

Japanese Military Violence During the Asia-Pacific War

CONFERENCE 2024



**5-7 SEPTEMBER | INSTITUTE OF
JAPANESE STUDIES
FREIE UNIVERSITÄT BERLIN**

This conference is part of a project that has received funding from the European Research Council (ERC) under the European Union's Horizon 2020 research and innovation programme (Grant agreement No. 819892).

Conference Organisers

This conference is hosted by the Institute of Japanese Studies, Freie Universität Berlin as part of the ERC project 'Law without Mercy: Japanese Courts-Martial and Military Courts during the Asia-Pacific War, 1937-1945'. 'Law without Mercy' investigates the role that Japanese military justice (courts-martial and military commissions) played in the relative escalation or containment of violence during the Asia-Pacific War, 1937-1945. A central hypothesis of this project is that law and violence in this war did not necessarily constitute a natural contradiction, but that military justice often followed "military necessity" that sought to render violence even more effective through standardisation and procedure, in the latter case constituting a form of violence in itself. The project's principal aim, therefore, is to demonstrate this and, thereby, advance our historical understanding of the inherent reasons and mechanisms of violence during the Asia-Pacific War and the role that law and justice played in it.

For more information:

www.lawwithoutmercy.eu

Team Members:

Prof. Dr. Urs Matthias Zachmann

Project leader

Sub-project: *Fighting War with Law: Japanese Legal Officers, Military Courts and their Cases during the Asia-Pacific War*

Dr. Tino Schölz

Postdoctoral researcher

Sub-project: *Military Discipline and Insubordination in the Imperial Japanese Army, 1868-1945*

Dr. Kelly Maddox

Postdoctoral researcher

Sub-project: *Power over Life and Death: Japanese Military Justice and Violence in Wartime Southeast Asia, 1942-45*

Nicolas Stassar

Doctoral student

Sub-project: *Trying the Enemy: Punishment and Justice against Japanese-kept Prisoners of War, 1894-1945*

Day 1 - 5 Sept.

09:00 - 09:15

Welcome

09:15 - 10:45

Panel 1 - Violence in the Philippines

Chair: Daqing Yang

Unavoidable Necessity: The Place of Violence in Kenpeitai Law Enforcement and Judicial Practice in the Philippines, 1942-45

Kelly Maddox, Freie Universität Berlin

Disobedience, Hermeneutics and Fear of Cowardice: The 1945 Manila Massacre Re-examined

Danny Orbach, Hebrew University of Jerusalem

10:45 - 11:15

Break

11:15 - 12:45

Panel 2 - Violence and Strategic Warfare

Chair: Yuki Tanaka

Technological Violence: Japan's Use of Biological and Chemical Weapons (BCW) in the Asia-Pacific War

Daqing Yang, George Washington University

Minami e: The Collapse of the Shuri Line, the Retreat South, and the Abandonment of Okinawa

Alexandra Valdez, Heidelberg University

12:45 - 13:45

Lunch

13:45 - 15:15

Panel 3 - Violence against POWs

Chair: Nicolas Stassar

Reciprocity and the Dynamic of Violence against Captives in the Asia-Pacific War

Sarah Kovner, Columbia University

Inhuman and Imprudent but not Irrational: Japanese Treatment of POWs during the Asia-Pacific War

Rotem Kowner, University of Haifa

15:15 - 15:45

Break

15:45 - 16:45

Panel 4 - Violence in China

Chair: Martin Ward

The Origins and Facts of Japanese War Crimes

Toshiya Iko, Tsuru University

18:00 -

Conference Meal

Day 2 - 6 Sept.

09:00 - 10:30

Panel 5 - Agents of Violence

Chair: Sandra Wilson

Civilian Interpreters as Participants in and Victims of Japanese Military Violence
Kayoko Takeda, Rikkyo University

The Adjudication of Sexual Violence by Japanese Legal Officers
Urs Matthias Zachmann, Freie Universität Berlin

10:30 - 11:00

Break

11:00 - 12:30

Panel 6 - Economic Exploitation

Chair: Sheldon Garon

Give and Take? Food Administration as a Form of Structural Violence Imposed upon
Occupied China
Chi Ho Kiang, Freie Universität Berlin

Robbing Civilians to Pay the Military: War Financing and Civilian Wealth Mobilisation in
the Japanese Empire
Tsz Ho Wong, University of Edinburgh

12:30 - 13:30

Lunch

13:30 - 15:00

Panel 7 - Violence within the Japanese Military

Chair: Kelly Maddox

Agency in Intra-Military Violence: The Guantao jiken of 1942
Tino Schölz, Freie Universität Berlin

At the Hands of their Superiors: Violence Experienced by Japanese Military Personnel
during the Asia-Pacific War as seen in Insights into Japanese Imperialism
Martin Ward, University of Leeds

15:00 - 15:30

Break

15:30 - 17:00

Panel 8 - Strategic Bombardment

Chair: Aaron W. Moore

Toward a Global History of the Second World War: Including the Japanese Bombing of
China
Sheldon Garon, Princeton University

Japanese and American Aerial Violence against Civilians during the Asia-Pacific War
Cary Karacas, City University of New York

Day 3 - 7 Sept.

09:00 - 10:30

Panel 9 - The Legal Aftermath of Crimes

Chair: Sarah Kovner

Retribution for Inhumane Conduct: The Japanese Military Legal System's Response to the Doolittle Flyers Campaign in 1942

Nicolas Stassar, Freie Universität Berlin

Those guilty in 'L'Affaire Haelewyn': A Japanese War Crime and its Complicated Aftermath

Beatrice Trefalt, Monash University

10:30 - 11:00

Break

11:00 - 12:30

Panel 10 - Reflections on the Nature of Japanese Military Violence

Chair: Urs Matthias Zachmann

Was Japanese Military Violence Exceptional? Comparing Colonial Wars

Robert Cribb, Australian National University

Why Did the Japanese Commit War Crimes in the Pacific?

Sandra Wilson, Murdoch University

12:30 - 13:30

Lunch

13:30 - 15:00

Panel 11 - Violence and Memory

Chair: Tino Schölz

Entwined Atrocities: Japanese and American Aerial Indiscriminate Bombings

Yuki Tanaka, Hiroshima City University

Japanese "Warscapes" in Memory Frames

Theodore F. Cook, William Paterson University

15:00 -

Closing

Abstracts

PANEL 1

Violence in the Philippines
Thursday 5 September, 09:15 - 10:45
Chair: Daqing Yang

Unavoidable Necessity: The Place of Violence in *Kenpei* Law Enforcement and Judicial Practice in the Philippines, 1942-45

Kelly Maddox, Freie Universität Berlin

Kenpei units played a vital role in territories occupied by the Imperial Japanese Army during the Asia-Pacific War as the primary units responsible for the maintenance of public order. Tasked with enforcing military laws and regulations, they were invested with considerable discretionary powers, including some judicial authority and wielded, according to the field handbook for non-commissioned officers, 'power over life and death' (*seisatsuyodatsu no ken*). In this capacity, they became one of the main intermediaries between civilians and the military and acted as a key mediator of wartime violence, especially in its lower-scale, quotidian forms. After the Asia-Pacific War, *kenpei* units became infamous for brutality and the mistreatment of civilians subject to military rule. Yet despite this infamy, these units have not enjoyed as much rigorous scholarly attention as, for example, the Nanjing Massacre or the sexual violence of the 'comfort women' system.

