonment to the death sentence²⁵, further providing irrefutable entries in growing tomes of information attesting to the brutal and unforgiving treatment that was meted out to the Australian POWs in the Pacific theatre of WWII.

In stark contrast, the experience of the Australian POW in the European theatre of WWII is largely unknown, an aspect that little if any light is shed on. There are several misconceptions about the treatment of Australian POWs by their German captors, the most common being in regard to forced labour and working conditions. Germany was a signatory of the Geneva Convention which safeguards the terms and treatment of POWs whereas Japan was not, providing the framework to call into question the treatment of Australian POWs in German captivity. The notion that Australian POWs were not subjected to the same working conditions as prisoners under the Japanese is ill founded and grounds for contested history as shown when Red Cross inspectors visiting mines in which prisoner labour was

¹⁸ Awm.gov.au. n.d. *Roll Of Honour - Alan Samuel Spokes*. [online] Available at: <<https://www.awm.gov.au/collection/R1697461>> [Accessed 9 July 2020].

¹⁹ Refer to Appendix B for further information

²⁰ Awm.gov.au. n.d. *Stolen Years: Australian Prisoners Of War | The Australian War Memorial*. [online] Available at: <<https://www.awm.gov.au/visit/exhibitions/stolenyears/ww2/japan/sandakan>> [Accessed 9 July 2020].

²¹ Refer to Appendix D for more information

²² Anzacportal.dva.gov.au. n.d. *The Marches | Anzac Portal*. [online] Available at: <<https://anzacportal.dva.gov.au/wars-and-missions/world-war-ii-1939-1945/resources/australian-prisoners-war-1940-1945/gunner-cleary/marches>> [Accessed 24 June 2020].

²³ Awm.gov.au. n.d. *Stolen Years: Australian Prisoners Of War | The Australian War Memorial*. [online] Available at: <<https://www.awm.gov.au/visit/exhibitions/stolenyears/ww2/japan/sandakan>> [Accessed 9 July 2020].

²⁴ Anzacportal.dva.gov.au. n.d. *The Marches | Anzac Portal*. [online] Available at: <<https://anzacportal.dva.gov.au/wars-and-missions/world-war-ii-1939-1945/resources/australian-prisoners-war-1940-1945/gunner-cleary/marches>> [Accessed 24 June 2020].

²⁵ Refer to Appendix B for more information

exploited, received complaints regarding “*long hours, dangerous conditions, primitive equipment and the denial of rest days*”²⁶, all terms safeguarded under the Geneva Convention. Murray Middleton (service number SX11808) was wounded and taken prisoner in November 1942. Middleton was transferred to Stalag 344 (Lamsdorf)²⁷, then to Stalag 317²⁸ and forced to work on two ‘kommandos’ in German mines, where “*the cold, monotonous work and lack of food*” severely impacted his already deteriorated health²⁹. Throughout his time in various camps and working sites, Middleton witnessed multiple atrocities, including the attempt to mass execute the large group of prisoners he was in³⁰, rejecting the perception that the Germans did not commit atrocities towards Australian POWs during WWII. One explanation as to why these experiences are not as prominent in Australian military folklore, is that after liberation in early 1945, many “*former POWs of the Reich had spent time recuperating in England...*”³¹, providing an opportunity to recuperate and recover from the atrocities they’d been subjected to. This occasion was not afforded in the same terms to those held captive under the Japanese before being repatriated to Australia. This provides another avenue for contestation regarding prisoner’s experiences, as, despite their ill treatment, the POWs from Europe returned home in a much better physical condition than those imprisoned by the Japanese.

Although not as widely reported, Australian POWs were also exposed to barbaric and inhumane treatment by the Reich. Some were executed whilst in German captivity and others became the unwilling subjects of medical experimentation. The callous shooting of Private Matheson at Gallmuthausen, Germany, is one of a multitude of atrocities experienced by Australian POWs in the European theatre. Matheson and another prisoner were on ‘kommando’ (work detail) when they were approached by a guard with gun drawn³². An argument ensued and Matheson was shot in “*the breast high in front and [the bullet] came out low on the right side of his back*”, thus indicating that Matheson was killed “*whilst lying on the ground*”³³, defenceless. The discovery of records regarding 5 Australian POWs who underwent non-consensual medical experimentation by SS doctor Dr Friedrich Meythaler³⁴, attest they were ³⁵“*Injected with the blood of hepatitis-infected German soldiers*”

²⁶ Monteath, P., 2012. Australian POW Labour in Germany in World War II. *Labour History*, [online] (103), p.83. Available at: <<https://www.jstor.org/stable/10.5263/labourhistory.103.0083>>. Pg 97.

²⁷ 1948. MIDDLETON MURRAY CHARLES. [Service Record] National Archives of Australia, B883. Canberra.

²⁸ Refer to Appendix E for further information

²⁹ 2020. *Interview With Jim Middleton*.

³⁰ Loc. Cit.

³¹ Monteath, P., 2012. Australian POW Labour in Germany in World War II. *Labour History*, [online] (103), p.83. Available at: <<https://www.jstor.org/stable/10.5263/labourhistory.103.0083>>.

³² 1946. *War Crimes - Germany - Shooting Of Private Matheson*. [Record] National Archives, MP742/1. Melbourne. p18.

³³ Ibid. pg 28

³⁴ Smith, A., 2016. The forgotten Australian prisoners of war experimented on by the Nazis. *ABC Radio National*, [online] Available at: <<https://www.abc.net.au/radionational/programs/archived/bodysphere/forgotten-australian-prisoners-of-war-nazi-experiments/7248588>> [Accessed 17 June 2020].

³⁵ Smith, A., 2016. The forgotten Australian prisoners of war experimented on by the Nazis. *ABC Radio National*, [online] Available at: <<https://www.abc.net.au/radionational/programs/archived/bodysphere/forgotten-australian-prisoners-of-war-nazi-experiments/7248588>> [Accessed 17 June 2020].

which left the five experimentees with “*an enlargement of the liver, then an increase of temperature and other symptoms...*”³⁶ as denoted by historian Konrad Kwiet. Lance Corporal George Savage, 1 of the 5 POWs, knew the treatment inflicted upon him “*wasn’t normal medical procedure*”, and when horrific symptoms occurred, “*the doctor took notes but offered no explanation, no medicine to help*”³⁷. This “*forgotten...chapter in the history of Australian military men exposed to German experimentation*”³⁸, highlights a small representation of the sadistic events that occurred in German captivity and thus, contests the predefined perception that German captor’s treatment of Australian POWs is second to that of the Japanese.

Another aspect of the POW experience that has largely been overshadowed is internment of Australian soldiers in Nazi concentration camps; providing yet another point of contestation that the Japanese were the sole violators of human rights. Approximately 100 Australian servicemen spent time in concentration camps such as Auschwitz and Buchenwald³⁹, which is often not recognised in the public’s view. Nine Australian airmen were interned in Buchenwald concentration camp⁴⁰ and were classed as ‘terror fliers’ and as such, were not given POW status. This meant that the airmen were not protected under the Geneva Convention⁴¹. They had limited food and were subjected to the mercy of sadistic guards, who conducted “mock executions” on the prisoners, a fate that would have become reality had the Luftwaffe not transferred them to Stalag Luft III⁴². Having spent time in Auchwitz, Corporal Donald Watt recalled a torture technique where “*they strapped my hand to...the table and proceeded to screw a clamp over my thumb and then the fingers.*”⁴³ as punishment for refusing to reveal details of a prior escape. Assigned to work at the crematoria, “*where we... throw[ed] logs... to keep the fire going, while other men... threw dead bodies in*”⁴⁴, he

³⁶ Cook, M., 2016. *Bioedge: The Forgotten History Of Australian Pows, Victims Of Nazi Doctors*. [online] BioEdge. Available at: <<https://www.bioedge.org/mobile/view/the-forgotten-history-of-australian-pows-victims-of-nazi-doctors/11803>> [Accessed 24 June 2020].

³⁷ Walker, F., 2017. *George Savage, The Australian Digger Used As A Guinea Pig In Nazi Medical Experiments*. [online] The Sydney Morning Herald. Available at: <<https://www.smh.com.au/entertainment/books/george-savage-the-australian-digger-used-as-a-guinea-pig-in-nazi-medical-experiments-20170725-gxig3y.html>> [Accessed 24 June 2020].

³⁸ Smith, A., 2016. The forgotten Australian prisoners of war experimented on by the Nazis. *ABC Radio National*, [online] Available at: <<https://www.abc.net.au/radionational/programs/archived/bodysphere/forgotten-australian-prisoners-of-war-nazi-experiments/7248588>> [Accessed 17 June 2020].

