

新的战争的爆发。因此，医治中日之间的战争创伤不仅仅是针对战争幸存者和受害者而言的，而更应放大到我们整个社会，特别是年轻人群体。几年来，中日两国年轻人之间的互访和研讨的机会越来越多，通过不断互访与对话，加深了双方的理解。本次由日本立命馆大学的村本邦子教授、美国加州综合学院的阿芒德·沃卡思教授、笠井绫博士和我们南京师范大学共同举办的“追忆南京 2009”中日 HWH 工作坊也极具深远意义，来自日本、中国和韩国等地近 30 名师生，一起参观战争纪念馆、聆听幸存者的记忆、演出戏剧、研讨对话等不同活动，大家敞开心扉，交流感受，表达和平追求。参加者从内心中深切感受到了放松，彻底丢掉了沉重的历史包袱，完全达到了 HWH 工作坊开营的目的。

最近，社会各界特别是学术界已有很多人认识到医治战争创伤的重要性，中日韩三国领导人日前也提出了东亚共同体的建构，并倡议设立东亚共同历史研究的课题，将过去战争的创伤转化为未来东亚共同体的宝贵财富。我们坚信：只要我们从心灵深处进行相互对话，坦诚相待，共同面对过去的历史，借助政治、历史、社会心理、医学等多学科的方法手段，采取不同形式，加强政界、学界、民间特别是年轻人的交流，我们就有信心来治愈中日之间的战争创伤，就一定开拓中日关系新时代。

大家一起努力吧！

Healing the Trauma: The Unavoidable Issue between Japan and China

Lianhong Zhang, Ph.D.

Nanjing Normal University, Department of History

1. Nanjing Survivors' Psychological Trauma

Compared to the attention paid to their physical conditions, the issue of Nanjing survivors' psychological trauma has been rather neglected. Social services and treatments for the survivors have not been readily provided. Their reported experi-

ence of the Nanjing Massacre itself and their life after the war does not follow one pattern and there is a wide variety in the expression of their psychological trauma. Survivors who are able to self heal are extremely rare and most survivors live under a cloud of memories of the dark past and still suffer from its trauma to this day. Trauma experienced at a young age does not seem to disappear with time but in fact is often re-experienced. Some survivors are woken up by nightmares nightly. Some cases of trauma have resulted in abnormal behavior and speech, prohibiting the person from normal daily activity and life. These psychological symptoms seem to worsen as the survivors age. I noticed these psychological issues caused by the physical and psychological trauma while conducting research on the Nanjing massacre survivors. There seemed to be three primary ways in which the survivors responded to the trauma. I will term these fragmented type, introverted type, and neurotic type.

Fragmented type: Yuying Huang (the survivor's name is altered to protect identity) was one of the survivors I interviewed. She clearly belonged to this type. Yuying Huang was born in 1926. In June of 1937, She fled Beijing with her father and her other family members and came to Nanjing. On December 13th, Yuying Huang and her father encountered Japanese soldiers at the cross of Hunan Road. Japanese soldiers stabbed her father in the chest with bayonets and hit his head with the butt of the rifle. As he fell, some of his brain tissue ran out of his fractured skull. After this incident Yuying Huang escaped to the safety zone established at Ginling Women's University. Miss Vautrin who was in charge of the safety zone took her in and helped her go to school. After losing her father, Vautrin must have become a parent figure to Yuying Huang. Even in her old age, she missed Vautrin very much daily. She talked about Miss Vautrin the American missionary, to whomever she met. When I gave her a picture of Vautrin, she displayed it on the wall and began to worship the picture everyday. One day, the picture was lost for some reason. She became anxious and agitated. Whenever I visited, she talked about it. "A burglar took the picture. He is trying to prevent me from thinking about Miss Vautrin." Towards the end of her life, her symptoms of schizophrenia worsened. She went into town daily and collected garbage. Her house became full of garbage. She had enough money from her pen-

sion to live on. The garbage collection was not for the money, but because of the extreme scarcity she experienced after the Nanjing Massacre that must have frightened and shocked her. The experience affected the heart of this old lady long after the fact. After a while, she was no longer able to live on her own and her neighborhood association sent her to an old people's home. Then, she became unable to think normally. Of all the survivors that I interviewed between 1999 and 2002, I went to see her the most often. After that, my student Shuhong Xu continued to visit her.

