

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

**Zhang Lianhong**

**Professor, Nanjing Normal University**

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

### **3. How to Heal Historical Trauma from a Psychological Perspective**

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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