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## The History Question in Sino-Japanese Relations

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## “The History Question in Sino-Japanese Relations”

### **Abstract:**

Symbolized by the Rape of Nanking or the Nanjing Massacre, the history question or Japanese wartime atrocities and Japan’s continued failure at apology continues to impact Sino-Japanese relations. Applying feminist theory concepts to examine the formation of nationalism in China and Japan from the early modern period on and of the contemporary power dynamics underlying the interstate relations among China, Japan, and the United States can help to explain why the history question remains relevant in Sino-Japanese relations. Modern nationalism in both China and Japan were founded upon Western incursion and a resulting loss of masculinity of the states as the governments proved incapable at safeguarding the national polities from Western forces. The feminist notion of all politics being personal and of the importance of various interpenetrating levels of influence can help to elucidate the impact of contemporary civil society efforts such as civil lawsuits against Japan and Joint Textbook Writing efforts among China, Japan, and South Korea on Sino-Japanese reconciliation and the future of Sino-Japanese relations.

Wenfan Chen

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*“The past comes to life by the way in which it relates to the present and to plans for the future.”*

*--Daqing Yang<sup>1</sup>*

## **Introduction:**

Incomplete reconciliation continues to plague Sino-Japanese relations. Sino-Japanese relations is not only important for the Asia-Pacific region, but has important implications for the global system. With a population of about 1.3 billion, China surpassed Japan to become the second largest economy in the world in 2010.<sup>2</sup> Moreover, a report by the Paris-based Organization for Economic Cooperation and Development (OECD) forecasts that China will overtake the United States to become the world’s largest economy in four years.<sup>3</sup> China’s rapid growth paired with its opaque foreign policy decision-making process makes for a level of unease associated with its rise as a global power. In addition, Sino-Japanese relations invariably ties in the United States as Japan is under the U.S. security umbrella and holds no regular military of its own due to World War II legacy. Furthermore, in recent years China is seen to be increasingly assertive over issues of dispute. Sino-Japanese flare-ups over issues such as the enduring territorial disputes can potentially escalate to major instability in the region with global ramifications.

Many enduring issues between China and Japan can be attributed to incomplete reconciliation from World War II, when Japan invaded China from 1937 to 1945.<sup>4</sup> Issues such as the Senkaku/Diaoyu islands dispute cannot be understood without understanding the history

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<sup>1</sup>Daqing Yang, “The Challenges of the Nanjing Massacre,” in *The Nanjing Massacre in History and Historiography*, ed. Joshua Fogel, (Berkeley: University of California Press, 2000), 153.

<sup>2</sup>David Barboza, “China Passes Japan as Second-Largest Economy,” *New York Times*, August 15, 2010.

<sup>3</sup>Josephine Moulds, “China’s economy to overtake US in next four years, says OECD,” *The Guardian*, November 9, 2012.

<sup>4</sup>Reinhard Drifte, *Japan’s Security Relations with China Since 1989: From Balancing to Bandwagoning?* (New York: Routledge Curzon, 2003), 15.

behind issue and how each country chose to construct its national identity in the modern and contemporary era. The islands have been in dispute among China, Japan, and the Republic of China in Taiwan for almost four decades: an unresolved legacy from an era of Japanese imperial expansion and U.S. ambiguity over its China policy under Cold War considerations.<sup>5</sup> In the official sense, war reconciliation was achieved through efforts including the International Military Tribunal in the Far East in 1948, the Joint Statement of 1972, and the Treaty of Peace and Friendship in 1978; in 1972 the Chinese state officially waived its claims to war reparations.<sup>6</sup> However, most Chinese today view the reconciliation as incomplete, Japan's apology as

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<sup>5</sup>“For almost four decades, China and Taiwan have disputed Japan's sovereignty over several small rocky islands in the East China Sea, called Senkaku in Japanese, Diaoyu (or Diaoyutai in Taiwan) in Chinese. More recently, Tokyo issued a white paper about China's 'more provocative and overconfident' efforts to secure ownership of the islands based on the sightings in March and April of 2010 of sixteen Chinese military vessels, including a destroyer and submarine, passing near [the disputed islands]. In September 2010, the two states clashed over the Japanese arrest of a Chinese fisherman found in waters near the islands. China's main concern diplomatically was that allowing a Chinese to be tried in Japan would tacitly signal Chinese acceptance that the disputed islands are, in fact, Japanese.” Krista E. Wiegman, *Enduring Territorial Disputes: Strategies of Bargaining, Coercive Diplomacy, and Settlement* (Athens: The University of Georgia Press, 2011), 95.

