

Generational Transmission of War Trauma and
Approaches to Reconciliation and Restoration
“Remembering Nanjing 2011”

日中の戦後世代を対象にした
新たな東アジア型歴史・平和教育プログラム開発
～ Healing the Wounds of History による平和構築～

Preface

This is a report and thoughts on “Remembering Nanjing 2011 - Chains between Generations Regarding the Wounds of War and Seeking the Possibility of Reconciliation and Restoration of Relationships”, a 4-day seminar held from October 5th to 8th in 2011. The report regarding “Remembering Nanjing 2009” (held in October 2009) is available on the following website for your reference.

http://www.ritsumeihuman.com/hsrc/resource/19/open_research19.html

The seminar was held in 3 different languages. Unfortunately, due to time restrictions, some documents and translations were not completed in time. Also, there may have been slight nuance differences and possibly mistakes in the translations and interpreting. Participants’ opinions include those in the workshops, and there may be differences in opinions or views depending on the writer. Even when we share the same event, different people acting as recipients sometimes views the event differently. Add in interpreting and translations, further complications can occur and even be enhanced. However, we can say that a small history has been constructed, despite these mistakes. In any case, conducting the seminar and publishing this booklet would not be possible without the interpreters and other participants who undertook various roles and contributed to the program while attending the workshop, which was a collaborative work that surpassed national boundaries. There are many assignments left for us, but I would like to believe these processes themselves will lead to peace.

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Kuniko Muramoto

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Part 1: Keynote Speech and Records

“Remembering Nanjing: From Negative Legacy to Sharing of Positive Resources”

Zhang Lianhong

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(This English article was translated from the original transcribed text in Chinese to Japanese and then to English. Because of this, the interpreter is solely responsible for any misrepresentation of the original document.)

I'm going to give a brief talk about the Nanjing Massacre. This is a challenge for me. One reason is that I lack experience, even though I have done it once in 2009. Another reason is that the people present today are not only from the field of history studies, but from psychology and other fields. So it is a challenge for me to think about how to integrate history, psychology and other disciplines and to present. Since Ms. Muramoto and Mr. Volkas asked me to do this last night, I have been thinking about what to report. The theme that came to me was “From negative Nanjing to the sharing of Positive Resources.” I plan to present two things. First I will give an overview of what Chinese people think of the massacre. I think there are three stages in how Chinese people think about the massacre in the aftermath.

1. Three Stages of the Memory of the Second Sino-Japanese War

The first stage is the eight years during The Sino-Japanese War after the Massacre. Immediately after the Massacre, there were reports by media journalists who fled from the center of where the Massacre took place.

At that time, a book became available in the Chinese military. This book was put together by a foreigner, H.J. Timperley (Japanese Terror in China). It seems that this book was widely spread in the Chinese military. During the entire eight years,

the memory of the Chinese people was filled with passion for resisting Japanese militarism. In another words, publicizing the records of Nanjing Massacre, had a purpose of evoking the motivation within the Chinese military and citizens, to resist the Japanese military. So the media at the time disseminated about the Nanjing Massacre. But in 1945, that is post-war, Chiang Kaishek (Jiang Jieshi) employed a slogan 以德報怨 (injury should be recompensed with kindness) and advocated to the public to forgive the past. Chiang Kaishek surveyed the Nanjing Massacre widely but approached The Tokyo Tribunal and The Nanjing Tribunal with the stance of tolerance about the Nanjing Massacre. In any case, he did the trials under the stance of trying to forgive the war criminals. Because of that, the number of war criminals tried seriously was very small.

After that, in 1949, the People's Republic of China founded by the Chinese Communist Party, also had the stance of forgiveness toward war crimes in Japan in the past. In fact, from 1949 to 1982, the Chinese government had the attitude that Chinese and Japanese citizens should be friendly towards one another. The Chinese government and Chinese people continued to hold this stance that the Massacre was committed by the few militarists, and was not committed by the Japanese public. The Chinese government considered separately the people who made the Nanjing Massacre and the ordinary citizens.

Therefore, in 1972, after the restoration of China-Japan relations and the heading towards friendliness, many survivors protested against the Chinese government. However the Chinese government at the time, in many different fields, repressed the protest of the Massacre Survivors. The Chinese government stood on the high ground and with the viewpoint of "China-Japan relations for future friendship," suppressed things that would hinder friendly relations.

In short, from 1945 to 1982, Chiang Kaishek's Nationalist China, and the communist's Republic of China, both had a generous forgiving attitude toward China and Japan's relationship, and communicated the attitude of working towards peace for the future.

However, in 1982, when the Japanese textbook issue arose, the Chinese peo-

ple's stance towards the past started changing. It is because when the textbook issue arose, with the right wing's attitude of denying history, and when the Japanese media also disseminated that the Nanjing Massacre was fabricated, Chinese people, especially citizens in Nanjing, learned about these and felt that their memories were betrayed. They started having the feeling of rage towards the Japanese right-wing. With this background history, the survivors of the massacre asked restitution from the Japanese government. In 1985, the Memorial Hall of the Victims in Nanjing Massacre was built due to Chinese people's advocacy. Then, younger Chinese people started conducting acts of hatred. The comments about Japan on the internet in the past 20 years have given full expression to the enormous change of Chinese people's reaction on The Nanjing Massacre. Currently, we can say that the Nanjing Massacre became a symbol of the malicious acts committed by the Japanese.

These are the three stages of the Chinese people's memory. The first stage is the 8 years during the Sino-Japanese War, the second stage is from 1945 to 1982, and the third stage is from 1982 to present. The three stages represent the change in the Chinese people's remembrance toward the war.

2. Two Stages of Memory from the Perspective of History Research

Next I will talk about the Nanjing Massacre from a history-study point of view. Until 1982, almost no academic research had been done in China on the Massacre. The thirty-year history of the historical research on the Nanjing Massacre can be divided into three phases. The first phase is from 80's to 2000. During this period, most research focused on proving the Massacre truly happened. The reason is that the right wing researcher proposed that "The Nanjin Massacre was fabricated and it didn't exist" and denied the fact. The Chinese scholars then worked to prove that "it happened." The Japanese and Chinese scholars were in conflict with each other. In China the discussion was around the number of the victims, 300,000. The point was to reveal the cruel ways of the Japanese military. Many of the descriptions were emotional. Looking at the results of the research, historical materials seem limited and there were many points of argument. In the field of history study in China at

the time, there was a word 以論代史 to describe the characteristic of such research, which means to make much assertion on the points in place of the historical materials. They established the point first and then looked for the historical materials to support that point. Another characteristic is that many studies were conducted from the point of view of the victims. When you look at the research of the time, if you could translate a research into English and asked an English speaking person to guess who wrote the anonymous research, the person could guess that it was probably written by a Chinese person. The characteristic of this kind of research is that the standpoint of the researcher is very strongly reflected in the research.

But in the year 2000, I think the atmosphere of the field of the Nanjing Massacre study shifted in a big way. One big shift was that the focus was placed upon collecting the historical materials of the Nanjing Massacre. Since 2000, lead by Zhang Xianwen of Nanjing University, Nanjing Normal University, Nanjing University and science research institutes in Nanjing worked hard to collect the historical materials of the Nanjing Massacre. As a result of their efforts, by June 2011, seventy-two volumes, fifty million words of the historical records were published. Seventy two volumes included not only the Chinese data but also much data from Japan. The data was collected from the United States, Germany, Italy, and many other countries. Based on this massive amount of historical data, the view and the stance of the historical material began to change.

Firstly, the researchers organized the argument points based on the historical data. Because of this, their research is much more objective. Some research even takes on the Japanese standpoint. It is becoming quite common not to disregard the data that supports the Japanese standpoint but to look at the historical facts from many different perspectives. So the current research on the Nanjing Massacre is also becoming more objective and rational.

The topic of the research also varies and they are changing. There are now very few researchers who argue focused on the numbers. There are also very few researchers who focus on the viewpoint of the Japanese right wing. There is now almost no atmosphere of conflict in the academic realm. Many researchers are now able to go

beyond their Chinese standpoint and conduct research from more objective points of view. Therefore, when we remove the names of the researchers now from the studies, it is no longer possible to identify whether a Chinese person wrote the research. The researchers have now become more able to stand on a more global standpoint.

Now, in China, the Nanjing Massacre researchers' point of view is able to go beyond nation and think about how to avoid massacre in war. The studies have shifted from studying about who the victims were and who the perpetrators were, to how we can avoid the human atrocity brought on by war. I think this is a wonderful thing. In addition, if the victims and the perpetrators transcended beyond their standpoint and to have the intention of healing the historical trauma, I think perhaps it is possible that this historical trauma can be healed with everyone's effort. From this point of view, history research can be a great way to realize the important of reconciliation. The shift in the change of the history research atmosphere in China became possible with many of the Japanese researchers' support. Professor Kanemaru who is present here, and Professor Kasahara and other history researchers' collaboration is the great resource for the study of reconciliation. It is my hope that the study of history takes a high standpoint in humanity, and will be conducted for the purpose of finding out, for the sake of humanity, how we can avoid war.

3. How to Heal Historical Trauma from a Psychological Perspective

The third point is that from a psychological point of view, how to heal the trauma. I have interviewed many survivors. Personally speaking, I believe that therapeutic intervention is badly needed. I want the healing to happen as soon as possible. I researched a few hundred survivors and I know how deep their trauma is. But I am a history researcher. When I face their pain, their suffering, and their trauma, I feel powerless.

After contacting many scholars and the general population in Japan, I realize that the war not only affected the victims in China but Japanese veterans and the public.

In 1990, I went to a conference in Tokyo for the first time. I talked to many

volunteers working at the venue and suggested that they come to Nanjing. Most of them answered in the same way, “I’m too afraid to go there.” I sense that many Japanese people have the same feeling. During the event in 2009, a Japanese student expressed a similar fear, but he was able to feel peace again after attending the meeting. The Japanese veterans are now old and there are two types. One type regrets what they had done in China and have the feeling of apology. But the others are the type we see at the Yasukuni Shrine. They are proud of what they had done and still muse over memories of the past. I believe these two opposite types of veterans are all affected by the trauma in war. I have invited three veterans to the Nanjing Normal University in the past. Here, they have talked about the past.

Among them is 本多立太郎 (Ryutarō Honda). He has testified more than a thousand times. He told our students many things. Another person is Kenzaburō Ōe, he is a winner of the Nobel Prize of literature. I have read some of his work. It was on the Hiroshima bombing. When he came here, he had a deep dialogue exchange with us as a person from a perpetrating nation.

I have also met an old man who retired and came to Nanjing to establish a company. He is making many efforts in order to pass along stainless steel technology to China for free. While he was working, he was swindled of two-million yen. But he thought, “I have committed wrong doings in the past so this is a retribution.” A newspaper article recently reported the following. In China, there was a movie called the Nanjing Massacre. An old Japanese man 久保恵三郎 Keizaburo Kubo who played Iwane Matsui in that movie recently visited the Nanjing Massacre Memorial Museum and knelt before the stone sculpture of a Chinese woman and apologized. The woman whom the sculpture was made after died on October 1st, the day before yesterday. He honored her memory by expressing apology.

In fact there are many acts committed out of this feeling of apology. I cannot name all of them now but when I see that I think about the following. The Nanjing Massacre happened seventy-four years ago, but these stories prove to us the trauma left by that incident continues to remain in people, even those who have never physically experienced the war. When we look at trauma in those people, I think we have

to think about what we should do to heal the trauma.

Lastly, I would like to pose a question. This workshop is very small but the problems we face are enormous. I hope this event becomes a catalyst for solving this enormous issue. The work most important in this workshop is shown in the playback. When we face the person, we look in the eyes of each other and see that we are not Japanese or Chinese but human beings. For the next four-days, it would be important, just as the playback, for us to have the attitude of sharing the expressions.

Remembering Nanjing 2011-Program Flow

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Remembering Nanjing 2011 was held at Nanjing Normal University in Nanjing, China from October 5th to October 8th and was facilitated by Armand Volkas using Healing the Wounds of History (HWH) approach. This writer acted as an interpreter with Eddy Yu and many others, and at times participated in the exercises. The effects each of the exercises had on the participants and their impressions will have to be brought to light by interviewing the participants in the future. Here, I will briefly describe the flow of the workshop and the exercises using my own impressions.

Healing the Wounds of History (HWH)

Healing the wounds of History is a reconciliation method created by Armand Volkas for the descendents of the Holocaust and the Third Reich to overcome their historical legacy. It utilizes drama and expressive arts therapy and is applied to various groups in conflicts. HWH is based on concepts such as collective trauma, generational transmission of trauma, the effects of the cultural and national identity on individual's self-esteem (Volkas, 2010) This method include 6 steps of reconciliation (1. Breaking the taboo, 2. Recognizing each other's humanity, 3. Realizing the potential perpetrator within each of us, 4. Sharing grief, 5. Acts of cooperation through ritual, creation and performance, 6. Transformation of trauma into acts of service or creativity.) These steps may not necessarily occur in order. First, a dialogue workshop is conducted in a small group and then ritual or performance is organized to share the effects of the workshop with the wider community. Volkas often utilizes

playback theatre performance to achieve this effect. In the current effort, playback theatre performance was conducted with the help of Chinese and Japanese theatre companies. Playback theatre is an interactive theatre in which the tellers' story and audiences voices are played back improvisationally by the actors. It is a modality for empathy and understanding.

Participants

People who participated throughout the four days were mainly; 10 students and graduates of universities in Nanjing, specializing in history, psychology, and Japanese; 1 teacher; 6 people from Guangzhou, 2 people from Hong-Kong. Non-student participants' occupations varied from education, human-service, finance, and arts. From Japan, there were two Chinese students, one resident Korean from Japan, 18 Japanese including university students, graduate students, professionals, teachers, and researchers. Some areas of their specialization included, psychology, human-service, economics, education, anthropology, and the arts. There were also Nanjing Normal University faculty and staff who found time in their busy schedule to attend parts of the workshop. Altogether there were about 40 participants with the majority being students. In HWH, it is ideal to have an equal number of participants from the groups in conflict. So this was achieved with the cooperation of the participating universities. Over twenty participants came from outside Nanjing and stayed in the accommodation facility inside the University where the workshop was conducted.

| October 5, Program Day 1

In the early morning, many of the participants from Japan visited the memorial Hall of the Victims of the Nanjing Massacre. In order to save more time for the workshop, participants were asked to visit the museum on their own. As a result most Japanese participants had then witnessed the museum before the beginning of the workshop.

Morning: Introduction

After the welcome, Dr. Zhang Lianhong presented on the history of the memory of the Nanjing Massacre. During the lecture, playback actors played back elements of the lecture as well as some of the participants feedback. The Chinese participants shared their anticipation, questions and statements and this was expressed through playback. It seemed that the dialogue was already beginning.

Afternoon: HWH Workshop

Warm-up exercise

Name and movement: Expressing how you feel in the moment using name and movement. When one person expresses, the whole group mirrors back.

Imaginary object: Passing an imaginary object around the circle such as a lighted matchstick, a goldfish taken out of its fish bowl. Participants begin to get used to acting. Sometimes the matchstick goes out. The fish will die out of water and the participants naturally had to work together to pass it around fast. Laughter occurs when someone lights a cigarette, and when the fish is dropped on the floor.

Sound ball: One person throws an imaginary ball with a sound, another person receives the ball and repeats the sound, and then throws it to someone else with the new sound attached. The ball then increases in number to 2 and 3. This exercise encourages participants to use their voices as well as to be active in their communication.

Here to there: Acting and moving, participants go from one end of the room the other one by one. Through this exercise, participants become more accustomed to having their expression being witnessed in the group.

Here to there in pairs: In pairs, participants start an improvisational act without consulting each other and walk from one end of the room to the other. This exercise encourages participants to work spontaneously with another person.

Role play: In pairs, participants enact assigned roles for 30 seconds. Some of the roles include:

A passport control officer/A suspicious tourist

A school principal/A child who has done something
A person on a diet/Attractive dessert
Blank computer screen/A person with a writer's block
A dragon/A knight
Shy 4-year-olds in the park

This exercise seems to allow the participants to use imagination and creativity to enact the themes related to conflict, power, awkwardness, with imagination and humor. Participants all act at the same time so there is less risk of embarrassment and it draws out their childlike qualities. Even with the language barrier, many participants seemed able to communicate using their facial expression, gesture and tone of their voice.

Line repetition: In pairs, repeat the given lines over and over different ways and see what feelings and sensations come up.

"I want it" vs. "You can't have it"

"Please forgive me" vs. "I don't forgive you"

"I'm sorry" vs. "You hurt me"

These lines bring the participants closer to the theme of gathering. The lines are spoken without story or context but many sensations and feelings arise. This exercise seems to allow the facilitator to see if the participants have been properly warmed up, and how ready the group is to accept these sensations and emotions.

In this pair work, participants change partners one after the other. Whenever the new pair is formed, they exchange their names and handshake. After the exercise, the participants were asked to walk around the room to shake hands and exchange names with people they had not worked with yet.

Socio circle: The group forms a circle and a person discloses a fact that is true to the

self. Participants who identify with the statement step inside the circle to form an inner circle. They then looked into each other's eyes recognizing that they share the theme. Anyone who recognizes the fact to be true but does not want to expose themselves does not need to move.

My parent was a soldier

My grandparents were soldiers

I have heard war stories directly from family members

My partner is someone from the "historical enemy" population

I am a friend with someone from the "historical enemy" population

I have an experience of discrimination

After this work, in small groups, participants were asked to share their thoughts and feelings. Usually, HWH is conducted with a group of up to 25 participants. But because this time the group had 40 participants, small group sharing became very important. There were 7 or 8 bilingual Chinese and Japanese speakers in the group so they helped with the communication.

Memory object: Participants were asked in advance to find and bring an object that symbolized or represented their relationship to the theme of the workshop. Thinking of what to bring acts as a warm up. In small groups, people shared their story about the object. In a large group, the participants were asked to share in one sentence and then to place an object on an altar created with colorful scarves. This altar was displayed until the end of the gathering. Some of the objects participants brought included, pictures of the grandparents from the war generation, a war memorial stamp, school history books, a comic book, and newspaper articles. Through this exercise, they start to recognize that each participant has a story and a legacy that our generation inherited.

| October 6, Program Day 2

The first hour was spent reflecting on the day before and participants were asked to share either a dream they saw the night before, or sensations, feelings, images that stood out. Members of the playback theatre played in an attempt to empathize with the story. Here are some things that were shared.