³⁹ Anzacportal.dva.gov.au. 2020. *Australian Prisoners Of War 1940-1945 | Anzac Portal*. [online] Available at: <<https://anzacportal.dva.gov.au/wars-and-missions/world-war-ii-1939-1945/resources/australian-prisoners-war-1940-1945>> [Accessed 21 June 2020].

⁴⁰ 1997. H. CON. RES. 95. [online] Washington DC, p.IV. Available at: <<https://web.archive.org/web/20100508192749/http://bulk.resource.org/gpo.gov/bills/105/hc95ih.txt.pdf>> [Accessed 11 July 2020].

⁴¹ Scribe, O., 2013. *The Airmen Of Buchenwald: A Veteran’s Day Remembrance*. [online] Daily Kos. Available at: <<https://www.dailykos.com/stories/2013/11/11/1254732/-The-Airmen-of-Buchenwald-A-Veteran-s-Day-Remembrance>> [Accessed 11 July 2020].

⁴² Refer to Appendix E for further information

⁴³ Watt, D., 1996. *Stoker*. East Roseville, NSW: Simon & Schuster. pg 79

⁴⁴ Ibid. pg 91

recalled how the guards would “*bully us into a state of cowering servility*”⁴⁵. By the time he was rescued from Auschwitz, Watt weight barely 50 kilograms⁴⁶, congruent with the condition in which Australian POWs left Japanese captivity. This supports the concept that the Germans, like the Japanese, violated a number of human rights, as well as the long-standing conduct among military personnel.

The history of Australian prisoners detained under German and Japanese control has been the subject of contestation regarding atrocities and war crimes committed. Australian public perception is that the Japanese were harsh captors, due to infamous depictions of the Burma-Thailand Railway, brutality in Tantai camp, the Sandakan Death Marches and the emaciated state in which POWs were repatriated back to Australia; whereas knowledge of violations against Australian POWs interned under the German Reich is limited. The further misconception that due to Germany being a signatory to the Geneva Convention, prisoners of the Reich were not exposed to war crimes is a fallacy thwarted by the execution of Private Matheson, immoral medical experimentation undertaken on Lance Corporal Savage (amongst others), along with internment and mistreatment in concentration camps. This evidence unequivocally demonstrates the contested nature of the treatment of Australian POWs and the similarity of their war experiences in both the Pacific and European theatres during WWII.

⁴⁵ Ibid. pg 102

⁴⁶ Ibid. pg 119

Appendices:

Appendix A: Burma-Thailand Railway Map



A map of the Burma-Thailand Railway and the various staging camps, developed by the Department of Veterans Affairs and accessible at

<https://anzacportal.dva.gov.au/resources/burma-thailand-railway-map>

Appendix B: Japanese War Crimes in the Pacific - Prosecutions

The following information is compiled from the National Archives Research guide, "Japanese War Crimes in the Pacific..."⁴⁷. Written by Dr Narelle Morris, this compilation highlights the names, verdicts and sentences of Japanese soldiers accused of war crimes, notably regarding the Burma-Thailand Railway, Tan Toey (Tantui) camp and the Sandakan Death Marches.

*Note - accused persons whose names appear more than once in the table is due to the person being tried for multiple instances.

THE BURMA-THAILAND RAILWAY:

NAME	VERDICT	SENTENCE RECEIVED	SENTENCE SERVED
Hideo Arai	Guilty	20 years imprisonment	
Koei Arai	Guilty	Death by hanging	
Chikayuki Funato	Guilty	3 years imprisonment	
Eishun Hayashi	Guilty	Death by hanging	
Tomizou Higuchi	Guilty	Life imprisonment	
Moritsume Hirahara	Guilty	Death by hanging	
Eiji Hirota	Guilty	Death by hanging	
Aiki Hoshi	Guilty	Death by hanging	
Susumu Hosumi	Guilty	Death by hanging	
Rikichi Ishikura	Not Guilty		
Chouroku Kaneko	Guilty	Death by hanging	
Shouen Kanemiya	Guilty	12 years imprisonment	
Masao Kaneshiro	Guilty	Life imprisonment	
Yoshio Kaneyama	Guilty	10 years imprisonment	
Fumio Masaki	Guilty	15 years imprisonment	
Minoru Matsuzaki	Guilty	Life imprisonment	
Katsuharu Morishita	Guilty	Life imprisonment	
Yoshitada Nagatomo	Guilty	Death by hanging	
Tadashi Omi	Guilty	Death by hanging	
Seikyou Ouyama	Guilty	6 years imprisonment	
Harukichi Shimojou	Guilty	Death by hanging	Life imprisonment
Kouji Takemoto	Guilty	Death by hanging	
Tadashi Takana	Not Guilty		
Shizuo Wakamatsu	Guilty	Death by hanging	

⁴⁷ Morris, N., 2019. *Japanese War Crimes In The Pacific*. Canberra: National Archives of Victoria.

TAN TOEY (TANTUI) CAMP:

NAME	VERDICT	SENTENCE SERVED
Hisanori Ameshima	Guilty	3 years imprisonment
Fumio Aoki	Guilty	5 years imprisonment
Seikichi Arita	Not Guilty	
Yoshiteru Asao	Guilty	2 years imprisonment
Minoru Eishou	Not Guilty	
Kenzou Fujiki	Not Guilty	
Kameichi Fujiwara	Guilty	8 years imprisonment
Yochirou Fujiwara	Not Guilty	
Aizou Haraguchi	Guilty	1 year imprisonment
Masaichi Haraguchi	Guilty	1 year imprisonment
Mitsuoshi Hayashi	Not Guilty	
Toyoichi Hayashi	Guilty	6 years imprisonment
Hirohide Higa	Guilty	2 years imprisonment
Ichio Higauchi	Not Guilty	
Tokifuku Himeno	Guilty	5 years imprisonment
Hisao Hisatsugi	Not Guilty	
Tasushi Hiwaki	Not Guilty	
Naoyoshi Hyoudou	Guilty	5 years imprisonment
Hishashi Ikebata	Not Guilty	
Chikara Ikeda	Guilty	3 years imprisonment
Choukichi Ikeda	Guilty	10 years imprisonment
Hiroji Ikeda	Not Guilty	
Masao Ikeda	Not Guilty	
Masakiyo Ikeuchi	Guilty	Death by shooting
Kiyoshi Imaizumi	Not Guilty	
Enzou Iribe	Not Guilty	
Nagame Ishiwara	Not Guilty	
Masatoshi Iwamoto	Not Guilty	
Haruo Kagawa	Guilty	8 years imprisonment
Tsugio Kajiwara	Not Guilty	
Iwao Kakuda	Not Guilty	
Mazumi Kawamura	Not Guilty	
Isamu Kawano	Not Guilty	

Shigeo Kawata	Guilty	1 year imprisonment
Taisuke Kawazumi	Guilty	10 years imprisonment
Kiyoshi Kazuki	Not Guilty	
Machinito Kimura	Not Guilty	
Michinori Kimura	Not Guilty	
Michitaka Kondou	Guilty	4 1/2 years imprisonment
Tamotsu Koyanagi	Not Guilty	
Kinjirou Kudo	Not Guilty	
Toreo Kudo	Not Guilty	
Kazuyoshi Kuge	Guilty	10 years imprisonment
Chouji Kuroki	Not Guilty	
Masuji Kuwabara	Guilty	10 years imprisonment
Yukio Maeda	Guilty	6 years imprisonment
Sadao Manabe	Guilty	2 years imprisonment
Masao Matsuda	Guilty	15 years imprisonment
Kiyoshi Matsukawa	Not Guilty	
Akio Matsumoto	Not Guilty	
Masamoto Mifune	Not Guilty	
Yoshio Miyazaki	Guilty	Death by shooting
Masujirou Miyoshi	Not Guilty	
Kichi Murakami	Not Guilty	
Sanemi Murata	Guilty	5 years imprisonment
Aizou Nagasato	Guilty	1 year imprisonment
Takeji Nagatani	Guilty	12 years imprisonment
Hajime Nakamura	Not Guilty	
Kesanori Nakamura	Not Guilty	
Ryousuke Nakamura	Guilty	18 months imprisonment
Toshitsugu Norimatsu	Not Guilty	
Hideo Ohigashi	Not Guilty	
Kiichi Oki	Guilty	6 years imprisonment
Sueji Onishi	Not Guilty	
Ken'ichi Osaki	Not Guilty	
Toshiro Sakai	Not Guilty	
Seiichi Sano	Not Guilty	
Hitoshi Saruwatari	Not Guilty	
Shigenobu Shibata	Guilty	2 years imprisonment
Masaichi Shimakawa	Guilty	Death by shooting

