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Where is the Apology?:
An Interpretation of Historical Commemoration and Collective Memory of the Nanjing Massacre and It's Contemporary Impact

Department *of* International Studies



Where is the Apology?:
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Submitted to the Department of International Studies of Allegheny College in partial fulfillment of the requirements for the degree of Bachelor of Arts.

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I hereby recognize and pledge to fulfill my responsibilities as defined in the Honor Code and to maintain the integrity of both myself and the College community as a whole.

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Abstract

Where is the Apology?: An Interpretation of Historical Commemoration and Collective Memory of the Nanjing Massacre and It's Contemporary Impact

Kaitlin Franzen, 2020

The Nanjing Massacre occurred in China in 1937 where the Japanese killed approximately 300,000 Chinese people, and raped an unknown number of women. Survivors were left to suffer in silence under first the Japanese during their occupation of China and then under the Chinese Communist Party under Mao Zedong. The lack of remembrance about the Nanjing Massacre lasted until 1982 where the memory was revived by government actors. This project will be a comparative study of the Nanjing Massacre Memorial and the D.C. Holocaust museum in which memory studies and commemorative efforts will be analyzed. Using memory studies methodology, this project will demonstrate how government institutions use memory and commemoration to instrumentalize memory in service to their political agenda. The conclusion of the project shows that the United States government uses the Holocaust for atonement for their lack of action during the Second World War as well as to gain support for the Carter administration. The Nanjing Memorial is funded by the Chinese government to promote Chinese national unity against the Japanese Army and to disprove people who dismiss the Massacre as never occurring.

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Introduction

二零一八年十二月十三号是我一生中难忘的一天，不但期末考快到了，我还得把从中国回家的行李打包。过去四个月离乡背井，呆在中国的我非常想家。那天早上，我和平常一样到了南京大学，不一样的是十一点左右警笛声想起了。这个警笛声听起来像空袭警报或消防车的声音。我看窗外对面的马路，那是我每天和同学吃午饭的地方。平常那很忙碌，那天却特别安静，工作的人停下他们正在做的事；走路的人停下他们的脚步；还有人低下头。对于中国人，这是非常历史性的时刻，但是很多像我一样的外国人，不知道当时发生了什么。在这一刻，我的老师说这个汽笛没什么。虽然老师说这个警笛声不重要，但是我看到的情形让我明白这是在南京很重大的事情： 八十一年前的今天是南京大屠杀发生的日子。

我在中国南京的学习帮助了我了解南京大屠杀：二零一八年十二月十三号是南京大屠杀八十一周年纪念日。除了向老师了解这一事件，我还去参观了 “日军侵华南京大屠杀遇难同胞纪念馆” 和慰安妇的家，这些都给我留下了深刻的印象。南京大屠杀给了南京很多创伤，许多南京人到今天还没走出日本人给的伤害。例如， 一个周末我和寄宿家庭妈妈去慰安妇兵营，她看了有关中国和韩国女人被强奸经历的文物和图片后泪如雨下。 她就是中国人记得怎么被日本人对待的一个很好的例子。进入“日军侵华南京大屠杀遇难同胞纪念馆”就和走进慰安妇居住的房间一样，什么都无法让人做好进去参观的准备。

我回到了美国，我希望教育美国人有关南京大屠杀的事情和我的经验。在我讲故事的时候， 我感到情绪激动， 我的世界停止了。当我想到我的寄宿妈妈站在妇女被暴力伤害的图片面前的样子，我就起鸡皮疙瘩。纪念馆内，我看到了有人的骨架的坟墓， 这些我不能忘记。 在美国，我解释我看见了什么，每次我都听到 “我不知道什么是南京大屠

杀？南京在哪里？”很多的美国人不知道南京大屠杀，这是极坏的事情。我决定我的毕业论文做南京大屠杀，我希望引起大家对这一历史事件的注意。

我的论点成长为现在的样子。先开始我想关注慰安妇因为我的接待母亲强烈的反应。我改变了，因为慰安妇所处的历史境遇，我的论文让大家关注慰安妇和当时所有其他形式暴力的受害者。而且，我的接待母亲和参观纪念馆的人的反应让我意识到我必须展示南京大屠杀对当代仍住在南京的人民的影响。

我看过很多与我的接待母亲反映相似的中国人的例子。中国的报纸新华社多年来发表了很多文章讲述幸存者及其家人的故事。此外，新华社也收集有关中国人对大屠杀观点的数据。故事和证据表明八十年后南京人对南京大屠杀仍然感到切肤之痛。420个南京居民中，52.9%对在12月13日举行庆祝仪式， 41.9% 看到日本游客时想到大屠杀，南京市民有强烈的纪念南京大屠杀的想法。90.0%的被访者表他们支持用鸣笛的形式纪念受害者。

新华社的文章讲了几个幸存者的故事。二零一八年十二月十二号的文章降到纪念日的前一天，很多的幸存者去纪念馆，他们的目标是教育年轻一代南京大屠杀确实发生过。例如九十一岁的余昌祥讲述他的经验。他的孩子们也尝试教育年轻一代，这样年轻一代认识到日本人对中国人的所作所为和和幸存者们如何克服挑战。“父亲一直念叨，要把当年国家遭受侵略的历史告诉年轻人，让他们铭记过 去，珍惜现在的生活。”[1]

所有这些导致我在下面列出我的论文中探讨的问题。

我在这篇论文要回答的问题是南京大屠杀的记忆和集体记忆对南京的意义。我会分析中国国民党，中国共产党和日本政府为什么和怎样改变记忆让记忆对他们有利。比如说中国共产党怎样从我上文所说的纪念活动中收益及他们为什么愿意经济上资助这些纪念活动。在最后，我会把其他社会怎样纪念历史比如大屠杀历史跟南京记忆进行比较， 特别

[1] 2018-12-03 来源： 新华网网, *南京举行行行南京大大屠杀死难者家祭活动*.

是把南京大屠杀纪念馆与华盛顿大屠杀纪念馆进行比较。我最终的目的是表达政府和政治权力如何通过纪念活动和操纵记忆影响人们。

December 13th, 2018 was a time of stress. My finals were just days away, and I was getting ready to return home by packing my things. I had been in China for four months at that point and was ready to see my family back in the United States. After another normal day traveling to Nanjing University from my host family's apartment 40 minutes away, I found myself standing outside of my classroom door in the late morning. That was when the sound began. It started off low but quickly began to grow in volume. An ominous wail. It reminded me of what an air raid siren would sound like or a fire station alarm. I peered out the windows of my university to look and saw people stopping on the street between my university and the restaurants that I frequent with my classmates. It was normally bustling with people from all walks of life, but was strangely quiet besides the sound of the siren that day. No talking. Many stopped walking and just listened. Some even let their heads fall in acknowledgment. It was a powerful moment of reflection for those who knew what the siren meant. At the time, I was just told that it was nothing to be concerned about. But the reaction of people made me recognize that there was more to this siren than I originally thought. The siren was not there for an emergency. It was a form of commemoration for the Nanjing Massacre that had occurred 81 years prior.

My time in Nanjing, China, both in class and outside of class, had been educating me on events that occurred during the Sino-Japanese War and World War II. Each event that I was learning about left a strong impression on me. This was further reflected by the modern-day effect the initial tragedy still had on people. For example, I visited a preserved comfort women barracks with my host mother one weekend and I watched her break down over the many

artifacts and pictures left behind. The rape of women from China and Korea and the suffering they felt were still fresh in her mind. We walked into rooms where these women were held until they were no longer useful. Nothing could have prepared me for what I was about to see. Similar feelings were invoked during my trip to the Nanjing Massacre Memorial where I saw an open tomb. It left me with the feeling of a situation being left unresolved.

Upon my return to the United States, I wanted to let others know how this experience affected me. I got chills when I told the story of my personal world going still for a full minute as the siren echoed throughout the city. Goosebumps would layer my skin when I thought of my host mother standing in front of images of women who were harmed by the Japanese. And the thought of the open tomb inside the Nanjing Memorial with real skeletons of Chinese victims looking back up at me could not leave my mind. Each time I would explain these incidents to others, I would hear the same comment of "I've never heard of the Nanjing Massacre before. Where is Nanjing?" This floored me. Such a terrible event was unknown to many Americans. With this knowledge, I decided that my senior thesis would help bring attention to the massacre.

This project has evolved and grown into what it is now. I originally thought of focusing on comfort women because of the strong reaction my host mother had. What changed this plan was the larger picture of what comfort women were involved in. By focusing on the Nanjing Massacre, it would bring attention to both comfort women as well as other victims who experienced other acts of violence. Because of my host mother's reaction and the reactions of others who visited the Nanjing Massacre Memorial, I knew that I needed to include the contemporary impact that these events still presented to those who live in Nanjing.

There are many examples of the past still weighing on a wider audience than just my host mother. The Chinese newspaper XinHua has published articles throughout the years telling the stories of victims and their families. In addition to XinHua describing these stories and introducing the survivors in present years with their families, there are also those who present statistics about the Chinese perspective of the Massacre. These two forms of evidence help prove the struggles that Nanjing citizens are still feeling over 80 years since the massacre occurred. Statistically, 52.9% of 420 surveyed Nanjing residents felt uncomfortable holding a celebration on December 13th. 41.9% would think of the massacre when they would see Japanese tourists. There was also a desire for commemoration among the citizens. 90.0% of people who answered the questions thought that the use of the siren to commemorate victims was good.[2]

The newspaper articles by XinHua tell the stories of the few survivors that are left. One article from XinHua on December 12th, 2018, the day before the "Day of Remembrance", many survivors visited the memorial. Their goal was to educate the younger generation of the incidents occurring. For example, 91-year-old Yu Changxiang brings attention to what he experienced. His children attempt to educate others as well so they know of the acts taken against the Chinese and how they (the survivors) overcame the challenges.[3]

This second article from XinHua is more recent than the last and it really demonstrates the intensity of emotions that are still felt by people in the city. The article was published last year in 2019 on May 4th. There was a ceremony at the Nanjing Massacre Memorial where 70 out of 85 living survivors attended. Not only do the survivors have a role in the ceremony, but their children do as well. The goal of the commemorative practice is to symbolize the passage of the

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[2] Zhang Lianhong, "The Nanjing Massacre and the Traumatic Memory of Nanjing Residents," *Chinese Studies in History* 50, no. 4 (2017), 258-265. 6.
[3] 2018-12-03 来源： 新华网网, *南京举行行行南京大大屠杀死难者家祭活动*.

memory of the Massacre onto the next generation to keep the memory alive.[4] This was done through the passing of a broom to clean the memorial. Survivors also present the desire to have the Japanese government admit to the fullest extent of the crimes that were committed in Nanjing. This article is another example of the real weight this tragedy still holds over Chinese society.

With these experiences fueling the project, it will demonstrate what memory and commemoration are. This will be further illustrated by the comparative study of the Nanjing Memorial and the D.C. Holocaust Museum. In this project I investigate the significance of memory and collective memory in the city of Nanjing in terms of the Nanjing Massacre. I will be analyzing how and why the Chinese Nationalists, the Chinese Communists and the Japanese government have the ability to structure memory to their benefit. An example is how the Chinese Communist Party (CCP) benefits from this commemoration and why it was willing to fund it. And finally, I will be comparing how other societies practice historical commemoration to China specifically the D.C. Holocaust Museum and the Nanjing Massacre Memorial. As evidenced by this comparative case study, I argue that memory and commemorative practices often play a significant role in attempts by state actors in their attempts to instrumentalize memory in service to their political agenda.

[4] 2019-04-05 来源： 新华网网, *南京大大屠杀死难者遗属举行行行"清明祭"*.