Japanese Female: I had a dream about a grandfather who was a military truck driver in the Philippines. I'm sitting next to him in the truck and we are driving in my town. But it seems that he doesn't know the direction and is not driving very well. So I'm trying to grab the steering wheel by reaching my body across from my seat and I'm trying to take over the driving.

This is a dream that this writer shared. Right after the dream, the meaning of the dream was mysterious to me but after seeing my dream played back, I was able to feel the meaning more directly. It felt like the dream was about inheriting the legacy of the war but I am trying to drive in my own way and get to a different future than the one that our grandparents imagined.

Chinese Female: After coming to Nanjing, I visited the Memorial Hall of the Victims and that night I had a dream. I'm at some kind of a ruin. It was a white round shaped dome and there were trees all around. But the place felt rather lonely and desolate so I left the place.

Chinese Female: Feeling calm and collected. My body is stuffed with many things and it has ripened round like a pomegranate. It has ripened and is about to explode. This woman was participating in this dialogue for the third time. After her image was played back, she seemed to realize, "I said explosion but it's rather more a quiet feeling."

Volkas explained about the purpose of the exercise is to look not only at his-

torical facts but how we absorb them and store them in our body as sensations, emotions and images. Playback theatre seemed to encourage empathy and to help a teller grab hold of their sensation, emotions and meanings more clearly, as well as to communicate it to others. I am curious how other participants experienced this exercise and look forward to asking them about it.

After this, survivor 夏淑琴 Xia Shuqin came to the venue and talked to the group about her experience in the Massacre. (Her testimony is described in different section of this booklet) After hearing the survivor's testimony, some participants were able to sit in the chair in front of her to respond to her story. Japanese participants responses included the feelings of apology, determination to remember her story and to tell others, while Chinese participants responses included deep respect. Each participant responded in their unique way and the survivor kindly listened, often nodding and smiling. In a part of the dialogue, the survivor said to the Japanese "You are not bad. It is the fault of the Japanese militarism at the time." And she expressed her wish for the Japanese and Chinese to have more interaction. Participants may have felt moved and deeply appreciated her sharing and this may have motivated them towards a dialogue.

Afternoon: HWH Workshop

Identity Work: *My name is (name) I am (nationality)*: Volkas explained that the history of the country one belongs to affects how one feels about him or herself. In this exercise, a person says out loud his or her name and nationality and notices what sensations, feelings and images come up. Lines can be repeated or can be said in a different language. One can realize that there are several different feelings. During this exercise, a woman from Guangzhou, a woman from Japan and a man from Hong Kong tried this exercise and seemed to feel ambivalent about naming their nationality. By trying, different feelings and episodes arose. Then, the participants divided into small groups and shared how it would be to do this exercise themselves.

Chair Work: A Japanese chair and a Chinese chair was set up facing each other and participants were encouraged to sit and represent the collective voice of that culture. Volkas facilitated by explaining, “This work may feel a little scary but we have created bonds between the group up to now. Unless we express what is truly in our hearts, true reconciliation will not happen.” In this work, anyone can sit in either chair. Some Chinese people were speaking as Japanese and some Japanese people were speaking as Japanese. It began by conflicts being expressed and issues such as textbooks was brought up. Towards the end, as Japanese people continued to apologize and the Chinese people demanded apologies from the government, there was a question about how long the Japanese people were supposed to have feelings of apology and guilt, also anger and powerlessness that comes along with this question. At the same time, the Chinese side voiced their wish that the image of the Japanese as “demons” would disappear from history, and a wish to accept individual apology and to forgive. The Japanese side also expressed their wish to listen to Chinese voices as well as to co-create a textbook.

After this exercise, people took off their role as the collective voice of the nation and formed a large circle. Then the work of the day ended with each person sharing one word. In 2009, the time was not ripe to exchange these kinds of honest voices. As Volkas suggested, in 2009 we may have been afraid of breaking the bond that we have created. Perhaps this time enough ground work had been created to take the risk.

| October 7th, Program Day 3

Morning: The workshop began by participants’ check-ins. The work of the previous day left strong impressions on everyone. So the day began by hearing some of the unexpressed voices. A Chinese man shared, “Unless the Japanese government apologize, I feel disrespected.” and a Japanese man responded, “I have been involved in this subject for the last thirty years but there are right wings who resist. How much apology does it take to end this? I feel complex feelings as well as sadness.”

Another Japanese man started sharing an episode that he experienced in the US. So Volkas invited the playback theatre to create a place to share, where individual stories are witnessed. Three people shared their stories in the playback. (This is further described in Kayo Munakata's report)

Afternoon: Much of the morning was spent sharing and sitting to watch the playback. So the afternoon session began by physical warm-ups such as name and movement. Then, participants formed pairs to do the following exercise.

Interactive Sculpture: In pairs, person A freezes in movement while B participates and responds to person A. This is repeated.

Imaginary gift exchange: Person A imagines a gift of a certain size and weight and gives it to person B. Person B improvises and decides what that gift is and appreciates it by saying, "Thank you for (name of object). Here is a gift for you!" and hands another object with a different size and weight. Person A receives it and says "What a wonderful (name of object)" and then gives another gift. This continues for a while.

Enacting a scene in pairs:

Climbing a mountain: Two people climbing a mountain together

Survival: An airplane crashed into the Amazon and you are surviving in the jungle together. They are getting on each other's nerves.

Once upon a time: In pairs, they improvise a story. Person A starts, "Once upon a time ..." and when the facilitator says "Switch!" person B picks up the story from where person A left off. They continue in this manner for a while.

Enacting and improvising a story: This time body movement is added to the story they are creating.

Allegory: In pairs, they create a story that includes the following elements. A Japanese person and Chinese person started out on a journey to heal the wounds of history. Along the way, they meet a survivor, angry Chinese mob, wise old person

and Yangzi river. The pair takes turns as in previous exercises to create and enact the story.

It seems that this exercise was introduced to face the themes of history and conflict again with flexible body, playfulness and creativity.

Identity work

Map of messages (Deconstructing and constructing identity)

This exercise is based on the idea that the identity and images we hold about each other is constructed by spoken and unspoken messages from our family members, education, friends, community, media, internet, government and books that we constantly receive. By mapping these messages, one can become more aware of how these messages influences the self. By bringing it into consciousness, a person can chose to be unbound, to dialogue, and to create distance from unwanted messages. Also by bringing a person's map into life and playing the roles, empathy is created. In this exercise the group enacted the map of a Chinese woman whose mother was born in Japan. During the war, her mother was discriminated and was forced to return to China but then she was also discriminated in China from her own people. Because of the mother's circumstances, this woman was also discriminated against by Chinese people. But because she wished to be a bridge between Japan and China, she became a language teacher. Volkas facilitated parts of the map psycho-dramatically and she was able to dialogue with some of the messages. The participants entered into her story by taking on some of the roles. I imagine this helped them empathize. After this work, we shared our thoughts and feelings in a large group and ended day 3.

In the evening, Friends Playback Theatre from China and PlaybackAZ from Japan conducted a collaborative performance. (This is further described in Munakata's report)

| October 8th, Program Day 4

Morning: Memorial Service

As we did in 2009, the group conducted a ritual at the memorial site along the Yangzi river. The group agreed that the Japanese and Chinese participants form pairs for the first part of the ritual in which each pair will went up to the memorial monument, offered a flower, prayed, and witnessed each other. After this, a Chinese group, and a Japanese group as well as a small group that did not belong to either took turns going up to the memorial as a group to commemorate. Everyone seemed to take this ritual very seriously and expressed heartfelt respect, apology, and prayer each in their own way. After that, people took a walk around the park. For a long time, people were up on the rocks where they could view the river and were having fun taking photographs with each other. This is a memorable scene for me.

Afternoon:

Apology work: The work begun by a warm up line repetition of “I have to go” vs. “Please stay” followed by “You hurt me” vs. “I’m sorry” and then creating a scene improvisationally. Many different scenes were played a sense of humor. Participants were then asked to discuss in pairs insights they received from this exercise. After this, Volkas explained steps of apology and the pairs created human sculptures of each of the steps.

Chair work: Lastly, Volkas had us do another round of the Japanese chair vs. Chinese chair work. First the superficial collective voice is expressed from the chairs, and then the person goes behind the chair and expresses the voice of the wounded child. Chinese voices expressed the frustration of not having their pain understood, or feeling that they had not received a proper apology. Japanese voices expressed not wanting to be used by others, not wanting to show weakness, fear, not knowing what to do. Through understanding that there are these wounded voices underneath the voices of conflict, the groups were encouraged to express what they needed from each other. (The detail of this work is written in Volkas’ report.)

Tree of Hope: Lastly, we formed a large circle, and Eddy Yu facilitated the ending ritual. Participants wrote their hopes or prayers on a piece of paper and each person read it and hung them on tree branches that were set on the stage.

This is a very brief report of the flow of the 4 days. The purpose is that when reading the other reports, the readers can understand the context in which the participants had their experiences. In a few months, I would like to interview the participants to gain more understanding of the impact these workshops had on the participants. I would like to thank Dr. Zhang, Mr. Volkas, Ms. Muramoto and all others who were involved in this project. I apologize for not being able to mention all of your names here because of the page limitations. I am grateful that I was able to participate in this gathering.

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Part 2: Research Report

A Facilitator's Reflections on Remembering Nanjing 2011

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Forty Chinese and Japanese graduate students are gathered in a circle in a conference room at Normal University in Nanjing, China in October, 2011 to address the legacy of the Nanjing Massacre. A Japanese man falls to the ground weeping as he prostrates himself before the tiny frail figure of the 83 year-old partially blind survivor of what has become known as "The Rape of Nanking". In Japanese culture this deep bowing gesture can express profound shame, apology and submission. The man begs for forgiveness on behalf of his ancestors. In 1937 in the Chinese city of Nanjing, Japanese soldiers had entered her home and murdered her parents and grandparents, raped and killed her 13 year old and 15 year old sisters in front of her eyes. When she protested their actions they stabbed her 3 times with their bayonets as she slipped into unconsciousness. They left her for dead. The survivor was seven years old at the time. She awoke, bloodied and barely alive, to the terrorized cries of her 4-year old sister crying for her mother. Her childhood abruptly over, she became her sister's caregiver and, together, they hid from the Japanese perpetrators and somehow made it to the "safe zone".

The Japanese man speaks to the old woman through his tears and his voice cracks with anguish, "The memory of your suffering will not be forgotten!" With a mixture of deep empathy and pain, the survivor raises the Japanese man to his feet. "It was the actions committed by the Japanese militarists. You were not there. It is not your fault." The man, feeling the shame of his country's past and

not knowing where to place it or how to move through it, humbly withdraws back into the circle of Chinese and Japanese workshop participants bearing witness to the survivor's story.

This moving and spontaneous ritual of apology and forgiveness was at the heart of the encounter between Japanese and Chinese participants gathered to face the legacy of the Nanjing Massacre—the event that has become the symbol of the wound between these two powerful countries. The group of participants, made up of second and third post-World War II generations, had all agreed to gather in Nanjing to immerse themselves in the historical trauma and collective memory of the War. Ambivalent, yet driven by their curiosity as well as a spiritual need to reveal the ghosts that haunt their cultures, the participants ventured into uncharted emotional territory.

By apologizing, the Japanese man is breaking an enormous taboo against confronting the legacy of the Nanjing Massacre in a direct way. Nanjing is a very controversial subject in Japan. There is a national ambivalence about accepting responsibility for war crimes. It is too humiliating and brings shame upon the collective. The cultural values around “saving face” prevent Japanese society from direct reflections of its legacy. This Japanese man is also apologizing on the very soil where the crimes took place. Such a remorseful stance requires courage on the part of Japanese participants. One must acknowledge the potential of them becoming targets of right wing wrath if their activities are found out and publicized in their country.

So why would Japanese citizens fly all the way to China at their own expense to apologize for crimes that they did not themselves commit? What human need is driving this impulse? Is the goal of the “Remembering Nanjing” project to just provide a way for individuals to work through the burden of their historical inheritance? Or, is there a collective or social change goal?

Are we as project organizers and therapists, in effect, making a therapeutic intervention upon Japanese and Chinese societies? By bringing delegations of Japanese students to Nanjing in 2007, 2009 and again in 2011 are we modeling what we

believe that Japanese and Chinese societies need to do in order to heal and become whole again after the trauma of World War II? Do personal and collective apologies on the part of Japanese people have any meaning now that the perpetrators and victims of these atrocities have all but disappeared into the mists of historical memory?

If we decide that they do have meaning and value, then what are the next steps we need to take in the *Remembering Nanjing* initiative, however powerful and moving they are, to have a real impact on the Sino-Japanese relationship? How do we prevent our innovative acts of reconciliation from simply dissolving into the vast ocean of intercultural conflict and misunderstanding?

These are the questions that I asked myself as I came to Nanjing in October of 2011. Having facilitated a previous *Remembering Nanjing* project in 2009 (Volkas, 2010), I once again brought my skills as a drama and expressive arts therapist and theatre worker to the process. My Healing the Wounds of History approach to intercultural conflict and collective trauma was the model used to address the legacy (Volkas, 2003, 2007, 2009, 2010). Healing the Wounds of History integrated improvisation, psychodrama, sociodrama, expressive arts therapy, drama therapy, Playback Theatre and therapeutic processes with a psychological, emotional and spiritual exploration of the impact of the Nanjing Massacre on the generations after the War.

A stream of Chinese and Japanese participants take turns paying homage to the Nanjing Massacre survivor, aware that she is one of the last witnesses of this terrible chapter of history. One at a time they share the impact that the survivor's story has had on them. A Chinese man in his late twenties speaks to the old woman, "Beloved 'grandmother', I feel your deep capacity for forgiveness. You suffered so much, yet you have a big and generous heart. When I hear your story, a deep hatred rises up within me that I don't know how to transform. By your example, I will try to make my heart as spacious as yours. Thank you 'grandmother' for allowing us to bear witness to your story."

When a Chinese encounters a Japanese person the millions of dead between them create a chasm that is difficult to bridge. China's historical wounds are deep. The past has not been forgotten. The war launched by Japan's militarist leaders killed

an estimated 20 million Chinese—an enormous collective trauma that still reverberates within the culture. At the same time both Japan and China are attempting to forge a new economic alliance, but the ghosts of history continue to haunt the relationship between these two powerful nations. Therefore, one can conclude that Japanese people coming to China to apologize, in effect, becomes a political act as well as a personal one.

What is the structure and meaning of personal and collective apology and does it have the power to heal historical trauma? If so, can drama and the expressive arts be used as tools in constructing a successful apology between Japan and China?

Apology is not just uttering the words, “I’m sorry”. Apology is in reality a performance. It is a performance of authenticity. In an apology it is necessary to show sorrow, remorse, shame and humility. It must have affect, vulnerability, and sincerity to be accepted and reveal deep, painful regret. These feelings are part of the guilt people experience when they have done something wrong and take full responsibility. At its best, the apology is cleansing and purifying. It cannot take away or undo what has been done, but somehow, in the logic of it, it does. In the end, apology is an exchange of shame and power. I believe that under certain conditions apologies have the capacity to heal.

A large black marble memorial stone in the shape of a tablet sits atop a rock formation overlooking the Yangtze River. There are 25 narrow steps leading up to the top. The story of what happened at this very site in 1937 is engraved in Mandarin on the face of the stone. A Chinese participant who also speaks Japanese reads the inscription so that the Japanese students gathered can understand. Her voice cracks with emotion as she recites. 74 years earlier tens of thousands of civilians were reported slaughtered by the invading Japanese army on this very spot. It is said that the river ran red with blood during those days of carnage. Bound together with rope in large groups by the river for easy disposal, the victims were machine gunned en masse. The corpses of men, women and children then floated through the heart of the city of Nanjing further ter-

rorizing the already traumatized populace.

Silently, two by two and side by side, a Japanese student and a Chinese student walk up the wobbly steps to the memorial stone together. They both place a flower at its base and then bow in honor of the people who have perished there taking another moment to reflect in silence. The students circle the stone disappearing from the view of their gathered witnesses for a moment. They re-emerge from behind the stone bowing together once more before descending the steps hand in hand as another pair of Japanese and Chinese students ascend the mound and repeat the same ritual.

Later, the groups take turns standing around the memorial stone separately as a group silently acknowledging the differences in the pain of descendants of perpetrators and victims. On the fourth and last day of the “Remembering Nanjing” encounter, both Japanese and Chinese move deeply into their collective grief. The Chinese participants spontaneously begin to shout slogans learned in childhood that express their determination as a people to stay strong in the face of future adversity as they feel deeply the trauma of victimization. One can hear the tinge of anger in their voices as they cry out. They vow never again to be weak and vulnerable as a country. Encircled together, the Japanese express the heavy burden of their legacy of perpetration. Their bent bodies and bowed heads express their deep collective remorse. Some in the group utter the anguished cries of the pain of inherited perpetration and their weeping voices pierce the silence of the somber ceremony.

This is the third time that this ritual has been performed. First initiated in 2007, it has become one of the culminating acts of the gathering in Nanjing. The ritual has kept its basic shape with slight variations in its staging each year. Ritual and indirect communication styles are inherent parts of Japanese and Chinese cultures. The ceremony at the Yangtze River becomes an apt container for the grief that both groups feel. In effect, the ceremony becomes a ritual and performance of apology where the Japanese, by coming to the site of the atrocities, acknowledge and express

remorse for the evil deeds of their ancestors. Each time that this ritual is performed it achieves a simple yet moving aesthetic. There is a major tenet of drama and expressive arts therapy at work here—the principle being that the more beautiful one can make a ritual or therapeutic moment, the greater is its potential to heal and transform. In the altered state created by the ritual, overwhelming feelings are contained and the Japanese apology is expressed.