This paper aims to show that a deeper consideration of the role of *kenpei* units and the duties ascribed them in occupied territories can yield valuable insights into the dynamics of military violence toward civilians. It utilises surviving wartime documents (regulations, orders, instructions, handbooks, reference books, training manuals, reports, etc.), supplemented where possible with post-war memoirs, to outline their role as law enforcers in the Philippines between 1942 and 1945. In doing so, it draws attention to the parameters of acceptable conduct established by the senior leadership and reflects on how these parameters shaped the perceived place and permissibility of violence, particularly in respect to *kenpei* duties within the military judiciary. It argues that certain violent practices, such as torture and summary execution, were never completely prohibited and could even be tolerated, if not also sanctioned, as unavoidable necessities in some circumstances.

Abstracts

PANEL 1

Violence in the Philippines
Thursday 5 September, 09:15 - 10:45
Chair: Daqing Yang

Disobedience, Hermeneutics and Fear of Cowardice: The 1945 Manila Massacre Re-examined

Danny Orbach, Hebrew University of Jerusalem

The Manila Massacre, occurring in February 1945, stands as one of the most harrowing episodes of the Asia-Pacific War, along with the Nanjing Massacre of December 1937. The slaughter of 100,000 Filipino and foreign civilians in Manila continues to stir controversy, particularly regarding the accountability of General Yamashita Tomoyuki, the commanding officer of the Imperial Japanese forces in the Philippines. Although Yamashita was executed following a U.S. court-martial, citing command responsibility for the massacre, many of his defenders argued and still argue that the true architect of the atrocity was Rear Admiral Iwabuchi Sanji. The commander of the Imperial Navy's ground forces in Manila is believed to have acted in direct contravention of Yamashita's orders. The scarcity of firsthand accounts, compounded by the deaths of Iwabuchi and most other key figures, renders the massacre's intricacies elusive.

This paper endeavours to reconstruct the dynamics of this event using the fragments of available evidence. I aim to address critical inquiries: namely, the rationale behind the perpetrators' decision to defy Yamashita's evacuation orders and remain in Manila, followed by their systematic execution of Filipino civilians. Was Iwabuchi merely a rogue criminal, or were his actions a manifestation of a broader policy sanctioned by Yamashita and the upper echelons of command? As my analysis will reveal, the reality is complex and resists a black-and-white interpretation, and many of the events were highly influenced by three factors: the expanding definition of the concept "enemy", the radicalization of counterinsurgency policies and Iwabuchi's own fear of being branded as a "coward".

Hence, I delve into the complex backdrop of the massacre, examining the intricate command structure of the Japanese forces in Manila, a web of relationships and directives fraught with ambiguity. The paper also scrutinizes Japan's interpretations of the laws of armed conflict and its attitudes toward enemy civilians, as well as the prevailing doctrines of military obedience. Employing a hermeneutic framework, I analyze how unclear orders might be misinterpreted, providing perceived authorization for committing atrocities.

Abstracts

PANEL 2

Violence and Strategic Warfare
Thursday 5 September 2024, 11:15 - 12:45
Chair: Yuki Tanaka

Technological Violence: Japan's Use of Biological and Chemical Weapons (BCW) in the Asia-Pacific War

Daqing Yang, George Washington University

Of Japan's military violence during the Asia Pacific War, its use of BCW in China remains underdeveloped in English-language study for a number of reasons. The secretive nature of such weapon's development and use, as well as the systematic destruction at the end of the war make evidence-gathering extremely challenging. This is particularly difficult in the case of bacteriological weapons, as without clear documentary evidence, it is difficult to corroborate with accounts from the victims given other possible "natural" sources of endemic and infections. Furthermore, the fact that the use of Japan BCW was largely limited to China (including Manchuria) also accounts for its lack of attention outside China and Japan.

Since the early 1980s, the revelation of human experiments carried out by Japan's Unit 731 gradually came to light, and much scholarship has been devoted to it as well as the bargain between the U.S. government and its leading scientists. The actual use of BCW in Japanese operations in China remains somewhat obscure. Since the 1990s Chinese activists have attempted to show Japan's use BCW in various locations in China Proper remain largely inconclusive, despite the lack of Japanese military sources.

Some progress has been made, in large part thanks to the persistent efforts by Japanese and Chinese researchers and activists. For instance, in 2019 Japanese historian Matsuno Masaya discovered Japanese army records which apparently survived destruction due to their possession in private hands that proved for the first time the use of poison gas of blister agents against Chinese forces in north China in 1939.

Building on these sources and scholarship, my paper examines Japan's wartime use of BCW in the China Theater that violated the 1925 Geneva Convention (which Japan signed but did not ratify). It seeks in order to elucidate the rationale of their use, but also to assess the impact, both during and after the war.

My study seeks to place the development and use of BCW in a larger context of what I call "technological violence"—when one's own technological edge vis-à-vis the adversary serves to justifies and leads to the use of such inhumane weapons in actual conflict with impunity. Japanese military's decision to use BCW in China, often "on experimental basis," was driven by, among others, by the low capability of BCW of Chinese forces and their weak defense against it. As a category, "technological violence" not only offers venues of comparison between BCW and strategic and nuclear bombing, but also raises questions about responsibilities and ethics of scientists and engineers involved in their development and deployment.

Abstracts

Violence and Strategic Warfare

Thursday 5 September 2024, 11:15 - 12:45

Chair: Yuki Tanaka

PANEL 2

Minami E: The Collapse of the Shuri Line, the Retreat South, and the Abandonment of Okinawa

Alexandra Valdez, Heidelberg University

The Battle of Okinawa is known for being the deadliest battle of the Asia-Pacific War. Among survivors, it is often known under the moniker the "Typhoon on Steel," referring to the intense bombardment to which the island was subjected. The Tenth Army Field Artillery (US) alone fired over 1.7 million rounds of ammunition. With active combat lasting nearly three months, the death toll totaled nearly a quarter of a million, over half of which were Okinawans, both civilian and conscripts. A vast majority of civilian deaths (approximately eighty percent) occurred in the final month of the battle, after the 32nd Army (Japan) abandoned its headquarters in Shuri. As the Imperial Japanese Army (IJA) fled south, tens of thousands of Okinawan civilians became embroiled in a fierce and desperate battle that steadily descended into chaos with the collapse of an organized defense. While it was not the explicit intention of the IJA to maximize civilian casualties, it was the inevitable and foreseeable result of the Japanese military's decision to use Okinawa as a *sute-ishi*, (English: sacrificial stone). From its outset, the battle was planned to be as prolonged and as brutal as possible. By inflicting a devastating blow to the Allied Forces, Japan hoped that the US would feel compelled to abandon its demand for unconditional surrender and enter into peace negotiations. However, failing that, the longer the battle lasted, the more time was bought to prepare the Japanese mainland for invasion. This strategy demonstrated a careless or even deliberate disregard for the lives of the residents of Okinawa and illustrates how the natural result of total war and total mobilization is the mass death and suffering of non-combatants.

The proposed paper will examine the consequences of this strategy through the eyes of those that experienced it first-hand. Looking at a variety of accounts from eye-witnesses of the final days of the battle paints a more complete picture of the cost of a war of attrition and provides a salient reminder of those who suffer most when peace is delayed. These accounts tell the story of civilians who were not simply caught in the crossfire, but rather put in greater danger by member of the Japanese military as they were forcibly evicted from shelters and encouraged to commit suicide rather than be captured by US forces. This paper will also investigate the question of the responsibility that Japan had to its own citizens when a war they instigated ultimately reached its own shores.