Chapter 1: A History of the Nanjing Massacre

Many believe that history will repeat itself, especially tragic history, if not properly studied and understood. The Nanjing Massacre is not widely known internationally and there is fear among the Chinese that an event as dark as this could occur once again if the Japanese are not reminded of the harm their Imperial Army caused. The Nanjing Massacre occurred during the Second Sino-Japanese War in the final weeks of 1937 and into January 1938 before the beginning of the Second World War. From December 1937 lasting 6 weeks, approximately 300,000 Chinese residents in the city of Nanjing were murdered. Other tortures such as rape, vandalism and more are not easily processed and forgiven. The events of the Nanjing Massacre are traumatic and the memory still lingers in the present-day lives of Nanjing residents.

Japan and China

The year 1937 was the start of the Sino-Japanese War preceding the Second World War which started two years later in 1939. Japan's actions occurred contemporaneously to Nazi Germany's efforts to expand their borders.[5] Borders were a cause for concern as many treaties and agreements between neighboring countries and Germany sought to limit Hitler's expansion.

Upon the breaking of the treaties, France and Britain first declared war leading to the official start of World War II with Germany invading Poland. World War II will be remembered as the time when Hitler killed people he believed did not fit Germany's model, and nuclear weapons were introduced and used on the cities of Hiroshima and Nagasaki in Japan. With the death toll reaching extreme numbers during this time, it is hard to imagine that things could have

[5] Withers, Harry C. "Summary of World War II." *Southwest Review* 31 (1): 101-107. 1945. 101.

become worse. History of World War II is frequently focused on Germany and Hitler, but Germany was not the only powerhouse in the Axis powers. While Germany was taking over regions in Europe such as France, Poland, Norway etc., Japan was invading the Asian continent with Korea, Mongolia and China.[6]

Japan participated in World War I as a part of the Entente but for a variety of reasons, the international community shunned Japanese products in the post-War period.[7] This led to Japan becoming frustrated with the Great Powers as this hurt the Japanese economy for a time. With Japan facing this economic situation, a new idea was formed to bring Japan into prosperity. This idea included "fanatical views when it came to Japan's right to a dominant role in Asia."[8] The Japanese needed a strong military to be able to accomplish the goal of domination. Joining the military was an honor that was indoctrinated onto youths through toys and other propaganda, and was demonstrated by a militaristic school setting.[9] All of this preparation and role setting for the young made joining the military an honor. Because of the military practices being ingrained into the Japanese culture, lifestyle and honor; Japan took pride in their military power. The Japanese viewed the Chinese and the Chinese Army as "primitive people, illiterate in military science and poorly trained."[10] This caused resentment later between the Japanese and Chinese when the Chinese Army was able to defend Shanghai for so long. "The campaign, according to the Japanese, was being undertaken in order to 'punish the people of China for their refusal to acknowledge the superiority and leadership of the Japanese race and to co-operate with them'."[11]

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[6] Withers, "Summary of World War II," 102.
[7] Chang, Iris. *The Rape of Nanking: The Forgotten Holocaust of World War II,* (New York: BasicBooks, 1997). 25.
[8] Chang, *The Rape of Nanking,* 28.
[9] Chang, *The Rape of Nanking,* 30.
[10] Chang, *The Rape of Nanking,* 34.
[11] Liverpool, Russell of. *Knights of Bushido A History of Japanese War Crimes during World War II* (Skyhorse Publishing, 2008). 39.

This resentment could have led the Japanese Army to grow more violent towards the Chinese in Nanjing. This mindset was not just with the soldiers, but the mentality is depicted throughout the Japanese ranks and more specifically justified by military leaders."The Japanese Vice-Minister for War, wrote: 'Racial struggle between the Japanese and Chinese is to be expected… we must never hesitate to wield military power in case of necessity.' Massacre in the Chinese War was, therefore, justified as a military necessity."[12]

Japan's Approach to Nanking

"Along the whole line of march, from Shanghai to Nanking, General Matsui's army left a trail of blood and devastation."[13]

"The Chinese have blown up one of the railroad bridges outside Tsinan in order to slow the Japanese advance. Meaning that the Japanese will soon be, or already are, on the Yellow River." [14]

- John Rabe, 16th of November 1937

With Japan's pursuit of complete control of the Asian continent, China became Japan's biggest prize and challenge. "The war occurred because both Germany and Japan wanted something that belonged to other nations. In Germany's case, it was more living room. In Japan it was the wealth of China."[15] Japan assumed that they "could conquer all of mainland China

[12] Liverpool, *Knights of Bushido,* 41.
[13] Liverpool, *Knights of Bushido,* 48.
[14] Rabe, John and Wickert, Erwin. *The Good Man of Nanking: The Diaries of John Rabe*. 1st ed. (New York: Vintage Books, 2000). 21.
[15] Withers, "Summary of World War II," 101.

within three months."[16] When this timeline was no longer feasible, frustrations grew among the military ranks and motivated the Japanese to take the Chinese capital, Nanjing or Nanking as it was also known as at the time. As Japan worked to take Shanghai, air raid attacks were planned and performed on Nanjing starting in August of 1937 and continued until the official fall in December. Once Japan finally conquered Shanghai in November 1937, the Japanese Army quickly started their inland trek towards Nanking. Because of Nanjing's geographical location with the Yangtze River and the Yangtze River Delta, Japan used this geography to encircle the city with their military forces and units. "The imperial army exploited the fact that the city was blocked by water in two directions."[17] Ultimately, this trapped the Chinese inside the city where they could no longer escape.

During these tense moments of the Sino-Japanese War and the beginning of World War II, there were changes in leadership and authority over the Japanese military approach to Nanjing. Originally led by General Matsui, command was transferred to the Japanese royalty of Prince Asaka under the strict orders of the Emperor. Both men, General Matsui and Prince Asaka had different ideas as to how they would make their impressions and impact on the capital of Nanking. For General Matsui, he wanted the Chinese to look up to the Japanese as powerful, strong and respectable. He wanted to demonstrate the control and organization that the military was proud of. The main goal of Matsui's was to avoid needless killing: "The entry of the Imperial Army into a foreign capital is a great event in our history… Therefore let no unit enter the city in a disorderly fashion… Let them know beforehand the matters to be remembered and the position of foreign rights and interests in the walled city."[18] Prince Asaka expected the complete opposite

[16] Chang, *The Rape of Nanking,* 33.
[17] Chang, *The Rape of Nanking,* 35.
[18] Chang, *The Rape of Nanking,* 39.

of General Matsui. The secret order that he sent to the army outside the gates of Nanking was as follows: "KILL ALL CAPTIVES."[19] This meant no Chinese military or civilians were to be spared if captured by the Japanese. One explanation given for this order was the city still had hundreds of thousands of people left inside leaving the Japanese many mouths to feed. So many in fact that it is possible that the Japanese would not have enough for themselves. If food shortages could be avoided, it would be accomplished by the hundreds of thousands of Chinese killed under this order.

As the Japanese approached the city at a rapid pace, the Chinese military was attempting to prepare the city for war as well. This included Chiang Kai-shek making General Tang the commander of the troops in Nanjing. However, General Tang was recovering from illness and he was commanded to abandon the city and his troops.[20] "As the Japanese 'Central China Expedition Force' approached Nanking… more than half the population fled from the city. At the same time the main Chinese Army retreated, leaving behind some fifty thousand troops to defend Nanking."[21] Those troops that were left behind were young and inexperienced. In addition to the issue of inexperience, it is speculated that the Chinese Military had other factors going against them as the Japanese approached the city. First, the Chinese air corps were removed from Nanjing leaving the city vulnerable to air attacks and making the weapons abandoned in the surrounding geography, the mountains, ineffective. Second, communication equipment was removed from the city. Third, troops from different areas spoke in different dialects making communication difficult among the soldiers. Fourth, many of the soldiers were drafted overnight or kidnapped and had no experience fighting, much less handling a gun. Finally, the Chinese

[19] Chang, *The Rape of Nanking,* 40.
[20] Chang, *The Rape of Nanking,* 74.
[21] Liverpool, *Knights of Bushido,* 42.

army had no cohesive purpose and did not trust each other due to the split in the political beliefs of the Nationalists and the Communists. There was nothing to unify them.[22]

The Take Over

"We fought our way to Nanking and joined the attack on the enemy capital in December. It was our unit which stormed the Chunghua Gate. We attacked continuously for about a week, battering the brick and earth walls with artillery, but they never collapsed. On the night of December 11th, men in my unit breached the wall. The morning came with most of our unit still behind us, but we were beyond the wall. Behind the gate great heaps of sandbags were piled up. We cleared them away, removed the lock, and opened the gates, with a great creaking noise. We'd done it! We'd opened the fortress!... When we passed beyond the fortress wall we thought *we* had occupied the city."[23]

After 3 days of continuous attacks on the Nanjing city walls, a drastic change came for the people in the Chinese capital of Nanjing. The Nanjing Massacre officially started on December 13th, 1937 and continued for about six weeks later until January 1938. With the only order given being "KILL ALL CAPTIVES," the Japanese military were not given any other criteria as to how they should conduct themselves in the city. This led to the Japanese soldiers taking free reign over the city and the people in it. These attacks were not only the killing of people with their backs turned, but the looting of businesses, raping of women, and holding killing competitions, or in other words, mass murder.

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[22] Chang, *The Rape of Nanking,* 71.
[23] Cook, Haruko Taya and Cook, Theodore Failor. *Japan at War: An Oral History*. 1st ed. (New York: New Press, 1992). 32.

"At the lowest computation twelve thousand men, women and children were shot or done to death during the first three days of the Japanese occupation."[24] Starting off the brutalities was the mass murder of civilians. The Chinese people assumed that with the takeover by the Japanese that the civilians would be left relatively alone. This was quickly proven wrong when the Japanese military started firing at the backs of fleeing civilians. "They went on killing until the gutters ran with blood and the streets were littered with the bodies of their victims. As one Chinese witness who was there testified, the inhabitants of Nanking were 'hunted like rabbits, everyone seen to move was shot'."[25] It was unsafe to walk the streets at any time of day or night for the fear of getting killed or tortured by the Japanese Army. The Japanese Army used the excuse that Chinese soldiers were mingling with civilian populations of the city, and attacking Japanese soldiers in disguise which was far from the case.[26] Anyone in the city, young, elderly, male or female were killed.

Killing competitions were common among the Japanese soldiers as they raided and razed Nanjing. Killing competitions took place between Japanese soldiers to see who could kill the most Chinese in a short amount of time. Many of the ways that the Chinese were killed was not merciful either. Chinese victims often were bayoneted to death, decapitated, buried alive, eaten by dogs or even burned alive.[27] Japanese newspaper printed a picture and article depicting two Japanese soldiers standing proud with their guns and bayonets and the number of "Chinese soldiers" that they had killed. The ultimate goal of this action was to demonstrate their military power over the Chinese and to boost morale back in Japan. There was a pride taken in these

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[24] Liverpool, *Knights of Bushido*, 43.
[25] Liverpool, *Knights of Bushido,* 43.
[26] Liverpool, *Knights of Bushido,* 43.
[27] Chang, *The Rape of Nanking,* 87-88.

actions and the mass murder of the Chinese was not kept hidden. The officers took Prince Asaka's command of taking no prisoners to the point where these fast-paced races to kill the most became common all over the city. There are many accounts left from Chinese survivors who hid under the bodies of their fellow Chinese. This was the reality of Nanjing for six weeks in 1937.

What makes the mass murder of civilians and prisoners of war so heinous was because of international law that pertained to the treatment of prisoners of war. "The right of prisoners of war to be properly housed, fed, and humanely treated…"[28] This was reinforced in the "International Convention to the Treatment of Prisoners of War" from July 1929, which Japan attended and signed but did not ratify.[29] Prisoner of war status was obtained by setting down arms and not resisting after capture by the enemy. The Chinese followed these steps upon Japan's entrance into the city of Nanjing; however, the Japanese military did not follow international law, killing anyone and everyone in Nanjing that they could. The Japanese believed that because they never ratified this law, that they would have the ability to avoid repercussions from the international community.

