

A World Without Armies



Report on the international conference

**“Remembering Nanjing (Nanking)”**

70th anniversary of the Nanjing Tragedy

November 22 - 25, 2007

Nanjing Normal University and Nanjing University

Nanjing, China

It was a harrowing five hours of testimony--overwhelming and life-changing for me, as I had not known any horror as appalling as this.

Joan Halifax

I realized that the gesture of putting my forehead down mirrored the gesture of decapitation. It was then that I experienced the profound sin that I shared just by being Japanese.

Haruyoshi Fugaku Ito

We, the Japanese, inflicted horrific atrocities upon China. These atrocities are still manifesting themselves today. I aspire to keep facing my own guilt for the rest of my life.

Yoshiji Watanabe

This endeavor for genuine reconciliation between Chinese and Japanese can become a metaphor for healing all of us, and healing the world.

Alex Rudinsky

However scared we may be, if we are determined to open our hearts and engage in honest dialogue with the Chinese, our relationship will evolve. This dialogue has just begun.

Hiroko Yagi

For the first time in seventy years, Chinese, Japanese, and Westerners came together in search of a newly enriched perspective of the Nanjing tragedy. Together, they listened to testimony from survivors, visited massacre sites, and went to see the Nanjing Sino-Japanese War History Museum. They looked at a special art exhibit, joined in a women’s symposium, and participated in a memorial service—all meant to encourage participants to share their ideas, reactions, and feelings. In addition, thirty-four Chinese and Japanese historians presented papers. On the last day, two Japanese actors performed a work entitled, “December Hell: The Nanjing Sorrow.”

As many as 300 people with different historical perspectives filled the conference halls and auditorium for these events. Chinese and foreign newspapers and broadcast organizations covered this historic conference.



Corpses of Chinese citizens, slaughtered by the Japanese troops, cover the ground in Nanjing, 1937



Memorial gathering at a massacre memorial site, Nanjing, 2007

## Significance

In 1937, Japan invaded China. The “Rape of Nanjing” (then China’s capital city) was gigantic in scale, brutal in method, and momentous in strategic importance. That is why the “Rape of Nanjing” has become the most important symbol of the seven-year Sino-Japanese war. Most Japanese people tend to avoid the issue altogether, or remain unaware of the enormity of the suffering and resentment of the Chinese people. The Japanese government still censors educational material and discourages even using the word “invasion” in textbooks that cover the Sino-Japanese war. Furthermore, the Japanese revisionists’ effort to deny the responsibility of Japanese troops has gained ground in recent years.

These days China is fast becoming an economic and military superpower, while Japan has steadily increased its defense capabilities. In order to insure peace and political stability in East Asia, it is crucial for both nations to radically improve their relationship. For the past seventy years, bitterness and distrust has impaired the Sino-Japanese political relationship.

Those who worry about the tension between China and Japan have searched for ways to enable citizens of both countries to face the painful history together and heal the wounds that are the legacy of the past atrocities.

The people from various nations who attended this conference learned the appalling history by genuinely listening to one another, visiting the massacre sites, and engaging in dialogue and emotional exchange. While listening to music, viewing art, and conducting a memorial service at the massacre site, learning from scholarly research, the participants started to develop a rapport. Some have vowed to continue this process of healing between the two nations.

Most societies carry appalling histories—either as victims or as perpetrators—but sincere efforts for healing are usually invisible or nonexistent. The initial success of the Sino-Japanese dialogue can be an inspiring model for people in other parts of the world.



## Vision

In these times of global conflict and social unrest, there is growing interest in the topic of demilitarization. A World Without Armies (AWWA), a project of the U.S. nonprofit organization Inochi, takes practical steps toward a world without war. AWWA has organized the Women’s Initiative for Abolition of Armies in Central America by 2020. It works with the Bonn International Center for Conversion, a semi-governmental research institute in Germany, on studies of the demilitarization potential of nations.

AWWA is committed to the goal of developing a peaceful environment in East Asia. To face the painful past with an open heart is essential in order for Chinese and Japanese people to build trust and genuine friendship. Their improved relationship can lead to the reduction of armed forces in these respective countries and other parts of East Asia in the future. We believe that the establishment of an East Asian Union may be a step toward East Asia without Armies.

# Program

Thursday, November 22

Welcome  
Greetings  
Testimony from survivors

Zhang Lianhong  
Haruhiko Murakawa  
Chang Zhiqiang  
Zhang Xiuhong



Instrumental performance on *erhu* and *yangqin*  
Remarks

Guo Hongyu and Wu Yue  
Takashi Tsumura

Visit to the Zhonghua Gate Castle

Visit to the Nanjing Sino-Japanese War History Museum

Welcome

Wu Xianbin, Founder

Participants' sharing feelings: (Haruhiko Murakawa, moderator)



**Friday, November 23**

Visit to the Yangziji Massacre Memorial Site  
Briefing by Wang Weixing  
Memorial Service (silence and offering flowers)



Visit to art shows at the Nanshan Hotel, the Nanjing Normal University:  
Introduction by Zheng Zhong. Statements by Kazuaki Tanahashi, Zhu Ming, and Xing Zhengjun  
Calligraphers Exhibition: “Commemorating the 70th Anniversary of the Nanjing Massacre  
(41 Chinese calligraphers and students)



“Nanjing Lament” by Alex Rudinsky



日裔艺术家展出反战作品  
真诚道歉

日前在南京举办的“纪念南京大屠杀70周年”展览中，一位日本艺术家展出了他的反战作品。这位名叫田中新一的艺术家，在展览中展出了他的反战作品。他的作品以“南京大屠杀”为主题，通过文字和图像的形式，表达了对战争的反思和对和平的呼唤。