Tetsuo Shimp	Not Guilty	
Wadami Shirozu	Guilty	Death by shooting
Shouichi Shouno	Not Guilty	
Tsunayuki Sodona	Guilty	10 years imprisonment
Masajirou Suehiro	Guilty	7 years imprisonment
Masahiro Sugino	Not Guilty	
Kihachirou Takaya	Not Guilty	
Shigeo Takayama	Not Guilty	
Sadaji Takegawa	Guilty	1 year imprisonment
Michio Takeuchi	Guilty	20 years imprisonment
Masashi Tanaka	Guilty	20 years imprisonment
Shouichi Tanaka	Guilty	2 years imprisonment
Kenji Teshiba	Not Guilty	
Kazuo Tokudome	Guilty	1 year imprisonment
Yasuharu Torii	Not Guilty	
Takaaki Toyanaga	Not Guilty	
Tokio Uchikawa	Guilty	4 years imprisonment
Yoshio Uchikawa	Not Guilty	
Toshio Urui	Not Guilty	
Isamu Utsunomiya	Guilty	5 years imprisonment
Isao Yamamoto	Not Guilty	
Tatsuo Yamamoto	Guilty	18 years imprisonment
Toyokichi Yamamoto	Not Guilty	
Hisao Yasunobu	Guilty	2 years imprisonment
Tokuo Yoneoka	Not Guilty	
Otokichi Yoshida	Not Guilty	
Isamu Yoshino	Guilty	10 years imprisonment
Kiyosato Yoshizaki	Not Guilty	

THE SANDAKAN DEATH MARCHES AND RELATED EVENTS:

NAME	VERDICT	SENTENCE RECEIVED	SENTENCE SERVED
Kazuo Abe	Guilty	Death by hanging	
Nobuo Fukuda	Not Guilty		
Masao Fukushima	Guilty	15 years imprisonment	SEE BELOW
Masao Fukushima	Not Guilty		
Masao Fukushima	Guilty	Death by hanging	

Kiroku Gotanda	Not Guilty		
Tsuneyoshi Gotou	Guilty	12 years imprisonment	
Tsuneyoshi Gotou	Guilty	15 years imprisonment	
Yoshitarou Gotou	Guilty	15 years imprisonment	
Masao Hashimoto	Guilty	15 years imprisonment	
Yashinori Hayashi	Guilty	15 years imprisonment	SEE BELOW
Yashinori Hayashi	Guilty	Death by hanging	
Kiyoshi Hayashida	Guilty	15 years imprisonment	
Mitsujirou Hayashida	Guilty	15 years imprisonment	
Yukihiko Hirano	Guilty	10 years imprisonment	
Ginjiro Hirota	Guilty	15 years imprisonment	
Ginjiro Hirota	Guilty	Life imprisonment	
Noboru Hirota	Not Guilty		
Jirou Hirouchi	Guilty	12 years imprisonment	
Jirou Hirouchi	Guilty	15 years imprisonment	
Jirou Hirouchi	Guilty	15 years imprisonment	
Kouchi Horikawa	Guilty	10 years imprisonment	
Susumu Hoshijima	Guilty	Death by hanging	
Naoji Hosotani	Guilty	Death by shooting	
Susumu Hosumi	Guilty	Death by hanging	
Shigeru Iino	Guilty	10 years imprisonment	
Yoshio Ikeda	Guilty	15 years imprisonment	
Fujio Ishii	Guilty	10 years imprisonment	
Shigeru Iwabe	Guilty	14 years imprisonment	
Souichi Kamimura	Guilty	10 years imprisonment	
Yoshio Kaneshige	Guilty	12 years imprisonment	
Kiyoshi Kawakami	Guilty	15 years imprisonment	SEE BELOW
Kiyoshi Kawakami	Guilty	Death by hanging	
Shizuo Kobayashi	Guilty	10 years imprisonment	
Shoukichi Matsuba	Guilty	12 years imprisonment	
Shoukichi Matsuba	Guilty	20 years imprisonment	
Kenji Matsuda	Guilty	20 years imprisonment	
Nobunaga Matsuda	Not Guilty		
Takeo Matsuda	Guilty	15 years imprisonment	
Tadao Miake	Guilty	12 years imprisonment	
Tadao Miake	Guilty	Life imprisonment	
Ryuuichi Mizuda	Guilty	10 years imprisonment	

Teikichi Morioka	Guilty	10 years imprisonment	
Hisao Murozumi	Guilty	Life imprisonment	
Masao Nagahiro	Guilty	12 years imprisonment	
Masao Nagahiro	Guilty	15 years imprisonment	
Shin'ichi Nagata	Guilty	12 years imprisonment	
Tamayo Nakayama	Guilty	12 years imprisonment	
Tamayo Nakayama	Not Guilty		
Moriji Nishikawa	Guilty	15 years imprisonment	
Yoshinori Nishikawa	Guilty	12 years imprisonment	
Toshiharu Okada	Guilty	Life imprisonment	
Tastuo Oyama	Not Guilty		
Shigenari Sanada	Guilty	14 years imprisonment	
Shin'ichi Satou	Not Guilty		
Testuo Satou	Guilty	10 years imprisonment	
Shinsuke Shouji	Guilty	8 years imprisonment	
Shinsuke Shouji	Guilty	8 years imprisonment	
Takeo Sone	Guilty	15 years imprisonment	
Shun'ichi Sugimura	Guilty	10 years imprisonment	
Saburou Suzuki	Guilty	Death by hanging	
Takuo Takakawa	Guilty	Death by hanging	
Kunio Takata	Guilty	5 years imprisonment	
Isao Takemoto	Guilty	9 years imprisonment	
Yoshimitsu Takeuchi	Guilty	10 years imprisonment	
Yoshimitsu Takeuchi	Guilty	20 years imprisonment	
Shoujiro Tanaka	Guilty	10 years imprisonment	
Shintarou Tomiyama	Not Guilty		
Koukichi Toyoda	Guilty	12 years imprisonment	
Eijirou Toyooka	Guilty	15 years imprisonment	
Kenburou Umemura	Not Guilty		
Seiichi Utsunomiya	Not Guilty		
Genzou Watanabe	Guilty	Death by shooting	
Jirou Yamamoto	Guilty	10 years imprisonment	
Shouichi Yamamoto	Guilty	Death by hanging	
Hideo Yanagawa	Guilty	15 years imprisonment	
Shigemori Yanagawa	Not Guilty		
Kenji Yanai	Not Guilty		
Eikichi Yasuyama	Guilty	15 years imprisonment	

Kinzou Yokota	Guilty	9 years imprisonment
Tatsuhiko Yoshikawa	Guilty	15 years imprisonment
Tatsuhiko Yoshikawa	Guilty	20 years imprisonment
Hideo Yoshimura	Guilty	12 years imprisonment
Shigeo Yoshioka	Guilty	15 years imprisonment

Appendix C: A Brief History of 'Gull Force'

Gull Force refers to the men of the 21st Battalion and various attachments, who were sent to defend Ambon's harbour and airstrip⁴⁸. Along with the Infantry battalion, approximately 200 men, from sections including from the "*C Troop 18th Anti-tank battery,... 2/12th Field Ambulance Detachment... and 104 Light Aid Detachment*" were attached to Gull Force, now numbering 1131 servicemen. Gull Force landed at Ambon on 17th December 1941 where one group of soldiers were sent to defend Laha Airfield and the other was "*deployed to the east of the bay...*"⁴⁹. Japanese forces landed on Ambon Island on 30th January 1943, and it only took 4 days until "*the under-equipped and poorly prepared Australian...forces on the island surrendered*"⁵⁰. Most members of Gull force were taken prisoner of war. One of the 'tragedies' that Gull Force suffered almost immediately after becoming POWs was the massacre at Laha Airfield⁵¹. Approximately 300 servicemen that had been sent to defend Laha Airfield had been "*killed in four separate massacres between 6th and 20th February 1942*" and "*not one survived*"⁵². Elsewhere, those who survived were housed in Tantui (Tan Toey) camp and from there split, with 263 Australian prisoners being sent to Hainan Island⁵³. The atrocities that occurred in both camps, including executions, unsafe living and working conditions, as well as their captor's brutality were "*often overlooked..., second only to Sandakan, the worst of all camps*"⁵⁴. Those on Hainan Island were liberated by the Americans at the end of August 1945, while men at Tantui camp waited another four weeks to be liberated⁵⁵. The death toll by war's end at both camps was high, a 31% death toll on Hainan Island and only "*123 of the 32 left on Ambon in late 1942 remained alive*"⁵⁶.