Violence spread to the city, not just the people in it with Mass destruction of arson and looting. Anything that was of value was taken from the residents themselves and their homes. Often if the Japanese did not find anything of value from the people, they used the lack of payment as an excuse to harm the Chinese. These actions became a sport and a daily occurrence for military officers during their stay in the city of Nanjing. "Thousands of houses and commercial premises were broken into and emptied of their contents. After looting them, the

[28] Liverpool, *Knights of Bushido,* 53.
[29] Liverpool, *Knights of Bushido,* 54.

Japanese soldiers set them on fire… block after block [was] destroyed by fire."[30] The Japanese army was allowed to run rampant in the city without repercussions from their supervisors or other military commanders.

One of the most brutal actions taken by the Japanese during this time were rapes and mutilation of Chinese women and their bodies. No matter the age or health status, the women were targeted by the Japanese for sexual attacks. "Chinese women were raped in all locations and at all hours."[31] There was nothing that families could do to prevent the rapes because if they attempted to stop the action, the family member would quickly be killed. Women were gang-raped in public streets during the day and there was nothing that the Chinese civilians could do to protect the women from these actions.[32] The Japanese Army had laws against such actions because they were not seen as honorable. This did not stop the military men from continuing their sexual assault on women. There was no reason for them to cease as what they were doing was supported by Japanese military commanders: "One accommodation Japanese company commander gave unofficial instructions to would-be ravishers. 'So that we will not have any problems on our hands, either pay them money or kill them in some obscure place after you have finished.' "[33] This commander is saying that if a soldier rapes a woman, the soldier has two options to take: he can either pay the woman off or he can kill her so that the soldier cannot be prosecuted for the offense. This also demonstrates how even though rape was against the law, that did not matter as the soldiers had the support from higher-ranking commanding officers. Exact numbers of how many women were raped are unknown as many were killed after the act,

[30] Liverpool, *Knights of Bushido,* 43.
[31] Chang, *The Rape of Nanking,* 90.
[32] Chang, *The Rape of Nanking,* 90.
[33] Liverpool, *Knights of Bushido,* 49.

committed suicide or never came forward about the rape due to the shame. It is estimated that 20,000-80,000 women were raped during the Japanese occupation in China.[34]

To combat the spread of STDs among the military from their raping campaigns, comfort women were used. The goal was to give the soldiers access to women but require them to use contraceptives to stop the rampant spread of sexually transmitted diseases. "The term 'comfort women' is a euphemism used to describe the thousands of women who were kidnapped, rounded up, coerced, lured, tricked and sold into prostitution for the Japanese military during the Asia-Pacific War."[35] Many of these were from regions occupied by the Japanese during the time period of the war. The majority of these women were from Korea and recruited into the *Chongsindae,* or the Volunteer Corps.[36] They were forced to "comfort" Japanese military men with sexual acts in military-sponsored brothels. These women were raped multiple times a day by many different Japanese soldiers until they died or were no longer useful. This was another crime that was committed by the Japanese during their occupation in China and Nanjing.

Witnesses

There are many different eyewitnesses to these events including Chinese residents, foreigners and finally Japanese military. All three of these groups support the evidence of the war crimes listed above with their documentation of the atrocities performed. Even though there is evidence, that does not mean that all parties agree with the final estimates. The Chinese and the international community agree with the estimates of about 300,000 dead while some

[34] Chang, *The Rape of Nanking,* 89.
[35] Henry, Nicola. "Memory of an Injustice: The "Comfort Women" and the Legacy of the Tokyo Trial." *Asian Studies Review* 37 (3): 362-380. 2013. 366.
[36] Seo, Jungmin. "Politics of Memory in Korea and China: Remembering the Comfort Women and the Nanjing Massacre." *New Political Science* 30 (3): 369-392. 2008. 373.

Japanese nationalists strongly protest against this estimate. There are even groups in Japan that argue against all the events that occurred in Nanjing. This portion of the chapter will utilize primary documents and first-hand accounts of the events to prove these numbers are accurate and the atrocities did occur within the walls, and outside the walls, of Nanking.

The Chinese

"This is what Liu Meiling told me to tell you. After being struck with the gun stock, she was raped, with the three Japanese soldiers taking turns. And that wasn't all: she was confined in her house, and just about every day, three or four Japanese soldiers at a time came and raped her, so she doesn't even know how many soldiers humiliated her day after day."[37]

- Liu Meiling November 7th 1937

The Chinese civilians and military suffered greatly during Japan's occupation as they were the targets of the Japanese ire. Anything that the Chinese owned and had monetary value was stolen by the Japanese even though the Chinese citizens had very little to offer. Women like Liu Meiling were forced into situations of rape and sexual exploitation by the Japanese. The very livelihood of those who were still in the city was destroyed. Meiling suffered with the knowledge of her rape for many years after the abuse occurred with reports from her mother that she was bedridden for three years afterward. Meiling suffered greatly under the hands of the Japanese military and it is a memory that will never leave her. She still feels shame from the incident as she had a friend disclose the assault to a reporter. She could not relive it even forty-six years

[37] Honda, Katsuichi, Sheng-i Pen-to, Shengyi Benduo, 本多勝一, 本多胜一, Katuiti Honda, Frank Gibney, Furanku Gibunī, and Frėnk Gibni. *The Nanjing Massacre: A Japanese Journalist Confronts Japan's National Shame*. (Armonk, N.Y: M.E. Sharpe, 1999). 22.

after the original incident occurred.[38] Meiling is a perfect example of not knowing how many women were raped as it is unknown if she ever reported these actions made against her.

Another witness to this atrocity was a Chinese soldier who was lucky to survive. His name was Zhao Shifan and he was a part of the 88th Chinese army. After the Japanese had broken through the walls and entered the city, Zhao fled to a house near Meitian Harbor where he and other soldiers were housed by a Chinese family. With the knowledge that the Japanese were on the way, they stripped from their uniforms and changed into civilian clothes. However, due to their young ages of twenty, being men, and having a military-style haircut, the Japanese rounded them up, and took them to the river where many were shot and killed on the speculation that they were soldiers. Zhao safely hid in an alley and later visited the river and saw corpses littering the waterway.[39] "There were air-raid shelters here and there near the site of the massacre, shelters that were actually dugouts built by the local residents, and these, too, were full of corpses, both adults and children…"[40]

The Chinese struggled with this defeat and humiliation for many years after the initial attack. Many put the massacre into the back of their minds as China slowly grew stronger and started rebuilding their relationship with Japan. However, the massacre is a stain that has stayed in the hearts of the Chinese for a very long time and something this brutal is not easily forgiven.

The Foreigners

"It was not until [the International Committee] tour the city that we learn the extent of the destruction. We come across corpses every 100 to 200 yards. The bodies of civilians that I

[38] Honda et al., *The Nanjing Massacre: A Japanese Journalist Confronts Japan's National Shame*, 22.
[39] Honda et al., *The Nanjing Massacre: A Japanese Journalist Confronts Japan's National Shame*, 174-178.
[40] Honda et al., *The Nanjing Massacre: A Japanese Journalist Confronts Japan's National Shame*, 178.

examined had bullet holes in their backs. These people had presumably been fleeing when they were shot from behind."[41]

- John Rabe December 13th 1937

To combat these brutalities, foreigners who lived in China and stayed in the city, even with the Japanese approaching, opened a space for the Chinese to reside. This was the only form of protection that the Chinese had from the Japanese as the Chinese army was defeated. The International Safety Zone was several blocks that were marked off to the Japanese with different flags, such as the German or American flags, and the symbol of the Red Cross. This marked the boundaries of the embassies and other residents' personal homes which were used to their full capacity and beyond to protect the refugees in their own city.

The Safety Zone is one of the reasons why there is so much evidence pertaining to the Massacre. The International Committee, led by John Rabe a German Nazi who had lived in China for many years, documented daily life through personal journals, films and images. This information collaborated with the statements given by the Chinese victims at trial. One such witness, Hubert L. Sone, described the belief that the arrival of the Japanese, would bring the city back to order. However, "the surprise of surprises came to us all. Robbery, looting, torture, murder, rape, burning - everything that can be imagined was carried out from the very beginning without any limit. Modern times have nothing to surpass it. Nanking has been almost a living hell."[42]

[41] Rabe and Wickert, *The Good Man of Nanking,* 66.
[42] Lu, "They were in Nanjing," Hong Kong University Press, 87.

The careful documentation of the number of people entering into the Safety Zone, the recordings of contact and communication with different embassies, and reaching out to many political figures (such as Hitler) left a paper trail behind for the Tokyo Tribunal, the organization which tried the Japanese for their role in war crimes. This evidence was used to refute the Japanese statement of the massacre not occurring.

The Japanese

Many soldiers in the Japanese military incriminated themselves with letters that they sent back to Japan. They discussed many things that would normally have been censored. Because the commentaries were not censored or covered up, it gives the impression that it was not only a normal and frequent occurrence in the military, but not even something worth punishing. [43] For example,"[a Japanese soldier] wrote, 'in my half-year at the front about only two things I have learned are rape and robbery… the looting by our armies is beyond imagination… the prisoners taken from the Chinese Army are sometimes lined up in a line and shot, just to give us practice in machine-gun traversing fire.' "[44] This soldier just confessed to several things, robbery, looting, rape, and mass murder. None of this was thought to have been censored, it was something that was taken pride in. He even refers to the Chinese as "prisoners" which demonstrates their status as prisoners of war being entitled to their lives and fair treatment. They were denied these rights.

"Yet a third wrote home and told the following story. 'At ------ we captured a family of four. We played with the daughter as we would with a harlot. As the parents kept insisting that their daughter should be returned to them, we then killed the father and mother. We then played

[43] Liverpool, *Knights of Bushido,* 44-45.
[44] Liverpool, *Knights of Bushido,* 49.

with the daughter again as before, until our unit marched on when we killed her.' "[45] This is also a direct example of what the commanding officer recommended the soldiers do if they rape a woman, either pay her off or kill her and they chose the latter.

Even with this testimonial evidence directly from their own soldiers, there are many right-wing nationalists in Japan who believe that the Chinese are lying about the events that occurred in Nanjing. After the tribunal, many of the commanders who were charged were given government positions and honors for their accomplishments made during their time in China.[46] There was no real punishment for the Japanese and the incident was disregarded. After a number of years, a history book scandal in Japan re-sparked the conversation about what occurred at the Massacre. Government-approved history textbooks were published for schools in Japan that glossed over the massacre itself and reinforced the idea that Japan was a victim. Authors like Tanaka Masaaki and Higashinakano Osamichi did their best to reinforce claims of Japanese victimization and that the Chinese were falsifying the incident itself. The authors attempted to do this by debating the numbers reported for people killed and used biased photography which does not display images of "mountains of dead bodies". They attempted to cast doubt on the events that occurred in the city. To refute this claim: "A very careful estimate has been made of the total number of Chinese soldiers and civilians murdered in Nanking itself during the first six weeks of the Japanese occupation of the city, and by the lowest computation, the number was not less than two hundred thousand. Burial societies, and other organizations which have kept reliable records, have accounted for more than one hundred and fifty thousand bodies which they buried."[47] It is

[45] Liverpool, *Knights of Bushido,* 49-50.
[46] Liverpool, *Knights of Bushido,* 47.
[47] Liverpool, *Knights of Bushido,* 44-45.

not an argument, there are bodies unearthed from this time and region that fit the description of what happened during the massacre.