As moving and beautiful as this ritual and the entire *Remembering Nanjing* process was to facilitate and witness, it still felt somehow incomplete to me. In 2009, I left Nanjing with a similar sense that there were more layers of personal emotion that could be peeled away. Reflecting upon my experience working with multiple intercultural conflicts using the Healing the Wounds of History method, I have observed that there is often an impulse for two polarized groups to quickly grasp onto the warmth and intimacy easily created through creative arts therapy processes. Participants feel surprising relief that “enemies” can actually like each other and have things in common and may conclude that their goal of reconciliation has been achieved. However, this intimacy is often created before delving deeper to explore and express more difficult feelings such as hurt, shame and rage. So, although we were in the very last phase of our workshop and logically should have been working towards closure, I decided to take a risk to re-open the historical wounds. I wanted the participants to take a deeper look at the feelings that had not yet been completely expressed. I knew that there could not be true apology and reconciliation between Japanese and Chinese participants without this honesty. Could both groups tolerate unflinching self-examination while holding on to the hard fought intimacy that they had created?

After the ritual at the Yangtze River I speak to the participants gathered once again in the large conference room at Normal University, “We only have a few hours left in our time together. In the afternoon we will move towards closure. The ritual was quite moving. It gave us a container to put all of our feelings of grief that have been

stirred up the last few days. But, before we move on to saying goodbye, I want us to take another look at the art of apology because that is at the heart of our work together. We are in a feeling space right now, but during the next few hours I would like you to step back and look at what is happening inside of you. We are going to use ourselves as a kind of emotional laboratory and examine what steps are involved in an apology and how they may be applied to the Japanese and Chinese relationship.”

There are 8 basic steps involved in personal and collective apology distilled from my research. They are outlined as follows:

1. The breach, the violation or the offensive act.
2. The spoken or unspoken call for an apology.
3. The acknowledgement and recognition that the injury has damaged the bonds between the offending and offended parties.
4. Taking responsibility and being accountable for one's role in the event.
5. The performance of the apology in which regret, sorrow, remorse, shame and humility are expressed.
6. Forgiveness is given—if the event is forgivable or accepted. Rejection of forgiveness is a possibility and is not a required part of apology.
7. Emotional and or material reparations or restitution is an indispensable part of an acceptable apology but not always possible. Sometimes nothing can be done to right the wrong.
8. An explicit or implied promise to change and a commitment that it won't happen again are made.

Back in the workshop, the eight steps of apology are given archetypal titles and are written on a flip chart in Mandarin and Japanese:

1. *The Breach*
2. *The Call for an Apology*
3. *The Acknowledgement*

4. *Taking Responsibility*

5. *The Apology*

6. *Forgiveness*

7. *Reparation*

8. *The Promise*

The Japanese and Chinese participants are paired up and work together to create an enactment. They collaborate to explore the dynamics of apology in an embodied way. Each dyad creates a human sculpture with eight images representing the eight phases of apology, using their bodies to express the essence of each step. The images are then performed in front of the group, three dyads at a time.

I call out the title of each step. As I do, each group moves in slow motion through the cycle of the apology process creating a frozen image for each phase. This process is visually impactful and becomes a way for the group to internally integrate and understand apology in a non-linear way. Every image becomes a sort of diorama seared into minds of the participants.

According to psychiatrist Aaron Lazare (Lazare, 2004), leading authority on the psychology of shame, humiliation, and apology, successful apologies need to satisfy at least some distinct psychological needs of the offended party to be successful and transformative. Among the most important needs are the necessity for restoration of self-respect and dignity. Humiliation is the emotional response of people to their perception that they have been unfairly lowered, debased, degraded, disrespected, or reduced to inferior positions in situations in which they feel powerless.

In the Japanese and Chinese relationship, Chinese people have a need to regain their self-respect and dignity in the face of the enormous humiliation they experienced during the War. They have a need to regain face. Throughout our 4-day workshop Chinese participants expressed feelings of humiliation and shame that their large and dignified country was weak and taken over by the tiny country of

Japan. The lack of acknowledgement on the part of the Japanese government and many from the right wing in Japan who deny that the atrocities even occurred, create a feeling of invisibility. This produces a quiet rage towards Japan within Chinese society. This rage was palpable, but largely unexpressed among the Chinese *Remembering Nanjing* participants until the end when I decided to enter into the following sociodramatic enactment.

I stand before the group and set two chairs facing each other at the front of the room. I instruct the group on the guidelines for the next sociodramatic exercise, "This chair represents the angry and defiant Chinese face or mask. When you sit in this chair you show the angry Chinese stance expressing that what happened to your country will never ever happen again. You vow to become strong and protect China from the kind of humiliation inflicted upon you by the Japanese during World War II. But, if you stand, sit or kneel behind the Chinese chair, you express your feelings from the hurt and vulnerable place that lives behind the mask. If China were a person, what do you say from the wounded child place within you? What do you feel and what do you need from Japanese people from this wounded place?"

I now refer to the opposing chair, "When you sit in this chair you represent the Japanese angry and defiant face or mask. This external stance represents and expresses the extreme defensive and defiant voice in Japanese society. When you sit in this chair you show your anger, defiance, your denial and your refusal to take responsibility for what your armies did in Nanjing and in all of Asia during World War II. But, if you stand, sit or kneel behind this chair you express your feelings from the hurt and vulnerable place that lives behind the external Japanese mask. If the country of Japan were a person, what would you say from the wounded child place within you? What do you feel and what do you need from Chinese people? What are your emotional needs and rights as the descendants of soldiers who committed these atrocities?"

One by one the Chinese and Japanese begin to step into their collective roles. They speak both personally and from the group:

Chinese Man (In the chair): “The sins of the father shall be visited upon the children”. You must accept what your ancestors have done. Japan, this is your fate and your responsibility!

Chinese Woman (In the chair): Only a few Japanese prime ministers have had the courage to apologize to us! Germany apologized to its victims. Only about one tenth of Japanese politicians apologize. They are cowardly and they don’t understand the pain of China!

Japanese Man (Behind the chair): I don’t want to show my weakness to Chinese people. This would be too shameful. I need to create armor around me and protect myself. I don’t want to accept the truth. I am very frightened!

Japanese Man (In the chair): Stop your whining! China, you have killed so many people in recent history. You are taking the higher moral ground and it is hypocritical. So get off your high horse and stop judging us!

Japanese Man (In the chair): We need you China. We are now economically dependant on you. I fear that within 100 years we will be colonized by you. You are growing so fast! You are driven by your anger and are becoming so powerful!

Chinese Woman (In the chair): Economy is war! Japan, why you are crying?

Armand: I am now going to remove the two chairs that represent the mask or face of the Chinese and Japanese people. I would like you to speak to each other without the protection of the mask. Speak from the personal and the collective. Say what is in your hearts. What do you feel and what do you need from each other?

Chinese people, do you want an apology from your Japanese friends?

Twenty Japanese and twenty Chinese now stand and face each other from their group identities.

Japanese Woman: I want us to stop our fighting! I want Japan to stop hurting China by acknowledging the truth of our history as painful as it is.

Chinese Woman: We have been looked down upon. We have been humiliated. We have been bullied, not just by Japan but by other countries too. This is a heavy burden for us. Do you want us to look at this humiliating history and be hurt by it over and over again? I can’t take my friends to The Nanjing Massacre Museum

because I don't want them to be hurt either. I know that your Emperor has no power anymore and is just a symbol for Japan. But, I believe that the Emperor could help put a period at the end of this history. I want the current Emperor to come to China and the Nanjing Massacre Museum and apologize. This could heal both countries and save them from their terrible histories.

Chinese Man: We are not trying to wallow in our victimization. We just want you to see the truth. I want other Japanese people to know. Once they know, then there can be changes in our relationship. We need you to see the truth!

Japanese Man: It is a difficult truth, but we are willing to see it. (Several Japanese people express this sentiment).

Chinese Woman: We want you to actively try to do something.

Armand: So, you want them to take action?

Chinese Woman: Yes!

Chinese Woman: We don't want you to grovel on your knees and apologize without dignity. All we want is for you to know our history.

Chinese Woman: I want our wounded hearts to join together and become one.

Chinese Man: We want the Japanese government to represent the Japanese people and to do something about the legacy of the War. When the Japanese army came to China, the first thing that they did was to put a Japanese flag on our land. It wasn't France or Germany. It was Japan. Your arrogance was deeply hurtful and humiliating.

Japanese Woman: When you talk about the Japanese government I feel powerless. I feel overwhelmed. I feel like I have no real power over the policies of our government. Right now you are communicating with us what is truly in your heart. It is a relief to hear your anger because we know that it is there. I am deeply grateful that you are doing this for us.....that you are telling us your truth.

Japanese Man: You keep on talking about the right wing in Japan. But, there are also so many teachers and researchers who have been fighting to reveal the truth after the War. But we encounter the voice of hatred from you, the Chinese people. We have the impulse to give up on this topic. It is very demoralizing. We also need

your support and encouragement please!

Armand: Are you saying that you would like the Chinese participants to acknowledge and appreciate what you have done and the ways in which you are changing?

Several Japanese Participants: Yes!

Armand: Chinese participants, are you willing to share with your Japanese friends what the impact of their gesture of coming to Nanjing has meant for you and the changes you have seen?

Chinese Woman: Our history is very heavy. I hope that in our process we are able to take some of the load off of your backs. Japanese people, thank you for coming to Nanjing! Your gesture is deeply meaningful to us. Please don't give up!

Chinese Woman: I know you have to deal with the pressures of the right wing in Japan. I know that there are other people in Japan who, like yourselves, have their own enlightened feelings and thoughts about our collective history. I would like to express a deep respect for these people. I would like to express a deep respect for you!

Chinese Man: I will work with you to make a better world!

Armand: This process has been painful, but necessary. What do we need to do right now?

There is tense silence as participants consider what they want to do.

Chinese Woman: I would like to shake hands with my Japanese friends, because we all want peace in the world.

Chinese Man: I would like to work together with them towards this same goal.

Armand: Do you want to shake hands?

Chinese Woman: I would like to hug and hold my Japanese friends.

Armand: Shake hands with or embrace each other if you feel moved to do so.

One by one, the Japanese and Chinese participants shake hands. Most embrace each other and shed tears as a release of the tension that had built up between the two groups during the sociodrama.

Through this painful, yet moving, closing encounter between Japanese and Chinese citizens, the participants learned that they could tolerate and survive a

heated and direct confrontation about the legacy of the war and come out with their friendships, not only intact, but deeper and stronger. Through the use of sociodrama as an intervention in The Healing the Wounds of History process, the group was able to bypass some of the taboos related to “saving face”, an important value in both cultures. How can one apologize and “save face” without bringing shame upon your family, society and country? This is the ongoing challenge that has political implications in the Sino-Japanese relationship. However, using the two chairs in the workshop to represent the external mask or “face” of China and Japan and asking the Japanese and Chinese participants to speak from a collective group voice, gave them permission to speak more freely and authentically. Many of the direct and provocative statements participants made as a collective in this exercise might not have been uttered if the people were asked to express them personally as individuals.

In this brief article, there is no way that I could include all of the remarkable moments in this transformative 4-day encounter. I hold them in my heart and mind and they will infuse my future work with groups in conflict.

I would like to thank Dr. Kuniko Muramoto, Ph.D. for organizing *Remembering Nanjing* and Dr. Zhang Lianhong, Ph.D. for hosting the gathering at Nanjing Normal University for the third time. I would also like to thank Dr. Haru Murakawa, Ph.D. for his leadership role in the Remembering Nanjing initiative and for his extraordinary vision of reconciliation between China and Japan nearly 20 years ago that ultimately led to the encounter in Nanjing. To my friend, colleague and frequent Healing the Wounds of History collaborator, Aya Kasai, thank you for your ongoing commitment to healing collective trauma throughout Asia and for your sensitive and artful Japanese/English interpreting. I could not do this work in Japan and China without your support. Thank you as well to fellow drama therapist and Playback Theatre artist, Eddie Yu, who generously served as Mandarin/English interpreter, consultant and co-facilitator. Eddie Yu and Kayo Munakata beautifully facilitated the Playback Theatre performance on the third evening. The image of the actors and musicians from Playback Theatre AZ from Japan and Friends Playback Theatre in

China brilliantly improvising personal stories together in Mandarin and Japanese is forever seared into my mind-----a symbol of Chinese and Japanese collaboration and reconciliation. The role of the Playback actors and their capacity to create an immediate culture of empathy deepened the Healing the Wounds of History process and contributed enormously to the success of Remembering Nanjing 2011. Thank you actors for your deep emotional generosity. Also, many thanks to Luo Cuicui for her tireless Japanese/Chinese translation----you were the glue that held our delicate process together. Finally, thank you to all of the Remembering Nanjing participants who trusted us and became the emotional pioneers for their countries. They took the risks and paved the way towards healing collective trauma that others can now follow.

- A.V., November, 2011

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Generational Transmission of War Trauma and Approaches to Reconciliation and Restoration: Report on “Remembering Nanjing 2011” and the Assignment We Bear

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1. Introduction

As a clinical psychotherapist, it has been 20 some years since I began to get involved in trauma related to violence to women and children, including abuse, sexual and domestic violence. In parallel, I have become involved in activities designed to prevent such incidents. A result of this work has been discovering that there are trauma arisen by communities and history. My interest in the war derives from my personal consciousness toward the issue, but as a matter of fact, there is no mistaking that it has continuously affected my work.

Details of the course of this issue can be seen in my past publications (Muramoto 2004, 2008, 2009, 2010). Related to this work, I was able to meet Mr. Armand Volkas, through Mr. Haruhiko Murakawa, in July 2007, and HWH (Healing the Wounds of History). I also attended the “International Conference of the 70th Anniversary of the Nanjing Massacre” in Nanjing in November 2007. At that conference, I met Professor Lianhong Zhang and students from Nanjing Normal University and together, we have been holding trial workshops regarding the massacre thanks to the cooperation of Chinese and Japanese members. This workshop was conducted at “Remembering Nanjing 2009” in October 2009 and “Remembering Nanjing 2011” in October 2011. Here, the author reports on the latter event.

The 2011 workshop was a seminar funded with a grant from “Based on Grant-in-Aid for Scientific Research (B): Development History/Peace Education Program in East Asia for the Post War Generations of the Second Sino-Japan War.” from

the Japanese Ministry of Education, Culture, Sports, Science and Technology. Mr. Armand Volkas acted as the facilitator, with Mr. Eddie Yu and Ms. Aya Kasai as both supporters and interpreters. Additionally, we had the cooperation of Playback Friends from China and Playback AZ in Japan to offer more developed program. Other guests, such as Murakawa (Physical Education), Mr. Yuichi Kanemaru (History of the Relationship between Japan and China) and Mr. Hiroshi Oda (Cultural Anthropology) gave the seminar a wider interdisciplinary view. I feel it meant something that the seminar was held with a grant from the Japanese government, even if the meaning was a modest one. A detailed data analysis will be held later, but in this paper, I'd like to look back at the seminar, summarize what happened and relate my observations at this time.

2. Deepened ties and a progression of “steps toward reconciliation”

Healing the Wounds of History has developed “6 steps toward reconciliation”: 1) Breaking the taboo against “enemies” speaking to each other, 2) Humanizing each other through sharing of personal stories, 3) Realizing the potential perpetrator in all of us, 4) Experiencing deep grief, 5) Taking steps towards healing personal and collective wounds using creative and experiential methods, and 6) Transforming historical trauma into constructive action and service. According to Mr. Volkas, continuous practice of HWH will allow these steps to progress even when the participants change. It was the second workshop using this HWH practice, and there were several core members who were participating for the third time, the initial meeting being a 2007 international conference with participants from both China and Japan. Due to this, I could truly feel the trust they had in continuing to use this process and that the ties among some of the individuals surpassed national boundaries.

It became apparent during the 2009 seminar that participating in this type of workshop means “breaking the taboo against ‘enemies’ speaking to each other”. Whether Chinese or Japanese, the participants took this first step once they decided to participate in this seminar, but this step contains the process of coming and going. Also, Chinese and Japanese decide to take this step in different ways. Likewise,

participating in this kind of workshop promotes the process of “humanizing each other through the sharing of personal stories”. To the Chinese, the fact that there are Japanese people participating in this kind of seminars and trying to face the past leads them to realize that they cannot consider the Japanese people as a group. Conversely, it carries a significant meaning to the Japanese when Chinese people warmly accept them when they fight the guilt and fear of revisiting the events of Nanjing. Naturally, the sharing of individual stories in a face to face relationship will deepen it, which is the point of this step. At this seminar, there were participants from various backgrounds, such as Chinese living in Hong Kong or other overseas countries and foreign residents in Japan. This also helped the participants realize that this issue is far more complicated than the simplistic China versus Japan viewpoint.

However, regarding “the potential perpetrator within all of us” seems to require a progression of steps. Within the configuration of China versus Japan over the Nanjing Massacre, the perpetrators and victims were clearly set at once, so it has been easy to fix the identities of both parties. On the Japanese side, males in particular are easier to identify themselves with the perpetrators, and because of that, they show resistance. The “The potential perpetrator within” shown by Japanese women started from the realization that the “right wing voice” had been taken up by herself. There were 2 impressive episodes during the 2011 event that occurred while sharing stories with Chinese men. One man had a story about his friend, who went to the U.S. to study and ended up volunteering to join the war in Iraq and Afghanistan. The Chinese man cynically insisted, “In war, if you don’t shoot the enemy, they will shoot you. If I had been there, I would have done the same thing.” Another offered words of consolation saying, “Don’t cry any more. Everybody does bad things depending on the situation. Not only the Japanese. I think I would, too.” Both of them were admitting that humans have the capability of becoming savage wrongdoers when they are under extreme stress. The big assignment here will be how much we can progress together from that point. Personally, I think it is not “therefore, I had no choice” but “therefore, we should not do things that could lead to putting ourselves in any extreme position”.

It is indispensable to have a certain depth of understanding the emotional level regarding Nanjing Massacre as an “experience of deep sorrow”. The depth increases as one listens to the episodes related by the participants, especially from survivors, and it seems that the grief reaches its peak at the symbolic memorial ceremony. “Experiencing deep grief” has several different dimensions, such as grief for what happened to the victims, grief for the occurrence of such cruelty, and grief for witnessing the cruelty and evil which human beings are capable of. With professionals leading the way in using methods of deepening ties and artwork, descendants of both perpetrators and victims came closer than they had in the previous event and could face up to the difficult task of opening their minds and sharing their real feelings by going one step beyond courteous and constrained interaction. Behind many of the Chinese and Japanese voices are the hidden cries of the wounded child. Mr. Volkas encouraged participants to express this by setting a “Chinese Chair and Japanese Chair” on the stage, and sometimes using doubling (backing up using the voice of the therapist). I think the descendants of both the perpetrators and victims could feel deep sympathy and sadness at a physical level. Since it was quite possible for a Japanese to sit on the Chinese chair and vice versa, we encouraged participants to take the other side’s position and use it to examine their own position.