田中新一在展览中表示，他作为一名日本艺术家，对南京大屠杀的历史有着深刻的认识。他希望通过自己的作品，唤起人们对战争的反思，以及对和平的珍视。他的作品不仅是对历史的记录，更是对未来的警示。

展览现场，许多观众对田中新一的作品表示赞赏。他们认为，田中新一的作品具有很强的感染力，能够让人们更加深刻地理解南京大屠杀的历史意义。同时，田中新一的真诚道歉，也得到了观众的广泛认可和好评。

“Sino-Japanese War: Reflection and Remorse” by Kazuaki Tanahashi



“Nanjing Lamentation”



“Profound Apologies for the Cruel Crimes”

Women's Symposium: "Sino-Japanese War and the Nanjing Tragedy," Part One

Joan Halifax, moderator

Wang Xuan: "Sex Crimes during the Sino-Japanese War"

Jing Yihong: "War and Women: Around the Rape of Nanjing"



Piano performance: "Toward a World without Domestic Violence," Kazuyuki Kusayanagi

Women's Symposium: "Sino-Japanese War and the Nanjing Tragedy," Part Two

Joan Halifax, moderator

Kuniko Muramoto

Mayumi Oda



A Chinese woman, raped by Japanese soldiers, shows her injury, Nanjing 1937

Friday evening

Shintaido relaxation exercise (Haruyoshi Fugaku Ito and Masashi Minagawa, instructors)

Participants' sharing thoughts and feelings in small groups (Haruhiko Murakawa, moderator)

**Saturday, November 24**

Shintaido relaxation exercise (Haruyoshi Fugaku Ito and Masashi Minagawa, instructors)

Participants' sharing feelings (Haruhiko Murakawa, moderator)

Remarks, Heinz-Jürgen Metzger from Germany

**The Second Symposium on the Nanjing Massacre Sources, Parts 1 - 3**



Sun Zhaiwei, “Newly discovered sources on the Nanjing Massacre”

Tokushi Kasahara, “Newly discovered text and photos: An artilleryman’s field diary”

Duan Yueping, “Evaluation of the Nanjing Massacre sources”

Dai Yuehzi, “An illustration in the Rabe Diary: A small clinic at the sewage plant south of the Sheyu River”

Michiyo Arakawa, “Internet debate on Nanjing Incident and *The Road to Nanjing: A Group to Protect Truth*”

Gao Xiaoxing, “Violence by the Japanese Navy during the Nanjing Massacre”

Yong Suhua, “Comparative study of sources on victims of the Nanjing Massacre: A sample study of the lists of diseased people in Tanshan District”

Zhang Lianhong, “The first study of the British navy ship H.M.S. Ladybird incident”

Zheng Shoukang, “Rosen and the Nanjing Massacre”

Cui Wei, “Japanese troops’ destruction on the property of neutral nations during the Nanjing Massacre”

Hiroshi Oyama, “Contents and significance of the International Symposium: For facing the past and promoting reconciliation in East Asia”

Zhai Yian, “Thoughts on the Nanjing Massacre from the perspective of ‘civilization history’: Study of Minoru Kitamura’s Nanjing Massacre”

Zhu Jiguang, “A change of the study patterns on the Nanjing Massacre by Chinese historians”

Visit to the Confucius Temple



**Sunday, November 25**

**The Second Symposium on the Nanjing Massacre Sources, Parts 4 - 5**

- Ma Zhendu, “Study of resistance by Chinese soldiers and citizens in Nanjing during massacre by the Japanese troops in 1937”
- Xu Kangying, “Study of atrocities at Xiaguan District by the invading Japanese troops during the Nanjing Massacre”
- Fei Zhongxing, “Analysis of the forty-seventh gathering and massacre in East District of Nanjing”
- Xu Liqiang, “Uniqueness of interviews in War in Nanjing: The Souls of Injured Victims”
- Jing Shengming, “Completed construction and social characteristics of Nanjing before massacre by the Japanese troops”
- Yi Qing, “Reinvestigation of Investigation of the Photographic Proofs of the Nanjing Incident”
- Wang Yongzhong, “The Jinling University refugee camp during the Nanjing Massacre”
- Kazuharu Saito, “How has Nanjing Incident been taught in Japan and China? Centering around the descriptions in the textbooks”
- Cheng Zhaoqi, “From ‘the Tokyo Tribunal’ to the true Tokyo Tribunal”
- Harumi Watanabe, “Japanese court rulings on Nanjing Incident cases”
- Yan Haiqian, “Post-war sociological views of the tribunal on the Nanjing Massacre”
- Cao Dachen, “The legal status of police in the Japanese Consulate in Nanjing: Centering around activities of the consulate police during the Nanjing Massacre”
- Wang Xuan, “Current state of investigation on “the red leg disease” in Zhejiang Province and related international scholarship”
- Jiang Xiaoxing, “Analytical study of interviews on the Nanjing Massacre by Nanjing Party historians in 2007”
- Wang Weixing, “Positions and strategy of the Japanese troops and causes for the Nanjing Massacre”
- Meng Quoxiang, “Morale of the Japanese troops and cultural damage to Nanjing”
- Yang Xiaming, “A Study on the Atrocities by Japanese Soldiers at Nanjing from the Perspective of System Arrangement”
- Zhang Sheng, “Viewing the strategic choice of the Japanese troops through the case of the Nanjing Massacre”
- Su Zhiliang, “A visit to a comfort place of the Japanese troops: A sample study of Lijixiang Comfort Place”
- Zhu Shouyun, “Thoughts on the relationship between the Nanjing Massacre and the comfort women system”
- Shi Zhiyu, “Analysis of the causes of atrocities by the Japanese troops in Nanjing”

Viewing “December Hell: The Nanjing Sorrow”

Created, directed, and performed by Yoshiji Watanabe and Kazuko Yokoi



## Farewell dinner (Zhang Lianhong, Yang Xiaming, and Wu Xianbin, guests of honor)



Prof. Zhang Lianhong



Prof. Yang Xiaming



Mr. Wu Xianbin

## Participants and Audience

Main event: 65 from China, 24 from Japan, 3 from USA, and 1 from Germany, plus audience.