Trial and Result

The International Military Tribunal for the Far East, also known as the Tokyo Tribunal, placed the Japanese on trial for war crimes committed during World War II. It was set up in October 1945 with the Allied nations taking their evidence against Japan and investigating them for trial.[48] The focus of the trial was on the brutality of the murders and mass killings of civilians. Very little was discussed about rape to comfort women at the trial. Ultimately the verdict was Japan's actions were inexcusable. " ' This barbarous behavior of the Japanese Army,' as the Tokyo Tribunal said in its judgment, 'cannot be excused as the acts of a soldiery which had temporarily got out of hand when at last a stubbornly defended position had capitulated. Rape, arson, and murder continued to be committed on a large scale for at least six weeks after the city had been taken.' "[49] In other words, it was unnecessary violence perpetrated by the Japanese during this time. Commanders failed to stop the brutality from happening and even encouraged it. "[The murder of the Chinese] could not be justified under international law, for as they had thrown away their arms and were offering no resistance, they were entitled to be treated as prisoners of war."[50] Even with this being the verdict, many being found guilty of war crimes, the punishment was nonexistent and the Chinese continued to suffer for many years in silence. Even with many military leaders placed on trial and convicted, those same leaders were given positions of power and awards after the fact in Japan.

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[48] Henry, "Memory of an Injustice," 366.
[49] Liverpool, *Knights of Bushido,* 44.
[50] Liverpool, *Knights of Bushido,* 44.

Mao Era: The Time of Forgetting

In 1945, Chiang Kai-shek was one of the leading figures of the Chinese Nationalist Party who was preparing the city for the inevitable attack by the Japanese. As the party in power at the time, Chiang Kai-shek was not only worried about the approaching Japanese army, but the rival Communist Party led by Mao Zedong. The two parties were fighting for control before the Sino-Japanese War. The Chinese Civil War was suspended during the Japanese occupation as Chiang Kai-shek could not focus on both groups at once. The Chinese people were divided into different political categories: the Communists and the Nationalists. The Nationalists were in power at the time, so the loss to the Japanese reflected negatively on them providing Mao more power over the people. Ultimately, the fall of Nanking and the massacre itself were a dark blemish on the honor of the Chinese people, specifically the Nationalist Party. So when Mao took power and the Nationalists fled to Taiwan, the memory of the massacre was not discussed and even forgotten for a time.

The Kuomintang Party (KMT or the Nationalist Party) lost public favor on the 13th of December in 1937 and gave way to further influence by the Chinese Communist Party (CCP) to take control of China. To promote unity among the populace, Mao pushed the narrative that the CCP were the heroes. They did this by highlighting "the brutality and formidable strength of Japanese Imperialism and the weakness and injustice of the KMT in order to emphasize the achievements of the CCP."[51] It was not difficult for the CCP to push their agenda as all they needed to do was remind the Chinese people of Chiang Kai-shek's fleeing of the city before the

[51] Seo, "Politics of Memory in Korea and China," 384.

Japanese invaded, demonstrating that he was not there for the people. Other than this information criticizing the KMT, the CCP and Mao did not find the memory of the massacre as something that would benefit the party at that time. "The pre-reform CCP had no reason and/ or no capacity to interpret the magnitude of the Nanjing Massacre and incorporate it into the history of the "victorious" Chinese revolution."[52] In other words, at the time Mao could not find a benefit in this situation, so it was dismissed for the benefit of economic relations between Japan and China. For many years, the events of the Nanjing massacre were silenced and festered in the city of Nanjing.

Many years later in 1978, there was a distinct shift in the CCP in terms of nationalism. The new agenda was presented through the printing of books in the 80s that changed the narrative from the KMT being targeted to the Japanese. It was "the brave struggles of the Chinese military and people."[53] This would promote the unity of a people over a collective memory of the Nanjing Massacre itself. In the following chapter, collective memory will be defined. To aid transforming the collective memory, a delivery method through the commemoration of the events of the Nanjing Massacre was applied. I will discuss how and why the Chinese government-controlled and manipulated the remembrance for their benefit.

[52] Seo, "Politics of Memory in Korea and China," 385.
[53] Seo, "Politics of Memory in Korea and China," 385.

Chapter 2: Collective Memory and Historical Commemoration

"At a mass rally held during the Campaign to Suppress Counterrevolutionaries, all of the workers roared in unison: 'We must tear down all monuments left behind by the reactionaries; they can no longer wrong and humiliate our brothers, who were persecuted to death!' Amidst everyone's extreme grief and indignation, each person took up a steel hammer, to smash the flag base that had humiliated us workers."[54] This quote comes from the time in which the Communist Party won against the Nationalist Party. The end of the war was 1950 and the destruction of Nationalist commemorative efforts occurred in 1951. The flag referred to in the above quote was an effort at commemoration by the Nationalist Party to remember the forty-five workers killed in the Nanjing Massacre. However because of the discontent between parties, the Communists saw this as disrespecting their people: the workers. So they took it upon themselves to destroy the monument and the only form of commemoration of the Nanjing Massacre at the time. The Communist Party was able to manipulate the memory of a people in the 1950s to reflect humiliation and not respect for the Nationalist Party. "If part of the state's aim, therefore, is to create a sense of shared values and ideals, then it will also be the state's aim to create a sense of common memory, a foundation for a unified polis. Public memorials, national days of commemoration, and shared calendars thus all work to create common loci around which national identity is forged."[55] - James E. Young.

This chapter uses the history of the Nanjing Massacre to demonstrate the significance of the political utilization of collective memory and commemorative practices. Outlining recent

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[54] Wang, Xiaokui, "Historical Shifts in Remembering China's "Nanjing Massacre"," *Chinese Studies in History* 50, no. 4 (Oct 2, 2017), 324-334.
[55] Young, James E. *The Texture of Memory: Holocaust Memorials and Meaning* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1993). 177-184.

trends in the historiography of memory and commemoration studies, will provide an analytical lens to investigate and argue for the significance of how the memory of the Nanjing Massacre is utilized in contemporary Chinese society. Following the definition and historiographical portion of this chapter, the application will commence. This is when the case study of the Nanjing Massacre, more specifically the memory of the Massacre under the rule of Mao and then the memory after the 1980s. The goal of this chapter is to use the case study of the Nanjing Massacre to prove how the government has influence over the memory and reaction to events for their own benefit. The case study demonstrates how the memory of the Massacre and how said memory is commemorated under the influence of state institutions play an important role in the Chinese government's political agenda.

Collective Memory and Commemoration

James E. Young declares in his groundbreaking 1993 study on memory that "Memory is never shaped in a vacuum; the motives of memory are never pure."[56] Different interpretations of a memory from a witness are biased and those who push for a specific memory have a motive for doing so. There are significant differences in understandings of collective memory. Brigittine M. French argues that "collective memories are (a) receptive to individuals' positions in society even as they are not idiosyncratic; (b) mediated representations rather than absolute truths; (c) made and remade in complex and unequal social orders; and (d) related to questions of power insofar as efficacious collective memories are linked to authoritative truth claims about historical facts." [57] French breaks the idea of collective memory into four parts that describe the complexity of this

[56] Young, *The Texture of Memory,* 178.
[57] French, Brigittine M. "The Semiotics of Collective Memories," *Annual Review of Anthropology* 41 (Oct 21, 2012), 337-353. 340.

concept. For starters, collective memory can be related to a larger thought or incident and still be interpreted by individuals in a personal way even if the memory was not originally personal. Next, there is a consensus made by people who believe in the memory to reach an equilibrium. This means that not all of it will be factual as the group agrees and compromises on an idea. Thirdly, the memory can be redesigned and added to by different individuals. Finally, institutions with power such as the government can influence these memories with claims they make from their positions of authority.

Another writer on the topic of collective memory is Idham Badruzaman who writes how memory needs to be agreed upon by a population of people, and those people decide what is real.[58] This is done through "lived experience belonging to a specific group or memory passed on by generation through different media…"[59] To reach the point of a collective memory, a community needs to reach an agreement on their beliefs of what occurred. In addition to agreeing on a thought, the media that assists with keeping the memory consistent for a group are things such as memorials and museums.

One of the most influential authors on the topic of collective memory and commemoration is James E. Young. He demonstrates how closely woven these two subjects are with his explanations of how memory and commemoration work together. "For once we assign monumental form to memory, we have to some degree divested ourselves of the obligation to remember. In shouldering the memory-work, monuments may relieve viewers of their memory burden."[60] Tragic events are seen as a burden and a weight to be remembered by people. Young

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[58] Badruzaman, Idham. "Collective Memory in Advocating Peace. the Nanjing Incident as a Case Study." *CLCWeb: Comparative Literature and Culture* 20 (2). 2018.
[59] Badruzaman, "Collective Memory in Advocating Peace
[60] Young, James "From the Texture of Memory: Holocaust Memorials and Meaning," in *Theories of Memory*, ed. Whitehead and others Edinburgh University Press, 2007), 177-184.

is demonstrating how when the memory is applied to a memorial or a monument of some kind, there becomes a lack of a need for the individual to remember or to carry the burden themselves. In addition to the fact that "Depending on where and by whom these memorials are constructed, these sites remember the past according to a variety of national myths, ideals, and political needs."[61]

With these different interpretations of what collective memory is it leads to the conclusion that the memory is made by the masses and their understanding of the events. This can be influenced by institutions or those in positions of authority such as governments and political leaders. For memory, different forms of media have the ability to present a specific narrative through the presentation of information in memorials and museums. "By themselves, monuments are of little value, mere stones in the landscape. But as part of a nation's rites or the objects of a people's national pilgrimage, they are invested with national soul and memory. For traditionally, the state-sponsored memory of a national past aims to affirm the righteousness of a nation's birth, even its divine election."[62] The commemorative practices of a nation are important to the memory of people as well as a way in which a nation can legitimize their rule.

Commemoration

The memorial exists for the purpose of reflecting historical memory or a perspective of said memory. As Young shows "commemoration is understood primarily as an act through which the living engage with the dead."[63] However, it can also be associated with the

[61] Young, *The Texture of Memory,* 177.
[62] Young, "From the Texture of Memory," 177-184.
[63] Miyamoto, Yuki. "The Ethics of Commemoration: Religion and Politics in Nanjing, Hiroshima, and Yasukuni," *Journal of the American Academy of Religion* 80, no. 1 (2012), 34-63. 38.

remembrance of war heroes who "lost their lives for the good of the national collective."[64] "Monuments, memorials, rural landscapes, and cities are frequently imagined as bounded and inscribed with meaning from the past that resonates into the present."[65] These commemorative actions are often taken to remember people or events that occurred by keeping the living population aware of what had occurred in the past. The concept is keeping the public educated on tragic memories, stopping the situation from repeating itself.

This contemporary work brings these memories to the present with what they include."Some [memorials] recall war dead, others resistance, and still others mass murder. All reflect both the past experiences and current lives of their communities, as well as the state's memory of itself. At a more specific level, these memorials also reflect the temper of the memory-artists' time, their place in aesthetic discourse, their media and materials."[66]

The general understanding of commemoration and its close tie to collective memory can really make an impact on communities. Commemorations present a specific narrative that those funding the commemorative projects attempt to present. "On the one hand, official agencies are in a position to shape memory explicitly as they see fit, a memory that best serves a national interest. On the other hand, once created, memorials take on lives of their own, often stubbornly resistant to the state's original intentions."[67] For example, the Chinese government attempts to create a feeling of unity as the Chinese nation through commemorative practices to disprove Japanese right-wing Nationalist's pursuit of erasing their actions against the Chinese. " 'Concretion of memory'... this we mean that a group bases its consciousness of unity and

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[64] French, "The Semiotics of Collective Memories," 342.
[65] French, "The Semiotics of Collective Memories," 341.
[66] Young, *The Texture of Memory,* 177-178.
[67] Young, "From the Texture of Memory," 177-184.

specificity upon this knowledge and derives formative and normative impulses from it, which allows the group to reproduce its identity."[68]

Collective memory in China

The Chinese Nationalist Party (KMT) and the Chinese Communist Party (CCP) had a very tumultuous relationship as they both fought for control of China (1927-1949). When the Nationalist Party lost to the Japanese during the Sino-Japanese War, the shame that was associated with the loss fell onto this party. The loss allowed for the CCP to step in and take control of the suffering nation. "New regimes seek ways to "settle" the residues of their predecessors, while established systems face a rise in historical consciousness and increasingly pursue a "politics of regret."[69] That is exactly what the CCP attempted to do. With the immense failure of the KMT, Mao Zedong took advantage of the loss in faith placing the blame of the incident onto the KMT.