Abstracts

PANEL 3

Violence against POWs
Thursday 5 September, 13:45 - 15:15
Chair: Nicolas Stassar

Reciprocity and the Dynamic of Violence against Captives in the Asia-Pacific War

Sarah Kovner, Columbia University

Shortly after they went to war, Tokyo, Washington, and London all agreed to adhere to the Geneva Convention relative to the Treatment of Prisoners of War. It included comprehensive rules regulating every aspect of captivity, and more generally required that POWs "at all times be humanely treated and protected, particularly against acts of violence." It also specified that "Measures of reprisal against them are forbidden." The three powers also agreed to extend these protections to civilian internees, something that had long been discussed in the preceding years but never institutionalized. This was a break from how the Asia-Pacific War had been fought up to this point. Neither Japan nor China had observed the Geneva Convention, either in principle or in practice.

Crucially, Tokyo, Washington, and London extended protections to civilians on the basis of "reciprocity." In this way, they made it conditional on the conduct of the enemy. For instance, when General Douglas MacArthur heard reports that American civilians were subjected to "abuse and special humiliation" by Japanese soldiers to "discredit the white races," he urged the internment of Japanese civilians as a "lever under the threat of reciprocal retaliatory measures to force decent treatment for interned [American] men and women." Later, the Allies responded to Red Cross reports on Japanese mistreatment of POWs by threatening reprisals against civilian internees, and invoked Japanese conduct to justify firebombing cities.

Ironically, while Washington and London stressed how Japanese POWs were well treated, Tokyo proved largely indifferent to their fate. Japanese officials were far more concerned with the treatment of civilian internees. Yet this too opened the door to retaliation. To be sure, Japanese treatment of Allied captives resulted from an array of factors, and was not initially accorded much importance by national leadership. But it varied greatly, both in different theaters and in the course of the conflict. Moreover, on both sides, decisions about which civilians to intern, and why, were surprisingly contingent.

This paper will therefore argue for examining Allied and Japanese captives in the same analytic field. It will draw on multiarchival, international research to explore the tremendous heterogeneity of the internment experience, and underscore causal relationships with war crimes committed by both sides. It will show how, paradoxically, including civilians within the scope of a captivity regime ostensibly regulated by international law served to justify and may have actually increased the ferocity of the Asia-Pacific War.

Abstracts

PANEL 3

Violence against POWs
Thursday 5 September, 13:45 - 15:15
Chair: Nicolas Stassar

Inhuman and Imprudent but not Irrational: Japanese Treatment of POWs during the Asia-Pacific War

Rotem Kowner, University of Haifa

Japan's modern experience with warfare spanned 51 years. Throughout this relatively short period, its armed forces participated in several wars, numerous clashes, and countless skirmishes, testing their mettle against enemies of various nationalities. These included neighboring Asians, such as the Chinese and Koreans, as well as more distant foes like Russian and Soviet soldiers, Germans, Austrians, and Western forces including Americans, British, Dutch, and Australians. A common thread through this intense, half-century of military engagement is a gradual, though not always systematic, escalation in the violence displayed by Japanese forces and a decline in the humanitarian treatment of enemy soldiers. This trend culminated during the eight years starting in July 1937, with the Nanjing Massacre and the Bataan Death March being among the most egregious examples.

The harsh and at times also merciless treatment of prisoners of war (POWs) observed during the Asia-Pacific War is often considered the epitome of Japanese military violence. Wartime Western observers argued that this treatment reflects a national character influenced by premodern military traditions, such as "the code of the samurai." This essentialist viewpoint has persisted in academic circles for years after Japan's surrender and remains prevalent today in popular writing.

In this presentation, I argue that Japanese wartime violence towards POWs and its gradual deterioration since the early 1930s was an imprudent but rational outcome of modern times' evolution. Moreover, it can be explained and even predicted by several factors. By suggesting this, I do not claim that it was judicious behavior, and certainly not justified, but that it was a calculated and essentially rational response to changing international, regional, and domestic circumstances. Except for rare cases, it also followed a coherent line starting with Japan's first modern war: the First Sino-Japanese War of 1894–95.

To substantiate this argument, I will examine the impact of the following factors on the gradual shift in Japanese violence: the identity of the enemy; Japan's reference group and its military ethics; the perceived threat from the enemy; the opportunities afforded by the war; expectations regarding post-conflict relations with the enemy; attitudes towards their own soldiers becoming prisoners; and, in some cases, the number of POWs captured in a specific arena. Altogether, based on available statistics and recent studies, I intend to demonstrate how these factors, especially their interplay, contributed to Japanese violence during the Asia-Pacific War.

Abstracts

PANEL 4

Violence in China
Thursday 5 September, 15:45 - 17:15
Chair: Martin Ward

The Origins and Facts of Japanese War Crimes

Toshiya Iko, Tsuru University

During the "Fifteen Years War" from 1931 to its defeat in 1945, Japan and the Japanese military committed a vast number of war crimes in China and the Asia-Pacific region. This presentation examines how the Japanese military's violent nature developed in the 1930s and beyond.

It is worth noting that the suffering caused by the massacre of non-combatants (residents) and prisoners of war by the Japanese military was particularly significant. The origin of such massacres can be traced back to the Sino-Japanese War. In Port Arthur, vengeful soldiers caused a massacre, and in Taiwan, residents identified with anti-Japanese forces were killed en masse. After establishing the puppet state of "Manchukuo" in northeastern China, Japan enacted the "Temporary Law for the Punishment of Bandits," which gave local commanders the authority to kill anti-Japanese forces on the spot when they were captured. After 1937, this authority was extended to all of China and then to units in the Asia-Pacific region.

Psychologically, vengeance, fear, and hostility toward anti-Japanese forces were the direct causes of torture and massacres. In addition, mainland China was also a place for the Japanese to develop weapons and conduct various experiments. Thousands of people were killed in the development of germ and other weapons, and the death toll from germ and poison gas weapons was in the tens of thousands. The mentality of the Japanese soldiers who were responsible for these criminal acts was based on their contempt for Asian peoples, and at the opposite end of the spectrum was the worship of the Emperor of Japan. Although there was a sense of inferiority toward Westerners, the heightened emperor worship in the 1930s gave rise to a sense of superiority over the West, and in the Asia-Pacific War, massacres based on contempt were committed against Westerners as well.

Abstracts

PANEL 5

Agents of Violence
Friday 6 September 2024, 09:00 - 10:30
Chair: Sandra Wilson

Civilian Interpreters as Participants in and Victims of Japanese Military Violence

Kayoko Takeda, Rikkyo University

This paper discusses civilian employees of the Japanese military who were involved in its violent acts as participants and victims during the Asia-Pacific War. It focuses on interpreters mobilized mainly to communicate with Allied POWs and local civilians of Japanese-occupied territories. Grounded in Takeda (2021), which examined interpreters prosecuted at British war crimes trials, and drawing on additional archival documents, this paper first presents a synopsis of how the Japanese military sourced civilians to address language needs in its war efforts. Among those mobilized within Japan, there were graduates of language schools, returnees from abroad, and foreign-born Japanese nationals (including those of dual citizenship such as Nisei: second-generation Japanese Americans and Canadians in this context) who happened to be in Japan when the war broke out. Those mobilized in overseas territories under Japanese colonial and military rule included local residents who were forced to learn Japanese, Japanese nationals living there for business or family reasons, and Nisei who were en route to Japan after leaving incarceration camps in North America. The diverse backgrounds of these interpreters provide another lens for understanding Japanese colonial, migration, and military policies at the time.