Introverted type: survivors of this type do not want to actively disclose their experience to others, not even to their family members. It is as if they are praying that the memory of their nightmarish experience will disappear from their minds. They do not wish others to touch the wounds that they hold in their hearts. A survivor Xi-ying Jian (the survivor's name is altered to protect identity) was born in 1925. She was introverted and was not very talkative. Until I interviewed her, she never told anyone about her trauma. Her painful experience is that she was raped by Japanese soldiers when she was twelve. When she grew up, she married three times but each time her husbands divorced her because she bore no children. She told me, "I often have a nightmare of being raped. Even now, whenever I hear the footsteps outside of the door, I feel fear and I shake. When I am alone in the house, I leave the door wide open." She was also extremely concerned about cleanliness. Her daily morning routine involved a lot of cleaning. She never told anyone about her experience. She never told her adopted daughter because it was a bad thing, a disgusting thing. I went to see her three times after that but it was as if we had promised previously, no one mentioned the Japanese military or the war. She passed away due to an illness on in 2003. I attended her funeral in Nanjing Shizigang. Her adopted daughter probably still does not know about her mother's sad past and trauma. When I was trying to conduct interviews, many survivors refused. When the survivors learned the purpose of my visit, they made various excuses not to be interviewed. They were trying very hard to escape from anything that stimulated their painful memories of the past to avoid their heart being wounded again.

Neurotic type: During my research, I experienced many survivors as extremely

cautious as well as excitable. During the interview with Xiuying Jiang (born in 1923) (the survivor's name is altered to protect identity) in September 1999, he talked about his painful experience of the massacre and told me over and over not to take any photographs because he feared the revenge of the Japanese military. He was a typical neurotic type. Many of the survivors seemed agitated during the interviews and this lasted long after the interviews had ended. Many also complained of insomnia due to their agitation.

In the past few years, many of the survivors have been interviewed by Newspapers, TV, and journalists. Those interviews are emotionally taxing to the survivors. Just looking at their faces, the survivors look no different from the other citizens. People have no opportunity to understand survivors' feelings. They have no opportunity to experience the world of the survivors.

In Nanjing, psychology specialists who can treat Nanjing survivors' psychological conditions are scarce. As a result, we are unable to fully comprehend their current condition in regards to their past traumas. Some survivors self healed themselves out of their dark past. Xiuying Li, Shugin Xia, Genfu Jiang, Zhiqian Chang are examples. They often respond to requests for interviews and testimony by journalists and peace activists from China and around the world. These survivors strongly wish to share their unfortunate past experiences with people who live in the peaceful era. Survivors such as Xiuhong Zhang successfully escaped from the darkness of her past even before the interviews. She found reasons for her healing. One is that her husband always understood her sad past and her trauma. Another is the fact that her grandfather's life was saved as a result of her being raped.

2. Suffering Caused by Trauma

Since the 90's, the Nanjing Massacre is one of the important issues in China-Japan relations. Various academic disciplines in and outside of China are beginning to study this topic deeply. Researchers are not only studying the historical facts, but also beginning to reflect on how the atrocity and the tragedy have affected politics, society and culture. The Massacre not only caused survivors' physical and psycho-