There are a few interpretations as to why the Chinese supposedly forgot about the Nanjing Massacre. The two ideas that are the most widely accepted are that it was forgotten and remembered naturally without the pressure from government players. The second idea is that the presence of the memory was controlled by political figures.[70] The idea of forgetting naturally comes with the Chinese topic of national humiliation; culturally, shame is a very important concept. "The 'Century of Humiliation' narrative has nurtured a psychological complex that has become deeply rooted in Chinese mentality, and the sense of national humiliation can be

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[68] Assmann, Jan. "Collective Memory and Cultural Identity." *New German Critique* 65: 125. 1995. 128.
[69] Olick, Jeffrey K. "Collective Memory: The Two Cultures," *Sociological Theory* 17, no. 3 (Nov 1, 1999), 333-348. 333.
[70] Seo, "Politics of Memory in Korea and China," 381.

converted into national aspiration which is called 'the dream of becoming a strong nation.'"[71] With the humiliation that the Chinese faced during the invasion with little hope of redefining their pride, the Nanjing Massacre was not openly spoken about as it brought up too many harsh reminders the Chinese faced as a population. In addition to the humiliation, the presence of the Japanese in Nanjing from 1937-1945 restricted any reflection or comprehension of the Massacre because of the Japanese control over what could be published and discussed during the Japanese occupation during the Sino-Japanese War.

What is more likely however is the role that the CCP played in censoring information. The evidence from the Chinese Communist Party at this time period points to the idea that the memory was suppressed artificially by political players. The most telling evidence is actually the lack of acknowledgment of the incident by the newly appointed leading party, the CCP. "None of Mao's writings and speeches between 1926 and 1971 that appeared in nine volumes of *Selected Works of Mao Tse-Tung* mention the Nanjing Massacre with historical significance. Until the 1980s, the Chinese authorities did not perform any comprehensive empirical survey or interviews with the Nanjing Massacre victims and survivors."[72]

"The pre-reform CCP had no reason and/ or no capacity to interpret the magnitude of the Nanjing Massacre and incorporate it into the history of the "victorious" Chinese revolution."[73] In other words, there were no identified Communist heroes present in the city of Nanjing that would benefit the Communist Party during this time. The focus of the Party would be "the brutality and formidable strength of Japanese Imperialism and the weakness and injustice of the KMT…

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[71] Qian, Fengqi and Guo-Qiang Liu."Remembrance of the Nanjing Massacre in the Globalised Era: The Memory of Victimisation, Emotions and the Rise of China," *China Report* 55, no. 2 (2019), 81-101. 88.
[72] Seo, "Politics of Memory in Korea and China," 382.
[73] Seo, "Politics of Memory in Korea and China," 385.

emphasiz[ed] the achievements of the CCP."[74] The Massacre would not benefit the CCP at this time, so there was a greater incentive for the Party to restrict the memory for the time.

In addition to the national humiliation and lack of discussion of the incidents due to the government's influence; the memory was even further repressed due to economic motivations between Japan and China. As time passed, the two nations relied on each other for economic benefits. This provided more motivation for the Chinese government to not pursue the atonement of the Japanese government until the Japanese history textbook controversy in 1982. What occurred was that the Japanese ministry of education approved changes to history textbooks that would be used in schooling. The changes softened of language that described the invasion of China during World War II as well as omitted war atrocities and reinforced the idea that the Japanese were the victims of World War II because of the atomic bombings of Nagasaki and Hiroshima. When the Chinese caught wind of this, the Chinese people and the Chinese government quickly realized the importance of spreading awareness of the massacre. The memory was then revived.

By the 1980s, the Chinese government was economically stronger as well as politically stable in the world. There was less concern about harming the economic relationship between the two countries as for the Chinese government, there was more to gain than to lose. By reinvigorating the collective memory of the Massacre, a uniform Chinese identity could be formed and molded by the government. "Collective memory has been proven to play a significant role in the creation of the historical memories of communities."[75] This assisted with expanding Chinese patriotism and nationalism.

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[74] Seo, "Politics of Memory in Korea and China," 384.
[75] Badruzaman, "Collective Memory in Advocating Peace," 3.

The CCP had several different approaches they took to bring back the memory of the massacre in a way that would benefit them. "The remembrance of the war is directly orchestrated all the time by the CPC [/CCP] to suit its current agenda."[76] In other words, the Chinese Communist Party started to use commemorative practices to push the unified narrative of the Chinese people. Instead of the KMT being culpable in the Massacre as they were not there to protect the people; blame changed to the Japanese Imperial Army. Those who were in Nanjing, no matter their political affiliation or status in the KMT army, were all considered Chinese victims. This led to an official documentation of the events in addition to recording statements from victims through professional institutions such as Nanjing Normal University. After 45 years, the lives of those who suffered during the massacre had moved on. Many had their own children and the fear that this could happen again lingered. The need to teach the younger generation of what occurred as the population that witnessed it came strongly. So, "while the survivors remember themselves and loved ones lost, their children build memorials to remember a world they never knew, an act of recovery whereby they locate themselves in a continuous past."[77]

The fall of Nanjing did not bring relief to the survivors of the Massacre. Japan still held a presence in China until the end of the Sino-Japanese War (or the War of Resistance 1937-1945). Even more so, the country quickly fell back into civil war soon after the Japanese left. It was not until 1949 when the Communists Party finally gained official control of China. Because of the Japanese being located in the same city that they had massacred, many survivors were forced to live in silence with the knowledge of the brutalities. Not only this, but citizens were monitoring

[76] Qian and Liu, "Remembrance of the Nanjing Massacre in the Globalised Era," 84.
[77] Young, *The Texture of Memory,* 285.

and censoring each other for fear of retribution from the Japanese who were still in the city.[78] The memory of the Nanjing Massacre had been suppressed by years from different groups and then due to war.

Commemoration of Nanjing

With the memory forcefully brought back to the surface in the minds of the Chinese by the government, physical aspects of the memory needed to be displayed in the same fashion that would push their preferred narrative of unity. The government-funded many different commemorative actions. "Publishing a book about Nanjing, building the National Memorial Hall, Annual Commemoration, setting up a National Memorial Day, registering the inscription with UNESCO, establishing the Peace and Research Institute, and eventually registering the city of Nanjing to become A City of Peace."[79]

Many of these commemorative practices and locations I have seen during my time in Nanjing in 2018. The ones that stand out to me all represent the incredible weight that the Nanjing Massacre still has on the people of Nanjing and China. On December 13, the day of the anniversary, a long siren blasted throughout the city in its entirety at 11 in the morning. This was to remind the citizens of Nanjing about the tragedy that occurred there, to bring awareness to the population who was not alive during the time and to remember the Chinese heroes who perished. While the siren blasts throughout the city, a ceremony occurs at the site of the memorial. Survivors gather with prominent political figures to stand together in silence to respect the dead and remember what occurred. Chinese newspaper articles by Xinhua retold the stories of

[78] Jianjun Zhang, Xi Ling and Xiangdong Zeng, *Journal of Nanjing Massacre Studies*, 1st ed. (Nanjing, China: Nanjing Massacre Memorial, 2019). 87.
[79] Badruzaman, "Collective Memory in Advocating Peace," 1.

survivors of the massacre and how they are trying to teach current and future generations about what occurred.[80] This was the main purpose of the siren, to remind others.

I witnessed the negative contemporary influence that the Massacre still had over the citizens of Nanjing. Objects and buildings that were used under Japanese occupation were maintained by the Chinese. I visited a Comfort Woman House during my time in the city with my host mother. We were looking at pictures in one of the maintained rooms when my host mother broke down in tears. Seeing the weight that she held and the personal connection she felt with these women who were brutalized made me take pause and realize that this wound has been festering for a very long time with many in China.

Finally, the big act of commemoration that I witnessed was the Nanjing Memorial itself. Details of what I saw and thought when I was there can be seen in the third chapter. All of these commemorative locations did their job, "invoking patriotism toward the state."[81] This was done by creating an us vs them narrative and distinction who was the other. "The Chinese party/state, … has constituted and re-constituted Chineseness by identifying different *others* since liberation."[82]

The goal of these acts of commemoration not only identifies others, but they also prove that China has grown into a strong nation and the time of humiliation is over. This is where the creation of the Nanjing Massacre Memorial came into fruition. To demonstrate the strength and unity of the Chinese it was funded by the local Nanjing government, and then expanded by the national Chinese government, to bring about a nationalistic bond for the Chinese people.[83]

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[80] 2018-12-03 来源： 新华网网. *南京举行行行南京大大屠杀死难者家祭活动*.
[81] Seo, "Politics of Memory in Korea and China," 372.
[82] Seo, "Politics of Memory in Korea and China," 382.
[83] Seo, "Politics of Memory in Korea and China," 369-392.

Contemporary studies of the massacre have brought about further evidence that reinforces the idea that the collective memory that was pushed by the CCP after 1982 assisted with the patriotism and nationalism formed around the Chinese themselves. One study from Nanjing Normal University, the department that is funded by the Chinese government to study and document all information on the Nanjing Massacre, interviewed residents of the city of Nanjing to see what knowledge people had about the massacre and how they connected to it emotionally. A total of 420 questionnaires were distributed and the results demonstrated the appreciation for commemorative actions (90.0%) as well as resentment towards the Japanese when they saw Japanese nationals in the city of Nanjing (41.9%).[84] There is a certain lingering memory of the incident in the city that has yet to be settled as seen by the statistics that demonstrate the knowledge of the incident in the city. Sadly, the younger generations, who are still in middle school and high school, were the least informed at the time of this article's publishing. Even with this fact, the Chinese are still trying to educate their youths on the incidents associated with the Nanjing Massacre.

The following chapter will be a close analysis of one of the acts of commemoration, the Nanjing Massacre Memorial in China. For comparative purposes, there will be an analysis of the Washington D.C. Holocaust Museum as both Museums are an example of memory being centered in a way to educate, influence and present a narrative to a population. There are two reasons for this decided comparison. The first reason is as a visitor to both D.C. and Nanjing, I witnessed each commemorative effort. Nanjing reminded me of D.C. with their use of photographs of victims. The entrance to the Nanjing Memorial was very similar to the tower of

[84] Zhang, "The Nanjing Massacre and the Traumatic Memory of Nanjing Residents," 8.

photographs in D.C. The second reason for the comparison was D.C. had already centralized and unified the memory and Nanjing was working on doing the same. This leads to the final examination being a comparison to see how government involvement in different forms of commemoration can ultimately influence the visitors perspective to the governing agenda.

Chapter 3: Case Study

One way that we commemorate events and incidents is through memorials and museums. These are locations meant to be immersive, educational, and influential to the visitor. Commemorative sites are also used to push narratives desired by either the artist or those who funded the memorial themselves. This section will be analyzing and comparing the D.C. Holocaust Museum and the Nanjing Massacre Memorial to demonstrate how and why different countries use memory to their political advantage. I will be analyzing these commemorative projects with these categories: the choice of location for the memorial, the use of light, the use of the space provided for the memorial. Several questions that I will be answering to prove that these projects were built for political purposes are who is the museum/memorial catered to, why was it built, who built it, when was it developed, and what issues and controversies were brought about with the creation of the museum/memorial.