Again, the islands dispute is demonstrative of the United States' intricate ties to Sino-Japanese relations. In response to U.S. Secretary of State, Hillary Clinton's warning against Chinese “unilateral action in the East China Sea over [the] disputed Senkaku island chain” in early 2013, the Chinese foreign ministry spokesman, Hong Lei, criticized Clinton's comments as “ignorant of facts and indiscriminate of rights and wrongs...He said that the United States—which controlled the islands from 1945 to 1972 before returning them to Japan—had ‘undeniable historical responsibility’ in the dispute.”

Tania Branigan and Justin McCurry, “China rebukes US over ‘ignorant’ comments on island dispute with Japan,” *The Guardian*, January 21, 2013, <<http://www.guardian.co.uk/world/2013/jan/21/china-japan-senkaku-islands-hillary-clinton>>.

China and Taiwan claim the island by asserting that it the islands were documented on Ming Dynasty (1368-1644) maps and part of Ming coastal defenses. In addition, the Qing dynasty (1644-1911) placed the islands under Taiwanese jurisdiction, which was part of the Qing domain. China and Taiwan argue that Japan gained claim over the islands as a part of the Treaty of Shimonoseki, which China considers to be one of the “unequal treaties” forced upon China during the period of foreign incursion. Under the Treaty, China ceded Taiwan (Formosa) to Japan “together with all the islets appertaining or belonging to the said island of Formosa.” Therefore, China and Taiwan argue the islands should have been returned to China as a part of the Allied declarations at Cairo and Potsdam post-World War II, which included restoring territories to China taken from it by from Japanese military aggression. However, Japan claims that its jurisdiction over the disputed islands “was an act apart from the Sino-Japanese War...U.S. administration of the islets began in 1953 as a result of the 1951 Treaty of Peace with Japan.” In the U.S. definition of boundaries of its Civil Administration of the Ryukus, the Senkaku islands were included. Moreover, though the United States maintains a neutral diplomatic position on the islands dispute, the islands are officially included in the U.S.-Japan Security Treaty, as a part of U.S. obligation to defend Japan.

Mark E. Manyin, “Senkaku (Diaoyu/Diaoyutai) Islands Dispute: U.S. Treaty Obligations,” Congressional Research Service, January 22, 2013, <<http://www.fas.org/sgp/crs/row/R42761.pdf>>.

<sup>6</sup>In 1951, the United States pressured Japan to sign a peace treaty with the Republic of China in Taiwan. However, this treaty was abrogated by the Japanese government in 1972 when it followed U.S. policy shift to instead recognize the People's Republic of China on Mainland China.

inadequate or insincere. Rational choice international relations theories including realism and liberalism fail to comprehensively explain why history and memory continue to impact Sino-Japanese relations so heavily. For instance, with regards to the islands dispute, if it were merely over the claim to potential energy resources, it would be more reasonable for the two parties to have negotiations over joint energy exploration; there lacks a willingness to negotiate over the issue because it is arguably merely symptomatic of the underlying issue of incomplete reconciliation.<sup>7</sup>

Symbolized by the Rape of Nanking or the Nanjing Massacre, the history question or Japanese wartime atrocities and Japan's continued failure at apology continues to impact Sino-Japanese relations. Applying feminist theory concepts to examine the formation of nationalism in China and Japan from the early modern period on and of the contemporary power dynamics underlying the interstate relations among China, Japan, and the United States can help to explain why the history question remains relevant in Sino-Japanese relations. Modern nationalism in both China and Japan were founded upon Western incursion and a resulting loss of masculinity of the states as the governments proved incapable at safeguarding the national polities from Western forces. Today's Chinese government utilizes this history of Chinese subjugation in

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<sup>7</sup>“The land features in question are eight in number, sometimes described as five islets and three rocks, and are uninhabited. The largest is about two miles in length and less than one mile in width. However, geologists believe that the waters surrounding them may be rich in oil and natural gas deposits.”

Manyin.

Wiegand, 97.

Krista Wiegand argues that “domestic mobilization and accountability play some role in influencing Chinese dispute strategies.”

Wiegand, 97.

In addition, Krista Wiegand argues that in general, enduring territorial disputes exist because “challenger states in particular can actually benefit from the endurance of disputes when other salient disputed issues exist. Such conditions provide an opportunity for states to pursue a strategy of issue linkage and coercive diplomacy. The implication is that though territorial disputes are an underlying cause of tensions between states, it may not necessarily be the disputed territory that is driving the dispute, but instead other salient disputed issues linked to the territorial disputes.”