Scholars' symposium: 46 from China, 32 from Japan, plus audience (31 presenters).

Play: 300 in the audience, including 66 from Japan.

(plus reporters)

## Media Coverage

The event was reported by four Nanjing newspapers (some on the front page), Japanese national newspapers, and Nanjing radio and television. Organizers were interviewed by Norwegian television and U.S. public radio.

## Film and Photo Documentation

Filmed by a Chinese crew led by Wu Xuanbin and Alex Rudinsky from USA. Photos by Peter Cunningham from USA and Tsuyoshi Mieda from Japan.



## Web site and photo galleries

[www.hwhj.org/](http://www.hwhj.org/)

[www.wordwiseweb.com/2007/china/nanjing07/](http://www.wordwiseweb.com/2007/china/nanjing07/)

[www.flickr.com/photos/upaya/sets/72157603295060717/](http://www.flickr.com/photos/upaya/sets/72157603295060717/)

## Photo credit

Chen Qingfa, Peter Cunningham, Joan Halifax, Tsuyoshi Mieda, Nanjing Sino-Japanese War History Museum

## Background

In order to reflect the diversity of historical interpretations, we have selected these excerpts from Japanese and Chinese textbooks:

### Excerpt from a Japanese textbook, 1:

On the evening of July 7, 1937, an incident that someone shot at the Japanese troops in exercise took place at Hugouqiao in the suburb of Beijing. On the following morning, the Japanese were in combat with the Chinese Nationalist Party troops (the Hugouqiao Incident). A solution was sought on-the-spot, but the Japanese side ordered a large-scale dispatch of troops, and the Nationalist Party Government also ordered mobilization of troops. Following this, the Japan-China War went on for eight years.

In August of the same year, an incident that two Japanese soldiers were shot to death took place in Shanghai where foreign reservations are concentrated. Ignited by this occasion, a total war between Japan and China started. Hoping that taking Nanjing, the capital of the Nationalist Party Government, would make Chang Kaishek surrender, the Japanese troops occupied Nanjing. (At this time a large number of people were killed and injured by the Japanese troops: the Nanjing Incident.) [Note: The Tokyo Trial determined that the Japanese troops killed a great number of Chinese civilians when they occupied Nanjing in 1937 during the Japan-China War. Furthermore, some points of doubt based on evidences have been presented regarding reality of this incident, and debate continues even today.] –Atarashii Rekishi Kyokasho (New History Textbook), Mikiji Nijio, et al. Tokyo: Fusosha. 2001.

### Excerpt from a Japanese textbook, 2:

On July 7, at Hugouqiao in the suburb of Beiping (Beijing) an incident that Japanese and Chinese troops clashed with each other (the Hugouqiao Incident). A truce was reached on-the-spot, but with the intention to give a strike on China, subdue the movement to resist Japan, and obtain resources and market in Northern China, the Konoe Cabinet decided to dispatch troops, and called it “Northern China Incident.” After the battle spread to Shanghai in August (the Shanghai Incident), it was renamed “China Incident” in September, and Japan went into total invasion war against China without declaring war (Japan-China War).

In spite of the Japanese expectation that China would be subdued with a single strike, the resistance of China, forming a unified racial front-line against Japan, was strong. Japan poured a large number of troops and occupied Nanjing, the capital of the Nationalist Government, in December. At that time, the Japanese troops killed a great number of Chinese people, including surrendering soldiers and prisoners of war, engaged in depredations, arson, and criminal assaults, and were internationally accused for the Nanjing Massacre. The number of those, including combatants, who were killed, during the weeks before and after the occupation, is estimated as at least ten thousand or more. –Japanese History B, Kojiro Naoki. Tokyo: Jikkyo Publications, 1997.

### Excerpt from a Chinese textbook:

After the Hugouqiao Incident, the Japanese army amassed a great number of reinforcing troops and launched a large-scale campaign toward Beiping, Tianjin, Shanghai, and other regions. Japan depended on its military power and intended to fight and win quickly, destroying China in three months. At this critical time for the survival of the Chinese race, people in the entire country united and launched a collaborative campaign against invasion, which was unprecedented in modern Chinese history ...

In December 1937, the Japanese army occupied Nanjing. At that time, they killed unarmed citizens and prisoners of war by cruel methods, including shooting, burning, burying, cutting, and military dogs biting. This created extreme human misery—the Nanjing massacre... According to statistics the number of unarmed Nanjing residents and Chinese soldiers who had laid down weapons that the Japanese army slaughtered during the six weeks of its occupation of Nanjing, reached more than 300,000. The Nanjing massacre is one of the atrocities that the Japanese invading army inflicted on Chinese people. –History, vol. 1, the eighth grade. Beijing Normal University Press, 2001.

## Current news

<http://news.bbc.co.uk/go/em/fr/-/2/hi/asia-pacific/7140357.stm/>

<http://movies.nytimes.com/2007/12/12/movies/12nank.html/>

<http://www.historytoday.com/MainArticle.aspx?m=32474&amid=30252327/>

## Effects on Participants

The vivid and highly emotional recollections of two survivors painted in graphic detail the brutality inflicted by the invading troops in Nanjing. All participants were deeply shaken. Although the initial interaction between Chinese and Japanese participants was awkward and intellectualized, people interacted more openly as the conference progressed. At the massacre memorial site, some Japanese participants wailed and wept as they bowed their heads to the ground. A number of them sobbed while viewing the artworks and watching the play. They later talked about the cathartic release of long-repressed guilt.