The reason for comparing these memorials comes from my personal experience in both of these commemorative locations. I understand that choosing the DC site is a unique choice for comparison as Washington D.C. was not the location of the Holocaust whereas the Nanjing Memorial is located on the soil where the massacre took place. The main reason for comparing these two locations was the resemblance of the Nanjing Memorial with the D.C. Holocaust Museum. Both memorials had a place that showed the faces of the victims in photographs lit up either by natural or artificial light to keep the focus of these monuments on the victims. However, with the development of this project, I was able to see the political benefit for both the United States and China with the creation of their memorials. This reinforced the concept of comparing them even though they are uniquely different.

The D.C. Holocaust Museum

The Holocaust occurred during the Second World War from 1941-1945. The start of this mass killing was tied to Adolf Hitler coming into power and pushing anti-semitic views. This led to the persecution of people who were Jewish, gay, mentally handicapped or affiliation with a group that does not coincide with the Nazi regime. During this time period, around 11 million people were killed. The majority of the dead were Jewish where it is estimated 6 million of the 11 million were Jewish affiliated.

The D.C. Holocaust Museum is a commemorative effort performed by the United States to bring attention to the massacre that occurred during the Second World War. Though the actions taken by Nazi Germany were different from the Japanese in China, both groups performed mass killings against people that they deemed were lesser than themselves. The Holocaust Museum is a physical reminder of the actions taken by the Germans in the Second World War and America's lack of action to the brutalities. The D.C. Holocaust Museum brings attention to the Holocaust in a way that demonstrates the importance of keeping the memory alive. Similarly, the Nanjing Memorial is working on centering the events just as the Holocaust has accomplished. The centering of traumatic events such as mass killings is performed by government institutions through commemoration to promote a memory to the benefit of the state.

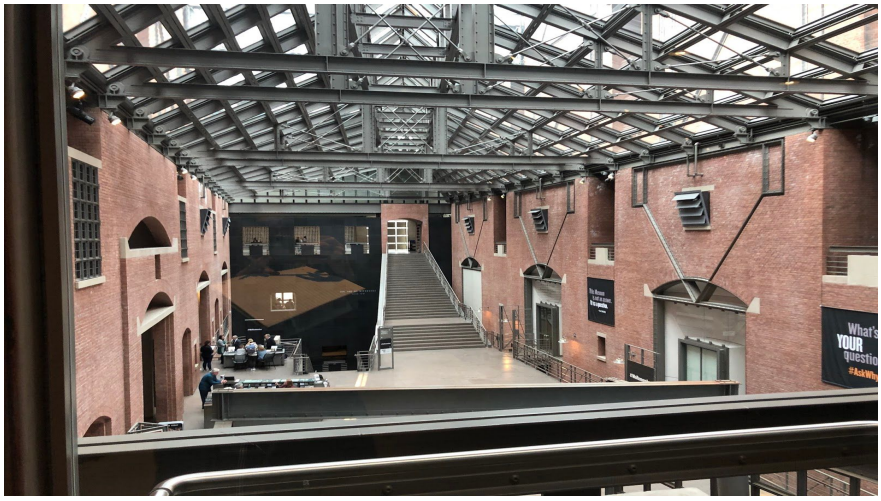


Figure 1

The Visit

Walking towards the museum, the entrance is wide and slightly confusing. It takes a moment to realize what side is the entrance and what is the exit. Above the gaping arches of the entrance, there are many banners that say phrases such as "Never forget" and the like. The visitor is given the impression before entering of the importance of what is inside. After going through security and getting my free entrance, a wide opening is what greets the visitor. This area is full of tall ceilings, windows exclusively on the roof and not on the sides. Everything is brick and metal giving the space a very cold and industrial feel. This is illustrated in image 1 above.

After taking a moment observing the space, the visitor is able to make their way towards the elevators which are overseen by a woman who instructs you to grab a passport with personal information from a victim. This gives you an intimate connection with someone who you have never met. After taking a moment to look over the life and death of the passport, you enter a dark metal and claustrophobic elevator. This takes the visitor up to the fourth floor which you will then make you way down instead of up.



Figure 2

The fourth floor opens with a large sign in all capital letters saying "THE HOLOCAUST". This sign is seen in figure 2 above. This is the introductory floor to the events of the holocaust. This includes a short film of the Nazi rise to power and the initial treatment of the Jewish population and other minority groups at the time. This floor also introduces the beginning of the war and the many cities that Hitler took over during his reign with a glass hallway that has all the cities etched into.

Moving down to the third floor is the floor with the beginning of the attacks done to the Jewish population and other victims. The infamous train car, gates and more are all present. All of this gives the visitor a view of what people who were being targeted by the Nazis were experiencing. Their experience being taken from their homes, forced to move to a ghetto or to a camp, their torture from medical procedures, forced to build, or pushed into a gas chamber. All

of this is depicted with the living situations of the camps. This floor also has orally told stories of the experiences of survivors.

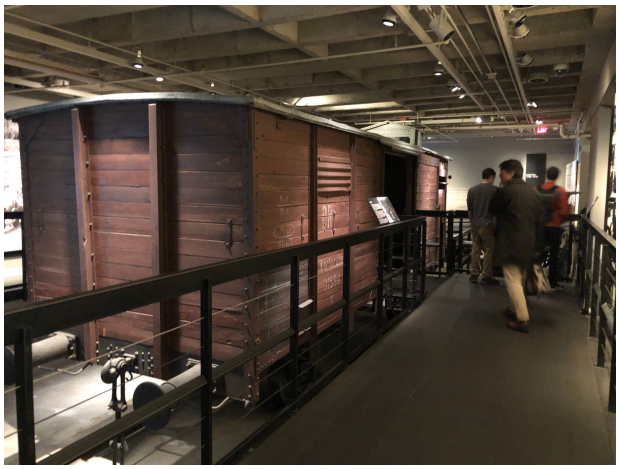
After proceeding down once again you enter the second floor which is the entrance to the tower of photographs in addition to many objects that were taken from the victims such as their shoes, hair and pictures of their tattoos. Then as you move further, there are acts of rebellion and resistance. The heroes who protected the Jewish from the Germans or who assisted in escapes. It is the little sliver of hope to show that not everyone is terrible. With the heroes, shame is also placed on bystanders. The conclusion of the museum is not just sad, there is also a hope and a responsibility placed on the visitor. That responsibility is to never let an incident like this occur again.

Based on these observations, the museum was structured and organized in a way to not only be informative, but to take the viewer into a glimpse of the Holocaust hoping that with the education, people would be more willing to step in during moments of atrocities. It is a teaching tool for the American public. In addition to its teaching goals, there is also a political incentive to present the memory in this way. The funding from the government and the involvement of many different actors in the designing of the museum is the United States' way of promoting peace and apologizing to the international community over their lack of actions during the war. By involving people from different walks of life into the committee it is improving international relations with monopolized groups. This is the political agenda of the commemoration of the D.C. Museum.

Structure and Application

The structure of everything in the museum has a purpose. "Architect James I. Freed wanted his building to take visitors away from Washington into the "feel" of Nazi artecture."[85] To achieve this crucial goal, the architect made many choices that would keep visitors from seeing the streets of D.C.. This was done through the lack of windows leading outwards besides the entrance and exit doors. In addition to the general lack of sight given to the visitor, the structure of the museum also takes the viewer off the American ground to the fourth floor and the start of the museum with elevators. This elevator is made of dark metal reinforcing the industrial feel. If the museum is busy enough, these smaller elevators would be crowded with you and other strangers. The goal of this entrance was to represent "a place of comings and goings, and from here, there is no way into the exhibition except through the mechanical means of elevators."[86]Giving the feeling of forced movement. It was almost as if it was done to simulate the crowded Figure 3 Figure 4





[85] Linenthal, Edward Tabor. *Preserving Memory: The Struggle to Create America's Holocaust Museum*. (New York: Viking, 1995). x.
[86] Linenthal, *Preserving Memory,* 91.

train cars that many were forced to endure. This is shown in figure 3 of the pathway on this floor and figure 4 of the traincar path.

The setup of the museum makes you feel two opposites: open and bright which gives you the feeling of being small in a large world and dark and cramped. The open portion of the museum is in locations such as the main floor. The ceilings allow in natural light from outside. This space feels very industrial with the exposed brick and purposefully placed pipes. "At Auschwitz, Freed studied the banded steel that had been strapped around the crematoria because brick was exploding from the intense heat of burning bodies. And though this steel strapping is evident in the museum, Freed insisted that such symbols be 'sufficiently ambiguous…' "[87] This strategy was taken to once again remove the visitor from D.C. and place them in a situation that represented the suffering of others. "Brick walls, exposed beams, boarded windows and metal fences and gates will let visitors know they are in a different place-- that the Holocaust is an event that should disturb and be felt as well as perceived."[88] Another example of feelings being invoked through the structure is the subtle similarity of the towers to chimneys. "The curved entranceways leading off the [Hall of Witness] are reminiscent of the shape of the crematoria doors, while the massive brick towers on the north side… represent chimneys."[89] These often opened at the top to natural light. Even if the visitor does not have a background in the structure of a chimney, the eerie feeling of the arch and the opening at the top reinforce the idea of entrapment and no escape. Figure 5 on the following page is the "Hall of Witnesses" with the natural light.

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[87] Linenthal, *Preserving Memory,* 88.
[88] Linenthal, *Preserving Memory,* 91.
[89] Linenthal, *Preserving Memory,* 106.

Another section that controlled the movement of the visitor was the "Final Solutions" section. This location of controlled movement is where the train car and the ghetto walls are displayed. While the other demonstrations had been more open and free to move around in, this

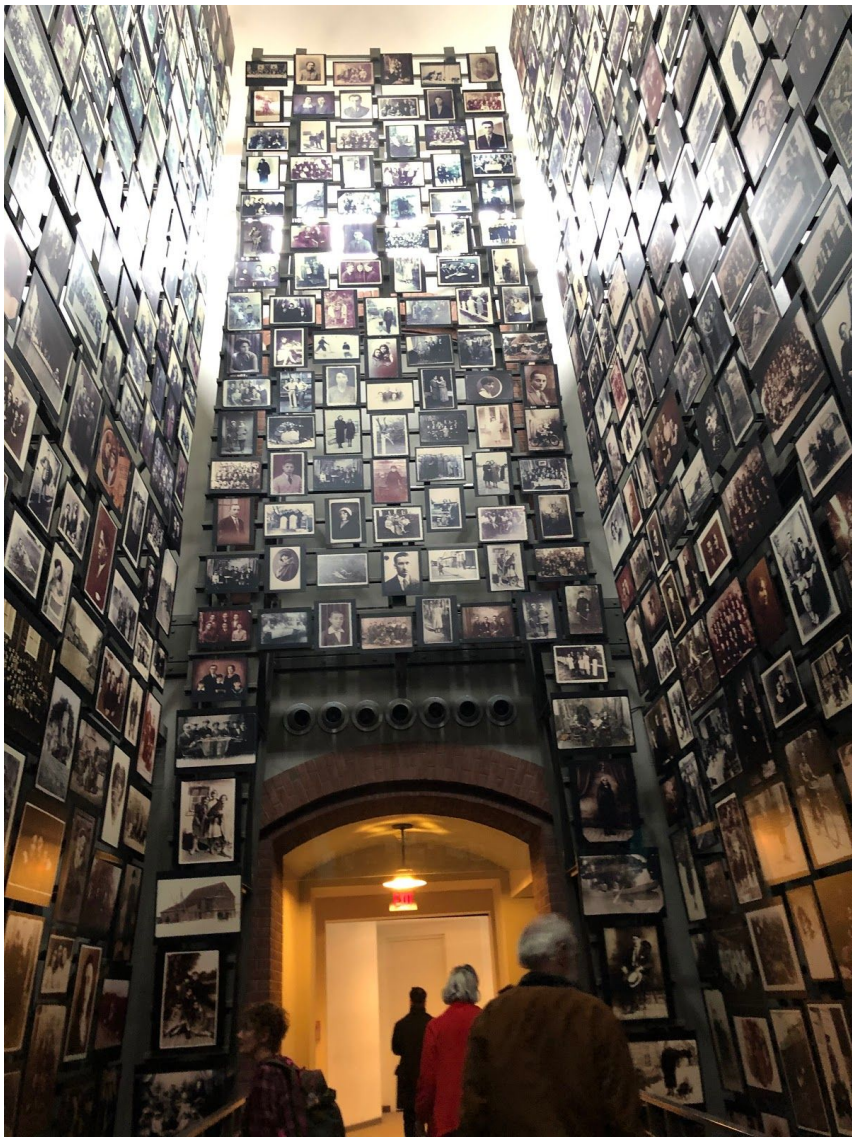


Image 5

section is more guided with a metal fence and pathway. "The feel and rhythm of space and the setting of mood was important. Appelbaum identified different qualities of space that helped to mediate the narrative: constructive space on the third floor, for example, where, as visitors enter the world of the death camps, the space becomes tight and mean, with a feeling of heavy darkness."[90] The pathway floors also differ from the original and are now wood and bricks. It transports the visitor into the shoes of the victims and their paths taken to the ghettos and the concentration camps. The pieces of the ghetto walls, old gates and doors and even the boxcar represent the lack of movement permitted and the mass incarceration of Jewish people. The difference between the visitor and the victims besides the brutality was the visitor had the option to go into the boxcar or not.