⁴⁸ Gullforce.org.au. n.d. *Gull Force - Battalion History*. [online] Available at: <http://www.gullforce.org.au/Battalion_History.html> [Accessed 14 July 2020].

⁴⁹ Anzacportal.dva.gov.au. n.d. *Fall Of Ambon | Anzac Portal*. [online] Available at: <<https://anzacportal.dva.gov.au/wars-and-missions/world-war-ii-1939-1945/events/japanese-advance-december-1941-march-1942/fall-ambon>> [Accessed 14 July 2020].

⁵⁰ Loc. Cit.

⁵¹ Anzacportal.dva.gov.au. n.d. *Ambon And Hainan | Anzac Portal*. [online] Available at: <<https://anzacportal.dva.gov.au/wars-and-missions/burma-thailand-railway-and-hellfire-pass-1942-1943/locations/australian-prisoners-asia-pacific/ambon-and-hainan>> [Accessed 14 July 2020].

⁵² Anzacportal.dva.gov.au. n.d. *Fall Of Ambon | Anzac Portal*. [online] Available at: <<https://anzacportal.dva.gov.au/wars-and-missions/world-war-ii-1939-1945/events/japanese-advance-december-1941-march-1942/fall-ambon>> [Accessed 14 July 2020].

⁵³ Awm.gov.au. n.d. *Stolen Years: Australian Prisoners Of War | The Australian War Memorial*. [online] Available at: <<https://www.awm.gov.au/visit/exhibitions/stolenyears/ww2/japan/ambon>> [Accessed 4 July 2020].

⁵⁴ Loc. Cit.

⁵⁵ Anzacportal.dva.gov.au. n.d. *Fall Of Ambon | Anzac Portal*. [online] Available at: <<https://anzacportal.dva.gov.au/wars-and-missions/world-war-ii-1939-1945/events/japanese-advance-december-1941-march-1942/fall-ambon>> [Accessed 14 July 2020].

⁵⁶ Loc. Cit

Appendix D: Map of the Sandakan Death Marches



A map of British North Borneo illustrating the route taken on the First and Second Sandakan Death Marches, accessible from

<https://www.awm.gov.au/visit/exhibitions/stolenyears/ww2/japan/sandakan>

Appendix E: Map of German Prisoner-of-War camps during WWII



A map of POW camps in Germany during the Second World War, including camps such as Stalag 344, accessible at <http://www.merkki.com/powcampsmat.htm>

** Note, a further map detailing camps in which predominantly Australians and British were housed can be found in Peter Monteath's "POW: Australian Prisoners Of War In Hitler's Reich" pg xiv-xv

Annotated Bibliography:

Primary Sources:

Archival Records and Material:

1945. *War Crimes - Interrogation Of Ex-Prisoners Of War*. [Record] National Archives Australia, A2937. Canberra. - Document NAA: A2937, 304 was used in the author's broad research to provide a reliable and deeper understanding of imprisonment. It contains affidavits and statutory declarations from former captives regarding their imprisonment and although not cited in the entry, formed the basis of further archival research.

1946. *War Crimes - Germany - Shooting Of Private Matheson*. [Record] National Archives, MP742/1. Melbourne. - The document NAA: MP742/1, 336/1/83 was utilised by the author to illustrate an example of lesser known atrocities that were experienced by Australian POWs in German captivity. Coming from a credible source, this primary source enhanced the author's contention regarding atrocities that occurred in Europe.

1946. *War Crimes. Investigation Of Crimes Against Australians By British Commission*. [Record] National Archives Australia, A1067. Canberra. - The "*Investigation Of Crimes Against Australians By British Commission*" (NAA: A1066, H45/580/2/7) was read by the author to gain further insight into post-war investigations regarding atrocities against Australians and therefore, provided the author with credible information to further research this contested topic.

1947. *War Crimes Borneo - Lieutenant General BABA Masao*. [Record] National Archives Australia, MP742/1. Melbourne. - Document NAA: MP742/1, 336/1/1180 was accessed by the author as a result of preliminary research into post WW2 war crime trials. Although not cited in their essay, this record (including statements and court proceedings) was vital evidence in further bolstering the author's contention presented in the essay.

1947. *War Crimes - Burma/Siam Railway - Ote Camp*. [Record] National Archives Australia, MP742/1. Melbourne. The record held in Melbourne by the National Archives of Australia, NAA: MP742/1, 336/1/905, allowed the author access to details regarding Japanese captors, and experiences on the Burma-Thai Railway at Ote Camp from credible sources.

1947. *War Crimes - Fukuoka Area POW [Prisoner Of War] Camps, Japan*. [Record] National Archives Australia, MP742/1. Melbourne. - Document NAA: MP742/1, 336/1/905 was utilised by the author to gather a deeper understanding of Japanese treatment of Australian POWs on the Japanese mainland. Although not highlighted in the author's essay, this record provided irrefutable proof that could be inserted in the author's entry.

1948. *Massacre Of 300 RAAF - Kalidjati Java*. [Record] National Archives Australia, MP742/1. Melbourne. - The following record held in Melbourne by the National Archives of

Australia (NAA: MP742/1, 336/1/1453) containing correspondence regarding the Kalidjati Massacre was accessed by the author in their broad research into atrocities committed by the Japanese during the Second World War. Although not explicitly cited in the essay, this record provided paths for further research that allowed the author to develop their contention.

1948. *MIDDLETON MURRAY CHARLES*. [Service Record] National Archives of Australia, B883. Canberra. - The service record of Murray Charles Middleton (NAA: B883, SX11808) was cited in the author's essay to provide further information regarding Mr Middleton and his experiences as a POW in Germany. Furthermore, this record was further used to compliment an interview conducted with his son, and gather information to enhance the overall contention of the essay.

1949. *War Crimes Borneo - III-Treatment And Torture Of Prisoners Of War At Sandakan By Kempei Tai*. [Record] National Archives Australia, MP742/1. Melbourne. - Document NAA: MP742/1, 336/1/1943 was referenced by the author to gain a deeper understanding of the Kempeitai at Sandakan and their direct effect on Australian prisoners. Although not explicitly stated in the essay, the record and experiences relayed in the document assisted the author in their research.

1950. *Australian War Crimes Commission - Completed Questionnaires [Australian And Allied]*. [Questionnaires] National Archives Australia, MP742/1. Melbourne. - The collation of mandated questionnaires completed by ex-POWs (document NAA: MP742/1, 336/1/2018) was utilised and cited within their essay by the author to provide credible statistical evidence regarding the occurrence of atrocities committed by the Japanese, therefore bolstering the author's arguments and contention.

1950. *War Crimes - Execution Of Captain L C Matthews*. [Record] National Archives Australia, MP742/1. Melbourne. - Document NAA: MP742/1, 336/1/1854 was useful in providing the author with concrete evidence regarding atrocities committed by the Japanese towards Australian POWs during the Second World War. This record was not cited in the essay, however this does not denounce the severity and validity of this war crime.

1950. *War Crimes - Murder Of Private W R Devlin*. [Record] National Archives Australia, A1838. Canberra. - The following correspondence (NAA: A1838, 1550/13) assisted the author in gaining further reliable knowledge of atrocities committed by the Germans against Australian prisoners of war. Unlike other similar records, the document also contains collated messages from the late prisoner's father, further providing another perspective on the controversial and contested topic.

1950. *[War Crimes - Tan Toey, Ambon] Captain SHIROZU, Wadami And Others*. [Record] National Archives Australia, MP742/1. Melbourne. - Document NAA: MP742/1, 336/1/699 was advantageous in validating the atrocities that were committed at Tan Toey Camp and therefore, strengthens the author's paragraph regarding conditions and the mortality rate (although not directly specified).

1951. *War Crimes - Trial Of Itsui Hiroshi And Shiina Hirayasu*. [Record] National Archives Australia, MP742/1. Melbourne. - A record regarding the war crimes proceedings of Itsui Hiroshi and Shiina Hirayasu held by the National Archives of Australia in Melbourne (NAA: MP742/1, 336/1/2056) was read by the author to gain further evidence of Japanese war crimes (in this instance, murder of Australian POWs at Tavoy), however was not essential in establishing a clear contention regarding this contested issue.