“Taking steps towards healing personal and collective wounds using creative and experiential methods” was promoted in the last part of the program and the step of “transforming historical trauma into constructive action and service” would be expressed in the statements of future determination. I expect to receive some reports of commitment regarding peace activities from participants as time goes by, as they begin active involvement in this project as interpreters and through translations.

3. The power of art to help expression

One of the biggest features of HWH is their usage of drama therapy/expressive arts therapy. Mr. Volkas says drama therapy includes the elements of a game and games have a lot of amiable settlement functions in cross cultural conflicts. Taking

the playful mind into serious theme like war can soften long inherited group trauma while drawing out a “child’s” ego-state from the participants. Then, a “parentified child” is partly released, helping to return their lost purity. Volkas added that creating artworks and social activities from traumatic images, memory and inherited messages is the strongest methods available to overcome trauma (Volkas, 2010).

The effectiveness of drama therapy/expressive arts therapy has been referred to by many participants since the last seminar. Because historical wounds remain at a deep physical level in one’s consciousness and language, there is a limit to settling them intellectually. It can be pointed out that sublimation is promoted by expressing the experience through bodies and works using drama and art, allowing one to understand that the wounds of history are not abstract general data but very personal in nature, and one can avoid secondary wounds by expressing themselves through energetic body movement.

Twice at this seminar, we conducted the “Chinese Chair and Japanese Chair” exercise, setting those two chairs in a confrontational position. By using the one side of the chair (the social face and voice on the surface) and the other side (a fragile child’s voice) separately, the differences of each position were clarified, making it possible to express various voices simultaneously from both sides. Such staging becomes a device not to express personal voices but to safely express the collective voice polyphonically.

At this time, we re-introduced the playback theater. I have already talked about the earlier encounter with playback theater (Muramoto, 2009), but its form is that one of the participants introduces his/her experience as a teller, led by the conductor (moderator), which is played by actors/actresses who improvise to share it with all the participants. Because we had “playback” actors participating in this 4 day seminar, we could utilize the playback theater method with the cooperation of Chinese Playback Friends and Japanese Playback AZ. It was a large group workshop with 40 people, but the presence of playfully minded playback people helped us widen the participants’ expressions.

The night of the third day, the playback theater was opened to the public. The

last step of HWH is “Transforming historical trauma into constructive action and service”. A small group of intensive workshop participants played the roles of emotional leaders in a community and held public events in the form of ceremonies and performances to try to extend their ripple effect on society. Again, I clearly came to feel that art is a powerful tool for social reform. Many participants were probably not aware, but because this was the first time Chinese and Japanese playback actors were collaborating together, they enthusiastically and repeatedly conducted rehearsals each night after all the workshops directed by Mr. Volkas. It’s a sight I cannot forget. I would like to add that I was truly and deeply moved by the fact that this seminar could be made possible with the cooperation and support of professionals from both countries.

4. The receding and current wars

On the third night, “Remembering Nanjing 2011: Playback Theater in Collaboration with Japan and China” was held. 4 stories were shared and performed on the stage, but all were stories of three generations beyond the Nanjing Massacre itself. Looking at the entire flow of the HWH workshop, it can be considered that they had already worked on the stories of the first two generations, and through the 3 day process, we could finally express the third generation stories, the main characters of this workshop, taking the leading roles.

What we saw was the inseparable relationship between both countries, who had overcome the past victims - perpetrator relationship, in the forms of lovers, exchange students and economic relationships. There were young people who may have been bewildered, depressed or lost, but decided to reach out and proceed hand in hand. I was touched, feeling that, “The time has changed. Generational change has occurred.” But on the other hand, I started to deeply think about how we can successfully relay the memory of Nanjing to latter generations.

On the first day of the workshop, many participants answered “no” to the question, “Have you directly listened to the story of the war?” in the Socio Circle. We can see many Japanese youngsters who don’t have that experience, but it was notable

at this time that there were young Chinese with the same lack of knowledge. Chinese participants at previous seminars were either born around Nanjing or students living in Nanjing, but this time, there were many Chinese of various backgrounds, some coming from more distant locations. There were even some who stated they didn't know much about the massacre. The young Chinese student I happened to encounter and spoke with at the memorial ceremony said, "I barely know about the incident." He said he will attend a Japanese college next year. Shortly after he began talking with us, he quickly reacted to the announcement, "Next, the Chinese group will go to mourn," and rushed to join the Chinese group.

At these 2007, 2009 and 2011 Nanjing Seminars, we have had some wonderful opportunities to listen to stories from survivors. There they were in front of us, some of those who had miraculously survived unimaginably fierce experiences. Their presence itself was a very powerful force. Learning from them was much more powerful than learning these things at the massacre memorial museums and through literature. Furthermore, they seem to be the least reluctant to speak with the Japanese about their experiences. With their great breadth of mind, participants have been encouraged to be led to see the dark side. However, we have to remind ourselves about the many survivors who never want to see a Japanese person again. Sadly, the number of survivors decreases every year. It should always be remembered that these seminars have been supported through the power of these survivors. Can we continue to hold them in this form for the next 5, 10, or even 20 years?

On the other hand, as I mentioned above, the story about how one participant's friend joined in the wars of Iraq and Afghanistan was shocking. Certainly, when we look at the entire world, disputes and wars have been a constant around the world. That means many young people are drawn onto the battlefields (and I have even known young children pulled onto such fields), but I have always seen these as ongoing incidents somewhere far away. At the very least, I have never heard about Japanese exchange students applying to join the American military and go to war. It could be simply defined as a lack of imagination, but through the exchange we've had in these three seminars, now I feel great affection for the Chinese youngsters

who participated, and when one of them said, “If I were on a battlefield, I would shoot the enemy,” I was shocked as if I had imagined seeing my son holding a gun in battle.

We have received some criticism saying, “Massacres did not only happen in Nanjing”. That is totally correct. However, considering there is a limit to the matters we can handle at one time, Nanjing becomes an absolute one because it can be seen to have a meaning that surpasses the framework. It is a huge challenge to make sure that Nanjing is remembered not in relative form but in a way that sets the overall flow of the picture.

5. Gender and wars

Another issue that was a strong factor was the gender issue. Through the work of the “Chinese Chair and Japanese Chair,” I heard the voices of “men” (actually, I should say this doesn’t mean actual males, but “something masculine” or “male as a category”) both from the Chinese and Japanese sides. For example, from the Chinese side, it was, “You trampled our country before. That means you are ready to do it again. You always attack us. We will protect our country. We must become strong.” “We are forever trying to remember our past history and its pain. We have been hurt not only by Japan but also by other countries in the modern era. Do you want to review such a painful history over and over? Do you think we want to get hurt repeatedly?” “We feel insulted. The ties between China and Japan have become more and more close, but not good enough yet.” In addition, a scene in which a group of Chinese shook their fists high in the air and swore to be strong, though it was explained to us to be traditional, was quite shocking.

When Ms. Aya Kasai and I held an experiential HWH workshop with about 200 people at the International Expressive Psychotherapy Symposium in Suzhou in August 2011, during the socio circle, one Chinese man spoke out to others, “Those who want to know why 300,000 Chinese were killed without even resisting!” and another addressed, “Those who think we should become much stronger!” Many Chinese people joined the circle they were in. Although we didn’t understand the language,

I felt we were being overwhelmed by the energy of their mortification, anger, sadness and bitterness. The seminar chairperson, Mr. Yasuhiro Yamanaka stated in his closing address, “Compared to China, Japan is a small country without many natural resources. You are already superior to Japan in land size, population and economy. You are already strong enough. You don’t have to be stronger anymore. Please be gentle from now on.” I don’t know how the Chinese men felt when hearing these words from a Japanese man who was seen as a wise, old person in this conference organization, but I will remember this incident.

On the other hand, voices from the Japanese side are very similar. From outside of the chair, “What are you doing? Why are you apologizing about such an old event? That’s not relevant. We lost the war, but we lost to the Americans, not the Chinese. We have been economically successful and you became number one.” From the backside of the chair were, “I want to stop this. I don’t want to show my weakness, I just want to hide inside the armor I created. I don’t want to accept anything. I don’t want to face the truth. I don’t want other people to find out I’m a weak person that is being used. I don’t want to be looked down at by others. I don’t want others to see my true, weak figure.” “Our life cannot exist without China. Most Japanese products are manufactured in China. Many foods are imported from China. We won’t be able to live. Chinese know these things and put pressure on us. In 100 years, Japan may become a Chinese colony. I’m scared.”

This, as the social face of the chair, comes out like this. “You can’t economically beat the Japanese. That’s why you are tearfully accusing us. Your measures are dirty. Now, economics is the real battlefield. You use our techniques. Because you use Japanese techniques in all of your operations, your economy has been developed well. You are so afraid, so you lie.” “Enough. You call yourself victims while at the same time increasing your military power, making carrier vessels. You lie in this chaotic condition and try to possess the entire South China Sea. The same with the Spratly Islands. All you want is to expand your interests. If you keep doing that, we’ll think about developing nuclear weapon, too.”

While directly facing this obsessiveness with strength, which is common on

both the Chinese and Japanese sides, and a fragileness hidden behind the feeling, I realized the composition of the female versus male situation separate from the China versus Japan one. I remembered the “Memory of Gentle Grandpa”, a story once played out in the workshop. “Men” were trying to be strong to protect those precious to them, including grandchildren, children, wives and parents. Conversely, the most effective way of defeating the other side was to hurt their precious ones. The so called Rape of Nanjing is not so far from the issues of wartime rape and comfort women. The more the women request protection and strength from men, the more difficult it is for men to change the script. Men fight in wars, but women sit behind them. I felt an urge to run over to the Japanese chair and say, “You don’t have to be that strong. You don’t have to protect us. You don’t have to do everything by yourselves. So, first, apologize for the wrongdoing. Then let’s think about what we should do in the future together.”

The international seminar held in 2007 was led by older men and women. In the memorial ceremony, we rued and apologized for what our ancestors did to the Chinese people, and I experienced a somewhat healing feeling as a woman watching Japanese men tearfully apologizing. As a psychotherapist, I have listened to many cases of abused and raped children and women. At the ceremony, I realized how much these cases hurt me as a woman. In the 2009 seminar, there were no Japanese men except for some students I took with me. To be honest, I was very sorry and felt sad although it was unavoidable at the time. In the seminar, we did an exercise called “human sculpture”, in which I played the role of Chinese woman who had been raped. After the play acting, we participants held each other and cried. We felt connected as women, no matter the boundary between our countries.

In 2000, The Women’s International War Crimes Tribunal on Japan’s Military Sexual Slavery was held in Tokyo as various nationalities’ women united to bring attention to the “Comfort Women” system conducted by the Japanese military during the war. At the tribunal, there were men who tried to use the “man in a category” argument. Military systems increase the violence of soldiers and make them do inhumane acts by actively using all kinds of prejudicial power relationships includ-

ing sexual and racial discrimination. In truth, this seminar couldn't be established by men or women alone. In that sense, it gives me hope that several Japanese men joined us in 2011.

6. Sense of helplessness and taking action

One of the keywords we extracted is "sense of helplessness". In particular, the Japanese side expressed a sense of helplessness regarding right wingers and the government, which irritated the Chinese side. "I want to do something, but there are so few things I can do. I'm frustrated and feel like crying." "It would be nice if it were possible, but I don't think it is. I really want to represent Japan and apologize to the Chinese people, but I can't be that representative." "Being Japanese, I really feel sorry. I feel helpless when you refer to Japanese government. I'm trying, but I'm helpless." Those statements of helplessness came out one after another, and the Chinese side replied, "Japan has not changed even after you come here and apologize. Why you don't try to change your own country? Before you come and apologize, make your country change." "You really cannot change Japan? I'd like to say a little cruel thing to you here. We have an old saying, 'A father's sin must be compensated by his son.' You must accept what your ancestors did. That's your fate. Do you really understand what your ancestors did in China? How cruel they were? It was the cruelty that no human should endure!"

After that, the Japanese side said, "Right wingers' voices stand out in Japan, but there are school teachers who have been trying to educate young people and conduct their own research. But, even they become to hate Chinese and stop their activities. Please work and support us at some level." At that point, the Chinese side said, "There are people who try to change themselves in China. Please trust us." "We shouldn't run away from history, but I hope the picture of the depressed Chinese and apologetic Japanese will be gone someday. Don't give up." This session was held to discuss Mr. Volkas's question, "What are necessary for both parties?" The Chinese side said, "We want to walk to the same place together", which led to participants shaking hands and warmly embracing each other, a feeling of friendship and ties

before closing the event.

In this program, we took a step forward from the sense of helplessness. We could see the participants' determination to start doing what they could. Even though, it may take a little more time to get into the last step of HWH, "Transforming historical trauma into constructive action and service."

7. Identity

Finally, I would like to talk about identity. Work regarding identity held at HWH always starts with one saying "My name is (name). I'm (nationality)," and state what he/she feels. When we try to do it in Japan or China, most people feel uncomfortable and state the names of their hometowns instead of their nationality. It is accepted once, but then the participants are encouraged to state their nationalities. By the end, some kind of insight is brought out, but this has been making me think about what identity is. The example Mr. Volkas modeled as an introduction was this: "My name is Armando Volkas. I am a Jew. When I say this, I think about what kind of image you have about it. Even when I'm in my own country, I sometimes feel like I am a target, but in this country, I feel like a blank slate."

"My name is Armando Volkas. I am an American. I feel more complex. I feel ashamed of the actions America is involved in around the world."

"My name is Armando Volkas. I'm French. I was born in France. I have French citizenship. But there are so many American TV programs running in my head that I cannot become completely French."

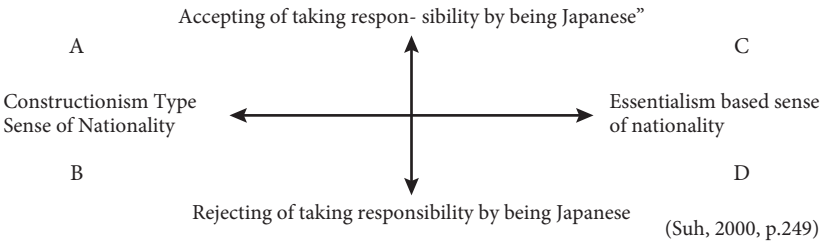
For Americans, who come from various backgrounds, a sentence like "I'm (nationality)" is relatively familiar, and therefore, they are conscious about their identities regarding nationality and race whether they like it or not. In comparison, although there are people with various backgrounds in this country, Japanese people live their lives obliviously of it, as if there were no such matter. Therefore, "I'm Japanese," is an unfamiliar expression to us and people are confused by it at first. Because some people are afraid of being misunderstood as being right wingers, "Identity as a Japanese" often receives a dismissive reaction.

Allow me to introduce my own process. The first time I visited Nanjing in 2007, I was also confused about how to define the relationship between myself and my country. There are many aspects to Japanese culture I like, but I had objections and was critical about the way the Japanese government and people had been, so I viewed my own country from a certain distance. Therefore, I couldn't immediately identify my nation nor with my Japanese nationality. Within this context, I couldn't say "I'm sorry" to the Chinese people right away. The change suddenly hit me at the Nanjing Massacre Museum. When I saw the picture of young Japanese soldiers brightly smiling next to a pile of naked women, I had to realize, "These are our fathers, grandfathers and great grandfathers. Those people came back to a devastated Japan, rebuilt the country and we were born there." That was the moment I had to accept my being Japanese, someone who ate foods that came from that land, was educated and grew up there. From that point, a path of shame, anger and sad emotion opened up, and couldn't help feeling apologetic towards the Chinese as a person of Japanese nationality.

Participants who realized their Japanese identity for the first time at the 2009 seminar put it as "the feeling of having responsibility by being Japanese". "The sins of wrongdoing in the past war do not stand only in the past. There are those first generation, second generation and third generation people who are still suffering from the wounds of the war. We can't look away from their pain." They also added that "carrying the responsibility of perpetration" is not a fearful thing but they "rather feel it part of solidly standing in today's world and the current life we are part of."

Now, I'd like to look at an argument made regarding one's "responsibility as being Japanese" organized by Professor Kyungsik Suh(2000). Mr. Xu put the right wing sense of nationality, including the "Yasukuni sect" on the far right (here, it is "essentialism based on sense of nationality") and nation-state type (non-) sense of nationality on the far left (here, it is "constructionism type sense of nationality") on the horizontal axis. As it is not enough to organize current confused responsibility theory only with the horizontal axis, the "accepting of taking responsibility by being Japanese" and the "rejecting of taking responsibility" are put on the vertical axis (see

the figure below).



D is the ultra-right wing, such as the “Yasukuni sect”, which includes “Liberal Historical Standpoint” groups and Mr. Yoshinori Kobayashi. C is the “Global Standard Nationalism” which approves the necessity of compensation in a limited extent with a pragmatic view. Professor Norihiro Kato takes this position. B is the theory of criticizing nations from a constructionism view. Professor Chizuko Ueno represents this as stating theory of irresponsibility from relativizing the nation. Our destination is A.

Mr. Volkas said one of HWH’s goals is to “recognize and deconstruct cultural and national identity” (2009). Because quite a few Japanese don’t recognize “cultural and national identity,” we must construct it before taking it apart. As international politics function in national units, nobody can escape from the responsibility carried by the nation you belong to unless you are refugees. When people are not trained to recognize and dissect their “cultural and national identity” and remain unconscious about it, it should not be surprising that extreme nationalism comes out when triggered by an incident. In our latest workshop, recognition of identity and its dissection by listening to each person’s voice repeatedly occurred in the two chair workshop.

I had an opportunity to listen to psychiatrist Dr. Michael Ermann’s lecture, “Germans Who Remember Childhood Days in War Time” in October. He started his lecture with this line, “It is especially honorable to me that I can speak German, the language spoken by Goethe, Kant, Freud, Einstein and Planck, here in Japan.