This paper then examines various circumstances under which these interpreters were exposed to Japanese military violence. Their testimonies at war crimes trials, postwar interviews, and writings indicate that they were participants, enablers, bystanders, and victims of brutalities committed by the Japanese military. Willingly or under duress, there were interpreters who interpreted in the torture of local civilians and POWs, physically engaged in their ill-treatment together with members of their units, or simply were present at the scenes of violent acts, which led to some of them becoming the accused and witnesses at war crimes trials. Further, some interpreters found themselves on the receiving end of Japanese military violence and were threatened with court martial when they showed reluctance to take part in violent acts or did anything their employers found suspicious because of their dual backgrounds (such as in the case of Nisei) and ability to speak enemy languages. The fact that Taiwanese and Korean interpreter defendants were treated as Japanese at war crimes trials but received little support from the Japanese government after the end of the war can be viewed as institutional violence against them as well. This paper concludes with a suggestion for further investigation into auxiliary personnel's role in Japanese military violence. and civilians.

Abstracts

PANEL 5

Agents of Violence

Friday 6 September 2024, 09:00 - 10:30

Chair: Sandra Wilson

The Adjudication of Sexual Violence by Japanese Legal Officers

Urs Matthias Zachmann, Freie Universität Berlin

Sexual violence perpetrated against the civilian population was one of the most notorious occurrences that plagued the Japanese warfare in China and Southeast Asia. Based on policy papers, private records of Japanese military officers attached to the armies, and judgements of courts-martial in the fields, this paper examines how the Japanese military judicial system dealt with crimes against sexual integrity and what structural, strategic and ideational factors shaped and circumscribed its responses to it.

The Japanese military justice system, like any other among modern armies, served one primary function, namely to uphold internal discipline among the troops, enforce military order and the chain of command under the stress of combat and thereby to protect their strength as fighting units. This led to a clearly defined hierarchy of protected goods that saw civilians' life and liberty clearly at the bottom of it if they were not completely ignored for strategic reasons. Rape did not belong to the latter and was subject to prosecution, but again for strategic rather than humanitarian reasons, as it incited the local population against the occupiers and global news of it hurt the international prestige of the Japanese military. As in other instances of excessive violence, logistical problems that riddled Japan's warfare from the very beginning also severely limited the efficiency of the justice system. Finally, while the pattern of prosecution demonstrated a certain culture of permissiveness regarding crimes against civilians, this particularly applied to the attitudes of prosecutors towards cases of sexual violence, as can be also observed in statements regarding these during the post-war IMTFE trial.

Abstracts

PANEL 6

Economic Exploitation
Friday 6 September 2024, 11:00 - 12:30
Chair: Sheldon Garon

Give and Take? Food Administration as a Form of Structural Violence Imposed upon Occupied China

Chi Ho Kiang, Freie Universität Berlin

This presentation aims to re-examine the significance of food control (食糧統制) in occupied China during the Asia-Pacific War. All warring parties engaged in World War II initiated some forms of wartime food administration to ensure the food supply of the battlefield and the home front. In this, the Japanese empire and its conquered land were no exception. However, what makes the food history of occupied China particularly noteworthy is that, although notoriously food-deficient, China still acted as supply base for an overstretched empire. While the Japanese, the occupiers, were determined to extract more raw materials such as coal, iron, and cotton from the conquered land, they soon realized that chronic food shortages and the resultant inflation prevented occupied China from fulfilling its "function." In the meantime, mainland Japan and other areas of the empire were reluctant, if not unable, to fully meet the food demands of occupied China, especially after 1941.

In response, the Japanese imposed food control and established agencies to regulate the food supply of the occupied zones. On the one hand, military and civilian elements, backed by administrative and physical violence, were mobilized to extract food grains from the countryside. Rural communities suffered from starvation. On the other hand, collected food was mainly distributed to the groups that were deemed valuable to the total war machine, including the Japanese communities and - widely defined - Chinese collaborators, including soldiers, officials, and workers. Food was used as a resource to generate compliance, morale, and productivity in the occupied territories at the expense of the rural population. Given that China was a key supply base of the Yen bloc economy, food control, as a form of imposed violence in occupied China, was essential for reproducing the Japanese dominating structure in the continent and the Greater East Asia Co-Prosperity Sphere.

Abstracts

PANEL 6

Economic Exploitation

Friday 6 September 2024, 11:00 - 12:30

Chair: Sheldon Garon

Robbing Civilians to Pay the Military: War Financing and Civilian Wealth Mobilisation in the Japanese Empire

Tsz Ho Wong, University of Edinburgh

In November 1944, Ikeda Shigeaki (池田成彬) told Hosokawa Morisada (細川護貞) that the financing of Emergency Armaments Expenditure (*rinji gunjihi*, 臨時軍事費), which accounted for 94 percent (165.4 billion yen) of total military expenditure from 1937 to 1945, had become the main task of the Ministry of Finance. However, this research argues that the Ministry of Finance or the Japanese government would not be able to finance military expenditure without systematically exploiting and mobilising civilian wealth. This exploitation was based on various tactics, including the printing of paper money, the issuance of military scrip (*gunpyō*, 軍票) and 'military scrip-like currencies' (*gunpyō ruiji no tsūka*, 軍票類似の通貨) in the colonies, and the persistent lowering of interest rates on bank savings and national bonds. The first two tactics dramatically aggrandised the size of the monetary base and money supply in Japan's homeland and colonies. Other than creating inflationary pressures in the Empire, the expansionary fiscal policy had eroded people's savings through seigniorage. The Japanese authorities in occupied China and the newly-occupied colonies in Southeast Asia also forced the civilians to exchange their money for the unbacked military scrip and military scrip-like currencies, which were akin to trash paper in terms of their monetary value. Although inflation in Japan's homeland was suppressed by price controls, the low interest rates on bank savings and national bonds, which averaged 4 and 3.5 percent respectively, had become negative in real terms, meaning that the banks and the Japanese government could earn on every yen they borrowed from civilians. The mechanism of war finance is a key to understanding Japanese military violence during the Asia-Pacific War. Apart from military scrip, the Army and Navy had little to do with financing the war. However, their military operations or atrocities required the methodical exploitation of civilian wealth; indeed, involuntary economic and financial exploitation should be seen as abuse and violence against the civilian population.

Abstracts

PANEL 7

Violence within the Japanese Military
Friday 6 September 2024, 13:30 - 15:00
Chair: Kelly Maddox

Agency in Intra-Military Violence: The *Guantao jiken* of 1942

Tino Schölz , Freie Universität Berlin

Given the nature of Japanese warfare during the Asia-Pacific War, which generally disregarded human life and property and claimed countless victims among soldiers and non-combatants alike, it is not surprising that physical and psychological violence exercised individually or collectively within the Japanese armed forces – be it by superiors against subordinates, by subordinates against superiors, or between comrades – has been hardly systematically researched by historians to date. This is regrettable, given the considerable heuristic potential for enhancing understanding of structures, individual and collective patterns of behaviour, and the latitude for action within the Japanese armed forces. The paper aims to address this research gap in an exploratory manner. In order to achieve this objective, the Guantao Incident of December 1942, which was perceived by the army command in Tōkyō as one of the gravest and most significant instances of collective violence against officers and comrades in the Chinese theatre of war, will be examined in terms of the motives and strategies of those involved, as well as of the relevance of the event's situational dynamics. In the second part of the paper, the findings of this individual case will be discussed against the backdrop of general developments of intra-military violence within the Japanese army. In particular, the analysis considers how the increase in violent behaviour over the course of the war, which was perceived as significant and threatening by the army command in Tōkyō and the staffs at the front, was explained and what countermeasures were introduced.