Wiegand, 5.

order to narrate the significance of the Chinese Communist Party to safeguarding the Chinese national polity against foreign threats (in addition, Japan has come to embody the notion of foreign threats). Memory of Japanese wartime atrocities has been reminded of and refocused to generate a newfound perception of threat of Japanese remilitarization because of the general Chinese understanding of Japan's insufficient efforts at apology.<sup>8</sup> Regionally, Japan's power is hampered today by its neighbors' memory of this modern history of aggression in Asia. Both regionally and globally, its power is also increasingly checked by the rapid rise of China. China's rise involves both increasing rivalry and unprecedented cooperation between China and the United States, building on another level of complicated insecurity for Japanese policymaking. Japan's dependency on the United States for national defense subjugates its overall foreign policy to U.S. grand strategy and not only does Japan fear entrapment by U.S. policies that may seek to contain China, but it also harbors insecurity over unpredictable U.S. China policy shifts which undermines Japanese confidence in the U.S. security promise. Therefore, during this period as the Chinese government emphasizes the history question in Sino-Japanese relations (first as a means to regain domestic legitimacy, later perhaps to also artfully constrain Japan's prospects for remilitarization and to generally undermine Japanese global and regional reputation based on historical transgressions and failure to apologize), the Japanese government will respond with rivaled assertiveness as it seeks to rebuild its own national pride and protective capacity.

Feminist theory can also shed light on why past reconciliation efforts are incomplete and how rising civil society in China and Japan will impact the future of reconciliation and Sino-

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<sup>8</sup>With such an understanding of Japan as a country who has not properly repented for its past transgressions, signs of remilitarization become signals for a probable repeat of history. Visits by Japanese prime ministers to the Yasukuni Shrine, which houses the spirits of Class A war criminals from the Second World War II, become confirmations of the Japanese threat to the Chinese.



Japanese relations. Past reconciliation efforts were monopolized by the states and reflected a more realist posture of calculation of power politics. For example, the Tokyo Trials were essentially orchestrated by the United States under Cold War considerations of growing U.S.-Soviet rivalry. Incomplete conciliation arguably demonstrates that a state-centric focus of reconciliation is not sufficient. The feminist notion of politics being personal and of the importance of various interpenetrating levels of influence can help to elucidate the impact of civil society efforts such as civil lawsuits against Japan and Joint Textbook Writing efforts among China, Japan, and South Korea on Sino-Japanese reconciliation and the future of Sino-Japanese relations.

## **Part 1: Failure of Mainstream IR Theory & A Feminist IR Theory Explanation**

Before discussing the modern field of international relations theory, it is important to deconstruct the rational foundation of Western political philosophy, which forms the basis of today's dominant international relations theories of realism and liberalism. Foundational to rational thought on human nature and the formation of government is Thomas Hobbes's articulation of the state of nature in the *Leviathan*. To Hobbes, the state of nature is a state of war, whereby each individual pursues his/her own survival at any cost and life is "solitary, poor, nasty, brutish, and short." This pursuit of survival or self-interest forms the basis of modern rational choice theories. Moreover, Hobbes contends that people move into political society and government in order to live more peacefully because he argues that an endeavor for peace is a natural law formed from basic human reasoning.

While the notion that human nature is founded upon the strive for survival has become the basis of what is considered rational behavior, it does not fully capture fundamental human nature. Hobbes does not clearly explicate how humans transition from a narrow pursuit of survival into forming political society. In addition to survival, it is in human nature to seek belonging. Humans are inherently social creatures and group formation is natural. What is known as "nationalism" today is a concept that has evolved from early forms of group identity. When a group is formed, it is natural to form explicit and implicit criteria of what it means to be in the group. In-group mentality is formed simultaneously with an idea of out-group characteristics to create group exclusivity that fosters each member's feeling of belonging in his/her group. While rational interests can have varied significance in group formation depending on the specific situational context, once a group is formed, some level of emotional bonding beyond rational calculations forms. This bonding also builds upon the desire for

belonging and merged with the understanding of the in-group criteria, forms the basis of what Benedict Anderson describes as an “imagined community,” which is elemental to nationalism. Even within a group that is small enough for each individual to have face-to-face interaction with one another, imagined commonalities further solidifies group identity beyond the individual bonds. The fundamental desire for belonging forms the basis of the human emotive force.