However, I have to add the fact with shame that German is the language also spoken by Hitler and Goebbels, who were the worst political criminals in the 20th century.” I wonder if there are any Japanese who would start his/her lecture with this kind of statement. Mr. Ermann is German, born in what is today Poland, and had the experience of being persecuted by the German military. It was very interesting that he noted his identity not as a German or German national but as a “person who speaks German”.

8. Last words

Though it is not sufficient, I looked back at the seminar held in 2011. I can see various issues requiring solving in future. The biggest issue we have not yet solved is how we should define our work. The title of the seminar was “Remembering Nanjing 2011 – Generational Transmission of War Trauma and Exploration of the Possibilities for Reconciliation,” which we set as a temporary title. Is this peace education or psychotherapy? What we are striving for is work beyond disciplines including history, education, psychology and art, and there is no name for it yet.

In 2009, issues of interpretation and facilitation for the event were set out. Regarding interpreting, I think we have made good improvement by bringing in simultaneous interpreters. Regarding the facilitation, we have been working to have the programs run under the cooperation of both Chinese and Japanese people with Mr. Volkas as the leader, with the cooperation of the playback groups. The presence of Mr. Volkas as a third party was crucial. However, it will become necessary to train facilitators to continue and spread this method in the future.

An international symposium is scheduled for April 2012, in which involved people will get together in Kyoto, try to sort out these issues and find direction for our future activities. Just as our 2011 seminar materialized through cooperative work over boundaries, I sincerely hope the research and peace activities will continue in a non-nationality driven manner.

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Nanjing and "Reconciliation": building a bridge over the abyss of history

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I would like to express my gratitude for Ms. Kuniko Muramoto, who gave me an opportunity to participate in this seminar in Nanjing in October, 2011. My sincere acknowledgement will be given to Professor Zhang Lianhong who generously hosted our group from Japan and to Armand Mr. Volkas who created a bonding atmosphere which allows this encounter. For this article I wrote up my personal process that led me to participate in this seminar, my impression of the seminar, and my reflection on the four day seminar experience. I hope that this short piece can be a contribution to promoting the peace work.

Taking a detour to China

I recalled a Pingdingshan massacre. This was my clue to directly face barbaric acts in China perpetrated by the Japanese army. Like many other Japanese, I had never visited places associated with such negative history between China and Japan before.

In the first semester of 2009, I took a sabbatical for a half year and stayed in Berlin. The main research purpose was to investigate actions by citizens in Germany for historical reconciliation; in particular, I intended to conduct research on Action Reconciliation Service for Peace (Aktion Sühnezeichen Friedensdienste, ASF), a Berlin based Christian organization. This organization was founded as responses to Lothar Kreyssig's appeal in 1958, which aimed at initiating service activities as "reconciliation" between those who were suffered from the Nazi crimes and those who felt guilty because they could not stop such crimes. Currently, every year the

organization dispatches about 180 long-term volunteers over 10 countries and carries out summer camps at various places.

I participated in a two-week long summer camp at Terezin concentration camp site in Czech. As a part of the program, I joined an excursion to Lidice village near Telegin; to be accurate; it was a ruin of a village. Czech was occupied from 1939 by Nazi Germany. When the lieutenant governor Heydrich was assassinated in Prague in 1942, Hitler ordered the erasure of the Lidice village because the village was falsely charged as related to that assassination. Most of about 500 inhabitants were slaughtered, and buildings were destroyed so that nothing remained; that is, the village was literally wiped out. Today, the memorial is built there to recall the barbaric act of a Nazi and mourn for sacrifice of inhabitants. When I visited this place with other summer camp participants, a similar story in China just came to my mind, which was Pingdingshan (平頂山)

Pingdingshan is a name of a village whose ruin I visited in March, 2010. It is located in one hour bus drive from Shenyang, a capital of Liaoning province of Tonbei District in China; to the east, you can reach to Fushun (撫順) which is famous for a gigantic open-air coal mine. In September 18, 1931, Japanese army (Kwantung army) targeted this region for occupation, and perpetrated the Liutiaohu Incident in the suburbs of Shenyang. In the following year, a puppet nation called "Manchurian country" was established. The Fushun coal mine was an important source of supply for Japan. Approximately one year after the Liutiaohu Incident, local resistances attacked the Fushun coal mine. This was a big shock to Japan. In pursuit of criminals, because they suspected their connection with the resistance, the Kwantung army had their eyes on Pingdingshan, the nearest village to the coal mine. On September 16, 1932, the army gathered all the people in the village, and slaughtered them with machine guns. After the gunfire, they penetrated the piles of the bodies with bayonets to murder the people who survived. Furthermore, on the next day, they poured the heavy oil over the piled dead bodies and burned them out. Then they destroyed a cliff above the slaughter spot with a dynamite in order to bury the dead bodies. The total number of victims is considered to be approximately 3,000 (Pingdingshan

massacre Litigation lawyers 2008). Long after the war ended, a few miraculous survivors filed a lawsuit for compensation for damages in the Tokyo district court. The court judgment dismissed the litigation, but the fact of genocide was certified. This Pingdingshan massacre is called "Asian Lidice". However, since the Pingdingshan massacre was ten years before the Lidice inhabitants' slaughter, it can be more accurate to say that Lidice is "a European Pingdingshan."

Corpses of victims of this Pingdingshan massacre were excavated after World War II. In 1972 Chinese government opened the "the Hall of the Remains of the Martyred Comrades at Pingdingshan (平頂山殉難同胞遺骨館)" in which the actual site of excavating remains is exhibited. Today, a museum "Fushun Pingdingshan Massacre Memorial (平頂山慘案遺址紀念館)" which exhibits historical background of Pingdingshan massacre is open next to it. When I visited there, there was a guide who could speak Japanese.

The reason why I wrote about this story of Pingdingshan massacre in this report, which was supposed to be about Nanjing massacre, is to emphasize that there was a prehistory for Japanese invasion of China. The Nanjing massacre is connected to that prehistory. There are several other reasons that Pingdingshan is worth mentioning. The Pingdingshan massacre occurred five years before the beginning of Japan-China War. Fushun is also the place of the Fushun War Criminals Management Centre, where about 1,000 Japanese soldiers were sent after the war ended and given a chance to reflect on their crimes as a perpetrator. Harbin is located to its north, where there is a trace of 731 Unit, which is notorious for the development of germ and poisonous gas weapons and vivisection. Now there are museums in those places and people can observe this history.

Thus, I took a detour to, or rather, made a u-turn to the perpetrated sites of Japanese armies in China, via Europe. I feel ashamed since some young Japanese students directly visit China without taking such a detour. However, I believe that my case is not exceptional as a Japanese; rather, the necessity of this kind of detour should be examined from the viewpoint of a structural problem. I think the wall or trench of the historical memory between Japan and China is high and deep. We need

to contemplate on the reason for this and how we can build a bridge over this wall or trench. From my experience, visiting related places and communicating with the local people is significant. This was the very reason why I wanted to participate in this Nanjing seminar.

Four days in Nanjing

On the morning of the first day, Professor Zhang gave a lecture on Nanjing massacre, which was followed by a playback theater. In the performance, I was impressed by the story of a Chinese student, who said, "My grandmother had mixed feelings about Japanese soldiers." In the middle of the war, a Japanese soldier gave her a candy, but his father (a great grandfather of this student) was killed by another Japanese soldier. If I had not come to the site, I might not have heard such a subtle voice which does not fit into a monolithic feeling of "hatred for a Japanese soldier."

On the morning of the second day, we listened to the testimony by the survivor Xia Shuqin (夏淑琴) who went through the Nanjing massacre at the age of eight. Her parents, grandparents, and three sisters and brothers were killed by Japanese soldiers. Her mother and sisters were even raped before being murdered. Mrs. Xia herself was stabbed with a bayonet, and while being all bloody she had to endure for fourteen days in her house with her little sister before they were rescued. Mrs. Xia said "she cried and cried until she lost her eyesight, and the wound stabbed by a Japanese soldier got worse and caused strong pain." Recently, a Japanese writer published a book in which he called her "a liar." I cannot imagine how much resentful she must have felt. Mrs. Xia filed a law suit for libel both in Nanjing and Tokyo. In Tokyo district court, her suit was accepted and she finally won because the Supreme Court dismissed the final appeal of a defense. I did not know about Mrs. Xia and her law suit until coming to Nanjing. I felt ashamed of it. She told us "you (as participants of this seminar) were not guilty" because she made a distinction between the Japanese militarist and general public. It was such a generosity, which was more than we deserved. I was wondering how she became able to take that kind of position. The contact with Japanese supporters through the trial might be the reason, but I would

like to hear more details about it since that might be a key for the reconciliation as a healing of human relationship.

Up to this point, I felt that to make this seminar possible, the presence of Armand Volkas was significant. Because of him, other participants could safely participate and express their deep feelings. A scholar of peace studies, Johan Galtung, has asserted the necessity of an mediator for reconciliation, and Armand was the greatest intermediary.

On the third day I witnessed the true value of playback theater. An overwhelming feeling was expressed by a Japanese participant who was thrown into the demonstration by many Chinese victims of the war. A perplexity was expressed by another Japanese student towards her grandfather who was tender and yet participated in the war as a volunteer. I felt that actors of the playback theater succeeded in amplifying such feelings and conveying them as lived human conditions. Thereby an attitude of standing for other's position became easier to take, which Armand expressed as "humanizing each other." This was made possible through meeting face to face and telling stories to each other, and definitely was actualized in this seminar. I realized that a playback theater can play a unique role to promote this process of humanization.

On the last day, we all participants went to Yanziji park (燕子磯公園) along the Yangtze River (揚子江) bank, and held a memorial service at "Monument for fellow victims." This was a place where many Chinese people, while trying to cross the river, were cornered and killed by Japanese army. Because it is also a famous sightseeing spot, many Chinese tourists were there. Making a pair of a Japanese and a Chinese, we offered flowers to the monument, while Chinese tourists stopped by and asked what was going on. Among them, there was a young Chinese man who was studying Japanese and wanted to go to Kyushu for study. He stood there for a long period of time. I think that this kind of informal exchange is also significant.

For the completion of the seminar, each one took a mnemonic art object which we put on an altar at the beginning of the seminar. Each one of us spoke a word, and my word was "We are go-between." For these four days, I witnessed that mutual

understanding, that is, understanding at the other side, was realized, in front of and within me. It was like building a bridge, which made it possible for each other to cross over an abyss created in a history.

Theme 1: Is there a distinctiveness of "East Asia" ?

This seminar was held as a part of Grant-in-Aid for Scientific Research project, "Developing a new East Asian type of history/peace education program for postwar generation of Japan and China." One of the goals of this project is to apply and modify the concepts of Healing the Wounds of History, developed by Armand Volkas, in accordance with the particular conditions of East Asian regions. In this context, it is not easy to clarify what is meant by "East Asian Type." Because, a typology such as "Europeans and Americans are individualistic while East Asians are collectivistic" is a typical stereotype without having a sound ground. Contemplating on this "individualism vs. collectivism," often we can find an implicit evolutionary schema in which, the former is considered more modernized and advanced while the latter just a characteristic of old-fashioned society; therefore, the latter should advance to the former. This is a kind of illusion created by self-consciousness of "Western" to put the modernized Western as a top of the development. We should not take this for granted. "Westerners" may act as collectivistic while "Easterners" can be individualistic. This difference is not essential, but might appear in a complicated way, depending on context. Other schemas for understanding cultural differences such as "characteristics of East Asians are this and those of Europeans are that" or "Japanese culture is like this and different from Chinese culture" are commonly prevailed. The trouble is that such stereotypes are asserted to be scientific theories, among not only the general public but also in the fields of psychology, sociology, and cultural anthropology. Since such schemas for cultural understanding are distant from the living reality, they can put us away from reality rather than applying to it, if we take it for granted without careful examination.

In the first place we are not sure whether there is an independent unit such as "East Asia" or whether there is some distinctiveness different from others. Was even

Asia an area classification given by Europeans for convenience, wasn't it?

During this seminar, a Chinese participant said that "since Japan is a culture of shame, you do not admit the defeat nor make apology." This statement of "Japan is a culture of shame" is a typical stereotype. Perhaps the participant had read the Chinese version of "The Chrysanthemum and the Sword" by Ruth Benedict. An American cultural anthropologist, Benedict described a pattern of "Japanese culture" without visiting Japan, rather through books translated into English, and interviews with Japanese Americans who were put in a compulsory internment in U.S. during the war. It is a completely hypothetical construct, and contains many aspects which do not fit with real Japanese culture and Japanese people. In addition, among current cultural anthropologists, it is being critically reconsidered that even if the very idea of "Japanese culture" as something distinguishable from others substantially exists.

Therefore the very questions we should raise are not "what kind of society East Asia essentially is?" "Does the Japanese culture play a background role for the atrocities of Japanese soldiers?" or "What kind of society Chinese culture is by contrast to Japanese one?" Rather they should be "How can we re-encounter as human beings, going over such stereotypes?" or "What do we need to do that?"

What is important for considering such questions is to concretely analyze and take into account "the historical and geopolitical elements" which constitute the reality of "East Asia." One of the most important of such elements is the fact that the Cold War structure still remains in East Asia and continues to divide societies, which is different from in Europe. For instance, The Korean Peninsula has been divided into South Korea and North Korea.

Social reality in East Asia is constructed not only by the countries geographically located in this area, but also by those including U.S.A. and Russia. For example, the U.S. obscured the Japanese war reparations for its own political purpose, by hastening the conclusion of San Francisco Peace Treaty in 1951. Their motivation was that the U.S. wanted to take Japan into their camp as part of the East and West cold war. The U.S.A. still keeps their military bases in Japan and Korea. One of the reasons is that China and North Korea are "a menace in security". This division has

been one of the obstacles to the reconciliation for historical matters in East Asia. It is necessary to be aware that if we limit the parties concerned for the reformation of the relationship between Japan and China, then we might become blind to the macrostructure including U.S.A..

However, the cold War structure is not an absolute wall. In Europe, though there was political difficulty under the similar Cold War structure, the German youths went to Poland and cooperated to make an Auschwitz concentration camp a historic site and built the "International Youth Meeting Centre in Oświęcim/Auschwitz ", a facility for lodging, learning, and exchange. They have neutralized and opened a vent towards the huge structure beyond individual powers, by the very small activities of individuals.

Themes 2: Is there identity?

"Identity" was one of the keywords in this seminar, where it was assumed "national". I felt so in the exercise in which we divided into a group of four and shared our identities each other. My group members seemed to feel strange when I said "I am a human being which was born in current Africa about 200,000 years ago" while others claim "I am Chinese" or "I am Japanese." I wanted to raise a question; why our identity should depend on nationality? In the first place should we use the concept of identity which was already "expired for good taste" (Ueno, 2005).

Straightforwardly, it is necessary to take in the idea of "constructionism" (Ueno, 2001), which is a stance to view such categories of "Japanese" and "Chinese" or "man" and "woman" and the characteristics associated with them are not substantial entity, but constructed through the historical process.

Originally no borderline exists on the earth. It is arbitrarily drawn by human beings. A nation state is formed by enclosing people within its borderline and homogenizing the variety within, and then emphasizing the difference from the outside. National identity, either as "Japanese" or "Chinese", was created as a result of this. I think that this constructionist perspective is not a mere abstract speculation, but a necessity for making peace. Nationalism is to classify people by a country unit,

and unify them. Through education and media, a national identity was implanted in the members of this unit and these people were led to believe that this national identity was self-evident. This nationalism has shown violent characteristics in history; World War I as a total war among nations, and World War II as resulted in even a worse ravage.

In putting up the nation as a unit to consider trauma and war crimes, we may reproduce this nationalism in a micro level of a seminar; in other words I am afraid that we may fall into "a trap of nationalism". I felt that this seminar was assembled along a story of "reconciliation between (Chinese) nation and (Japanese) nation." However, to radically overcome the war in which people were driven by nationalism, we should be freed from such a framework itself that classifies people by a nation or sets up national identity. I propose that we do not take national identity as a self-evident premise, but rather liberate ourselves from it, in order to make fundamental peace.

For liberating ourselves from identity and stereotype, it is necessary to reflect on how we are framed by them. In this seminar, there were exercises, talking about "identity" of each participant, and speaking our feelings each other by putting two chairs face to face which symbolized Japan and China. These exercises will be effective to let stereotypes visible. But in the seminar, we did not have a chance to reflect on how we have internalized those stereotypes. As a result, I felt that we kept the dual distinction of "Japanese" and "Chinese" till the end, on the contrary. Like a grandmother mentioned earlier who held contradictory feelings toward Japanese soldiers, our living reality often goes over the duality. I wonder what kind of work can be done to dissolve such a dualistic thinking and allow the multi dimensionality by taking subtle voices into consideration.

This is related to such issues as where we can draw a line for "the succession of trauma over generations"; that is, to whom trauma is succeeded, who are the subjects of reconciliation, what are the conditions for participants of this seminar, and how can we decide the conditions for participants of this seminar. If a person is "a Japanese", is he "a perpetrator" and does he need to take responsibility for "a crime"

of his "grandfather" or "father"? If a person is "a Chinese," is he a descendant of "a victim"? Under nationalism, a nation tend to be represented as "a family". I wonder if we take a view of "we are descendants of perpetrators and they are of victims," we may limit ourselves within the frame of such nationalism.

It is impossible for a certain nation to be neither a total "victim" nor a "perpetrator." We should take a historical event not as occurred in a specific nation, but rather as in a human history. It is possible that the nation which was once a victim becomes a perpetrator in other time of history. To prevent it we need a viewpoint of human history. A phrase of "grasping the Nanjing massacre in the light of human beings" in the speech by Professor Zhang on the first day might indicate the same idea. The following proposal by Mr. Brooke, a Canadian scholar, at the international symposium on "Memory of Nanjing massacre" (University of Washington, 1999) shares the same view: "what is the purpose of remembering the history of past massacres if we keep them within the frame of conflict between races or nations? The Nanjing massacre should be considered as a problem of human beings, though it occurred in the war-time between Japan and China." (Kasahara, 2002, p.293)

As I myself intended to know the history of Nanjing massacre "as Japanese," therefore, I do not think that we can simply erase the category of "Japanese" nor escape from there. Surely, I was born in "Japanese society" and I am "a Japanese." I am keenly aware that I have political responsibility with it. However, it is also sure that my existence is not reduced to just being "a Japanese."