Abstracts

PANEL 7

Violence within the Japanese Military
Friday 6 September 2024, 13:30 - 15:00
Chair: Kelly Maddox

At the Hands of their Superiors: Violence Experienced by Japanese Military Personnel during the Asia-Pacific War as seen in Insights into Japanese Imperialism

Martin Ward, University of Leeds

In 2014 the Jilin Publishing Group began publishing volumes of translations of authentic Kwantung Army and *Kempeitai* documents unearthed in Changchun in 1953. Three volumes were first published in Chinese, under the name 铁证如山 (*tiezheng rushan* = 'irrefutable evidence'), containing sets of original documents accompanied by translations. In 2015, three volumes appeared in English under the name 'Irrefutable Evidence', and in 2018 the present author was commissioned to retranslate the three volumes of material (1,100+ source documents) from Japanese directly into English. These were published in 2020-2021 by ACA Publishing under the name 'Insights into Japanese Imperialism'.

Supported by China's National Social Science Foundation, the work of selecting and publishing translations by the Jilin Publishing Group has continued, with at least 19 volumes published to date each in five different languages, and a small portion of original documents available for general inspection in an online digitised archive.

Containing detailed records on key controversies, including the 'Nanjing General Offensive', 'comfort women', and transfers to Unit 731, amongst others, the documents also shed light on violence inflicted by the Japanese Army both on Chinese and Korean civilians and military personnel, as well as on members of their own ranks. This presentation will present key aspects of these valuable primary sources in particular with regards to what they reveal regarding the somewhat lesser publicised experience of Japanese military personnel at the hands of their own superiors. What evidence is there that a portion of Japanese soldiers suffered routine violence from their superiors and what was the nature of that violence? How did the *Kempeitai* go about controlling the spread of that information? And how can researching and understanding this material help to develop a more holistic picture of Japanese military violence during the Asia-Pacific War?

It is hoped that this presentation will contribute to opening up new paths of enquiry in this field and go some way to adding impetus for the call for the tens of thousands of as yet publicly unseen pages of primary source documents in the Jilin Provincial Archives to be made openly available for research and evaluation.

Abstracts

PANEL 8

Strategic Bombardment
Friday 6 September 2024, 15:30 - 17:00
Chair: Aaron W. Moore

Toward a Global History of the Second World War: Including the Japanese Bombing of China

Sheldon Garon, Princeton University

During the three years preceding the British and German bombing of each other's cities in World War II, Japanese aircraft bombed Chinese urban centers on a scale never before seen. Curiously, few scholars have attempted to situate Japan's aerial onslaught in the Second Sino-Japanese War within a global history of violence against civilians. This essay explores how Japan's air war—and the responses to it—were shaped by a long process of transnational learning dating back to the early decades of the twentieth century. Like many powers, the Japanese had been investigating other nations' strategies to win wars not simply by defeating the enemy's armed forces but also by attacking cities and civilians. We also probe how aerial bombardment in China, in turn, shaped global strategies and humanitarian discourses about bombing cities in the late 1930s. The transnational dimensions of the Sino-Japanese War are examined in three arenas: the evolution of an international humanitarian and peace movement against bombing cities, innovations in Chinese civil defense, and the ominous advances in strategic bombing that targeted cities

Abstracts

PANEL 8

Strategic Bombardment
Friday 6 September 2024, 15:30 - 17:00
Chair: Aaron W. Moore

Japanese and American Aerial Violence against Civilians during the Asia-Pacific War

Cary Karacas, City University of New York

This paper explores some parallels and contrasts between Japan's aerial bombardment of Chinese cities beginning in summer 1937 and the U.S. firebombing of Japanese urban centers starting in early 1945. It also examines official justifications for attacking cities and their challenges, as well as media representations of city bombings in both Japan and the United States.

Abstracts

PANEL 9

The Legal Aftermath of Crimes
Saturday 7 September 2024, 09:00 - 10:30
Chair: Sarah Kovner

Retribution for Inhumane Conduct: The Japanese Military Legal System's Response to the Doolittle Flyers Campaign in 1942

Nicolas Stassar, Freie Universität Berlin

In the Potsdam Declaration of 26 July 1945, the Allies vowed to punish all war criminals, including those who had harmed their prisoners. Abuse of prisoners of war (POWs) subsequently constituted one of the core themes during the war crimes trials in East Asia. Apart from prosecuting the responsibility for the widespread maltreatment in the ranks of military leaders in the International Military Tribunal for the Far East (IMTFE), the B and C level war crimes trials prosecuted hundreds of Japanese defendants. The term "abuse" is used to describe the denial of proper rations, housing, medicine, and other essentials to prisoners of war (POWs). It also included the denial of fair and humane punishment. Hundreds of Allied soldiers were prosecuted in Japanese courts-martial for a range of offences including bodily harm, murder, and attempted escape. However, of all the cases of judicial punishment, none have held as long a legacy as the trials held against American airmen over their involvement of strategic and indiscriminate bombardment of Japanese cities.

Based on wartime and post-war sources and literature, this paper offers a reappraisal of the trial against the so-called Doolittle flyers, eight men who were captured in China following a bombing raid on Tōkyō, Yokohama, Nagoya, and Kōbe, on 18 April 1942. Their trial was marked by practices that raised eyebrows with American prosecutors. Nevertheless, despite the different system that the airmen were subjected to, their trials resembled in many facets trials against spies and 'ordinary POWs' (*seiki furyo*).

This paper first provides the historical circumstances in which the trial against the Doolittle flyers occurred, followed by a detailed examination of the legal procedures employed against them as documented in the post-war trial against Shigeru Sawada et al. Finally, it will consider how the practices applied to the airmen align with the broader application of judicial punishment enacted against other POWs in Japanese military courts, and argues that without including the trials against the airmen into this broader issue, a more complete picture of judicial excesses against captured combatants cannot be obtained.

Abstracts

PANEL 9

The Legal Aftermath of Crimes
Saturday 7 September 2024, 09:00 - 10:30
Chair: Sarah Kovner

Those guilty in 'L'Affaire Haelewyn': A Japanese War Crime and its Complicated Aftermath

Beatrice Trefalt, Monash University

This presentation explores the aftermath of the murder of five French citizens by Japanese soldiers in Indochina in the night of 22-23 August 1945, in the liminal period between the Japanese defeat on 15 August 1945 and the formal transfer of power from the Japanese command to Allied command on 13 September 1945. The perpetrators were tried and found guilty in two different courts, a Japanese military court martial in the first instance, and a French war crimes tribunal in the second. While both courts agreed on the nature of the crimes and the guilt of the accused, they distributed the burden of guilt differently, and with different penalties. This presentation argues that both the Japanese and the French trial were, in part, 'show trials': both courts claimed authority over the punishment of those guilty for political purposes in the wake of the Japanese defeat in the French colony. Furthermore, both trials made decisions based on definitions of command responsibility, and they reveal a contrasting understanding of 'superior orders'. This contrast is key to the level of public sympathy garnered in Japan by those convicted in Allied trials, with a widespread perception that the war crimes trials were unjust per se and that those convicted had been scapegoats for actions taken by their superiors. The repercussions of these trials in Japan and in France into the 1950s underscore the complexities of transitions from war to peace.