The omission of the emotive force from rational choice theories is foundational to understanding the formation of our (heteronormative) society, which explicitly and implicitly privileges heterosexual male gender ideals. Classical western philosophies largely assume rational behavior at its most basic level. Reducing human nature to a singular pursuit of survival or self-interest does not accurately reflect human nature, but rather privileges rationality or human reason over emotions. Moreover, rationality has come to be largely associated with the heterosexual male gender, while emotions are associated with the female gender (and “feminized males”). In the process of becoming a political society, individuals form a contract and transfer to the government the role of safeguarding survival. Thus, maintaining security is the basic function of a state. By handing over security concerns to the state, people in a society are able to focus more on developing the “emotional” side of human nature, such as the development of culture, arts, and values, which merge and evolve to form the basis of what is referred to as national essence or national polity. Thus, feminist study has been founded upon “[g]ender [as] an analytical tool” to examine how gender is used as an instrument for social distribution of costs and benefits, which underlie international politics and economics, “particularly with respect to inequality, insecurity, human rights, democracy, and social justice.”<sup>9</sup>

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<sup>9</sup>On a more social activist level, feminists also call to making “gender visible in order to move beyond its oppressive hierarchies.” Arguably, feminist theories are inherently normative, seeking to achieve a more just world, as opposed to positivist theories such as realism and liberalism, which are more concerned with achieving system stability.

The “classical tradition of international relations theory” include two main schools of thought: realism and liberalism.<sup>10</sup> Over the years of development, various schools of realism and liberalism proliferated. Since the 1980s, neorealism and neoliberalism tend to dominate the field of international relations theory. Neorealism or structural realism was first described by Kenneth Waltz in 1979. Waltz sought to make traditional realist theory more scientific by reformulating realism with “[t]he idea that international politics can be thought of as a system with precisely defined structure.”<sup>11</sup> The structure is defined by anarchy, whereby states represent the ultimate units of sovereignty as states have the sole authority to maintain security.<sup>12</sup> In an anarchic system, whereby there is no government above states, underlying each state’s concern is their relative power share. Furthermore, each state follows a logic of self-help whereby their own national security interests and survival is of fundamental priority.

Neoliberalism developed largely in response to neorealism. Though neoliberals agree with neorealists on the anarchic structure of the international system and on states being the central unit of analysis, neoliberals argue that cooperation is possible through building international institutions and that states are ultimately concerned with absolute rather than relative power. As a leading neoliberal theorist, Joseph Nye argues that realist theory has always been weak in explaining, “[h]ow states define their interests, and how their interests change.”<sup>13</sup> Neoliberalism argues for the importance of institutions such as trade, which generate interdependence and cooperation in the long run, mitigating the potentially dangerous

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J. Ann Tickner *Gendering World Politics: Issues and Approaches in the Post-Cold War Era*, (New York: Columbia University Press, 200), 134-135.

<sup>10</sup>Joseph S. Nye, Jr., review of *Neorealism and Its Critics*, by Robert O. Keohane, and *The Rise of the Trading State*, by Richard Rosecrance, *World Politics* 40, no. 2 (1988): 238.

<sup>11</sup>Kenneth Waltz, “Realist thought and neorealist theory,” in *Critical Concepts in Political Science* ed. Andrew Linklater (New York: Routledge, 2000), 1528.

<sup>12</sup>Only states can maintain a standing military and other institutions of national security and defense.

<sup>13</sup>Nye, 238.

consequences of self-help tendencies. In addition, neoliberals argue that the neorealist concept of a state's sole concern with relative gain points to a zero-sum world that is limited to military considerations, which is not reflective of the current world whereby economic activity predominates interstate relations. In economics, such as in trade, the system is non-zero sum and actors seek absolute gains.<sup>14</sup>

However, neorealism and neoliberalism largely fail to explain why there exists continued emphasis on the "history" question in today's Sino-Japanese relations. A noted neorealist scholar, Stephen Walt, asserts that states balance against threat rather than power. Walt argues that states use four main criteria to evaluate threat from another state: aggregate power (including population, economic and military capability), geographical proximity, offensive capabilities, and offensive intentions.<sup>15</sup> Walt's argument of perceived intentions is most problematic among his criteria as it is unclear how states develop their perception of another state's intentions and how these perceptions change.<sup>16</sup> With regards to China and Japan, neither balance of threat nor balance of power theory can explain why Beijing chose to revitalize the history problem in Sino-Japanese relations in the late-1980s. China began its opening and reform during the 1980s and sought to reintegrate with the global economy. Moreover, after the Tiananmen crisis in 1989, Japan was one of the first developed countries that renewed normal relations with China.<sup>17</sup>

Therefore, as a weak state seeking to grow, from a neorealist perspective it would be reasonable

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<sup>14</sup>In rational trade theory, actors engage in activities of which they have a comparative advantage and then subsequently trade for the items that they lack comparative advantage, generating greater productivity overall in the system than before trade.