Participants learned about the current thinking of thirty-one Chinese and Japanese historians, listening to their brief presentations and reading their papers at the symposium. A number of Chinese and Japanese people expressed their hope to continue the dialogue they had begun during the conference. Most Japanese participants said they wanted to return to Nanjing with friends for future gatherings.

## Excerpts from Participants' Reflections

Hiroko Yagi  
Psychology graduate student, 25  
Japan

On our visit to the Yanziji Massacre Memorial site, I empathized with the tremendous terror I imagined the Chinese victims had felt. Walking down the stone steps, I stood alone facing the Yangzi River. I wept in anger for those who had been killed. At that moment, I understood in a very visceral way that the massacre had indeed taken place.

After returning to Kyoto, I felt empty and powerless, as if my energy had been sucked away. I could not keep Nanjing out of my mind and felt like crying all the time. For the first time, from the bottom of my heart, I experienced the heaviness of the Nanjing massacre.

Unlike other Japanese participants, I was not yet able to maintain a clear sense of being a perpetrator as a Japanese. I understood it cognitively, but in actuality being a perpetrator myself did not make sense. I only saw cruelty against humanity. It was more difficult than I had expected to accept that it could be coming from me. However, when I was talking face-to-face with Chinese people, the guilt set in. All of a sudden the issue between nations turned into an issue between a person and a person.

The Chinese people who attended the conference were friendly. However, the day before leaving Nanjing, I went to town with Aya. I showed our destination to the taxi driver, a middle-aged man. He started driving and asked me in written Chinese characters (which Japanese people can often read): "Where are you from?" I wrote, "Japan." He immediately put his hand on his neck, gesturing decapitation with a sword. I understood what he was saying from the expression on his face. Then he wrote: "I don't like Japanese people." I was shocked but wanted to respond to him. I drew a picture of a person apologizing and wrote: "Went to Yanziji. I came to an international conference on the Nanjing massacre. Japanese people killed Chinese people." I continued: "Apology. Sad. Forgive." It looked like he nodded. I could not understand the last thing he said.

As we got out of the taxi, he stretched his hand out to me. We shook hands firmly. I was moved that he had offered his hand, as I had been afraid to do so. After Aya and I got out, I shook his hand again. He kissed my hand and I kissed his hand back. I felt like putting my hand on my heart. I was grateful but did not know how to express it.

I think, in this post-war generation, it is important to have this kind of conversation. However scared we may be, if we are determined to open our hearts and engage in honest dialogue with the Chinese, our relationship will evolve. This dialogue has just begun.

Joan Halifax, PhD  
Anthropologist, Zen master, 65  
USA

To say it was like attending a war crimes trial is an understatement. Listening to survivors of the massacre tell their stories was nearly unbearable. And it was heartbreaking to watch the Japanese participants cry in shame. Truly, you must read Iris Chang's book *The Rape of Nanjing*. It is gripping and terrifying. How could this have happened, a true holocaust in the cruelest sense, and so few in the world taken note? It blew my mind.

I went with Kaz to Nanjing three times to prepare for this gathering, but I had no idea of the magnitude of the atrocities until a few days ago when I heard survivors testify. To consider that some Japanese deny the massacre is absurd and disturbing. This conference provided a chance for truth to emerge and reconciliation to begin.

Kaz asked me to moderate the panel on rape as a weapon of war. Female Chinese scholars presented powerful evidence concerning torture, rape, and enslavement of Chinese women and children by Japanese soldiers. Japanese women spoke of the sexual and moral issues that beleaguer the sexist Japanese male culture.

It was a very long and heavy afternoon. We had already heard the survivors' testimony. To tell you the truth, I felt for the many Japanese men in the audience. The women did not hold back. I was relieved as a woman to hear such strength from my Asian sisters. It was a harrowing five hours of testimony--overwhelming and life-changing for me, as I had not known any horror as appalling as this.

Haruyoshi Fugaku Ito  
Shintaido instructor, 65  
Japan, Resident of USA

Listening to the survivors' testimony and Chinese scholars' presentation, I realized how superficial my understanding had been. The acts of Japanese soldiers were barbaric beyond belief--slaughtering surrendered soldiers; stealing food, clothes, and furniture; and committing sexual violence on women and girls. Chinese people see Japanese who refuse to apologize and try to rewrite history as cowards. Even those who appear to be pro-Japanese may feel this way deep in their hearts.

On the second day of the conference, we participants visited Yanziji, one of the massacre sites, for a memorial service with silence and flower offerings. When I looked down from the hill where the memorial monument was, I saw a decayed pier on the Yangzi Rivier. At the foot of the pier was a flat shady spot, from where a sandy beach extended. I guessed that this had been where Japanese soldiers swung their swords and shot their machine guns. I walked down while thinking about it. My whole body shook with terror. I heard and felt the screams from hell. I took off my shoes and coat, and sat on my knees. After one round of "Tenshin Goso" (a Shintaido movement), I put my hands on the ground, ready to take a formal bow. Then, my body shook again. I realized that the gesture of putting my forehead down mirrored the gesture of decapitation. It was then that I experienced the profound sin that I shared just by being Japanese.

Aya Kasai  
Expressive Arts Therapist, 33  
Japan, resident of USA

When I was young, I asked my grandpa, "Did you kill anyone during the war?" He said, "Hmmm...Aya, I don't remember because it happened such a long time ago." Then I asked my grandma, "Do you know if grandpa killed anyone

during the war?" Grandma said, "...I have no idea. He never told me." Then I asked my dad, "Do you think grandpa killed anyone during the war?" My dad said, "He never told me. But maybe he did...because that's what war is...so maybe he did." I was puzzled that no one seemed to know. So twenty years later, I decided to go to Nanjing to see for myself.