Department of Veterans Affairs, n.d. *Bridges - The Building Of Hellfire Pass*. [video] Available at: <<https://anzacportal.dva.gov.au/resources/bridges-building-hellfire-pass>> [Accessed 16 June 2020]. - The video entitled “Bridges - the building of Hellfire Pass” was assessed by the author as providing information and visual depictions of the Burma-Thailand Railway from a credible source, namely the Australian War Graves Commission.

Department of Veterans Affairs, n.d. *Identification Of Japanese War Criminals In Rabaul*. [video] Available at: <<https://anzacportal.dva.gov.au/resources/identification-japanese-war-criminals-rabaul>> [Accessed 16 June 2020]. - The ‘Identification of Japanese War Criminals In Rabaul’ footage provided an interesting visual depiction regarding the post-war process of identifying Japanese captors as war criminals. Although not explicitly stated within the author’s entry, the video was useful in validating the proceedings noted in Appendix B, therefore making them credible.

Department of Veterans Affairs, n.d. *Pows Liberated*. [video] Available at: <<https://anzacportal.dva.gov.au/resources/pows-liberated>> [Accessed 16 June 2020]. - The footage of liberated Australian POWs from the Australian War Memorial was useful for the author to visualise an example of the physiology of prisoners that were interned under Japanese, although this footage didn’t link with some accounts of prisoner’s experiences, therefore this video was not cited in the author’s essay.

Flowers, W., n.d. *Manuscript By VX207026 Private Bill Flowers*. [Manuscript] The Australian War Memorial, Canberra. - The manuscript accessed on the Australian War Memorial website was sighted by the author due to the mention of sports, such as basketball, being played in Changi camp. Although interested to understand the leisure activities accepted early in the war, this document was not included in the author’s entry as it was outside the range in which the author studied.

Katherine Anne, P., 2001. *For You The War Is Over! Australian Prisoners Of The Germans In World War II*. [Manuscript] The Australian War Memorial, Canberra. - The 32 page manuscript compiled by Katherine Anne Potter critically examines Australian prisoners of war experiences in Germany and therefore, the author found this document credible and useful in providing supplementary information to that stated in their entry.

Morris, N., 2019. *Japanese War Crimes In The Pacific*. Canberra: National Archives of Victoria. - The National Archive of Australia’s research guide entitled “Japanese War Crimes in the Pacific”, written by Dr Narelle Morris was essential to the author’s gathering of credible

statistics regarding War Crime Trials post-WW2, especially in the Pacific, and therefore provided structure to other research that was conducted.

The Argus, 1945. Australian Prisoners of War at Singapore. [online] p.2. Available at: <<https://trove.nla.gov.au/newspaper/article/963899>> [Accessed 30 June 2020]. - The following newspaper article was cited in the author's essay to provide validity to Clarence Eldon Brooks' experiences as a prisoner of war under the Japanese in Changi. Although serving a highly specified purpose, this credible information enhanced the author's credibility.

Artworks:

Griffin, M., n.d. *An Incident On The Burma Railway (AWM ART26525)*. - The graphic depiction of Japanese brutality against Australian POWs is illustrated in Griffin's artwork "An incident on the Burma Railway", therefore providing the author with a visual depiction of the barbaric conditions experienced by POWs on the railway. Although not explicitly cited in the author's entry, Griffin's artwork was sobering and led to further investigation regarding atrocities committed on the Burma-Thai railway against Australian POWs.

Interviews:

2020. *Interview With Adrian Bibby*. - An informal interview was conducted in person with the author's father regarding his family friend, Clarence Brooks and what he knew regarding Brooks' experience as a POW. The interviewee was able to recall conversations with and memories of Brooks and provide the author with insight into his experiences on the Burma-Thai Railway, including the atrocities that occurred that resulted in his weight loss and views towards the Japanese post-war. Permission was granted for information gained during this interview to be cited within the essay.

2020. *Interview With Jim Middleton*. - Conducted via email, the author conducted an interview with Jim Middleton, son of Murray Middleton, in the attempts to gain a further understanding of POW experiences in Germany. A variety of questions were asked, specifically regarding working and living conditions, as well as any atrocities witnessed by his father. Middleton was able to provide vast evidence, including personal stories regarding his father that were vital in providing evidence for the author's argument regarding atrocities in the German Reich, Permission was granted by Middleton for any and all answers from the interview to be cited in the author's entry.

Department of Veterans Affairs, n.d. *Angas 'Gus' Hughes - POW Camp*. [video] Available at: <<https://anzacportal.dva.gov.au/resources/angas-gus-hughes-pow-camp>> [Accessed 15 June 2020]. - An interview conducted with Angas Hughes by the Department of Veterans Affairs provided the author with insight regarding a forced march from Bankau and the inhumane conditions, thus adding weight to the author's arguments regarding the Japanese.

Department of Veterans Affairs, n.d. *Colin Hamely - POW Labour In The Quarries*. [video] Available at: <<https://anzacportal.dva.gov.au/resources/colin-hamley-pow-labour-quarries>> [Accessed 16 June 2020]. - The interview with Colin Hamely conducted by the DVA highlights the unsafe and unsanitary conditions in quarries that exploited Australian POW labour. This personal reflection of experiences as a POW provides a boost to the author's contention and ideas that are explored throughout the essay.

Department of Veterans Affairs, n.d. *Ed Jones - Japanese Prisoner's Paintings*. [video] Available at: <<https://anzacportal.dva.gov.au/resources/ed-jones-japanese-prisoners-painting>> [Accessed 16 June 2020]. - The Department of Veteran Affairs' interview conducted with Ed Jones explores the fate of Japanese guards after the liberation of POW camps, as well as accusations of war crimes, therefore offering further validation of atrocities and war crimes committed against Australian POWs, in line with the author's contention.

Department of Veterans Affairs, n.d. *George 'Bert' Beecham*. [video] Available at: <<https://anzacportal.dva.gov.au/resources/george-bert-beecham>> [Accessed 16 June 2020]. - The inhumane treatment of Australian POWs on the Burma-Thai railway is once again exemplified in Bert Beecham's interview with the DVA. This interview thus provides evidence to support the author's arguments early in the essay regarding the degradation of Australian POW's human rights.

Department of Veterans Affairs, n.d. *Jim Kerr, Ex Prisoner-Of War, Burma-Thailand Railway Video*. [video] Available at: <<https://anzacportal.dva.gov.au/resources/jim-kerr-ex-prisoner-war-burma-thailand-railway-video>> [Accessed 16 June 2020]. - Jim Kerr's interview with the Department of Veterans Affairs regarding his experiences on the Burma-Thai railway was cited in the author's entry to provide insight regarding the withholding of medical equipment and necessities, a violation of human rights, therefore upholding the notion that the Japanese were harsh and vindictive captors.

Department of Veterans Affairs, n.d. *Pat Darling*. [video] Available at: <<https://anzacportal.dva.gov.au/resources/pat-darling>> [Accessed 16 June 2020]. - The reliable interview by Pat Darling regarding the liberation of nurses and the conditions in which they were imprisoned assisted the author in the early stages of their research. However, after further research, too many aspects of POW life were stated and the author chose not to focus on the role of women in POW life, due to the lack of comparison.

Department of Veterans Affairs, n.d. *Roy Cornford - Sinking Of The Rakuyo Maru*. [video] Available at: <<https://anzacportal.dva.gov.au/resources/roy-cornford-sinking-rakuyo-maru-part-1>> [Accessed 16 June 2020]. - The first part of Roy Cornford's interview (and proceeding sections) were accessed by the author in the preliminary stages of their research when gathering a wide spectrum of information regarding Australian prisoners under the Japanese. After condensing their focus onto war crimes and atrocities, this interview was not cited within the essay, however still proved useful as supplementary information.

n.d. Doctor Rowley Richards. [Online] Department of Veterans Affairs. Available at: <<https://anzacportal.dva.gov.au/resources/doctor-rowley-richards>> [Accessed 16 June 2020]. - The DVA interview conducted with Doctor Richards regarding Japanese ideology about prisoners was consulted by the author to further cement their understanding regarding Japanese beliefs and therefore, their treatment of Australian prisoners of war.

n.d. *Edward 'Weary' Dunlop*. [online] Department of Veterans Affairs. Available at: <<https://anzacportal.dva.gov.au/resources/edward-weary-dunlop>> [Accessed 16 June 2020]. - Regarding work selection on the Burma-Thai Railway, 'Weary' Dunlop's interview was consulted by the author to provide reliable context surrounding the medical experiences of prisoners on the infamous Burma-Thai Railway. Although not directly cited in the entry, Dunlop's interview was utilised when conducting further research and throughout the accreditation process.