During the seminar, "feeling" has been a main focus. In the light of constructionism, feelings are considered to be a social and political construction. So, in this seminar, it is also necessary to have a work of introspection, which allows us to reflect on the process of how we get to feel that way. It requires the intelligence to reflect on the process of constructing feelings. A social psychologist Dan Bar=On, whose parents were Jewish and fled from Germany into Palestine under Nazi regime, organized a joint work with descendants of a Nazi member and Holocaust survivors. For signifying their work, the participants dare not to use the word of "reconciliation" but chose a phrase of "To Reflect and Trust" (Bar=On 2008 , pp.198-

207). In this work, they avoid debates based on collective identity ("German" or "Jew"), but rather tell and accept their personal stories to each other. Through this work, they reflect on how they construct their collective identities and stereotypes associated with them, disentangle them, and shift to "the tertiary side" without belonging to either side.

Theme 3: Memory with faces and names

Physically visiting the place makes us feel the content of a book more vividly. Upon returning from Nanjing, I read books by Mr. Tokushi Kasahara and others, which I had already in my hand. I realized that I could understand them more smoothly than before and found some of the parts more convincing.

One of them was a description in the book of "Nanjing Massacre and Japanese" in which the importance of "remembering a face and a name" of victims was emphasized (Kasahara 2002). Meeting with a survivor, Mrs. Xia Shuqin (夏淑琴) for myself, has helped me to realize this since I can remember her actual face and name when I think about Nanjing massacre. The following are quotes from the book by Mr. Kasahara, regarding this point:

"What was lacking in a way of remembering Nanjing massacre for Japanese was to remember the faces and names of the victims."(p.249)

"The fact that we do not know the names and faces of victims means that we do not recall their sorrows and pains."(p.250)

"In Japan, we reduce the issue of Nanjing massacre to just a matter of numbers. But it should not be such a matter of number, but rather signify that each one of them who spent happy lives in Nanjing became a victim of Japanese army's invasion and brutality. We should recall a face and a name of each victim since Chinese people in Nanjing were sacrificed for their families and relatives to be killed or raped."(p.250)

I think that this is a very important indication. As often in the case of Nanjing massacre, huge violence in history is just merely recalled in a level of abstract concepts or numbers. A way of saying "six million Jewish lost their lives by the Holocaust" is a typical example. If we just say this way, that violence is confined to "other

people's affairs". On the contrary, I will come to feel the pain of a victim as my own, if I can think in a way like "If I were sacrificed like that" or "If my family were victims."

When I participated in the study meeting of The Peace Studies Association of Japan held in Hiroshima in the end of October, 2011, there was the following article in "Chugoku Shimbun" (15 October 29, 2011) which I took in my hand at the breakfast in a hotel. The news was about private publication of a book by a former Japanese soldier who went to China during the war and wrote about his experience during the war. ("Private publication of personal history, facing his experience as a perpetrator, by Mr. Shikada in Hamada"). In this book, he honestly spelled out his experience in a Chinese village where he attacked, "killing an ill daughter in front of her father who tried to protect her, and putting a captive for experiment on a human body." He said that he once worried about confessing such an atrocity at a lecture, because it might obstruct marriage of his eldest daughter. But at that time, he was shocked to "realize that that Chinese who tried to protect his daughter had the same affection as a father." Thereafter he decided to commit himself to doing testimony as his lifework.

He is a good example of putting his position to the other side by thinking in a way "if I were that Chinese father." This episode indicates how war and armed forces dehumanize others as "an enemy" and under such conditions, soldiers themselves are dehumanized, and how powerful it should be to re-humanize others. In other words, whether we can take in "pain of others" or not is fundamentally an important condition to restraint violence and make peace. However, nationalism and racism cut off our human relationship and build up "a wall of algesia," which prevents us from feeling the pain of people in the other side of the wall.

To destroy this wall, we should remember the actual face and name of the victims, that is, doing "mnemonic humanization" as Prof. Kasahara claims. That was what I was convinced when I listened to a story of Mrs. Xia in the Nanjing seminar. Additionally, the work of "empathy" should be added; that is, imagining "If Mrs. Xia were my grandmother." We need to add such an exercise to detonate the same process as the above mentioned Japanese former soldier went through. This process

seems to be common with testimonies of other Japanese former soldiers who are a member of the Chinese Returnees Association (中国帰還者連絡会). This indicates that to become able to imagine the people who were killed in a battlefield as an equal human with oneself can be the definite turning point.

On a site of the Nanjing Normal University where we had this seminar, there was the Ginling Women's College of Arts and Sciences (金陵女子文理学院). Minnie Vautrin (1886-1941), an American missionary, was a teacher of that university and recorded in a diary the suffering of sexual violence that women of Nanjing received from the Japanese armed forces (Vautrin 1999). In this diary, she wrote that she wanted Japanese women to know what happened in Nanjing because she expected that they would raise their voices to protest such as "we as the same woman cannot allow that happen." This is empathy for others through the gender identification. There must be various routes to humanize memory and empathize with others.

Theme 4: Learning from the actual site in other regions.

In the endeavor to overcome historical divisions, works of reconciliation and peace have been carried out in various places in the world. Their experiences and wisdom have been accumulated enormously, and we should learn from them. There are our "fellow workers" and "guides" all over the world. In this seminar, art and psychotherapeutic techniques were mainly adopted. On the other hand, in "Action Reconciliation Service for Peace" in Europe has realized reconciliation through practical works such as building facilities or caring senior citizens; I referred to one example from it in my paper "Window cleaning and Listening ear" (Oda 2012). In this case in Prague, a grandchild of a Nazi supporter visited a family of the elderly of a Jewish Holocaust survivor, and practical work of window cleaning had a big meaning. In another case, as mentioned before, volunteers from Action Reconciliation Service for Peace built the International Youth Meeting Centre in Oświęcim/Auschwitz next to the historical site of Auschwitz concentration camp in Poland. This facility which enables lodging and learning is used by many people as "infrastructure for peace." So reconciliation work can be done through various ways, i.e.

multi-track. There must be many ways regarding reconciliation work concerning Nanjing, even enlarging to Japan-China relations.

Hope: Not only memory of trauma but also memory of peace

Our argument for peace can be often shifted to the topic of war without being aware. It is necessary, of course, to focus on the misery of war and put it in our memory to prevent the war again. However, it is also necessary to focus on a peace itself and put it in our memory without detouring to misery of war to create peace. For, we are going ahead toward it. You may wonder if there is peace itself, though. There may not be absolute peace, but we may say that there is peace even during the war, if we change a viewpoint. It can be a light in darkness. There must be an approach in which we focus on that light, learn from there, and amplify it.

A political scientist, Mary Kaldor makes an extremely interesting indication in her "New and Old Wars: Organized Violence in a Global Era." In this book Kaldor analyzed so-called "new war" such as civil war in Yugoslavia or genocide in Rwanda that occurred after the Cold War. She claims that in any kind of "new war," we can find local people who are going to take an opposed stance to exclusionism politics. Some examples are: Hutu and Tutsi people, who called themselves Hutu tribe, tried to protect their area from genocide. In cities of Bosnia such as Sarajevo and Tesla, people protected a value for a citizen or that of multiculturalism without belonging to a particular ethnic group. The elders of northwest Somaliland wrestled in a peace negotiation." What she emphasized is that there were people who tried to keep peace without joining military force even in the midst of the dreadful armed conflicts in former Yugoslavia, Rwanda, and Somalia. Although they were the minority, we can learn a lot from them if we imagine how we can do as they do and try to utilize it for the future. Memory of such people is resources for peace. I wish we could have time to focus on a positive side in the history during this seminar.

For example, American missionaries such as John Magee recorded the presence of "conscientious Japanese officers" during the Nanjing massacre. (Kasahara 2005, pp. 338-344). We should recall such a Japanese soldier also. Of course, they were the

minority and would be exceptional in fact, because if they were the majority, Nanjing massacre itself would have been stopped. It is needless to say that the existence of conscientious Japanese officers does not allow acquittal for the atrocity conducted by other soldiers. Even though they can be considered "conscience," they were still committed to the invasion into China. However, in such a situation where most people were led to the inhumane crimes, the fact that there were still a few people who stopped doing that may have certain significance. Besides, it is necessary to inquire why they could do that. It would be overestimation to place the presence of conscientious Japanese in Nanjing massacre as "memory of peace."

To place the presence of conscientious Japanese officers in Nanjing as "memory of peace" would be an overstatement. But, to remember not only traumatic memories but also other side like this, may give us a hope for humanity.

A history of exchange between Japan and China is not limited to the invasion and war. Our ancestor can be traced to a few thousand Homo Sapiens born in Africa about 200,000 years ago (Oppenheimer 2007). Those few ancestors left Africa and were scattered to all over the world; their descendants happened to stay in the region of Japan and China. When the times pass by, the difference between Sui / Tang and nation of Wa or Japan, was created. Then, China was an advanced country and the Japanese went there for studying regardless of their safety. To the contrary, at the beginning of the 20th century, Chinese people like Sun Yat-sen and Chou Enlai came to Japan to learn from Japan after the Meiji Restoration. The history continues. After World War II Chou Enlai generously treated about 1,000 Japanese soldiers who were interned in Fushun War Criminals Management Centre and gave them time to reflect on their crimes during the war. Those former soldiers were sent back to Japan about 6 years later, and they organized the Chinese Returnees Association (中国帰還者連絡会) and continues to testify their acts as perpetrator. This act of reflection and spontaneous testimony by actual perpetrators themselves is truly rare in the world. Since the members become older, the Chinese Returnees Association was dissolved, but at the same time, the younger generation formed "the Continuing the Miracle of Fushun Society" (撫順の奇蹟を受け継ぐ会). A Japanese private citizen, who was

"retained" in China after the war, established a citizen group of "an ABC plan committee" (ABC 企画委員会) and continues educational acts about crimes by 731 Unit in Harbin and abandoned chemical weapons of Japanese army (Soma 1997). An elementary school teacher made a song for chorus by taking materials from Nanjing massacre organized a chorus group which continued to sing it. This "Purple Grass Chorus Group" (紫金草合唱団) achieved a performance in Nanjing, which has steadily spread as a grassroots peace exchange through art.

Such seeds of peace exist all over the world. If we pay more attention, hope can be found. Peace is not something some omnipresence gives us at one sweep, but rather it will be something which bud from these kinds of seeds or emanate from a little spring. Water from spring begins to flow, gradually becomes a big river merging with others, and flows into the ocean where we have not even imagined at the beginning. I suppose that a big peace in a future will be realized by merging with innumerable small peace. We are one of such a spring.

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Issues in the study of the War History

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1. Introduction

The purpose of this paper is to present my views concerning the study on the history of Shino-Japanese war as a historian. Although careful evaluation of the related books and papers is preferable, due to the limited space, I will focus mainly on the methods and frameworks for this study and provide materials for discussion.

Few will deny that in the study of history after WWII, the influence of "the Story" was lost, and the elucidation of groups of "a story" became mainstream in the historical narratives. Sympathy with Marxist views of history and its laws of development has dramatically decreased because of the failure of the former Soviet Union and Eastern Europe, the Chinese market economy, and the turmoil of Democratic People's Republic of Korea. Actually, the acts of describing history within a certain framework cannot be claimed as academic but rather as an expression of a political standing point. I believed that it was desirable to return the study of history to the original stance of emphasizing positivist methodology. Other reasons to revive the "positivistic study of history" are the improved conditions for perusal of the historical materials in Japan and the availability of the first rate historical materials made open to public in Taiwan and China during this period.

The late 1980's was a big turning point regarding the study of war history. In this period of time, the generation that was born in the 1920's and thus had experienced the war while socially maturing reached the age of retirement in various areas of society. This means that after this period of time the main spokespeople of the war in

such fields as politics, diplomacy, research, education and laypersons were gradually being replaced with the generation that did not experience the war. Previously, both Left and Right wing members who had tragic and pathetic experiences of the war implicitly claimed, "never to repeat such tragedies." However, with this transition to a new generation of leaders, their voices weakened. In the following I will discuss, how under this shift of generations the purposes of the study of war history changed and what pitfalls the new generation might fall into.

2. Scientific nature for historians

When I aspired to the study of history about thirty years ago (in the late 1970's) my colleagues believed that history was a science; that people "develop" on a law and that the mission of historians was to "serve for people" to achieve such a development. Of course, we were aware of strong criticism towards such views, but those "criticisms" was regarded as a howling of "reaction" or "imperialism reaction" and we could easily dismiss them.

Therefore, the previously mentioned shift of conditions for study was very shocking. Those who studied China in those days of 1988 commonly raised the question: why did the People's Liberation Army point the muzzle to the people? This inevitably brought distrust and disappointment to us. In addition, many historians, including myself, expressed the view that "Al the same society" would be dismantled as the richness expanded in the society while the "reform and openness policy" was pushed forward and mostly accepted as an established route in China from the end of the 1970's.

The 1980's were also an age of big conversion for the society of historians in China. Turmoil in various fields in China due to the failure of the Cultural Revolution forced them to review the fundamental stance of Chinese contemporary history that was synonymous to the history of the Chinese revolution, the Chinese Communist Party, and the Mao Zedong line. There was a revival in the study of history of the Chinese economy, the Republic of China, and the Chinese culture that had

been long ignored. In addition, environmental change of Taiwanese democratization cannot be ignored. This was also the time in which the study of the history of the Shino-Japanese War started in full-scale.

The time of 1980's both in China and Japan was a beginning of the end of "an established story of human liberation in the view of Socialism or Marxism." A persuasive power of simple historical description based on good-bad dualism had been rapidly weakened and a quick return to "proof" was sought. In this progress, "the scientific nature" in the study of history due to following "the law", has been replaced by "the possibility of proof and disproof" based on historical materials. It was natural under this condition that the study theme became individualized and subdivided. Although there was some difference in degree by researchers, this meant a shift from the pursuit of "universality" to "individual" orientation. Those scholars who ignored or made light of the proof quickly went extinct.

From my view, this shift was a desirable phenomenon. However, it also presented us with a new, challenging problem. Our choices from the enormous amounts of historical materials that recorded innumerable events inevitably created big differences in the accomplished images of history.

In other words, even if we properly managed and never manipulated historical materials, we can still arrive at an intended conclusion with them. This risk is especially high in contemporary history since the amount of records of both primary and secondary historical materials is enormous.

Fundamentally historians do not suspect their own "scientific nature" and "objectivity", since they observe a procedure of "proof." However, because their choices have already become a premise when they pick up certain historical materials, what they mean by "objectivity" cannot exceed a level of "subjective objectivity" to say the least.

The radical economical growth in China led them to reclaim their national confidence and to become a politically influential country. On the other hand, in Japan, a feeling of economical stagnation has spread over "the lost 20 years" after the bubble burst and led to the economic collapse. This caused both countries to require "a dif-

ferent story" or "a small story" rather than a "human story" for the same historical events.

To summarize up to this point, we historians have the tendency to put too much confidence on historical "narratives" presented by academic researchers to be scientific and objective. Furthermore, we tend to look down on memories succeeded through oral transmission and regard them to be of a lower quality than records. However, ironically, the progress of "positivism-based history" provided a basis for creating a new "narrative based history," whose contents are directly and heavily reflecting feelings and desires of a nation and a race rather than the universal story of human beings. I believe that whether we accept the flooding of this pluralistic "narrative based history" as they are or whether we can regard groups of "narratives" by others in the same way as our own narratives, will determine a course of the study of war history, its way of "dialogue" and possibly lead to us overcoming conflicts due to history.

3. Is it possible for us to achieve historical reconciliation?

History is a study to mobilize all "the intelligence" and "the reason". Particularly, in the case of the study of foreign history, there are so many tasks, such as acquiring their language, inquiring the path dependency of the culture, and approaching contemporary issues presented as a consequence of history and having an attitude to absorb related areas of study, such as economics, political science, sociology, and religious studies as tools for analysis. Inherently, the reason that the modern study of history tried to keep the stance to value the logical consistency was because they tried to avoid various confusions that will be produced by the complicated nature of this study.

The historian who went through sincere training is convinced that "the truth" is elucidated by his own "argumentation" because he takes abstinent and careful inspection; of course I am not an exception.

However, as stated before, it is a characteristic of the modern study of history that no one except a pseudo-scholar will show failure in a proof in their books and thesis. In other words, anyone can claim that their work is "the truth" and "an objec-

tive description" to the utmost.

Currently, ways for a historian to publish his results of study in history are restricted to a thesis and a book, and it is impossible to replace them with dancing or reading aloud an epic. Therefore, history is considered as a study of logos. Then, those concepts which were tightly connected with historical evaluation, such as "truth" "fairness" or justice" should have been philosophically examined. To my regret, the confidence arose from the accomplishment of "proof" which requires a tremendous amount of work that allows each historian to use the significant terms in a considerably arbitrary way. We keep dealing with the study results as a part of routine work, without affirming whether the "justice" of A and the "justice" of B are pointing to the same phenomena or state. I wonder if we can find the same phenomenon in such an important task as historical "reconciliation." In our daily lives, it is extremely difficult for us to accept, have a dialogue with, and forgive the person who hurts us.

In terms of post-war "reconciliation" in modern history, many people regard Germany and France or Germany and Jews (Israel) as a model case. This may lead to the question; "Why is it that the Japanese cannot make an apology, while the Germans could?" However, there have been many efforts to do just that including making a common textbook, which I cannot afford to explain here in detail. Rather, I would like to propose my personal view about the semantic difference of "reconciliation" and the structural difference of the "reconciliation" process between the cases of Japan and China and that of Germany and other Western societies.

I first checked the word "reconciliation" as imaged in our actual life experience in the representative dictionaries of Japan and China. I found out that the Japanese and Chinese languages in modern usage both share the common sense that the subject of "reconciliation" is the "party concerned" and "both parties". This confirms that such a structure is a process or a civil code for reconciliation in which party A and party B both claim their opinions, put them into an entangled situation, reach a compromise, and finally terminate the dispute (settlement) and make a contract.

(Shin Horitsugaku Jiten, 3rd edition, Yuhikaku 1989, p.1484) We may consider such a legal image firmly established in our everyday language usage.