logical pain even to this date, but still affects the everyday life of Nanjing citizens. The trauma cast shadows upon Japanese and Chinese citizens' psyche and disrupts goodwill exchanges. The Nanjing Massacre is an unavoidable part of history for people living in Nanjing. Because of many activities surrounding the history of the massacre, it has become part of Nanjing culture over the years. As a public memorial site, there is The Nanjing Massacre Memorial Museum as well as many memorial sites. These memorials bring people back to the past and awakens the trauma that lays at the depth of their hearts. The Nanjing Massacre Memorial Museum which is built around the Jiangdong men where a massacre took place, consists of several buildings, each containing different meanings and shaped in different sizes. The space is divided into several different zones. Historical materials such as relics, bones, photographs and documents are displayed. The way the museum combines space and installations has symbolic meanings. The museum is free and open to public. People look at the specially designed structures, they understand the meaning that they contain. This deeply affects the memory on the societal level. Chingming is a day to mourn the dead and to pay a visit to the graves. Many citizens visit the memorial museum as a grave. On December 13th of every year, the city government conducts a memorial ceremony and many other memorial events. Events organized by the public and the government strengthen the symbolic meaning that the museum space holds, and it is as if the memory of the trauma is reconstructed and woven into the structures of the museum. The combination of unique architectural structure and the memorial ceremony creates a powerful impression on the visitors to the museum and it affects their historical as well as the collective memory. The memorial museum is an example of a visual structure holding our historical memory, but there are many other less visible elements constantly reawakening the memory of the trauma held many Nanjing citizens. Current incidents in our society that relate to the Nanjing Massacre always affect its citizens regardless of the magnitude of the incident. The same can be said about any incidents relating to Japanese militarism. In 1982, "the text book incident" occurred in Japan. After this incident, there were numerous and endless arguments that glorified the history of the Japanese invasion

and denied the Nanjing Massacre. At the height of this controversy, right wings held a public gathering and denounced the Nanjing Massacre as the biggest lie in the twentieth century. In addition, both in the realm of films and in the court, the sins committed by the war criminals were being covered up. The words and deeds of the Japanese right wing caused much pain to the citizens of Nanjing who had not yet been healed from the trauma. Once again, the tragic history of the Nanjing massacre became a shadow from which Nanjing citizens could not escape. Any incidents in the media relating to Nanjing causes strong reactions from its citizens.

In March of 1995, the city of Nanjing called out to the citizens to donate one-yuan for the second reconstruction of the Nanjing Massacre Museum. In less than a month, one million people responded and made donations. They collected a total of 1.6 million yuan.

In December of 2000, Nanjing citizens strongly protested when the Shengdao hotel tried to move the memorial monument for the victims of Nanjing massacre at Zhenjuesi.

In March of 2002, when the news reported a change of the official name of the museum, “The Memorial for Compatriots Killed in the Nanjing Massacre by Japanese Forces of Aggression”, was being considered, there was a massive reaction and controversy among the citizens in Nanjing. Memorial museums and monuments are considered sacred places by the people of Nanjing, dedicated to the victims and citizens, and for the healing of the trauma deeply embedded in people’s hearts.

On December 10th, 2006, a thirty-nine year old president of a company who also belonged to Nanjing Southeast University Institute of Architectural Design and Research, hired about a dozen people for 50000 yuan. He instructed them to sprinkle dirt on Japanese cars and to put up posters telling people to boycott Japanese products. The owners of the dirtied cars were asked to bring their cars to mechanics’ garages around the memorial museum in Jiangdong to have their cars washed. The eight yuan that it cost to wash each car was already paid for in advance by this president. One owner of a car called the police and the Nanjing police arrived to the site in a hurry. They took control of the scene and the incident was contained so this did

not cause an international friction.

The historical event of the “Nanjing Massacre” is still part of everyday life in Nanjing because the Nanjing media is always paying attention to any related incidents. According to the (estimated) statistics, between 1986 and 2004, three major newspapers, the Xinhua Daily, the Nanjing Daily, and the Yangtze Evening Post made a total of over 800 reports combined on the Nanjing Massacre. The number of reports increased dramatically in the mid to late 90’s. In one year, there were over one hundred reports. The themes of these reports are mainly about new findings of excavations and newly discovered survivors’ testimony. The purpose of such reports is to elucidate the truths and the facts of Japanese invasion and the Nanjing Massacre. In the mid to late 90’s the theme of the reports began to vary widely. For example, there have been reports on the China-Japan collaborative research on the Nanjing Massacre and its results, introduction of related movies, apologies by an old Japanese veteran, and issues relating to the Nanjing survivors. Nanjing media has begun to take more rational stance when reporting about Nanjing Massacre. Buried in the hearts of Nanjing citizens, there are traumatic memories and tribal emotions constructed with historical facts and everyday life of Nanjing.