Abstracts

PANEL 10

Reflections on the Nature of Military Violence

Saturday 6 September 2024, 11:00 - 12:30

Chair: Urs Matthias Zachmann

Was Japanese Military Violence Exceptional? Comparing Colonial Wars

Robert Cribb, Australian National University

The enduring attention of scholars and the general public to Japanese military violence during the Asia-Pacific War rests on a presumption—sometimes explicit, sometimes only implicit—that Japanese brutality was exceptional. Japan's only natural comparator, according to this presumption, is Nazi Germany. Indeed, in the Asia-Pacific War, the nature and scale of wartime Japanese violence dwarfs that of Japan's enemies. The U.S. strategic bombing of Japanese cities and the killing of surrendering Japanese soldiers by Allied personnel raise serious moral questions, but they do not undermine the presumption of Japanese exceptionalism. If, however, we broaden the scope of comparison to encompass the decades immediately before and after the Asia-Pacific War (say 1927–1960), we encounter a set of colonial and civil wars which were marked by brutalities comparable in most respects to those of Japanese forces in the Asia-Pacific War. These brutalities, like those of Japanese forces, appear to have arisen primarily from the nature of the wars that were being fought, rather than from any national characteristics of the combatants.

Abstracts

PANEL 10

Reflections on the Nature of Military Violence

Saturday 6 September 2024, 11:00 - 12:30

Chair: Urs Matthias Zachmann

Why Did the Japanese Commit War Crimes in the Pacific?

Sandra Wilson, Murdoch University

Japanese war crimes in the Pacific theatre of the Second World War are notorious. Between 1941 and 1945 Japanese troops committed crimes on a large scale against prisoners of war and civilians in the occupied territories of Southeast Asia, China and the Pacific. Those crimes included massacres, individual murders, torture and beatings, neglect of the health and welfare of detainees, forced marches, rape, cannibalism, theft and wanton destruction of property. Observers concluded, at the time and later, that gratuitous cruelty, senseless killing, vindictive retaliation, spiteful torture and complete disregard for human welfare were the hallmarks of Japanese policy towards POWs and civilians under their control. This perception has commonly led observers to blame Japanese culture, or, alternatively, Japanese military culture, as the root cause of a supposed predisposition to commit atrocities. The fundamental explanation for Japanese wartime atrocities, however, lies in the nature of Japan's war. Japanese forces were drastically over-extended. Japan's industrial and military capacity were too small for the conflict on which it had embarked. These circumstances were exacerbated by the Japanese military's loose command structure. The consequences for the people under Japanese wartime control were disastrous.

Abstracts

PANEL 11

Memory and Violence

Saturday 7 September 2-24, 13:30 - 15:00

Chair: Tino Schözl

Entwined Atrocities: Japanese and American Aerial Indiscriminate Bombings

Yuki Tanaka, Hiroshima City University

The Japanese imperial forces carried out large-scale aerial bombardments of Chinese cities, starting with the raid on Shanghai in January 1932. As Japanese military operations in China rapidly increased after the so-called Marco Polo Bridge incident on 7 July 1937, many more cities in China, such as Beijing, Wuhan, Guangdong and Chongqing, became the targets of indiscriminate Japanese bombing. Although the events of the Nanjing massacre are now almost universally known, it is not widely known that, in the two months between August and October of 1937, the city was bombed sixty-five times, damaging many parts of the city including some 800 houses, killing 392 civilians and injuring 438 people. Chongqing was bombed more than 200 times in the three years from 1938, killing some 20,000 people, mostly civilians.

In a public speech in Chicago on 5 October 1937, US President Franklin Roosevelt strongly condemned Japan for mercilessly killing many Chinese non-combatants, including women and children, without justification and without declaring war on China. Yet ironically, in the final stage of the Asia-Pacific war, U.S. forces annihilated a large number of Japanese civilians, the majority of whom were women and children, by firebombing various parts of Japan as well as the atomic bombing of Hiroshima and Nagasaki. Consequently, Japan allowed 393 towns and cities to fall victim to the U.S. aerial bombing. The estimated total number of victims was 1.02 million, including 560,000 deaths (excluding the deaths of Okinawans bombed during the Battle of Okinawa).

At the Tokyo War Crimes Tribunal, held from 3 May 1946 to 12 November 1948, the indiscriminate Japanese bombing of Chinese cities was never raised as a criminal act. The same tribunal also dismissed many serious war crimes committed by the Japanese, including bacteriological and chemical warfare and the extraordinary operation of a military sex slave system. Similarly, after the war, the Japanese government never protested to the US about the unprecedented scale of indiscriminate bombing carried out by US forces throughout the Japanese archipelago during the war. Moreover, the Japanese government not only accepted the false US justification for the use of atomic bombs, but also quickly began to eagerly support the rapid expansion of the US nuclear arsenal. In other words, the US and Japan tacitly agreed not to raise the issues of indiscriminate bombing and other grave atrocities by covering up each other's criminal behaviors.

My paper argues that, in order to understand why the Japanese failed to develop a sense of collective responsibility for the wartime and colonial atrocities they committed, it is essential to examine Japan's lack of a collective sense of wartime responsibility from the perspective of the aforementioned intertwined Japan-US relationship.

Abstracts

PANEL 11

Memory and Violence

Saturday 7 September 2-24, 13:30 - 15:00

Chair: Tino Schözl

Japanese “Warscapes” in Memory Frames

Theodore F. Cook, William Paterson University, with lifelong collaboration from Haruko Taya Cook

Coming to grips with the many issues this Conference tackles by engaging with “the complex and precarious relation between law, war and violence ... still at the heart of humanitarian issues today” requires that we seek to understand the people at the heart of the proceedings we examine. Haruko Taya Cook and I have been thus engaged for many years, addressing the multiverse of wartime experiences. As our new book stresses, we ask how and why certain events are remembered decades after but often are ignored when rendering judgments or explaining the acts taken. My research on the Japanese Imperial Army and Navy officer corps, undertaken when many were still reachable, and our subsequent collaboration to capture even wider elements of those enmeshed in Japan’s war has focused on close contact with individual experience and memory. We often worked in the spirit of Svetlana Alexievich, winner of the Nobel Prize for Literature in 2015, by engaging directly with those actors through oral history, where possible. We learned that this approach could force us to examine explicit wartime events to exhume them better and perhaps even reveal the nature of institutionalized societal violence.

Central to our Conference’s aim to break new ground for future collaboration to study “law without mercy” is how we may continue to draw on wartime experiences now that most participants can no longer help. Gathering the impact of direct contact and ‘passing on the story’ to their intimates or others offers one way. However, the generation that followed those who experienced the conflict directly from the early 1930s through 1945, or even the early 1950s, is also dwindling. We must ensure we do not lose vital insights when experiences should transfer to the next cohort. Where can such experiences be captured besides the all too often formulaic “memorialization” of recent years? Perhaps we may turn to the creative and active exploitation of cultural forms generated in the war years and apply tools and approaches now enriching scholarship addressing contemporary popularization of wartime “memory.” Film, art, literature, and music have always been valuable elements for historical understanding. Still, it would not shock this audience if I were to say that they have rarely been at its center. I trust that what we learn about mass violence in the Asia-Pacific War can benefit directly from these and the other means we have explored to help us better face our troubled times.

Speakers

Robert Cribb, Australian National University

Robert Cribb is emeritus professor of Asian history at the Australian National University. His research covers a range of topics including mass violence, national identity and environmental history, especially relating to Indonesia. He is co-author (with Sandra Wilson, Beatrice Trefalt and Dean Aszkielowicz) of *Japanese War Criminals* (2017) and is preparing a book on Japanese war crimes with Sandra Wilson.