On the last day of the conference, we saw the play "December Hell: Nanjing Sorrow." As the hall was packed, I was going to stand and watch. Chinese students, however, insisted on giving me a seat. I was moved by their generosity.

In their powerful performance, the actors expressed the pain, sorrow, and rage of the victims of the atrocity. Students around me, who had discussed the massacre objectively in the previous sharing sessions, were all sobbing. I realized the ability of art to pull us from the intellectual into the visceral. Watching the play brought to the surface our anger at people who had committed brutalities and our empathy for those who had suffered by them. This experience transcended the boundaries of country and culture.

On my flight back from Beijing to Osaka, an eighty-two-year-old Japanese man was seated next to me. When I told him that I had just visited Nanjing, he said, "I have visited China over twenty times, and I want to go to Nanjing but haven't. It's difficult for someone of my generation to go there." He explained it was because of his sense of guilt. I told him that the people in Nanjing were waiting for us and talked to him about some of my experience at the conference.

He then told me he had been trained as a navy pilot during wartime. When he told me of his heartbreaking mission to fly an escort plane for suicide bombers, he shed tears. After telling me more stories of the war, he said, "I will try to visit Nanjing before I die."

When I got to the Osaka Airport and had a meal, all conversations around me sounded like Chinese. My train arrived at the station. I was impressed that it was so clean. Then the cleaning crew got onto the train and started cleaning inside the train, which was already spotless. Tears came out of me. I said to myself, "What are you trying to wipe off? However hard you may try, you can't." At that moment, I realized that I came back to the country where people are too afraid of looking into the ugliness of humanity. I was seized by a strong desire to go back to China.

I went to my parents' house and spread open my suitcase in my father's studio. Later, I saw a bare Japanese dagger placed on my clothes in the suitcase. I was startled and screamed at my father: "Why did you put a sword here? Take it away! Quick!" He had set the dagger on something soft while making a sheathe for it. As a martial artist, he owns about ten swords, all of which are kept shiny and sharp. When I saw the sword lying next to Iris Chang's book (*The Rape of Nanking*) and Dr. Noda's book (*War and Guilt*) in my suitcase, the heart of the problem hit me. In my own parents' home, real weapons are still hidden, ready to use. Japanese swords used in the Nanjing massacre are treasured and seen as beautiful. A sword, in a photograph, that was held by my grandfather, who was a military police officer in China during the war. A sword set in my suitcase. Everything seemed a symptom of our nation not facing its own history. It was like seeing jigsaw-puzzle come together. I was one of the puzzle pieces as well. At that moment, I got sick and could not get up.

That night, I tried to heal myself with a breathing exercise. Then I saw the image of a luminous pink rose opening within me. It was beautiful, but it made me unbearably sad. I wanted to scream but wept silently instead. The image of the rose kept coming back to me. It told me that I would be OK. I soon realized this rose symbolized the part of my heart that blossomed and grew to love the Chinese people during the conference. This love was the origin of my deep motivation to face history. The next morning I felt stronger and started making plans to go back to China, so that I could continue this growth.

Haruhiko Murakawa, PhD  
Psychology professor, 44  
Japan

The week I spent participating in the Nanjing conference has been the experience of a lifetime. I am thankful to everyone who joined me on the journey. I am especially grateful to Kaz who, with unwavering determination, has step-

by-step built a trusting relationship with our Chinese friends for the past seven years. Also I thank Tsuyoshi Mieda who encouraged me not to give up.

Throughout the trip, I had many vivid experiences. I was overtaken by the sensation that mounds of corpses were lying at my feet. At the same time, however, I felt clarity and release. In facing the deepest darkness and brightest light, I felt my humanity emerge.

Heinz-Jürgen Metzger  
Zen teacher, peace activist, 55  
Germany

The Japanese who came to Nanjing were willing to be fully present. On the first morning we went to a place near the banks of the Yangzi River, where thousands of Chinese had been killed. This place had been praised for its beauty over the centuries. Now, there is a monument commemorating the killing that took place only some meters away. The monument is protected by a traditional roof resting on three pillars. Leading up to it is a path of stone steps. One after another, we walked up the steps and offered a flower. The Japanese participants then covered the steps with white linen. They took off their shoes and walked to the monument again, bowing down to the ground and mourning for a long time.

Later, some of them admitted that they had been afraid to come to Nanjing, and that it had been a struggle to just be there. But the ceremony at the monument had changed their feelings. Through bearing witness and acknowledging the darkest side of their history, the Japanese participants were able to find inner peace. I had a similar experience participating in retreats at former concentration camps in Auschwitz-Birkenau (Poland) and Weimar-Buchenwald (Germany).

The afternoon following the memorial service was dedicated to the suffering of women during the Japanese invasion. Tens of thousands of women were raped in Nanjing and many of them were killed in ways too painful to imagine. Having heard so many stories about rape and murder—not only in Nanjing but also in Serbia, Dharfur, and other places—it is difficult for me to see those rapes and killings as parts of particular wars. Should we not see these acts as part of the ongoing war of men against women? How is this war manifesting itself in our everyday lives? What can we do to end it?

Mayumi Oda  
Artist, 66  
Japan, resident of USA

My road to Nanjing was long. Japan surrendered when I was four years old. Throughout my childhood I had many painful post-war experiences. They shape my life even now. I didn't want to think about war at all, and strongly resisted going to Nanjing. I was not ready to fathom the depth and weight of all that had happened there. A year earlier, I had bought an air ticket but could not bring myself to go. In 2007 came the seventieth anniversary. It occurred to me that there would be fewer and fewer survivors. When I thought of *their* tragic childhood experiences, I finally pushed myself to make the trip.