Photographs:

Australian War Memorial, n.d. *AWM 011303/33*. [image] Available at: <<https://anzacportal.dva.gov.au/resources/awm-01130333>> [Accessed 15 June 2020]. - Photograph 011303/33 held at the Australian War memorial depicts a soldier holding propaganda leaflets that were spread to Australian before going into battle against the Japanese. Although not directly relevant to the author's study, the information provided information regarding Japanese indoctrination and propaganda, therefore enhancing the overall perspective highlighted in the entry.

Australian War Memorial, n.d. *AWM 044480*. [image] Available at: <<https://anzacportal.dva.gov.au/resources/awm-044480>> [Accessed 15 June 2020]. - Image 044480 depicts Australian nurses after liberation from Japanese internment. The starkness of the women in the image was intriguing to the author and prompted further investigation into nurses in Japanese captivity, although not explicitly explored within the essay.

Australian War Memorial, n.d. *AWM P01443.052*. [image] Available at: <<https://anzacportal.dva.gov.au/resources/awm-p01443052>> [Accessed 16 June 2020]. - Accessed from the Australian War Memorial website, photograph P01443.052 was used as a comparison point regarding early stages of captivity. Denoting a large group of Australian soldiers after capture, the photograph provided the author a comparison point regarding prisoner's physical states after capture and again after liberation.

Australian War Memorial, 1943. *AWM P0406.031*. [image] Available at: <<https://anzacportal.dva.gov.au/resources/awm-p0406031>> [Accessed 16 June 2020]. - Utilised in the cover page of the entrant's essay, the Australian War Memorial's photograph P0406.031 was used to provoke an emotional reaction in the audience before commencing reading, while also subtly introducing the pre-conceived contested notion regarding Japanese treatment of Australian prisoners of war.

Secondary Sources:

Books:

Adam-Smith, P., 1992. *Prisoners Of War: From Gallipoli To Korea*. 1st ed. Viking Penguin. - Patsy Adam-Smith's book was consulted in the author's preliminary research in order to develop a stronger understanding of POW's general experiences in captivity. Although not quoted in the author's essay, the text was a reliable introduction into the contested topic.

Atkinson, L., 2001. *My Side Of The Kwai*. 1st ed. Sydney: Kangaroo Press. - Atkinson's reminiscence of his experiences in Selarang Barracks and further, the Burma Thai Railway provided the author with a personal account of life under Japanese captivity and although not cited, assisted the author in finding other avenues of research.

Beaumont, J., Grant, L. and Pegram, A., 2015. *Beyond Surrender - Australian Prisoners Of War In The Twentieth Century*. 1st ed. MUP Academic. - *Written by various academics, the compilation of information in the text, "Beyond Surrender", was vital in the author's accurate portrayal of servicemen and women's period spent in captivity in various theatres of war.*

Bowden, T., 2012. *The Changi Camera*. Sydney: Hachette Australia. - *"The Changi Camera"* was utilised by the author as it provided visual depictions of conditions in Changi camp. These depictions, mostly archival material from the Australian War Memorial, assisted the author in gathering credible background knowledge of atrocities committed against Australian Prisoners of War.

Champ, J. and Burgess, C., 1997. *The Diggers Of Colditz*. Kenthurst, N.S.W.: Kangaroo Press. - Written by former POWs under German captivity, 'The Diggers of Colditz' explored Australian Prisoners of War in the "impenetrable fortress" and their living conditions, providing the author with essential and reliable information regarding Australian POWs in the Reich, therefore enhancing the authors arguments and contention.

Cunningham, M., 2013. *Hell On Earth, Sandakan*. 1st ed. Hachette Australia. - Cunningham's novel on Sandakan and the Death Marches was vital in enhancing the preconceived contested notion that while the Japanese were harsh captors, the Pacific theatre was not the only area where atrocities and war crimes were committed.

Dodkin, M., 2006. *Goodnight Bobbie*. UNSW Press. - Dodkin's book 'Goodnight Bobbie' is compiled with letters from a POW and his family, therefore providing an added view of POW's families within this contested debate. The author found this novel interesting and provided a magnitude of information, however, was unable to weave the information into their arguments.

Gatfield, J., 2018. *Great Australian World War II Stories*. Harper Collins. - Information and recounts gathered from the Returned Services League (RSL) was employed in the author's research not only to gather wide information about Australian's in WWII, however also

specific accounts of POW experiences that enhanced the author's contention throughout the essay.

Godman, A., 2002. *The Will To Survive*. Staplehurst, Kent: Spellmount. - Inspired by further research, "The Will to Survive" was consulted by the author to gain another reliable first-hand perspective regarding conditions along the Burma-Thailand Railway. Although not specified within the essay, this recount of brutal conditions was able to shape the author's understanding of the topic and therefore, had an indirect influence on the essay.

Header, R., 2009. *Keep The Men Alive*. A&U Academic. - The experiences of medical personnel along the Burma-Thai Railway is a lesser-known aspect of Australian military history and Header's book was examined in an attempt to gain a stronger and more reliable understanding of this aspect and therefore, use the information gained among other information to portray and attempt to ramify misunderstood public contested perception.

Hill, A., 2012. *The Story Of Billy Young*. 1st ed. Penguin Books Australia. - The experiences of teenager Billy Young were exemplified in Anthony Hill's novel and allowed the reader to deeply connect with Young's experiences as a prisoner of war under the Japanese. Although not used in the essay, the understanding of the events surrounding Billy Young's imprisonment allowed the author to illustrate the contested matter more passionately.

Monteath, P., 2011. *POW: Australian Prisoners Of War In Hitler's Reich*. 1st ed. Macmillan Australia. - Monteath's book containing research regarding Australian prisoners and their experiences in Germany was of vital importance to the author in developing further knowledge as there were limited resources regarding POWs in Germany compared to POWs under the Japanese.

Moremon, J. and Reid, R., 2002. *A Bitter Fate*. Canberra: Department of Veteran Affairs. - The Department of Veteran's Affairs book noting Australia's involvement in the Malayan campaign provided the author with wider context regarding the events in which soldiers were taken POW. This credible source was however not cited in the author's essay as it only provided supplementary information which was not core to enhancing the author's arguments.

Mutton, B., 1995. *Home For Christmas But Five Years Late*. Box Hill: Jenkin Buxton Printers. - This collection of first hand accounts from ex-POWs regarding captivity under the Japanese regime allowed the author to connect on a more personal level than reading academia. The references contained in the book, although powerful and credible, were unable to be cited within the author's essay due to word limitations.

Reid, R., 2012. *Bomber Command*. Canberra: Department of Veterans Affairs. - 'Bomber Command', compiled by the DVA revealed to the author a largely unknown section of Australian military history, Australian pilots in Bomber Command. This book was particularly useful in understanding the risks associated with these 'raids' and evidence of capture, however, although interesting, was not utilised in the author's entry.

Reid, R. and Moremon, J., 2002. *Stolen Years - Australian Prisoners Of War*. Canberra: Department of Veteran Affairs. - Reid and Moremon's book published by the Department of Veterans Affairs highlights the various experiences of Australian prisoners of war in various camps and theatres of war. This resource was heavily relied upon by the author due to its credible nature and poignant descriptions of brutality and war crimes, therefore associating itself with the author's essay.

Watt, D., 1996. *Stoker*. East Roseville, NSW: Simon & Schuster. - 'Stoker', the personal account from Donald Watt of prisoners in Germany's reich was highlighted in the author's entry to bring focus to a minority group of POWs; those incarcerated in concentration camps. The effectiveness of personal accounts was the reason as to why this book was cited throughout the author's novel, therefore aligning with the author's overarching contention.

Websites/Web Articles:

Anzacportal.dva.gov.au. n.d. *Ambon And Hainan* | *Anzac Portal*. [online] Available at: <<https://anzacportal.dva.gov.au/wars-and-missions/burma-thailand-railway-and-hellfire-pass-1942-1943/locations/australian-prisoners-asia-pacific/ambon-and-hainan>> [Accessed 14 July 2020]. - This credible website from the Department of Veteran's Affairs was utilised by the author when understanding Gull Force's involvement in the Pacific campaign and their experiences as prisoners of war under the Japanese.