Theodore F. Cook, William Paterson University

Theodore F. Cook, Professor of History Emeritus, Former Director of Asian Studies, William Paterson University of NJ; PhD Princeton. Selected Honors: Senior Fulbright Fellow, Australian Defence Force Academy & Australian War Memorial; SECNAV Fellow and Visiting Professor of Strategy and Policy, U.S. Naval War College; Harry Frank Guggenheim Grant; Visiting Research Scholar, International Research Center for Japanese Studies, Kyōto; Visiting Foreign Research Scholar, National Museum of Japanese History and Ethnography, Chiba.

Haruko Taya Cook, Professor Emerita, Marymount College of Fordham University; Retired Instructor of Japanese Language and Literature, Department of Languages and Cultures, William Paterson University, Wayne, NJ; M.A. Drew University, M.A. University of California Berkeley. Deceased September 28, 2021.

As co-authors they have written *Japan at War: An Oral History* and the forthcoming *Sacred War: Inside the Japanese Experience, 1937-1945* (The New Press).

Sheldon Garon, Princeton University

Sheldon Garon is the Nissan Professor of History and East Asian Studies at Princeton University. A specialist in modern Japanese history, he also writes transnational/global history. Awarded a European Research Council Advanced Grant in 2024, he will direct a collaborative project, 'The Global War on Civilians, 1905-1945'. His publications include *Molding Japanese Minds: The State in Everyday Life* (Princeton, 1987), *Beyond Our Means: Why America Spends While the World Saves* (Princeton, 2012), and 'On the Transnational Destruction of Cities: What Japan and the United States Learned from the Bombing of Britain and Germany in the Second World War', *Past & Present* (2020).

Toshiya Iko, Tsuru University

Toshiya Iko is a professor at Tsuru University in Japan. His major is modern and contemporary Japanese history. His previous research topics include the relationship between "the system for outlawing war" and Japan's aggression against China, the Japanese Army's germ warfare, indiscriminate bombing, and massacres of residents, as well as the trials of Class BC war criminals by the Republic of China. His representative books on these topics include *Modern Japan and the System for Outlawing War: From World War I to the Second Sino-Japanese War* (Yoshikawa Kobunkan, 2002) and *How the War is Remembered: Sympathy and Antipathy between China and Japan* (Kashiwa Shobo, 2014). Since 2020, he has led a joint research project, "Comprehensive Study of Japanese Occupation and Rule of China during the Wartime Period," and recently published his own paper, "Popular Mobilization and Rule in the North China Occupied Area during the Second Sino-Japanese War" (*Annual Report of Contemporary Japanese History*, No. 28, December 2023).

Speakers

Cary Karacas, City University of New York

Cary Karacas is an Associate Professor of Geography, Department of Political Science and Global Affairs, College of Staten Island, The City University of New York (CUNY), and a member of the Graduate Faculty, The City University of New York (CUNY). He has published extensively on the firebombing of Japanese cities. He is under contract with Penguin Press to publish his book-in-progress (co-authored with David Fedman) titled *Reign of Fire: The United States, Japan, and the Bombing of Cities and Civilians in World War II & Beyond*.

Chi Ho Kiang, Freie Universität Berlin

Dr Chi Ho Kiang is a Postdoctoral Fellow at the Academia Sinica, Taipei (starting in Sept. 2024). He obtained his PhD in Japanese Studies (June 2024) at the Graduate School of East Asian Studies of Freie Universität Berlin with a dissertation on Japanese food policy in war-time occupied China. For his studies, he was awarded a DAAD scholarship as well as a fellowship of the Japan Foundation. Dr Kiang holds a BA in History from Hong Kong Baptist University and an MA in History from Peking University, respectively. His research fields are the history of military occupation, Sino-Japanese relations and food history.

Sarah Kovner, Columbia University

Sarah Kovner is a Senior Research Scholar at the Arnold A. Saltzman Institute of War and Peace Studies at Columbia University. She has been a Fellow in International Security Studies at Yale University and Associate Professor of History at the University of Florida. Currently, she is writing an international history of interned and incarcerated people of Japanese descent. Her most recent book, *Prisoners of the Empire: POWs and Their Captors in the Pacific* was published in 2020 by Harvard University Press (Japanese translation in 2022 from Misuzu Shobo). Kovner is also the author of *Occupying Power: Sex Workers and Servicemen in Postwar Japan* (Stanford, 2012), which was a Choice Outstanding Academic Title, and winner of the best book prize of the Southeast Conference Association for Asian Studies. Her work has appeared in the *Journal of Asian Studies*, the *Journal of Women's History*, and *Diplomatic History*. Her work has also been translated into Japanese and Chinese. Kovner received her A.B. from Princeton University and her Ph.D. from Columbia, and also studied at Kyoto University and the University of Tokyo.

Rotem Kowner, University of Haifa

Rotem Kowner is a historian and Professor of Japanese Studies at the University of Haifa. A founder and first chair of the Department of Asian Studies at the same university, his research interests include Japan's modern wars, and race and racism in East Asia. Among his most recent books are *Tsushima* (Oxford University Press, 2022; Japanese translation 2023), the co-edited volume *World War I and Its Internments* (Cornell University Press, 2022), *Jewish Communities in Modern Asia* (Cambridge University Press, 2023; Japanese translation 2024); and *From Yellow to Inferior: The Japanese and the Dawn of Modern Racial Thought, 1735–1854* (McGill-Queens University Press, in press; Japanese translation 2025).

Speakers

Kelly Maddox, Freie Universität Berlin

Kelly Maddox is a postdoctoral researcher working on the ERC project 'Law without Mercy: Japanese Courts-Martial and Military Courts During the Asia-Pacific War, 1937-45'. Her sub-project explores the Japanese military justice system established throughout occupied Asia as a means of controlling populations under occupation and reflects on the role this system played in wartime violence toward civilians. More broadly, her research interests are concentrated on Japanese military violence and Asia-Pacific War history, especially Japanese occupation policy and practice in Southeast Asia. Her work has been published in the *Journal of Contemporary History*, *War in History* and the *Law and History Review*. She is editing (with Tino Schölz and Urs Matthias Zachmann) a comparative volume on military justice - *Military Justice in Modern History: The Adjudication War and Violence in a Globalizing World* - which is under contract with De Gruyter and is preparing her monograph - *Power over Life and Death: Japanese Military Justice and Violence in Wartime Southeast Asia* - also with De Gruyter.

Danny Orbach, Hebrew University of Jerusalem

Danny Orbach is an associate professor in the History and Asian Studies Departments at the Hebrew University of Jerusalem. After serving in Israeli military intelligence, he studied in Tel Aviv and Tokyo Universities, finally receiving his PhD from Harvard University. Orbach has published extensively on the modern history of Japan, Germany and the Middle East, focusing on military coups d'état, political assassinations, disobedience of officers, military adventurers, intelligence and espionage in the Cold War, irregular warfare, and the dynamics of unsanctioned military massacres. Among his books: *The Plots against Hitler* (Houghton Mifflin Harcourt / Head of Zeus), *Curse on this Country: The Rebellious Army of Imperial Japan* (Cornell university Press) and *Fugitives: A History of Nazi Adventurers during the Cold War* (Pegasus / Hurst). Orbach's current research project, "Punishment: Behind Japanese Military Brutality" is a long-durée history of Japanese war ethics, laws of war and attitude towards enemy civilians from 1868 to 1945.