(2) By contrast, a speech by Richard von Weizsacker, President of the Federal Republic of Germany, on May 8th, 1985 in a time when the Cold War had not yet reached the end, shows how his hope for reconciliation with Jews and a reflection to war crimes, had a considerable distance from our "common sense." I quote:

The vast majority of today's population was either child then or had not been born. They cannot profess guilt of their own for crimes that they did not commit. But their forefathers have left them a grave legacy. All of us, whether guilty or not, whether old or young, must accept the past. We are all affected by its consequences and liable for it. It is not a case of coming to terms with the past. That is not possible. It cannot be subsequently modified or made not to have happened. However, anyone who closes his eyes to the past is blind to the present. Whoever refuses to remember the inhumanity is prone to new risks of infection. Precisely for this reason we must understand that there can be no reconciliation without remembrance. Remembrance is experience of the work of God in history. It is the source of faith in redemption. This experience creates hope, creates faith in redemption, in reunification of the divided, in reconciliation. Whoever forgets this experience loses his faith. We must erect a memorial to thoughts and feelings in our own hearts. (Speech by Richard von Weizsacker, President of the Federal Republic of Germany)

Later, Weizsacker recalled this speech in the following way: "In this speech, I borrowed a certain religious thought that was not my own faith: "Seeking to forget makes exile all the longer; the secret of redemption lies in remembrance." This was an old Jewish wisdom. We cannot relieve ourselves nor make it not-happened. We have gone through an abyss and participated in it. However, there is one thing we can and should do, which is to look directly into the abyss faithfully. It is significant for that fact and the future. ("Reminiscences by Weizsacker" Iwanamishoten, 1998, pp.232-233)

His choice of the word for reconciliation in Germany was "Versöhnung." This word means reconciliation with god or redemption by god and obviously indicates his theological position. His position is also found in his attitude to face the history with premising his own impotence and helplessness, and speak to others while respecting other's inherent thinking process. His conviction for "reconciliation" is based on the faith system and not by the mediation by the transcendental nor reason nor science.

Furthermore, this structure can be expressed as a vertical direction of "reconciliation" in which it is first given by the transcendental, then the concerned parties are "relieved" and make mutual concessions with each other as a gift of that relief. On the other hand, the Japanese and Chinese way is a simple process of horizontal reconciliation. Indeed, this interpretation of reconciliation is truly a special feature of Weizsacker as a person who experienced ministry. This speech was made possible due to common spiritual background imprinted in people of the Jewish and Christian worlds, in which they seek "the transcendence".

By contrast, we cannot find the similar religious and spiritual ground in Japan and China. As most of the endeavors towards the reconciliation between Japan and Korea are done by Christianity clergyman and believers on both sides, the absence of "a common narrative" is a big factor which makes it difficult to pave the road for sharing the common historical understanding between Japan and China. Of course, a continuous effort for dialogue in a dimension of intelligence and reason, such as making a "common textbook" by Japan, China, and Korea should be highly evaluated, but after all "the monument of wisdom and feeling" can be established only through mutual understanding which embraces a dimension of sensitivity and emotions.

4. Conclusion

So far, I have written up quite a bit about contents that I had some difficulty with putting into this language, but here I would like to summarize my argument. First, an image of "reconciliation" for Japan and China has been that of legislation

and reason. Therefore, we can be easily fall into a dualistic way of thinking such as "good and evil" or "victim and perpetrator" which makes the conflict worse. Secondly, whether historians become convinced of the limitation of standard "narrative", which emphasizes reason based on the proof through documents, will be a factor in determining the course of "dialogue" from this point forward. It is needless to say that the proof work must be pursued thoroughly, but each one of us has to be aware of the solemn fact that the very subject to do so is not omniscience and omnipotence and realize the danger to "judge" another person by a limited being like us. For my own self-discipline, I would like to emphasize that even "the objective historical fact" cannot escape from the fact that it is a subjective objectivity. Lastly, we historians need to be tolerant and recognize the value of different methodologies for historical studies when we deal with the historical issues, and to approach these different methodologies thoroughly in the future.

The potentiality of history is great, and the proverb of "Never forget the past and learn from history" is extremely persuasive. However, it is necessary for us historians to humbly admit that there exists narratives emerged from the invisible metaphysical or theological "mind". We need to keep a distance from our pride as a historian or faith in science and look into an actual process of "reconciliation." The next question I wish to answer is: "Where can we allow ourselves to take a leap on historical interpretation, mobilizing imagination and sympathy?"

I will eventually disappear from this world, most likely within the next 30 years. Yet, in this short amount of time I cannot help but contemplate on why a small creature such as ourselves still attempt to conduct studies and pursue the education of history.

[Comment] This report is a revised version of the content of the lecture on July 9, 2011 "Issues in the history of studying Nanjing Massacre-discourses in the history study." However, I have made an extended amount of revisions because I needed to review previous studies and expand my argument if focusing on "Nanjing."

Reclaiming the wartime experience from the first person viewpoint-towards a history and peace education based on experiential psychology

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The succession of never experienced wartime experience

"Anyone who closes his eyes to the past is blind to the present. Whoever refuses to remember the inhumanity is prone to new risks of infection." This is one excerpt from the famous speech that German President Richard Karl Freiherr von Weizsäcker delivered at the ceremony for the 40th anniversary of the end of World War II. Even now, 25 years after this speech, these words by Weizsäcker still remain significant to us Japanese.

A Historical Sociologist, Yoshiaki Fukuma (2009) in his "Post-war History of Wartime experience" describes in detail a process of creating a conflict over wartime experience and a gap between the post war generation and the pre-war and wartime generation. He also points out that, "In the post war period, experiences of war were a kind of "culture" and functioned as a symbol of violence for the post war young generation who did not have direct experiences of war. Therefore, the "culture of wartime experiences" lost the support from the younger generation.

As Fukuma clarified, in the post war Japanese society, wartime experiences had not always been concordant with "anti-war" and "peace". For the generation who directly went through the war, experience of war could not be easily expressed with words, and therefore, it became a ground to criticize the political manipulation of "anti-war" by the postwar generation and created severe conflicts with them over the experience of war." Such criticism and conflict show complicated aspects of in-

heriting wartime experiences, but Fukuma regards this positively as "Through such aspects of conflict and inconsistency, a variety of possibilities of confronting the war experience has been created" and he asserts in the following:

The wartime experience repeatedly experienced degradation and discontinuity. However, it does not mean that passing down or succeeding them is impossible. Rather, mnemonic succession and regenerative opportunity may dwell in sincerely examining the history of discontinuity of wartime experiences in the post war period. Our future can be carved out by examining the mistakes and what-ifs of our past. (p.262)

In this period of time, 74 years after the Nanjing massacre and more than 65 years after the end of WWII, how can we approach the experiences that took place far before we were born and reflect them on our current way of life? How can we take responsibility for the war and succeed these wartime experiences? What is the purpose and meaning for us to offer an apology as "Japanese people"? To find out the answers to such questions, we need to sincerely examine "the history of discontinuity in war time experiences in the post war period," and once more explore how we approach "the wartime experience which repeatedly endured degradation and discontinuity."

The task given to us as individuals living in the 21st century is to figure out how we can carry on these wartime experiences without closing our eyes to certain details so we can build a resistance to such events repeating in the future.

First-person narrative Part 1: De-historizing body

I was born in 1963, 18 years after the end of WWII. The first opportunity for me to face the issues of a history within myself came when I took a class on "The Social Body" while attending graduate school in the U.S.. It was taught by Professor Don Hanlon Johnson (1992), a leading scholar in the field of Somatics (a field to explore the body-mind from the first person perspective) and one of the pioneers in the psychological and sociological study of the body. Our assignment was to read "A Chorus of Stones" by Ms. Susan Griffin (1992) and to present an essay on it. In the very

first session, a German and a Jew born in the same generation as myself confessed the burden of the history they carried. When I witnessed their confession I was shocked by the fact that I myself had never felt history in the seriousness they did.

Before this, although I had knowledge about the incidents that took place at Marco Polo Bridge, Nanjing, Pearl Harbor, and Hiroshima-Nagasaki, I had never realized that they had some connection with my present self. The dates such as December 13, 1937, December 8, 1941 or August 6, 1945, were not so significant as the dates of Taika Reformation, AD 646, and Kamakura Shogunate formation, AD 1192. When I thought of wartime battles, I associated them with the Boshin War or Sekigahara War; popular scenes that appeared on television programs. Although I had been to an Atomic Bomb Museum had seen films on Pearl Harbor and seen photos of the Nanjing Massacre, these experiences had never changed my way of life. I had never connected the war of my grandparent's and parent's generations with the violence within myself and Japanese society or with the wars that were taking place all over the world at this present.

In the class by Prof. Johnson, I learned the concept of the "social body" that Foucault articulated, which indicated that social systems such as education and medical care inscribed a particular frame of feeling and thinking which was sedimented in the bottom of one's consciousness through the bodily disciplines. Through the concept, I first realized that the body, which did not realize the connection between the past war and my present, was my "social body" that was raised in Japanese society. At this point I came to call my social body, which was disconnected from the past and lived as if only in the present, the "De Historizing Body" parodying Kitano Nishida's famous "Historical Body."

With this social body, if we simply accumulate knowledge about past events, without having sympathy with other's pain and imagination to the complicated social situation, we may just deepen the degree of de-historization of the body. That is, even if we increase the amount of description of WWII in textbooks, it will not be sufficient under this situation. If we carry a "De historizing body" such as my own, we may not sympathize with the direct voices of those people who went through

the agony of the huge historical wave of war. Such voices include the victims of the Japanese invasion, the Hibakusha that suffered under the atomic mushroom cloud, or the people running around to escape the Tokyo blitzkrieg.

In order for me to get rid of such a "de-historizing body" and realize the past that brought up myself as my own and connect with neighbors at the deeper level, I needed to develop a "historical body" for myself that would honestly face and accept the feelings of others and ourselves.

In order for us to remember and learn from the history, we should develop, through history education, this kind of "social body", which allows us to be aware of the complicated nature of history we have grown up with- which inevitably raises the issue of the violence within us-and to grasp it as an extension of this present moment connecting to our lives. That was my lesson from that class of Prof. Johnson's social body, and I decided to organize an Asian Worldwork in 1996 in San Francisco, with the purpose to explore how the various atrocities Japanese army conducted during the WWII in Asia influence us in the present day." (Murakawa 2001b)

Call for Experiential Psychology

According to Eugene Taylor (2000), a lecturer of history of psychology at Harvard University, history of psychology can be divided into three currents: experimental, clinical, and experiential. These three have developed independently, though overlapping with one another. Among them, experiential psychology has a root in the American psychological and spiritual traditions of the 19th century, influenced by Depth psychology and Existential Philosophy from Europe, and has developed since the 1960s, as Humanistic Psychology, Somatics, Transpersonal Psychology, and Holistic Medicine and Integrative Medicine. Experiential psychology criticizes the Cartesian dualism of body/mind or subject/object experimental psychology and psychologism which reduces all the psychological phenomena into one's inner world, and instead takes a view of human beings as a whole consisting of mind/body/spirit. As a school of this experiential psychology, Arnold and Amy Mindell, Jungian Psychotherapists, started Worldwork, a group work, which "brings into psy-

chology a new vision of taking individual inner processes and group processes as a dynamic single process...In this Worldwork, with the issues of racial discrimination, gender, and ethnic conflicts, they do not try to seek for reconciliation, by dividing into the good and the evil or the oppressor and the victim. Rather they adopt the view of "the field" as a third viewpoint and try to "heal the field." (Murakawa 2001b)

In experiential psychology, they do not make an intellectual analysis or interpretation from the third-person objective stance, but rather explore the experiences from the first-person stance. Therefore, they encourage the participants to accept their own experiences as they are, before making intellectual judgment or reflection. Since each person's experience is different, they do not value from the absolute standpoint of "good or bad" or "right or wrong." However, it is needless to say that the "experiences" should not also be put into the absolute position, and should be explored of their meanings through a process of reflecting and analyzing them. In this sense, "experience" in the view of experiential psychology is "experiment" with actual feeling and is only an opportunity to explore how we can live our lives while communicating and cooperating with others. Therefore, experience and thinking/reflection form a reciprocal process.

In the Worldwork of the Mindells who take a position of experiential psychology, they emphasize "dynamics of field" as an opportunity to sublimate dualistic positions such as an individual and a group, the right and wrong, or a victim and a perpetrator. I believe that taking this kind of new approach where we deliberately deal with the complicated issues regarding the war, there might be a possibility to create "a new history education" which overcomes the above mentioned "de-historizing body."

First-person narrative Part 2: History as present accompanying the feeling

The reason that I chose to organize "Worldwork" to explore the "De-historizing body" was that when I participated in the Worldwork of Mindells in 1994 I became aware that inside myself existed a "violence associated with the pleasure of life (sexuality) that rises up from deep within when I release myself in a group." As an in-

dividual person, I had been regarded as rather non-violent. However, the violent energy I felt after working with a group of Japanese people forced me to question myself, and the possibility for me to conduct the same atrocities as Japanese armies did during the war. This experience taught me that the atrocity that the "Wartime Japanese Army" conducted is not an issue of "Japanese" nor "some other" but rather that of myself who hid an impulse to oppress others and treat them violently; a very issue of how I face that impulse.

After organizing this Worldwork to deal with the issues of war in Asia, I started to work as a volunteer for a Chinese American civil movement which was just growing bigger at that time trying to let the American society recognize the history of the Sino-Japanese war. (2001a) Through this work, I became acquainted with Chinese American victims of war, American veterans who suffered from the damage of human body experiments of the 731 Unit, Mrs. Iris Chang and Mr. Shudo Higashinakano. Sometimes, I was invited to memorial services for the victims of the Sino-Japanese war in San Francisco, in which I was given an opportunity to offer flowers as a Japanese participant. These experiences inevitably made me realize that the war 70 years ago was not something in the past but "in the present" for many Asian people living now with intense feelings.

Some other people who participated in the Asian Worldwork of 1996 also continued to work for this issue with a strong will and passion. One of them was Mr. Kazuaki Tanahashi. He held a passionate intention to visit Nanjing, and asked Ms. Iris Chang for reference. He first visited Professor Zhang Lianhong of Nanjing Normal University in 2000, took years to build their trust and friendship, and finally held an international conference "Remembering Nanjing" in 2007, on the 70th anniversary of Nanjing Massacre. This event became a seed for the project in 2009 and 2011. (Tanahashi 2007) The invitation letter for this international conference is written as: "This conference is for people from China, Japan, and other parts of the world, who have had different war experiences and educations, to open their hearts and listen deeply to one another on the issues of the Sino-Japan War and the Nanjing (Nanking) Tragedy." (Tanahashi 2007) This conference was unique since it clearly

mentioned its non-judgmental position as follows: "in order to reflect the diversity of historical interpretations, this conference asked to put our fixed ideas aside and allow each person to be open to other viewpoints. We encourage people to listen to the feelings of others and express their own personal feelings."

Another figure who was a participant of the Asian Worldwork of 1996 and continued to get involved in this issue was Mr. Armand Volkas, a drama therapist. Mr. Volkas came to Japan in 2007 and held a workshop on playback theater based on his own Healing the Wounds of the History method to deal with the war experience for Japanese postwar generation, at the Ritsumeikan University Peace Museum. At the opening of the Playback Theater, an elderly Japanese expressed his intense feelings by saying, "You should deal with the fact that Japanese lost many lives by A-bomb, before calling us an assailant." His expression, though appearing aggressive, contained a slight sense of sorrow, which made me realize that many Japanese carry both feelings of damage and assault layered upon each other that remained unexpressed. Here I saw that Playback Theater can take such a strong aggression in a public space, without denying them and respect them as they are, which also created a base for this seminar in 2011.

Memory and feeling inscribed in the body

Kleinman et al (1997), who initiated interdisciplinary study of social memory of traumatic incidents such as Holocaust, Vietnam War and other racial conflicts and ethnic cleansing, claim that the violence during the war continue to influence on both victims and perpetrators, appearing as mental diseases or psychosomatic disorders, even in the peace time. Such violence is not confined to the individuals who experienced them directly, but can be transmitted to the later generations at the three level of individual, cognitive, and performative (Connerton, 1989). However, in the history and peace education in East-Asian regions, the tragedy of war experiences has been dealt with only at the individual and cognitive levels, elucidating "objective facts of war." It has never focused on the social memory which has been transmitted at the performative level, such as domestic violence (張, 2010). In ad-

dition, the conventional trauma treatment has focused on the individual level and has had little perspective to connect the individual trauma to the social memory sedimented at the bodily performative level (Muramoto, 2008). On this account, the memory of war for the post war generation has been cut off from their own lives without associating it with lively feelings through history education partial to transmission of objective facts, while as Kleinman and others clarified, violence by war has been transmitted at the bodily performative level up to the present. This unrecognized trauma casts a shadow over the Japanese modern society, as violence acting out or as symptoms such as depression or self-mutilation.

As postmodern theory indicates, there is no such thing as an absolutely correct history. For example, "the Truth and Reconciliation Commission" (TRC) which was organized aiming at the reconciliation of allelism between races in South Africa, where the hatred and the anger long held an apartheid policy, points out that there are several ways of "truth." According to the TRC, there are four truths as 1) factual or legal, 2) individual or narrative, 3) social or for dialogue, 4) healing or for restoration. (Nagahara 2004) In the war history, "truth as facts" has been the main focus. However, "truth as narratives" or "truth for dialogue" contains the feelings and emotions of an individual and is necessary to open a way towards the truth for healing and restoring the relationship for postwar generations, by disentangling them one by one. Healing the Wounds of the History, which Volkas developed for many years, is a superior method to share stories of an individual with many others while carefully taking care of the feelings as an approach of experiential psychology.

First-person narrative Part 3: Reflection of "Remembering Nanjing 2011".

Ms. Muramoto who took part in the Playback Theater by Mr. Volkas in 2007 also joined "Remembering Nanjing" in November. She visited Nanjing again in 2009 with her Japanese students to carry out the promise she made with her Chinese students. This seminar of Remembering Nanjing 2011 is the third of this continuous effort. During four days of this HWH seminar Mr. Volkas conducted, I had several opportunities to speak up actively.