Anzacportal.dva.gov.au. n.d. *Australian Prisoners Of War 1940-1945* | *Anzac Portal*. [online] Available at: <<https://anzacportal.dva.gov.au/wars-and-missions/world-war-ii-1939-1945/resources/australian-prisoners-war-1940-1945>> [Accessed 21 June 2020]. - The page from ANZAC Portal provided some general information regarding Australian prisoners under both Japanese and statistics (e.g the amount of Australian prisoners taken in each theatre) that were embedded into the author's essay to provide credibility and authenticity to their entry.

Anzacportal.dva.gov.au. n.d. *Bandsman Defied Execution To Keep Diary* | *Anzac Portal*. [online] Available at: <<https://anzacportal.dva.gov.au/stories-service/australians-war-stories/bandsman-defied-execution-keep-diary>> [Accessed 17 June 2020]. - Alan Murnane's personal recount of Japanese captivity and the risks he took to defy his captors was interesting for the author to read due to the article providing a sense of hope, rather than tragedy. Although not cited in the essay, the information gained from Murnane was useful to the author when further researching Australian POWs.

Anzacportal.dva.gov.au. 2013. *Commemorating Australian Prisoners Of War On The Burma–Thailand Railway: Wartime Snapshots No.12* | *Anzac Portal*. [online] Available at: <<https://anzacportal.dva.gov.au/resources/media/file/commemorating-australian-prisoners-war-burma-thailand-railway-wartime-snapshots-no12>> [Accessed 14 June 2020]. - This PDF document created by the DVA was used to gain a basic understanding of routines and outlining information regarding POWs on the Burma-Thai Railway and was cited by the author to provide credible information to enhance the arguments and contention presented.

Anzacportal.dva.gov.au. n.d. *Fall Of Ambon* | *Anzac Portal*. [online] Available at: <<https://anzacportal.dva.gov.au/wars-and-missions/world-war-ii-1939-1945/events/japanese-advance-december-1941-march-1942/fall-ambon>> [Accessed 14 July 2020]. - The 'Fall of Ambon' page accessed on ANZAC Portal was utilised within the Appendices section of the author's entry to assist in providing a brief history of Gull Force, and the men's experiences as POWs.

Anzacportal.dva.gov.au. n.d. *Forced Marches* | *Anzac Portal*. [online] Available at: <<https://anzacportal.dva.gov.au/wars-and-missions/world-war-ii-1939-1945/resources/australian-prisoners-war-1940-1945/forced-marches>> [Accessed 24 June 2020]. - This page regarding forced marches and escape attempts of Australian and other Allied POWs in Europe was accessed by the author in their preparatory research to understand broadly about POWs in the German Reich, however this information was not cited in the entry.

Anzacportal.dva.gov.au. n.d. *Found* | *Anzac Portal*. [online] Available at: <<https://anzacportal.dva.gov.au/wars-and-missions/world-war-ii-1939-1945/resources/australian-prisoners-war-1940-1945/found>> [Accessed 24 June 2020]. - The experiences of Australian nurses in Japanese captivity is largely overlooked in Australian Military folklore and the DVA's page assists in redefining this common misconception. Although useful in preliminary research, this area of study was not discussed in the final entry and therefore, was not cited in this essay.

Anzacportal.dva.gov.au. n.d. *Gunner Cleary* | *Anzac Portal*. [online] Available at: <<https://anzacportal.dva.gov.au/wars-and-missions/world-war-ii-1939-1945/resources/australian-prisoners-war-1940-1945/gunner-cleary>> [Accessed 24 June 2020]. - Information compiled by the DVA regarding Albert Cleary and his inhumane treatment by Japanese captors was used as evidence within the essay to substantiate misguided claims, while also further ramifying public perception.

Anzacportal.dva.gov.au. n.d. *Japan* | *Anzac Portal*. [online] Available at: <<https://anzacportal.dva.gov.au/wars-and-missions/burma-thailand-railway-and-hellfire-pass-1942-1943/locations/australian-prisoners-asia-pacific/japan>> [Accessed 23 June 2020]. - Information regarding the transportation of Australian POWs to Japan, and their treatment once there was collected from ANZAC Portal in the early stages of the author's research to understand multiple facets of a complex topic such as Prisoners of War.

Anzacportal.dva.gov.au. n.d. *POW Camp Journals Kept Morale High* | *Anzac Portal*. [online] Available at: <<https://anzacportal.dva.gov.au/stories-service/australians-war-stories/pow-camp-journals-kept-morale-high>> [Accessed 17 June 2020]. - One of the "Australians at War" stories, compiled by the Department of Veteran's Affairs, was accessed by the author to further understand German captivity, due to less information being known compared to the Japanese. Although not cited in the entry, this information was useful for the author to keep in mind when writing the essay.

Anzacportal.dva.gov.au. n.d. *Secret Diary Of Life In Changi | Anzac Portal*. [online] Available at:

<<https://anzacportal.dva.gov.au/stories-service/australians-war-stories/secret-diary-life-changi>> [Accessed 17 June 2020]. - The information on ANZAC Portal regarding Jack O'Donnell and the diary he kept while held captive in the infamous Changi Prison was utilised in the founding stages of the author's entry when the research was very broad. However, once the topic of interest war narrowed, the information gathered from this website was somewhat irrelevant and thus, not stated within the essay.

Anzacportal.dva.gov.au. n.d. *The Marches | Anzac Portal*. [online] Available at:

<<https://anzacportal.dva.gov.au/wars-and-missions/world-war-ii-1939-1945/resources/australian-prisoners-war-1940-1945/gunner-clearly/marches>> [Accessed 24 June 2020]. - The Department of Veteran's Affairs website regarding the Sandakan Death Marches was used as evidence to illustrate Japanese brutality and was cited in the author's essay to bolster their contention.

Awm.gov.au. n.d. *General Information About Australian Prisoners Of The Japanese | The Australian War Memorial*. [online] Available at:

<https://www.awm.gov.au/articles/encyclopedia/pow/general_info> [Accessed 12 July 2020]. - The Australian War Memorial Encyclopedia was utilised by the author in order to gain a broader and more credible understanding in the preliminary stages of their research regarding the spectrum of POW experiences under the Japanese regime.

Awm.gov.au. n.d. *Roll Of Honour - Alan Samuel Spokes*. [online] Available at:

<<https://www.awm.gov.au/collection/R1697461>> [Accessed 9 July 2020]. - The AWM Roll of Honour was consulted by the author to ensure that information regarding Alan Spokes (for example service number, unit and date of death) were accurate in order to ensure the evidence provided in the essay was credible.

Awm.gov.au. n.d. *Stolen Years: Australian Prisoners Of War | The Australian War Memorial*. [online] Available at:

<<https://www.awm.gov.au/visit/exhibitions/stolenyears/ww2/japan/ambon>> [Accessed 4 July 2020]. - The 'Stolen Year' exhibition, specifically the section on Ambon, was highlighted as a credible resource throughout the author's entry when referencing Gull Force and their men's experiences in captivity, as well as the events in the lead up to surrender in order to provide evidence of depth when researching.

Awm.gov.au. n.d. *Stolen Years: Australian Prisoners Of War | The Australian War Memorial*. [online] Available at:

<<https://www.awm.gov.au/visit/exhibitions/stolenyears/ww2/japan/sandakan>> [Accessed 9 July 2020]. - The Australian War Memorial's exhibition page regarding Sandakan was accessed by the author to gain a further understanding of the Sandakan Death Marches, and was cited in the entry to illustrate the author's understanding.

Barker, A., 2016. *Old But Not Weary, Billy Young Recounts His Time As A Teen POW*.

[online] Abc.net.au. Available at:

<<https://www.abc.net.au/news/2016-10-01/australia-wide-billy-young-recounts-his-time-as-a-pow/7893504>> [Accessed 24 June 2020]. - Information regarding Billy Young, accessed on the ABC News website was found during the author's early research on the broad topic of Australian POWs under the Japanese. However, once the author's scope was narrowed, the information gathered was not needed.

Peters, B., n.d. The life experience of partners of ex-POWs of the Japanese. *Journal of the Australian War Memorial*, [online] (28). Available at:

<<https://www.awm.gov.au/articles/journal/j28/j28-petr>> [Accessed 16 July 2020]. - The Journal of the Australian War Memorial was used to quote the phrase "walking skeletons", therefore provoking and stirring an emotional response in the reader, therefore acknowledging the preconceived contestation regarding Australian POWs

Bowden, T., 2017. *In Their Own Words: Australian Soldiers Remember Fall Of Singapore*. [online] Abc.net.au. Available at:

<<https://www.abc.net.au/news/2017-02-15/fall-of-singapore-australian-soldiers-in-their-own-words/8266370>> [Accessed 24 June 2020]. - Although not explicitly stated within the essay, the information gained from ex-POW accounts gave the author the ability to relate on a person-to-person level, rather than relying on statistics and other non-personified information.