Tino Schölz, Freie Universität Berlin

Dr. Tino Schölz is a postdoctoral research fellow at the ERC-funded project "Law without Mercy: Japanese Courts-Martial and Military Courts During the Asia-Pacific War, 1937-45." His current research focuses on the history of discipline in the Japanese army between 1868 and 1945, previous research included the commemoration of fallen soldiers or the German influence on Ishiwara Kanji's concept of total war. Publications include *Die Gefallenen besänftigen und ihre Taten rühmen. Gefallenenkult und politische Verfasstheit in Japan seit der Mitte des 19. Jahrhunderts* (2016), *Bürger und shimin. Wortfelder, Begriffstraditionen und Übersetzungsprozesse im Deutschen und Japanischen*, (Co-Ed., 2015), *Kriegsverbrechen und Öffentlichkeit in Japan* (Ed., 2009), *Geschichtswissenschaft in Japan. Themen, Ansätze und Theorien* (Co-Ed., 2007).

Speakers

Nicolas Stassar, Freie Universität Berlin

Nicolas Stassar obtained his MA and BA in Language and Area Studies (Japanese studies) from KU Leuven Belgium, and graduated in 2019. He is currently working as researcher and Ph.D. candidate at Freie Universität Berlin, on the ERC-funded project "Law without Mercy: Japanese Courts-Martial and Military Courts during the Asia-Pacific War, 1937-1945". Tentatively titled "Trying the Enemy: Punishment and Justice against Japanese-kept Prisoners of War, 1894-1945", his project focuses on the administration of punishment by the Japanese military against enemy combatants across Japan's imperial wars, how relevant policy was molded against the backdrop of operational integrity and fears of mass uprisings by POWs. The project covers policy creation as well as qualitative and quantitative analyses of judicial, disciplinary, ad hoc, and group punishments.

Kayoko Takeda, Rikkyo University

Kayoko Takeda is a Senior Specially Appointed Professor in Translation and Interpreting Studies at Rikkyo University in Tokyo. Her main research interests lie in interpreters in conflict, translation policy, and interpreter education. She is the author of *Interpreting the Tokyo War Crimes Trial* (2010), *Taiheiyo-senso Nihongo choho-sen* [intelligence war in Japanese during the Pacific War] (2018), and *Interpreters and War Crimes* (2021).

Yuki Tanaka, Hiroshima City University

Yuki Tanaka was a Research Professor at the Hiroshima Peace Institute of Hiroshima City University until his retirement in 2015. His publications include *Entwined Atrocities: New Insights into the U.S.–Japan Alliance*, *Hidden Horrors: Japanese War Crimes in World War II*, and *Japan's Comfort Women: Sexual Slavery and Prostitution During World War II and the US Occupation*.

Beatrice Trefalt, Monash University

Beatrice Trefalt is a historian of early post-war Japan at Monash University, Australia. She has focussed on the *transformation of memories of the war* (*Japanese Army Stragglers*, 2003), *the pursuit of Japanese war criminals* (with Sandra Wilson, Dean Aszkielowicz and Robert Cribb, *Japanese war Criminals*, 2017), the experiences of Japanese civilians on the battlefield of Saipan (for example, 'the Battle of Saipan in Japanese civilian memoirs', *Journal of Pacific History*, 2018), and the delayed repatriation of Japanese citizens from the former empire ('The Japanese Red Cross, military nurses, and their postwar repatriation', *Health and History*, 2022) Her most recent interest has been the search for Japanese war remains in the Pacific: her latest publication is "The 1955 Japanese Mission to New Guinea: War Remains and the Politics of Commemoration in the Wake of the Asia-Pacific War." *Human Remains and Violence: An Interdisciplinary Journal* 9, no. 2 (2024): 60–75. <https://doi.org/10.7227/HRV.9.2.4>.

Alexandra Valdez, Heidelberg University

Alexandra Valdez is a PhD candidate under the supervision of Professor Dr. Hans Martin Krämer at the Institute of Japanese Studies of Heidelberg University. She received an MA in Trans-cultural Studies from Heidelberg University and a BA in History from Boston College. She currently resides in Osaka, where she is conducting research for her doctoral project at Osaka University.

Speakers

Martin Ward, University of Leeds

Dr Martin Ward (PhD, Hiroshima) is an Associate Professor of Chinese and Japanese Translation at the University of Leeds. He has had published several China-related translations from Chinese and Japanese into English of historical documents, political discourse, and literature, and also conducts research into the translation of Chinese political discourse, and translation pedagogy. At time of writing he is a fellow of the Leeds Institute for Teaching Excellence, researching barriers to COIL-type interventions. He is founder of the East Asian Translation Pedagogy Advance (EATPA) network, bringing together academics teaching East Asian language translation around the world to share best practice.

Sandra Wilson, Murdoch University

Sandra Wilson is professor of History at Murdoch University in Western Australia. With Robert Cribb, Beatrice Trefalt and Dean Aszkielowicz, she is author of *Japanese War Criminals: the Politics of Guilt after the Second World War* (Columbia University Press, 2017). She is also the author of *The Manchurian Crisis and Japanese Society, 1931-33* (Routledge, 2002) and other work on politics and society in 1930s Japan and on the history of Japanese nationalism.

Brian Tsz Ho Wong, University of Edinburgh

Brian Tsz Ho Wong is a Ph.D. Candidate in East Asian Studies and CDCS Training Fellow at the University of Edinburgh. His dissertation focuses on the economic and financial mobilisation of the wartime Japanese Empire. He is interested in the economic, financial, and business history of modern East Asia (c. 1840-1970) and is passionate about using digital tools (Gephi, QGIS and Google Earth) in his research. For more information, please visit his university profile: (<https://www.ed.ac.uk/profile/tsz-ho-wong>).

Daqing Yang, George Washington University

Daqing Yang teaches Modern Japanese History at the George Washington University in Washington, DC, USA. A native of China, Professor Yang received his Ph.D. from Harvard University. He has also taught at Harvard University, the University of Tokyo and Waseda University in Japan and Yonsei University in Korea. From 2004 to 2007, Professor Yang served as a Historical Consultant to The Nazi War Crimes and Japanese Imperial Government Records Interagency Working Group at the U.S. National Archives. He is the author of *Technology of Empire: Telecommunications and Japanese Expansion in Asia, 1883-1945*. His co-edited books include *Rethinking Historical Injustice and Reconciliation in Northeast Asia* (2006), *Toward a History Beyond Borders: Contentious Issues in Sino-Japanese Relations* (2012), *Memory, Identity, and Commemorations of World War II: Anniversary Politics in Asia Pacific* (2018) and *Authenticity and Victimhood after the Second World War* (2021).

Urs Matthias Zachmann, Freie Universität Berlin

Urs Matthias Zachmann is Professor of Modern Japanese History and Culture at Freie Universität Berlin. Having obtained a PhD in Japanese Studies (Heidelberg 2006), he completed his Habilitation in 2010 at the University of Munich. He also qualified as judge/advocate in the German system in 2002. Before appointed in Berlin, he was the inaugural Handa Chair in Japanese-Chinese Relations at the University of Edinburgh (2011-2016). His fields of research are modern Japanese history, especially intellectual and legal history, as well as the diplomatic history of East Asia. He is Principal Investigator of the ERC-Project "Law Without Mercy: Japanese Courts-Martial and Military Courts During the Asia-Pacific War, 1937-45" (ERC-2018-COG 819892) at Freie Universität (2019-2025).