From the windows of the express train from Shanghai to Nanjing, I saw mounds of raw black peat. This reminded me of the campaigns conducted by the Japanese imperial troops to occupy coal and iron mines on the Chinese continent. Coal was an initial motivation for the bloody battles our fathers and grandfathers fought. What on earth could I do in Nanjing? I just wanted to listen deeply to the Chinese people and take in their sorrow and anger.

There is a memorial site for the Nanjing massacre at Yanziji on the Yangzi River, from where one can view a picturesque landscape. I saw the vast river, cargo ships carrying coal, willow trees and vegetable fields spread on the shore. How could it be that in such a beautiful village so much slaughtering had taken place? Only seventy years earlier, our

fathers and grandfathers inflicted unthinkable brutalities. Countless swollen corpses washed up on that very shore. I felt a burst of terror and lamentation and started sobbing from the bottom of my body.

In front of the Yanziji massacre memorial site, we Japanese participants laid out white linens, bowed down on them, and apologized. We bore bouquets of flowers, embraced one another, and cried. Unstoppable tears dropped onto the bouquet of blue-purple lotus flowers I had bought at a florist's across the street from the Nanjing Normal University.

Wars are harmful to women, children, and the earth. China is the mother of our Japanese culture, and when the Japanese invaded China, they raped their mother's womb. There must have been something in the samurai code that encouraged them to devalue life and glorify brutality. Violence within us may not be so far removed from the cruelty committed by the Japanese imperial army. In my mind, the Nanjing massacre has taught us to understand the collective responsibility we must bear.

My visit to Nanjing helped open the door to my heart, previously paralyzed in the practicality of daily life. Only when we remember the tragedy of war, can our souls be liberated. Having returned from my journey, I now feel the possibility of freedom for the future.

Do Japanese people consider Nanjing simply a way of "getting even" after being victimized by the battles of Okinawa, the great air raid of Tokyo, and atom bombs on Hiroshima and Nagasaki? The Japanese government neither self-examined the Sino-Japanese war, nor took full responsibility for it. Instead, it reconstructed Japan under the umbrella of U.S. nuclear weapons and commercial trade. The people of Japan made a convicted war criminal their prime minister. They promoted the staff researchers of Unit 731, who conducted living human experiments in China. It is here that the root of post-war societal distortion lies.

Japanese young people who have not been taught the truth may distance themselves from young Chinese. We need to take them to the massacre sites, reflect on our country's history with China, and discuss how to reconcile our past and live together in the future.

Chen Qinfa, PhD

Researcher in Chinese-Japanese relations history  
China

I teach Japanese history, Sino-Japanese relations, and modern world history at the Jianxi Normal University. I thought I knew Japanese people. However, in participating in this international conference, I came to know them in a whole new way.

I don't remember how many times Haruhiko Murakawa—the leader of the group—was filled with tears. I can't quite remember how many times Kazuaki Tanahashi embraced people in the American way. And I no longer remember how many times. Mayumi Oda cried.

The conference was filled with many moving moments. Kuniko Muramoto discussed war from a wide perspective through her experience as a psychologist for twenty years. Kazuyuki Kusayanagi, a psychologist, played his original piano piece "Toward a World Without Domestic Violence." Takashi Tsumura talked about his experiences visiting China over one hundred fifty times. Kazuko Yokoi and Yoshiji Watanabe cried when they bowed to the bronze statue of Minnie Vantrín. Alex Rudinski told me about his father's suffering as a victim of World War II. He shed tears again after the art exhibition.

I am furious about the Nanjing massacre, the Sino-Japanese war, and every war that is happening today. The victims' suffering breaks my heart.

I thank everyone who came to China. Your words and actions have touched me. I will be with you on the next step of the journey.

Alex Rudinsky  
Artist, filmmaker, 50  
USA

I was the American filmmaker at the conference. Since I do not speak Chinese or Japanese and was filming (rather than listening to the translations), I had little idea what the participants were saying. I could, however, get an energetic sense of what was going on. For example, when the male survivor gestured being cut on the hand and getting stabbed in the side with a bayonet, it was obvious to me what he was talking about. The female survivor also elicited many strong emotional responses among the members of the audience. Many were visibly saddened and shocked; some were crying. It was easy to read the shame on people's faces.

After I returned and looked at my footage, these scenes all came back to me in a fresh way. But looking at Wu Xianbin's footage, I saw what I had missed. While I had been documenting in a way that acknowledged people's personal space, Mr. Wu had set aside those boundaries, getting close-ups that captured their emotional intensity.

I am truly impressed with Mr. Wu's camera work. What he brought to the project was a consummate skill and an instinct for extracting the essence of each shot. Mr. Wu possessed the qualities of a feature film photographer who takes many shots in order to get the best image. And yet, he did this in real time one frame after another! He took the skills of fine art cinematography and applied them to documentary filmmaking.

As a portrait painter, I understand the importance of composition. This made me especially appreciate Mr. Wu's artistic eye. For example, when the Japanese were placing flowers one after another at the top of the Yanziji Memorial, he positioned the camera so that each face and body would fill 50% of the frame and the flowers 25%, with onlookers in the distant background interspersed among the rocks on the hillside. The visual elements were therefore arranged in proportion to their emotional power. His brilliance, though not obvious to many people, was consistent and automatic. We were tremendously lucky to have him film this event.