Cook, M., 2016. *Bioedge: The Forgotten History Of Australian Pows, Victims Of Nazi Doctors*. [online] BioEdge. Available at:

<<https://www.bioedge.org/mobile/view/the-forgotten-history-of-australian-pows-victims-of-nazi-doctors/11803>> [Accessed 24 June 2020]. - Cook's article regarding Australian POWs on which medical experiments were carried out played a vital role in providing evidence to ramify public perception regarding the harshness of German captors compared to those in the Pacific theatre of war.

Cwgc.org. n.d. *Prisoners Of War And The Burma Railway*. [online] Available at:

<<https://www.cwgc.org/history-and-archives/second-world-war/campaigns/war-in-the-east/prisoners-of-war-and-the-burma-railway>> [Accessed 30 June 2020]. - The Commonwealth War Graves Commission was accessed by the author to illustrate the inhumane treatment of allied POWs on the Burma-Thai Railway, and was thus cited in the author to provide reliable evidence to concur with the author's argument.

Department of Veterans Affairs, n.d. *Burma-Thailand Railway Map*. [image] Available at:

<<https://anzacportal.dva.gov.au/resources/burma-thailand-railway-map>> [Accessed 16 June 2020]. - A map of the Burma-Thailand Railway, accessed from the Department of Veteran's Affairs was included in the appendices of the author's entry to provide supplementary information that may be useful in readers gaining a deeper understanding of the arguments illustrated.

Diggerhistory.info. n.d. *POW's In Europe And How They Fared*. [online] Available at:

<<http://diggerhistory.info/pages-battles/ww2/pow-europe.htm>> [Accessed 17 June 2020]. - Accessed during the early stages of their research, the Digger History website was useful to the author in gaining basic knowledge of Australian POWs in the German Reich and the

conditions they faced. Although not as reliable as other sources and not cited within the author's entry, this website was able to provide avenues of further research.

Gullforce.org.au. n.d. *Gull Force - Battalion History*. [online] Available at: <http://www.gullforce.org.au/Battalion_History.html> [Accessed 14 July 2020]. - The official Gull Force website's battalion history page was accessed by the author when creating Appendix C, that is, a brief history of Gull Force, in order for the reader to understand the conditions surrounding the capture of these military personnel from a credible source.

1997. H. CON. RES. 95. [online] Washington DC, p.IV. Available at: <<https://web.archive.org/web/20100508192749/http://bulk.resource.org/gpo.gov/bills/105/hc95ih.txt.pdf>> [Accessed 11 July 2020]. - The statement acknowledging the illegal internment of allied airmen was cited to add emphasis to the barbarous treatment by the Germans. Although issued by the United States government, Australian airmen are included and thus, this is considered a vital and credible source.

Hong, T., 2014. *Australia's Link To Colditz | The Australian War Memorial*. [online] Awm.gov.au. Available at: <<https://www.awm.gov.au/articles/blog/australias-link-colditz>> [Accessed 6 June 2020]. - During the early stages of their research, the author utilised the Australian War Memorial's blog to understand more about Colditz Castle and Australian POW's experiences while in captivity there. Although interesting, this article was not cited in the essay, rather used as supplementary information.

Kenyon, L., 2019. *Diagram Of Harry Tunnel At Stalag Luft III*. [image] Available at: <<https://www.abc.net.au/news/2019-03-24/diagram-of-harry-tunnel-at-stalag-luft-iii/10911580?nw=0>> [Accessed 17 June 2020]. - The image of one of the infamous escape tunnels at Stalag Luft III allowed the author to understand the formation of an escape tunnel, and gain a deepened understanding regarding the 'Great Escape'.

Makepeace, C., 2015. VJ Day: Surviving the horrors of Japan's WW2 camps. *BBC News*, [online] Available at: <<https://www.bbc.com/news/magazine-33931660>> [Accessed 17 June 2020]. - Makepeace's article regarding Victory in Japan Day and personal accounts of POW experiences on the Japanese islands were accessed by the author in the early stages of research to gather evidence to support the contested stance that the Japanese were harsher captors, however was not cited.

Monteath, P., 2008. Australian POW in German Captivity in the Second World War. *Australian Journal of Politics & History*, 54(3), pp.421-433. - The Australian Journal of Politics & History was accessed by the author in order to gain information from a reputable source regarding the experiences of Australian prisoners in German captivity during the Second World War. Due to the lack of attention paid to the European theatre, Monteath's article was vital in guiding the author to various other credible sources in order to enhance their presented arguments.

Monteath, P., 2012. Australian POW Labour in Germany in World War II. *Labour History*, [online] (103), p.83. Available at:

<<https://www.jstor.org/stable/10.5263/labourhistory.103.0083>>. - This article, compiled by Peter Monteath, was cited in the author's entry to highlight the dangerous conditions that Australian POWs were forced to work under, therefore adding emphasis to the author's paragraph regarding working conditions in the Reich, while also validating the account given by Jim Middleton regarding his father.

Scribe, O., 2013. *The Airmen Of Buchenwald: A Veteran's Day Remembrance*. [online] Daily Kos. Available at:

<<https://www.dailykos.com/stories/2013/11/11/1254732/-The-Airmen-of-Buchenwald-A-Veteran-s-Day-Remembrance>> [Accessed 11 July 2020]. - This website, although written by an American source, was deemed credible due to its relation to Australian airmen and thus, used as evidence in the author's essay to highlight the denial of POW status given to allied airmen due to them being classified as 'terror fliers'.

Sissons, D., 2006. *The Australian War Crimes Trials And Investigations*. [pdf] Available at: <<https://www.ocf.berkeley.edu/~changmin/documents/Sissons%20Final%20War%20Crimes%20Text%2018-3-06.pdf>> [Accessed 14 June 2020]. - Sissons' document regarding the Australian investigation of war crimes was accessed by the author during their research regarding the Pacific War Crimes trials in an attempt to become more knowledgeable on the subject and thus, more persuasive in their writing. Although not specifically cited, the information gained was useful and important to utilise when embedding evidence into the entry.

Smith, A., 2016. The forgotten Australian prisoners of war experimented on by the Nazis. *ABC Radio National*, [online] Available at: <<https://www.abc.net.au/radionational/programs/archived/bodyosphere/forgotten-australian-prisoners-of-war-nazi-experiments/7248588>> [Accessed 17 June 2020]. - The Australian Broadcasting Corporation's radio segment regarding Australian medical experimentees, deemed valid by the author, was quoted multiple times throughout the essay to highlight and further explain the non-consensual medical experimentation that occurred to five Australian POWs in Germany and the long-lasting effects these 'procedures' had on the prisoners.

Stephenson, E., 2020. *Experiences Of A Prisoner Of A War: World War 2 In Germany*. [online] Jmvh.org. Available at: <<https://jmvh.org/article/experiences-of-a-prisoner-of-a-war-world-war-2-in-germany/>> [Accessed 17 June 2020]. - Stephenson's article, as the name suggests, explores the experiences of a prisoner of war in Germany during the Second World War. Although the information it contained was validated and provided the author with some general understanding, the source was not cited in the participant's essay.

Sweet, M., 2017. *Nazi Experiments On Cretan Anzacs Revealed | Neos Kosmos*. [online] NEOS KOSMOS. Available at: <<https://neoskosmos.com/en/41952/nazi-experiments-on-cretan-anzacs-revealed/>> [Accessed 24 June 2020]. - The webpage regarding George Savage and other Australian POWs that underwent medical experimentation by the Germans was not cited in the essay,

however used as a reference point to ensure that other information regarding this topic was factually correct, therefore able to be utilised in the author's essay to provide concrete evidence to support their specific arguments, as well as the overarching contention.

Walker, F., 2017. *George Savage, The Australian Digger Used As A Guinea Pig In Nazi Medical Experiments*. [online] The Sydney Morning Herald. Available at: <<https://www.smh.com.au/entertainment/books/george-savage-the-australian-digger-used-a-s-a-guinea-pig-in-nazi-medical-experiments-20170725-gxig3y.html>> [Accessed 24 June 2020]. - The Sydney Morning Herald article, illustrating an interview with Lance Corporal George Savage regarding Nazi medical experimentation, was cited in the entry to provoke an emotional response in the reader, therefore becoming more likely to accept the author's arguments and contention regarding the harsh treatment of Australian POWs under the Germans.