The dark and cramped aspect of the museum is reinforced by not only the structure or the organization of the evidence, but the use of lighting. For example, the lighting is already dim inside the cramped and dark elevator but the entrance to the fourth-floor exhibit is even darker. You are shown a large sign saying "THE HOLOCAUST" which glows with backlights that is accompanied by an even larger graphic image of the dead in a camp surrounded by American soldiers. This draws the eyes to what the visitor will be learning about and nothing else. Other powerful uses of light in the museum include the manipulation of natural light and the absence of light to invoke powerful emotions of dread or hope. The Hall of Witness is a great example of the manipulation of light. This is a very open space with light from the sun given entrance through the roof. "*How* people view the Hall of Witness very much depends on the evocative play of light in the museum, for Freed designed the building so that at certain times of day the

[90] Linenthal, *Preserving Memory,* 106-107.

names on the bridges's glass sides "just disintegrate," and the Hall of Witness itself can be fractured by a grid of shadow."[91]

The creation of the museum was thought through with much purpose by the artist and the committee involved in its development. One thing is certain and that is the overall goal of the structural choices made were to bring a full experience of the Holocaust to the visitor. "There is a hope that one's encounter with the Holocaust… will be an *experience* that will allow visitors to feel or touch the event through immersion in the story, and to learn appropriate lessons from this encounter."[92] This commemoration evokes emotion that places the visitor in a position that will bring them into the world that massacred Jews and other groups. The political agenda with the memory of the Holocaust is to bring a united front against actions such as this. It is an excuse for the United States to interfere in future international events that suit the priorities of the U.S.

Behind the Scenes

The building of this museum was not as easy as it appears above. It was quite a battle to get the location, the committee, the evidence, and the agreement of others in decisions made for the structure and design. "[President] Carter would use the power of government to do something many would perceive as "good" and, at the same time, reach out to an increasingly alienated ethnic constituency. An act of commemoration could, fortuitously, also serve more pragmatic political ends."[93] In other words, the United States President knew that he could garner public and political support by funding the education of the American public with the memory of the Holocaust and the American involvement and compliance during WWII.

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[91] Linenthal, *Preserving Memory,* 94.
[92] Linenthal, *Preserving Memory,* xiii.
[93] Linenthal, *Preserving Memory,* 17.

The committee that was assigned to this project was made up of not only Holocaust survivors such as Elie Wiesel who was persecuted for his Jewish ancestry and beliefs, but other minority victims such as the Polish. By having a diverse board of survivors there was a hope that the history and symbolism of the museum would be accurate. This board was not consistent through the building process and the different members often would argue of different ways the museum should look, the location, the symbolism that would be used and one of the biggest arguments was if the focus should be on the Jewish victims or also hold a place for minority victims such as gypsies, the gay community, and communists. As there was much concern by many, the memorial in the States would skew history in favor of American heroism even though the government at the time refused to help the Jewish population.[94] The most important goal for survivors and the members of the board was to build a "museum within the monumental core was especially important. It was the logical extension of their desire and need to make Holocaust memory permanent."[95]

There was a debate on the location of the museum between New York City or in Washington D.C.. The concern with the possibility of the location being in NYC was that NY holds a large Jewish population and part of the reason for the museum itself was to educate others who were not in the community. This ultimately led to the decision of it being in the Mall in D.C.. What makes the situation interesting is the architect James I. Freed removed the visitor emotionally from American soil.

Another important fact of this exhibition was the lack of other languages to educate visitors from outside the United States. All writings and audio pieces (that were not originally in

[94] Linenthal, *Preserving Memory,* 64.
[95] Linenthal, *Preserving Memory,* 63.

another language such as German or Yiddish) were in English. This museum is by Americans for Americans. In addition to the American audience, there is much evidence from Americans themselves. Many images were titled "American Military Photographer" and the like. Even different sections of the exhibit talked about the American reaction and response to the events of the Holocaust. "[The Museum] would remind Americans of the dangers of being bystanders, it would teach Americans where Christian anti-Semitism could lead, and it would impress on Americans the fragile relationships between technology and human values."[96]

The Memorial Hall of the Victims in Nanjing Massacre by Japanese Invaders Nanjing, China

The Visit

Entering the property of the memorial, there are several monuments outside that help the visitor understand the atmosphere and the intensity of the memorial. For example, a large black stone wall loudly announces the number of deaths associated with the massacre as seen in figure 6 by Patrizia Violi.[97] This is in multiple languages so that numerous people can come in and learn about this information.

[96] Linenthal, *Preserving Memory,* 66.
[97] Violi, Patrizia. "Educating for Nationhood: A Semiotic Reading of the Memorial Hall for Victims of the Nanjing Massacre by Japanese Invaders." *Journal of Educational Media, Memory, and Society* 4 (2): 41-68. 2012. 49.



Figure 6

Outside has much more than just this one wall on display, there are statues that line the path leading to the entrance of the internal portion of the monument. They all depict different moments of tragedy such as a woman holding a child, an old man fleeing, crying over the dead and so much more. The faces of the statues depict true grief and absolute fear from an unseen force. These are all moments that could have been experienced during the massacre on December 13th. These statues are solely of victims, there are no soldiers from either the Chinese Army of the time or the Japanese Imperial Army.

Once entering the museum, there is a dark room that is lit up once again with the numbers of the dead. Reinforcing the fact that 300,000 is the accurate number in comparison to the

Japanese claiming less for many years. In addition to the numbers glowing, there are images lit up by lights or screens that depict images of the victims as seen in figure 7 below.[98] Some of these images show youthful faces before the massacre took place. Some, on the other hand, show old weathered faces who survived the massacre but still struggle with the weight of the event itself.



Figure 7

Moving further into the building, there are scenes staged of destroyed buildings representing how the city looked once the Japanese started their attacks. The most impactful aspects of the museum were clear glass vases that held the soil from different mass burials around Nanjing. These marked glasses are right next to an open mass grave which is in the middle of the museum. Skeletons are openly seen with other bones littering the large gaping space. This was the main viewing point of the museum to prove that there were many killed on

[98] Violi, "Educating for Nationhood," 54.

those grounds specifically. They were finally visible to the people of the world. Figure 8 below is the burial place.[99]



Figure 8

With the tomb and other artifacts such as Japanese booze bottles and other evidence of them being in the city, the walls are littered with graphic images of female mutilation and abuse. Many of these images were taken as tokens and keepsakes for the Japanese soldiers. All of this evidence demonstrates a dark and painful memory for the Chinese. Because of the evidence such as saki bottles (a traditional Japanese alcohol) and other abandoned materials from the Japanese Imperial Army, the memorial opened a space that was very visible to visitors where Japanese

[99] Violi, "Educating for Nationhood," 59.

visitors could leave their apology notes, confessions and gifts. "In the exhibition hall, written confessions and apologies by former Japanese soldiers and visitors are carefully placed for easy viewing. Flowers and artifacts presented by Japanese visitors are displayed at conspicuous spots."[100]

After the many aspects of the memorial inside, the visitor once again makes their way outside into a garden that is open with more statues. This garden then leads to a peace park with a large statue, wide-open space, places to sit and a fountain. This is where time can be taken to contemplate much of what the visitor just witnessed during their time in the memorial. It is an intense experience that requires thought and time to process. The goal of the park is to demonstrate that Nanjing is not just a city of suffering, but a place that is working on growth and bringing peace and harmony to the community and to avoid a situation such as this again.

Structure and Application

As mentioned before, the memorial is split into three pieces which include "a large museum with a vast number of documents, witness statements, photographs, and videos, but it is also, and perhaps above all, a huge thematic park, which is to be traversed following a very precise trajectory. The whole complex occupies an extremely large surface area of 74,000 square meters, of which 9,800 are dedicated to the museum building itself, and the remaining area consists of the immense park."[101] This large area has the goal of not only educating on the events of the massacre, but also "to be astounded and appalled, and to be moved to prayer, meditation,

[100] "Let the Dead be Remembered: Interpretation of the Nanjing Massacre Memorial." (Routledge, 2009), 31-47. 28.
[101] Violi, "Educating for Nationhood," 46.

and subsequent purification of themselves."[102] This is done through the deliberate application of evidence and structural choices chosen by the architect.

Starting outside, "in the black granite of the Wall of Calamity we find engraved in twelve different languages the number three hundred thousand-- the number of victims of the Nanjing massacre, according to the Chinese."[103] The memorial is trying to speak to a larger audience and not just attempting to educate the Chinese public. The languages range from Chinese, Japanese, and Korean to German, English, and more. The Black granite stone is a concrete representation that the number of dead is non-negotiable.

The statues outside have faces frozen in permanent fear running from their assailants, the Japanese. An important observation that is discussed above is the fact that there is no soldier representation from either country in these statues. The focus is placed on the victims. The goal of this omission is to keep the visitors focused on the actual issue, the fact that many innocent victims were put into a situation that changed their lives forever.

Just before entering the memorial, the artist made choice decisions about color. "Special building materials and colour tone were utilized to symbolize the tragic loss of lives during the Massacre… 13 small rocks are purposefully placed, each representing one of the 13 burial sites across Nanjing."[104] This representation is not explicitly stated, but considering the background history of the event, the number 13 is very prominent in the memorial. The use of dark stone, such as the black granite with the number 300,000 and the building materials of the memorial themselves being dark gives an ominous feel to the memorial. The dark stone is also used for the statues lining the outside of the memorial. When the natural light hits their sharp angles, their

[102] Violi, "Educating for Nationhood," 49.
[103] Violi, "Educating for Nationhood," 50.
[104] "Let the Dead be Remembered," 27.

expressions become more fearful and intense to witness because of the reflectiveness of the choice in stone.

Entering the museum portion of the memorial, there are many different choices made for the viewer. For example, the darkness of the inside of the memorial keeps the visitor feeling solum. The dark rooms have contrast with large lights that project the number of dead all over the walls. That is all the visitor can focus on until another soft glow is seen from the walls. There are screens lit up with faces of victims. Often, these pictures were donated by their families and were the only image left. In addition to the light bringing the focus once again to victims, a smaller wall has faces of the elderly lit up from the bottom but many of the lights were out. The lights were on for the survivors who were still alive and off for those who have already passed away. Light inside of the memorial was purposeful but more with the use of artificial lights. "The focus of the memorial's interpretation is to provide a set of facts concerning the mass rape and murder of the Chinese population by the Japanese Imperial Army…"[105]

Proceeding further inside, the largest and most important piece of symbolism and evidence is the large open tomb. The visitor looks down on the scattered bones and skeletons of the victims. This gave me the feeling that I was being disrespectful in such a place. The museum did what its goal was, "to be astounded and appalled, and to be moved to prayer, meditation, and subsequent purification of themselves."[106] "[The memorial is] a site-based memorial museum, whose location is connected to the actual place of slaughter, but not exclusively."[107] The feeling of being a powerless witness to this incident left a large impact on me.