In 1968, I was living in Czechoslovakia when the Soviet invasion took place. I lived there for the following two years. This experience helped me understand the long-term impact of occupation on the country, families, and individuals. As part of life's journey, I wanted to document the "Remembering Nanjing" conference so that others could become aware of the consequences of such a horrific event. I also wanted to witness the liberation and hope that catharsis can bring.

I am extremely grateful to have participated in this project. It is not often in our everyday work lives that we are able to express emotions such as anger, shame, sadness, and remorse—not only in a personal way, but also in a social and historical one. This endeavor for genuine reconciliation between Chinese and Japanese can become a metaphor for healing all of us, and healing the world.

Kuniko Muramoto, PhD  
Professor of Clinical Psychology, 46  
Japan

I had long wanted to go to Nanjing. For over twenty years, I had counseled people affected by domestic violence and brutal sex crimes secretly committed in Japanese homes. I came to the belief that we could get at the root of these problems by looking at what had happened in Nanjing.

I was appalled to learn that the Unit 731 researchers, who had conducted living human experiments in China during World War II, were still highly influential in the current Japanese medical field. This information was recently revealed during the Midorijuji Medical Group scandal around AIDS medicine.

If we study the source of sex slavery in the Japanese army, the trail leads from Shanghai to Nanjing. I learned that soon after World War II, the suspect of a serial rape murderer—later sentenced death—confessed that he had committed "somewhat extraordinary rapes" during the Shanghai Incident, stabbing women with his bayonet and pulling fetuses out of pregnant women.

For some years, I did my own studies on war atrocities and attended related meetings but was not ready to go to

Nanjing. This time, however, overtaken by a mysterious power, I decided to make the leap and bear witness. My first goal was to take what I understood intellectually and feel it deep down in my heart.

Growing up, I repeatedly heard stories about the great air raid of Tokyo in 1945. My mother had experienced its cruelty first hand. As a self-preservation mechanism, I had always regarded war as something that had happened long time ago and had nothing to do with me. Whenever I heard people talking about war, I became numb. I could understand it intellectually but could not feel it. However, as I grew older and developed my life's work, I came to harbor hope in the human capacity to heal and live with dignity, even after a history of brutal victimization. I finally became ready to face the crimes of my country's past.

As I reread my source materials in preparation for my trip, I began to understand the survivors' stories more deeply than before. Through the windows of the train from Shanghai to Nanjing, I saw Japanese soldiers swarming like ants and mounds of dead Chinese bodies burned in mass immolations.

I wanted to have the full Nanjing experience, take it in, and process it. I entered the city. We who participated in the conference listened to the stories of the survivors and saw photographs of the atrocities at the War History Museum. These stories and images were mostly familiar, and yet they shocked me on a deep level. I was particularly appalled by the story of blood that froze in mid-air and shattered when it hit the ground. What a sight!

I also did not know that Japanese troops laid out thousands of Chinese corpses in the river to use them as a bridge. When the weather became warm in March, these bodies rotted, saturating the city with an unbearable smell. This image hit me hard. In fact, most of the Japanese participants suffered from headaches, body pains, fevers, or vomiting. Learning about brutal actions itself become a trauma. We all empathized profoundly with the victims.

One of the survivors said, "The Japanese troops were very, very bad." These words made me want to cover my eyes and ears. But I realized we must listen; we must see.

In the photography exhibit at the museum—among cruel scenes of dismembered bodies, mutilated women's sexual organs, and mountains of naked corpses—were photographs of smiling Japanese soldiers. They are our fathers, grandfathers, and great grandfathers. They came back to the charred remains of our country and rebuilt post-war Japan, where we were born and raised. In that moment, the last piece of the puzzle snapped into place. I finally accepted that I was a Japanese through and through; a member of the society that had, in the past, victimized a people. This opened a pathway for me to bring the victims' shame, wrath, and sorrow into my heart.

On the second day of the conference, we visited a massacre site at Yanziji and held a memorial service. It was an unbelievably beautiful place on the Yangzi River. Together with other Japanese people, I cried and cried. In our heartfelt apology, we connected to one another. It was as if the ice in my heart had melted. The numbness had vanished, and instead the image of a tiny green bud emerged. I realized that this kind of emotional breakthrough would be the only way to put an end to the vicious cycle of drug addiction and self-destructive behavior that now plagues the next generation of young Japanese.

Although the Nanjing massacre took place before I was born, I live in an extension of the past. There is no other way for me to live than to face my past without looking away.

The Chinese people we met were warm and kind. Though I sensed strongly that they were suspicious of the Japanese tendency to deny or underestimate the Nanjing massacre, they saw our sincerity and treated us with respect. A young graduate student said, "I hated Japanese people until today. But my feelings have changed. I want to talk with young Japanese. If I write letters, would you give them to some students? I want to correspond with them. We can become friends if they acknowledge the past and we talk about it."

Another young Chinese student said, "China takes history seriously. China and Japan have maintained a friendly relationship since ancient times." I also learned the Chinese expression: "Only a narrow channel of water divides us." Hearing this, I felt the vastness of the continent and the openness of its people. Our society needs to nurture young people who are equally ready to work in this way.

It was a tough and painful journey, but fortunately I could return with clarity and optimism. How nourishing the experience had been! It was a small but significant step in the right direction. I plan to continue in this direction and help develop future projects with my Japanese travel companions. I want to dedicate the rest of my life to this cause.

## Artist Statement

Exhibition: “Sino-Japanese War: Reflections and Remorse”

Kazuaki Tanahashi  
Artist, writer, 74  
Japan, resident of USA

Lasting peace is only possible with trust. Trust is only possible with genuine friendship. Genuine friendship is only possible by sharing knowledge and emotion about the painful past.

The atrocity inflicted upon the Chinese people by the Japanese troops between 1937 and 1945 was enormous in scale and brutal in methods, unprecedented in world history. We, the two peoples, need to examine the history together and find the best way to heal from the tragedy.