On the first day, after a group of several Chinese and Japanese discussed the issue of identity as Japanese or a Chinese, Volkas put the two chairs, representing a Japanese and a Chinese, in the center of the circle of all the participants, and then anybody who would like to speak for that position is encouraged to speak. In this exercise, I sat on a chair representing Chinese and spoke to a Japanese chair, to criticize Japan, which was an expression of the voices of Chinese I had listened to over ten years. Then various participants spoke for each side, and expressed their feelings. At the end, I took a turn on the Japanese side, and expressed a voice of a Japanese "indifferent generation." This was an affirmation that there were various voices inside of me regardless of Chinese or Japanese.

Within a frame of experiential psychology, it is encouraged that we do not identify ourselves as a Japanese or a Chinese, but rather we embody our Japanese or Chinese history and speak up from that embodiment. I was present there as a human being, rather than as a Japanese. Speaking up at the seminar was an experiment for me to explore what kind of presence my voice come from and to find out how different the difference between a Chinese and a Japanese is from that of Aomori and Nara or Yamaguchi and Fukushima prefectures, or to find out whether that difference depended on the language or customs. By this method that Volkas conducts, we can express and share such various voices in a safe space, which provides an opportunity to listen to various voices within others or ourselves and to take them in. However, the experiences in this experimental space are not necessarily leading to the "healing" of the victims, and the experiences and the voices from them might not be connected to the "truth" in the political context. Such connections are unknown to us yet.

An orientation of history and peace education; from victim and perpetrator to finding a common ground.

Taking an opportunity with the 50th anniversary of the end of WWII, an active argument came to be developed regarding how we can take responsibility for the war (Abiko and others 1999). Above all, the activities by "Jiyushugishikan Kenkyu-

kai (a liberalism view of history meeting)" and criticism of "Comfort Women" and "Nanjing Massacre" by Yoshinori Kobayashi, a member of "Atarashii Rekishikyokasho wo Tsukurukai, (a meeting making a new history textbook)" attracted many young generations. Against this situation, Manabu Sato (1998), a scholar of education, points out "Atarashii Rekishikyokasho wo Tsukurukai basically follows a fundamental frame of postwar history education, rather than completely denying it" and criticizes the history education under the postwar democracy in the following way:

Through the stunt that erased the war as the matter that passed, and to cross out voices of the dead, the postwar education realized a prompt shift to peace and democratic education. Although memory of vivid war accompanied with agony and lamentation hovered in each person's body, in the official history taught by school education, such memory of the body was erased and a bright and undaunted education towards rebuilding of the homeland was executed. (p.310)

Sato examined the way of postwar history education, and proposed a new way of history education "whose principle to transmit the history should be to respect as they are the varieties of memories and histories which were held by each person's body" and asserted that it is necessary to set an education which accepts histories lived by each person in this modern Japanese society as the facts of "history of Japanese people" rather than lumping them together with labels of "good" and "evil" or "right" and "wrong."

A scholar of education, Mai Takahashi (2009) in her "Education focusing on not inhibiting the human growth: an education necessary for common life" critically examined discourses which insists that recovering "Japanese nature" can solve contemporary problems as Yoshinori Kobayashi of "Atarashii Kyokasho wo Tsukurukai" and "Jiyushugi shikan Kenkyukai" insisted. Through her examination, Takahashi points out that it is necessary to find out a true cause and solution for a problem of "a crisis of relationship" as a fundamental problem which was brought by expansion of a social gap based on a meritocracy in Japanese society where their claims infiltrate. From Takahashi (2009),

"The reason that the paradigm shift from "self-education for a victim" to "self-education for a perpetrator" is necessary is that existing pedagogy promotes violence and colonization for others as well as for the self" (p .274). Based on this analysis, Takahashi points out "the modernity which disturbs a human encounter" as the fundamental problem and insists in the following:

The fundamental problem of modern education lies in neither the lack of "Japanese nature" nor the underdevelopment of modernity, but rather in the continuation of modernity or "colonialism" which disturbs "human encounter" with others. It is a result that even after the war, we merely shift the boundary of groups which enables effective colonization from Japanese citizens to Japanese elites, and still eliminating the "encounter" as we did during the war, and colonizing others and ourselves as ever. We feel lonely and experience the crisis of relationship because we do not encounter with anybody and nobody encounters with us. Unless we overcome this modernity as keeping a society, which we maintain by never "encountering", that is, a society, which forces us to be not an individual but "somebody," educational problem of the present age will remain unsolved and we will never truly be liberated. (p .276-277)

First-person narrative Part 4: Reflection from "Remembering Nanjing 2011"

On the morning of the last day of the seminar, we went to Yanziji with all of the seminar participants to offer flowers at the monument for the victims. When I came to Nanjing in 2007, I went to the same monument for the same purpose, but this time there was a big difference: a Chinese and a Japanese paired up to offer flowers. Watching Chinese and Japanese youth taking each other's hands and going up the stairs together inspired me and gave direction to a path that I had walked without a definite direction to since I heard heartbreaking voices of German and Jew classmates in a class by Don.

In the afternoon, we came back to Nanjing Normal University and did a closing for the seminar. At the end, Chinese and Japanese participants stood facing each other and truthfully and openly expressed what they asked for. Promoted by words

of Mr. Volkas to "take the words of each voice as an individual as well as a collective," Chinese participants expressed "I want you to change anything positively without using the right wing for an excuse"; "Watching a Japanese kneel and apologize makes my heart ache. We do not want to watch such a figure. I want you to take some action." We could hear these straightforward words that had never been spoken. In turn, a Japanese participant expressed that, "only a voice of the right wing seems to be outstanding in Japan, but there are many Japanese that have tried hard to educate the young generation for peace since the old days. However, recently more and more of those people are giving up and have developed a negative feeling towards China. I would like you to find a compromise somewhere, and to support us. Please." After uttering such straightforward voices and exchanging frank responses, Japanese and Chinese approached each other, shaking hands and embracing each other. I was sitting on a floor between the two groups, witnessing the process, to keep the scene firmly in mind. It seems that I witnessed an "encounter" which was made possible through spending time together where each one touched the unspeakable dark history and felt the pain of each other, and sincerely explored what we should do for the future.

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Quiet Reform – Attempts of Reconciliation through Playback Theatre

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Playback AZ

1. Introduction

The International Seminar “Remembering Nanjing 2011” was held from October 5th to 8th, 2011 in Nanjing Normal University in Nanjing, China. Playback Theatre was part of the Healing the Wounds of History workshop facilitated by Armand Volkas. Friends Playback Theatre from China, Eddy Yu from Hong Kong, and Playback AZ from Japan took part in this seminar and collaborated for the playback theatre performance. In this article I will reflect on the 7 stories told during the four days, and consider the potential of playback theatre as a modality of reconciliation for the heart.

2. Playback Theatre

Just as the deep meaning and messages embedded in folktales and fairytales have taught us the truth of life and wisdom of living, playback theatre teaches us through stories.

Playback Theatre is a form of improvisational theatre in which a personal experience is re-enacted on the spot. The form offers an opportunity for a large audience to witness a personal experience, participants exchanging emotions, new points of view, and images about the future. The stories told are personal, but they are also the reflection of the condition and the structure of the society that is behind them. People interact at a deep level and share the human truth. As a result, a kind of “Social Education” is achieved.

3. Red Threads – Deep Layers of Stories

When the audience go from the their usual thinking mode to the feeling mode, deep interaction unique to Playback Theatre begins. When analyzing the deeper layers of the stories, we can see that the stories contain human wisdom and universal truth.

During the workshop, three stories were told. In the evening four stories were told in the public performance. These stories are told as personal stories and each story stands on its own but they also became seven chapters that formed one big story.

The red threads woven with seven stories depicted the transformation of the Chinese and Japanese younger generations' relationship, from recognizing the feelings they held as the descendents of perpetrators and victims, to wishing peace from their hearts. Described below is the outline of the stories, meaning of the stories, and the threads of messages woven into the stories.

At the Workshop

“Attacked by A Thousand” A Japanese teacher

I thought I knew about the history of Japan and China's past. But a few decades ago, I participated in a meeting organized by Chinese and realized how superficial my knowledge was. At the venue where approximately a thousand Chinese people gathered to voice their anger and grief, I was there as the only Japanese person. I couldn't understand the Chinese being spoken, but I was hit by the energy of anger. I stood speechless, feeling utterly overwhelmed.

In this story, China and Japan are irreconcilable. Dialogue does not occur and there is no connection with the other. Here, a Japanese person is receiving the violence of words coming from the Chinese. The Japanese were supposed to be the perpetrator but here the Japanese is a victim and we can see the reversed position between the perpetrator and the victim.

As the first chapter of the big story, although this may not be at the level of consciousness of the teller and the others, a problem was presented, the reversal of the perpetrator/victim position between Japanese and Chinese. “Who are the victims, who are the perpetrators? Where is the truth? Isn’t the existence of human beings complex and contradictory having both perpetrator/victim? The history of education in the past has been limited to the passing on of the objective historical past and emotions such as anger and hatred, that the history evokes, are left unattended. From this point, can we hope for peace? Is emotional reconciliation possible?” Along the line of these questions, six other stories dialogue below the surface. At the end, the answer is presented by the last story. Below is a hypothesis that the depth of the stories may be suggesting to us.

“Gentle grandfather and the demonic Japanese soldier” A Japanese student

He was a gentle grandfather. He especially adored me. The image I hold since childhood has always been “nice grandpa.” Then I learned that he was a high class official placed on duty in China. Does that mean that he was one of the Japanese soldiers who committed inhumane crimes? I don’t know the truth but was he also one of the demonic Japanese soldiers? The image of him as a grandfather and the image of him as the Japanese soldier are dissociated from each other. Two polarized images are in conflict with each other, tormenting me.

What the image of her grandfather represents here is the complexity of human being. The teller is not able to accept the fact that the gentle grandfather could also have been a demonic Japanese soldier. These two conflicting images stand at the polar opposite of good and evil and the teller’s feeling towards the grandfather is confused.

This story was told as if to respond to the problem suggested in the first story. Human beings cannot easily be categorized into perpetrator and victim. Even though they are contradictory, they are both true. The story presented

the universal truth that we accept the contradiction and overcome the conflict.

“Optimistic Grandmother” A Chinese student

I am remembering the scene where my grandma and I are talking. Grandma's father was killed by the Japanese and she lived a life full of hardships. The wounds in her heart and the memory of sorrow in her body will not disappear. Even then, grandmother was full of smiles and optimism. The image of grandma for me is a cheerful person. I deeply respect my grandmother.

This was a story of a woman, who lived with strength and livelihood without being crushed by the weight of the historical past. The story was about adoring the grandmother who, no matter how unfortunate or miserable life maybe, found joy in life without being defeated.

The first and the second story included the dark side of human beings. But this story emphasized the strong and cheerful side of human nature as if to balance the previous stories. Some people, like this grandmother, lived their lives cheerfully without forgetting hope even though they had hardships. Human beings have the ability to live with resilience even after the ultimate hardship has occurred. In this sense, this story also inherits the theme about the complexity of human beings. When looking at how the whole story unfolded, this story offered a hopeful message that the hardships not always led to a dark future.

Performance

The public performance changed the scenery of the venue. In addition to the workshop participants, we invited the public as well. Three stories told in the workshop were the stories about the people who lived during and after the war. At the performance, a new standpoint is introduced. The stories had shifted to those of the young people now, as if to show the flow and the shift of time.

“Only because it is now” A Japanese student

I have a Korean partner. When I was studying in Korea, we talked about our history and I realized that I was Japanese. The Japanese who used to have power over Korea, the Japanese who used to be the perpetrator, and I am a descendent. We are able to be together beyond the borders because the relationship of dominant/dominated has ended. We can honor each other just as a person. If we had met 70 years ago, I wonder how it might have been.

This brings the standpoint of the younger generations. Previously, emotional relationships like this could not have overcome the social structure of Japan dominating Korea. This is a story that showed that 70 years have passed and young people are now able to join their hearts together.

Here, the theme of perpetrator and victim has appeared as dominant and dominated. The story progressed to the next chapter and the young people of the nations that were at conflict joined their hearts together. The story suggests the fact that, the war ended, time went by, and the younger generations are making relationships different from the past. Perhaps we are being asked, can China and Japan reconcile like these young people have.

“Each have their own circumstances” A Japanese Student

The story my grandfather told me was his miserable experience as a prisoner of war. He was taken to the Soviet Union and was forced to work in severe conditions, so I thought of him as a victim. I never considered myself as Japanese and the perpetrator. But when I learned about Nanjing, I learned that Japan was also a perpetrator. I was in the midst of confusion and contradictions. But a Chinese person said to me, “Perpetrator and victims each have their own circumstances.” This was a big realization.

The theme of perpetrator/victim continues. In the Soviet Union, his grandfather was a victim, but what if he was also a perpetrator in China? Both experiences

are severe beyond our imagination. When faced with extreme situations where hatred is swirling, anyone, even my grandfather can become a cruel perpetrator. What helped this Japanese student with this contradiction were a Chinese student's words.

In this story, the response to the problem suggested in the beginning is offered as the realization of the teller. As he heard the words, "Each have their own circumstances," a stream of light shined through his heart. What saved the tormented Japanese student was a Chinese student. The whole story moved forward. Contradiction and conflicts softened and some healing seemed to have occurred. China and Japan seemed to have shifted from the enemy relationship to that of caring for one another.

"Each other's truth" A Chinese student

As a Chinese student studying Japanese, I didn't experience much discrimination, contradictory to the image I held before going to Japan. However, older Japanese people at my part time job made discriminatory comments about China. On the other hand, when I returned to China, Chinese people made negative comments about Japan. When they misunderstand, I speak up for Japan and say, "That's not true." They are alike in that they greatly misunderstand each other. In China, or in Japan, it is hard for me no matter which country I am in. I feel that we can avoid this conflict if we know more about each other's truths.

This was a story of a young person who faced the conflicts, standing in the midst of conflicts and contradictions. He does not give up even though there are conflicts. If there are misunderstandings, he tries to correct them. He is calling to us to understand deeply about each other even when we are in a difficult situation.

The light of hope brought on by the previous story is shining brighter and stronger in this story. When considering the progress of the whole story, this story suggests that clarifying the truth and learning each others' truth is the

process of realizing the reconciliation.

“One future” A Chinese student

My grandma told me of the hard labor in the Japanese military factory. So I always thought Japanese people are bad. But then I realized, I use a lot of Japanese products such as a rice cooker and camera. When the disaster struck in Japan, I felt grief and I was moved to see the Japanese people's spirit of perseverance. Japan has a lot of good things. But when I feel these things, I feel anxious because I might be betraying China. I've had this conflict. Today, I was able to actually feel that the conflicting two can become one. Instead of hardening and repelling, it is more like softening and melting. I don't want to be ruled by a narrow ethnocentrism, I want to see my own truth. I want to value life and make a peaceful future. I feel tranquil.

Stories about the Japanese atrocities have been passed down and young people hold hatred towards Japan. At the same time they benefit from the economic relationship of the two nations. Can the hatred and anger, and gratitude for the Japanese economy coexist? Up to this point, stories were about the complex nature of human character but this story suggests an even wider view. The story suggests that contradictions and conflicts exist in our everyday life and in social situations. Through HWH program, the teller escaped from the chaos.

As the last chapter of the whole story, the answer to the questions posed in the beginning was suggested. The teller commented that the wish for hope can melt the hatred and conflicts. The teller's relationship and stance had shifted but she also seemed to experience this as personal growth. In other words, while the previous teller was saved by the words he received from the other, this teller was able to regain peace through her realization in the workshop. She spoke of “not wanting to be stuck in narrow ethno-centralism” and stated that she felt tranquil. She became more able to accept the universal truth that contradiction and conflict permeates our world. The tellers and the audience may not

be aware of the deep dialogue embedded in 7 stories. However, some of the young people who were present were able to grow, integrate their conflicts, and obtained the feeling of tranquility.

4. Playback Theatre as a Tool for Reconciliation

Playback Theatre is not a place for teaching moral lessons. This Playback Theatre performance was also not a place where peace and reconciliation were directly taught. People are not forced to open their hearts, nor asked to courageously face each other. Even then, the participants shared seven stories, and whether the teller was Chinese or Japanese, showed the tears of empathy. When we witness someone's story, we are presented with the opportunity to feel the pain and grief as our own, even though our position and situation differ, because our hearts move to the other side. During this playback, when I look at the depth of the stories, there seemed to be bridges between the hearts of people. And it seemed that, by overcoming the conflicts and contradictions, their hearts were there for each other.

Why does Playback Theatre facilitate reconciliation? One reason is that because it focuses on "emotions" rather than focusing on "facts." Even when one cannot agree with the other about the historical facts, when witnessing the landscape of the other person's heart, our hearts lean toward the other side. Even when people are at conflict about factual things, we can still feel the pain and sorrow of the other person. If we can overcome the dual structure of the two sides, we are able to meet as human beings. Even when political and social reconciliation is far from our reach, informal and individual reconciliation can occur.

In Playback Theatre, historical facts presented in politics, history textbooks, and mass media are called "formal stories." It communicates what happened, when and where. Playback Theatre cuts out the same facts but from a personal viewpoint and presents to the society as a "informal story." The "Informal story" includes not just the teller's words, but facial expressions, the tone, tears and everything else. The seven "informal stories" and the faces of the seven tellers will always be remembered in the hearts of the participants and will not fade. I hope that the memory of these

stories will serve as the light that leads us toward reconciliation.

5. Conclusion

I would like to express my respect and gratitude to, Zhan Lianhong, Kuniko Muramoto, Armand Volkas, and Aya Kasai, and many others who have continued this collaborative study. I deeply appreciate the tireless efforts of the interpreters of this work that involved three languages, Japanese, English and Chinese. I would like to thank Friends Playback Theatre who collaborated with us on the stage, Eddy Yu who co-lead the performance, and my Playback AZ colleagues Kumiko Satō and Makoto Tange. The Playback Theatre performance became possible with all of your teamwork.

Lastly, I would like to thank most of all to the participants, especially the seven tellers. More than ever I was able to feel the potential of Playback Theatre as a tool for peace. I truly hope that the stories continue to be told, and for us and for our future generations, our gentle and peaceful reform continues to progress.

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