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[105] Cui et al., "International Tourists' Dark Tourism Experiences in China," 14.
[106] Violi, "Educating for Nationhood," 49.
[107] Violi, "Educating for Nationhood," 46.

After leaving the museum portion and witnessing all the evidence left behind by the Japanese and seeing all the images taken in the city at the time, the visitor makes their way outside into a garden. "On one side of the 'Graveyard Square' is a small exhibition hall, whose eerie exterior resembles a coffin of Chinese style…"[108] The memorial does the job of using direct and indirect representations of death throughout the memorial. This is seen below in figure 9.[109] So if you are educated in Chinese culture or not, the visitor will understand the gravity of the situation and feel for the victims.



Figure 9

The final section is the peace park that is a very open space with a large statue in white stone, a contrast to the statues at the entrance. The representation of this area is for contemplation

[108] "Let the Dead be Remembered," 27.
[109] Violi, "Educating for Nationhood," 57.

of the visitor and as evidence that the city of Nanjing is working towards peace. They want to remember and prevent this from occurring again and that is the representation of the park itself as the final destination for the visitor.

The Chinese government has a direct hand in the manipulation of the memory of the Nanjing Massacre through their commemorative practices. They attempt to make the Massacre well known internationally through their Memorial in their attempts to instrumentalize memory in service to their political agenda of a unified Chinese population.

Behind the Scenes

"The Chinese idiom, 'The past, if not forgotten, will guide the future [Qian Shi Bu Wan, Hou Zhi Shi]' "[110] is seen throughout the museum, in the entrance of the memorial hall and once again later. This idiom is there to remind the visiting Chinese that the population of survivors is dwindling due to the fact that the massacre is over 80 years old. Keep the public educated on the massacre to keep the Japanese government aware that they are being watched.

The memorial was not built for some time because of the relationship between the Chinese and the Japanese government in addition to the relationship between the Communist and the Nationalist Parties. What brought the memorial into existence was the textbook scandal in Japan, where the Japanese Ministry of Education published textbooks to be used in schools that downplayed and omitted their role in the atrocities in World War II. The focus that the Japanese pushed was that they were victims of the atomic bombings. When the Chinese discovered this occurred, there was a large drive for remembering the massacre and bringing it to the forefront of

[110] "Let the Dead be Remembered," 25.

public memory. "The construction of the Memorial was a response to the urges of both the public and the leadership… Deng Xiaoping, China's supreme leader at the time, suggested that a monument should be erected to emphasize the fact of the Japanese invasion of China."[111]

The location for the memorial was chosen as it was a location of one of the mass graves created for victims of the massacre. There are many over the city and many bodies are still in locations unknown but the decision to have the memorial there was the story behind the killings in this area. "It was recorded that on 16 December 1937, large groups of captured Chinese soldiers and civilians, who had been temporarily detained in the jail, were taken out and executed in the open field between two swamps."[112] This was the spot decided, where people were helpless and non threats but still executed. "The architecture of the Memorial, according to Qi Kang [the architect], adopts a classical style. It features a landscape where life and death are placed in contrast, and projects the identities of the victim and the perpetrator."[113]

"The site having been located, a foundation stone for the Memorial Hall was laid on 13 December 1983, to commemorate the fall of Nanjing 46 years before."[114] The date is symbolic of the fact that the Chinese are now taking back their power of memory. The memorial was funded by the local government and then the national government for extensions. This demonstrates that the Chinese government had a role and ability to choose the narrative that is presented to visitors. The visitors are both Chinese and foreigners visiting the city. "The Memorial of the Victims of the Nanjing Massacre is open to all visitors regardless of their place of origin and is free of charge."[115] Even though the museum caters to both groups, the goal for each group is different.

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[111] "Let the Dead be Remembered," 22.
[112] "Let the Dead be Remembered," 23.
[113] "Let the Dead be Remembered," 26.
[114] "Let the Dead be Remembered," 23.
[115] Rui Cui et al., "International Tourists' Dark Tourism Experiences in China," 4.

For the foreign visitors, the goal is to educate on what happened. Much of the world has no knowledge of Nanjing and what occurred during this time period. Education specifically for the foreign visitors brings attention to what happened and how terrible it was. On the other hand, the Chinese visitors' goal is to promote Chinese nationalism. "The site preserves a common national memory by guarding the truth, preserving the complete memory of war and disaster in human history and calling for peace."[116]

Comparison

These two areas built for commemorative purposes are both similar and uniquely different in the way they present information. Both of these locations were built because of political motivation to influence the public in the government's favor, to gain public support, and to promote unity. This was done through the funding of both governments with the goal of not only educating different populations but by promoting in a way that would bring benefits to themselves.

The entrances of the two memorials present a theme that describes how both tragedies need to be remembered. The Nanjing Memorial has the Chinese idiom displayed throughout that describes how the past should not be forgotten because it could lead to history repeating itself. Similarly with the Holocaust Museum, the banners displayed stating "Never Again" is attempting the same thing. Keep the memory alive for future generations. In other words, forgive but never forget.

[116] Cui et al., "International Tourists' Dark Tourism Experiences in China," 5.

Between both the Nanjing and D.C., the focus is on the victims and not the perpetrators. This is done in a few different ways. The most prominent representation of this is the frozen faces of the statues in Nanjing. The connection to the victims is that the statues only portray the victims and their fleeing of an unseen assailant. It keeps the focus on the horrors committed to the Chinese and not on the Japanese Army. The Holocaust Museum keeps the focus on the victims as well through the structure of the Museum, specifically the guided pathway into the boxcar and the passports with a victim's history. All of these actions try to keep the visitors focused exclusively on the brutal actions forced upon the victims.

Another similarity that brought the initial comparison to the project is the chimney filled with photographs in D.C. and the first room in Nanjing covered in the brightly lit faces of survivors and victims. This once again keeps the attention on real people and their stories. The use of lighting in both of these locations, as well as other sections of the memorials, is also distinctly comparable. Starting with the use of light with the photographs in Nanjing, it keeps the room relatively dark and then has light either directly focused on the images or had light directly behind the images to light them up. It keeps the visitors focused once again on the victims. Additionally, with D.C. the photographs in the tower are brightened and lit up through natural light that enters from a ceiling window. The lack of light is also used by both locations to create a focus on places that have access to light.

The memorials are unique to both Washington D.C. and Nanjing and have characteristics that work for their locations and narratives that they are presenting. While the Nanjing Memorial location is very important as a place of mass murder, the Holocaust Museum has no connection to the land that it sits on. Location is important to the overall purpose of the memorial for China

whereas Washington D.C. does not need to have a connection to the land to make its impact. Nanjing uses the very open outdoor Peace Park to give the visitors a place to reflect and look towards the future about how to promote peace in the world. On the other hand, D.C. has a very limited space inside and keeps the museum closed to make it feel tight and unable to leave. The open and closed decisions made promote hope in Nanjing and contemplation in D.C..

Another large difference between the two spaces in the target audience of each location. For Nanjing, the artist and the government kept everything in multiple languages to educate people on the Massacre as it is not as well known or studied as the Holocaust. The Nanjing locals' goal is to keep the memory alive by educating multiple nationalities whereas the Holocaust Museum is exclusively in English to educate Americans by Americans.

Finally, the most extreme comparison is the use of human remains. In Nanjing, there is a large open tomb that the visitor can peer into and observe the skeletons. It is a very impersonal but an emotional experience as you don't know who they are, but you know what happened to them. For the Holocaust Museum, there are no human remains. The closest that they get is the exhibit of shoes. Originally, the Museum had planned on using human hair in the memorial, but decided not to after an extremely negative reaction from the community about bringing human remains to the memorial. This demonstrates the cultural differences and the ultimate goals of the memorials being different.

Each memorial is manipulated by government institutions to promote the memory of events for their own personal gain. The difference between the two commemorative locations was the goal of each government when they funded the projects. Both Nanjing and D.C. had the goal to keep the memory of the Holocaust and the Nanjing Massacre on the public mind.

Additionally, the Chinese government promotes nationalism and patriotism through the presentation of the Massacre with us (the Chinese) versus them (the Japanese government) mentality. The Chinese government had created Chinese unity over the agreed-upon memory of the Massacre. On the other hand, the Holocaust Museum was built with the funding of the American government as a way to gain support from the American people for President Carter.

The two memorials both are immersive, educational and influential to the public. The Nanjing Massacre Memorial needed to promote the memory and the evidence that comes with the massacre to refute claims that the Massacre never occurred. By having this memory agreed-upon by the Chinese people and a memorial that presents that memory, a unified front is displayed by the Chinese thus benefiting the communist government. The Washington D.C. Holocaust Museum works on educating the American people about the dangers of being a bystander and the failure to act in a timely manner. The American government not only achieved support from the public with the building of the museum, but it also promoted international relations with Israel and Germany. These projects have both educated people about the past to keep it from happening ever again.

Conclusion

The Nanjing Massacre was a tragedy that has left a large open wound for the Chinese people, especially those who live in Nanjing. The Japanese Army did unimaginable things to the people and the city and then continued to suppress the discussion for years afterward. Not only did the Japanese suppress the memory with their presence in China during the Sino-Japanese War, but the Chinese Communist Party also had a hand in limiting the memory after they took control of China in 1949. The reason for the lack of acknowledgment of the Nanjing Massacre under the initial reign of the CCP was there was no benefit that they would receive from the remembrance of the memory. So for a time, the memory was something that invoked shame and humiliation under the Chinese as the Nationalist Party was blamed for the major defeat to the Japanese.

After many years of the Nanjing Massacre being ignored, the Japanese sparked the remembrance of the incident with the 1982 textbook scandal. China has reached a stronger position economically and globally by those years, the CCP found it to be prime time to change the narrative for their benefit. The government-funded commemoration projects such as the Nanjing Massacre Memorial. This is where the narrative was changed from national humiliation and blaming the KMT of the defeat to Chinese people doing their best to protect the city and being annihilated by the Japanese Imperial Army. The ultimate goal of the commemorative project was not only to keep the memories alive but also to promote national unity.

Analyzing the commemorative projects themselves, demonstrates how institutions who have a hand in funding those projects promote memory with an ulterior motive. The Holocaust is one example of a memory that is agreed upon internationally and the memory is brought to life

through different international commemorative efforts in Germany, Isreal, the United States and more. The United States promoted the memory to not only keep the memory of the Holocaust relevant, but funding from the government was given for political motives to boost approval ratings for the Carter administration. Similarly, the Chinese government-funded the development of the Nanjing Massacre Memorial for the similar purpose of political motive. The CCP was able to promote national unity with the similar funding that the American government provided for the Holocaust Museum.

Throughout this research and the experience with different commemorative projects with influence from different countries and cultures, the influence that governments have over memory has become more apparent. Things are presented and described in commemorative projects to evoke emotions that the architects and those funding the projects want. This leads me to look deeper than just the surface level of what museums are describing to form a more complete opinion.

This research searched for and found that a collective memory and historical commemoration are closely connected together and that institutions often manipulate these to their own benefit. The Nanjing Massacre as a case study demonstrates the altering of the collective memory of the Chinese people under the manipulation of different political factors. Governments have incentives to promote and control memory in their favor as was observed from the lack of acknowledgment to promotion of the Nanjing Massacre for the main purpose of nationalism.

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