I was four years old when the war started and eleven years old when it ended. By living in Japanese society and partaking of Japanese education, I participated in the war. It is extremely heartbreaking to learn and express my understanding about what my predecessors did to the innocent people in China and others in East Asia and the Pacific. This artwork is an honest expression of my understanding and feeling about the Sino-Japanese war. I hope it will serve as a step toward further understanding among those who are concerned with war, peace, and friendship.



## Playwright's Statement

Play: “December Hell: Nanjing Sorrow”

Yoshiji Watanabe  
Playwright, actor, 60  
Japan

My wife Kazuko and I visited Nanjing for the first time in 2001. As soon as we joined hands at the massacre site on the Yangzi River, I saw red. Seized by an enormous headache, I heard voices groaning from underground. I realized that the souls of those who had been slaughtered were still wandering the Yangzi River, unable to rest in peace. At that moment, I made a commitment to look deeper into the Nanjing massacre. Born in 1947, I did not experience war myself. In my home, however, the war continued even after Japan had surrendered.

In 1934, my father volunteered to be a military officer in the “Nation of Manchuria,” established by the invading Japan. He fought, captured, and killed Chinese who were “anti-Manchuria” and “resisting Japan.” After the war, he escaped to Japan but was convicted as a C-class war criminal. When I was small, he was often frightened and would jump up out of his bed in the middle of the night. Every time I saw him do this, my heart froze and my body tensed. My parents’ relationship deteriorated. My father would yell at my mother and beat her up for no reason. After he went to bed, she sobbed and said, “I want to be separated from your father.” Every time she was assaulted, she would say, “I am only a beast.” When I was thirty-five, she hanged herself.

I came to believe that our family had committed great crimes. Because of this, we could—and in fact should—never be happy. Someday we would receive retribution for our crimes.

In 1991, Kazuko and I visited the former Manchuria, the Northeast Region of China. A photograph we saw in Changchun determined our future forever. In it, a Japanese officer holding a sword was smiling. At his foot was the raw, decapitated head of a young Chinese man. This young man’s expression choked me. Suddenly I made the connection between this photograph and the crimes my father had committed. The lingering resentment of the murdered Chinese people had dictated our family’s daily lives after the war. These victims had grabbed us without letting go.

The Nanjing massacre is the epitome of invasion and devastation. We, the Japanese, inflicted horrific atrocities upon China. These atrocities are still manifesting themselves today. I aspire to keep facing my own guilt for the rest of my life. The play, “December Hell: Nanjing Sorrow” represents Kazuko’s and my confession and remorse.

## **Future Plans**

Prof. Haruhiko Murakawa, Prof. Kuniko Muramoto, and their colleagues plan to bring dozens of Japanese students to Nanjing in 2008. Some Japanese participants have started discussion on building a memorial monument in Nanjing on the Yangzi River by the people of Japan. Presented papers of the academic symposium, as well as film and photo images, will be published.

## **Sponsors**

Nanjing Friendship Fund (NFF), Nanjing

(Prof. Zhang Lianhong of Nanjing Normal University, President NFF)

Nanjing Normal University Research Center for the Nanjing Massacre

The Japanese Committee for the International Conference “Remembering Nanjing”

NFF Japanese Branch

NFF U.S. Branch

The Japanese Committee for the International Symposium: The 70th Anniversary of the Nanjing Incident

Nanjing University Institute of Chinese History Studies

China Lawyers Association

Nanjing Lawyers Association

A World Without Armies

## New Friendship, Continuing Friendship



Kuniko Muramoto, Wang Xuan, Joan Halifax, Mayumi Oda



Wang Chunhang and Aya Kasai



Mayumi Oda and Luo Cuicui



Alex Rudinsky and Wu Xianbin



Masashi Minagawa, Zhang Lianhong, Alex Rudinsky



Zhang Lianhong and Kazuaki Tanahashi embracing



Haruhiko Murakawa, Chen Qingfa, Mayumi Oda



Chinese and Japanese participants near the Confucius Temple

## **How This Conference Took Shape**

In 1996, Haruhiko Murakawa organized “Asian World Work” in San Francisco, a workshop led by psychologists, Arnold and Amy Mindell, to discuss the effects of the atrocities inflicted by the Japanese troops. The following year Joan Halifax and Kazuaki Tanahashi participated in the Auschwitz retreat organized by Bernie Glassman and the Zen Peacemaker Order. Then, in 2000, they met Zhang Lianhong, Yang Xiaming, and other historians in Nanjing. Together they established the Nanjing Friendship Fund. Since then, Tanahashi has visited Nanjing every year to prepare for the conference with his Chinese colleagues. In 2006, Haruhiko Murakawa founded the Japanese Committee for the International Conference “Remembering Nanjing.” That year, at Zhang Lianhong’s suggestion, the conference became linked to the academic symposium.

## **Funding**

Funds for operating the conference were raised by the sponsors in China, Japan, USA, and Europe. Grants were given by the Flow Fund (USA) and A World Without Armies.

## **The role of AWWA**

Kazuaki Tanahashi, founding director of A World Without Armies, collaborated with the Chinese organizers from the early stages of planning for the conference. AWWA also provided some of the operating funds.

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## **Call for Support**

AWWA is the only international citizens’ organization in the world that focuses on demilitarization of nations. Your support is crucial for actualizing a world without war in a practical, step-by-step way.

The Nanjing Friendship Fund endeavors to promote scholarly studies on the Nanjing Massacre and provide services to victims and their families. (You can send your donations to AWWA to be transferred to the Nanjing Friendship Fund.)

Please send your tax-deductible donation to A World Without Armies.

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