3. Remaining Tasks: Healing the Trauma

In Japan there have been various arguments denying the Nanjing Massacre altogether since the 80’s. On the other hand, China has not conducted a thorough research on the Nanjing Massacre since 1949, nor a wide survey of the survivors. However, due to the surge of numerous denial arguments by the Japanese right wing, academic historians have begun to value the existence of survivors for conducting research. With this as a background, the research began and it was aimed at gathering proof of Japan’s atrocities. This was mainly to combat the lies of the Japanese right wing. The survivors have always been made to stand up in public as witnesses to history. Unfortunately, it is widely believed since the 80’s that survivors are the only historical proof. In fact, there is already enough historical material to prove the Nanjing Massacre. We do not need to bring out the survivors again and again and

use them as a weapon to combat the arguments of the Japanese right wings. We are at the time to change the way we think and take on more humanistic stance towards the survivors. We must attend to the issue of their remaining traumas. In the west, research and treatment of survivors have had more attention from society. Members of various fields have conducted numerous projects of research and treatment of Jewish holocaust survivors since the end of the World War II. There have been research projects that have studied survivors' emotional confusion, their relationship to their family, and their delayed response to their trauma. There is also research on trans-generational transmission of historical trauma. In the clinical field in the West, treatments and social measures seem more advanced and organized.

Because of the level of development in Chinese society, more attention is paid to the giving of material aid. Healing of trauma is not given much value. Rather, it may be more accurate to say that we do not know how to heal this trauma. The number of survivors is diminishing as they age. There will be less and less survivors who are capable of receiving any trauma treatments. I would also like to add that perpetrators also need trauma treatments, not just survivors. Many of them are still constantly suffering because of the memory of the war. Social psychologists should pay attention to their psychological crisis as well.

Clearly, the passing of time and diminishing number of survivors does not mean that the dark shadow of the war will disappear. Various elements that exist in our current society could awaken the trauma in the hearts of young people. This could cause a war again. To treat the trauma of Chinese and Japanese people is not just for the victims and the survivors but for the whole society, and especially for the young people. In the past few years, there have been increased numbers of mutual visits and discussions among young people. These contribute to deep mutual understanding. So our current attempt also takes on a special meaning. Japan's Ritsumeikan University and Nanjing Normal University collaborated in conducting "Remembering Nanjing 2009" with the help of Kuniko Muramoto from Ritsumeikan University, Armand Volkas and Aya Kasai from the US. The workshop with the Healing the Wounds of History approach was conducted on the theme of Nanjing

with participants from China, Japan and Korea. Thirty participants visited the memorial museum, listened to a survivor's experience and dialogued with open hearts using drama and various other techniques. They expressed their mutual wish for peace. Many of the participants experienced a freeing of their hearts and a heavy burden of history being lifted. This fact serves as proof that the Healing the Wounds of History accomplished the goal of the workshop.

Recently, many scholars in various academic fields are recognizing the importance of the trauma healing. Leaders of China, Japan and Korea recently made a joint announcement of the idea of an East Asia Union and suggested the joint research of East Asia's history. In addition, they suggested treating the trauma of past war as a treasure from which we can learn. I firmly believe that when we dialogue with open hearts and relate to each other with sincerity, we are able to face our unfortunate history together. I also believe that if politicians, academics, citizens, and youth interact in fields such as politics, history, social history, and medicine, we will be able to heal the trauma between China and Japan. We then will be able to enter the new era of China Japan relationship. Let us all work together towards this end!