<sup>15</sup>Stephen M. Walt, *The Origins of Alliances* (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 1987), 22.

<sup>16</sup>On a more general note, Walt's emphasis on "intentions" over "power" is arguably in conflict with the overall neorealist notion that states in an anarchic system exhibit "self-help" logic because implicit in an anarchic international system is that intention cannot be deduced. It detracts from the neorealist emphasis on structural determinants of state behavioral, which includes anarchy and relative distribution of power.

<sup>17</sup>"Within little more than a year, Japan had renewed its loan agreements with China, and Japan's foreign minister condemned Western efforts to isolate China."

Mark Eykholt, "Aggression, Victimization, and Chinese Historiography of the Nanjing Massacre," in *The Nanjing Massacre in History and Historiography*, ed. Joshua Fogel, (Berkeley: University of California Press, 2000), 43.

for China to build alliances. In addition, a neorealist might expect the 1980s China to seek an alliance with Japan, an economic superpower and neighbor who did not harbor aggressive intentions.<sup>18</sup> Yet, it was during this period that China initiated its Patriotic Education Campaign and capitalized on Japan's failure to apologize.

Neoliberals would likely further argue that from an economic standpoint, the 1980s China should choose to cooperate more with Japan as the probable long-term gains from trade and Japanese investments are immense. However, Beijing was able to engage economically with Japan while simultaneously launching criticism over Japanese revisionism. Moreover, while neoliberals would assert that increased trade over time builds interdependence and thus cooperation, China appears to become only more assertive regarding historical disputes with Japan after the years of increased bilateral trade.<sup>19</sup> In 2010, over a flare-up of the Senkaku/Diaoyu Islands dispute, China blocked the export of crucial rare earth minerals to Japan.<sup>20</sup>

In contrast to neorealism and neoliberalism, feminist international relations analysis takes a more sociological approach. It looks at "individuals' behavior as embedded within a network of structures that are socially constructed."<sup>21</sup> These networks of structures are often the main

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<sup>18</sup>In terms of aggregate power, through the 1980s Japan had one of the largest economies of the world and maintained a modern military structure under U.S. tutelage. Though Walt argues that greater geographic proximity generally entails greater threat, overall he seems to argue that perception of the other state's intentions is most important in determining threat. Japan and China are geographically very close, though they do not share a border. Technically, Article 9 of Japan's Constitution prohibits Japan from harboring any offensive or belligerent capability. Its Self-Defense Forces are for defense only. Moreover, there was no demonstration of aggressive intention by Japan in the 1980s.

<sup>19</sup>"In 1993 Japan began a massive investment plan in China, part of a trend that saw trade volume between the two countries increase by at least 20 percent each year from 1991 to 1994. By the end of 1994 this trade would top USD 43 billion, as Japan was China's primary trading partner and one-fifth of all China's trade went to Japan." Eykholt, 44.

<sup>20</sup>Keith Bradsher, "Amid Tension, China Blocks Crucial Exports to Japan," *New York Times*, September 23, 2010, [http://www.nytimes.com/2010/09/24/business/global/24rare.html?pagewanted=all&\\_r=0](http://www.nytimes.com/2010/09/24/business/global/24rare.html?pagewanted=all&_r=0).

<sup>21</sup>Tickner, 132.

unit of analysis, as opposed to states. Moreover states are often analyzed for their underlying gender biases. Feminist research tends to question rigid binary confines including “domestic/international, public/private, and state/society.”<sup>22</sup> Therefore, topics such as security are analyzed in “multidimensional terms and interpenetrating levels, beginning with the security of individuals situated within broader social and global structures.”<sup>23</sup> Feminism draws from many disciplines, including history, sociology, critical theories, and postmodernism. Moreover, some characterize types of feminism based upon the subjects of focus, including International Political Economy (IPE) feminism and postcolonial feminism.<sup>24</sup> Because there are various schools of feminism, this study draws on selected concepts for development and application.

In examining the formation of national identity, Prasenjit Duara describes the “nation [as] the guardian of an unchanging truth it believes to embody,” which Duara terms the “regime of authenticity.”<sup>25</sup> The regime of authenticity is transmitted through a linear history of the modern nation-state and “invokes various representations of authoritative inviolability.”<sup>26</sup> Importantly, Duara argues that in many societies, women tend to embody the regime of authenticity or the national essence. In the development of nationhood, “[e]xplored, mapped, conquered, and raped, the female body and its metaphorical extension, the home, become symbols of honor, loyalty,

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<sup>22</sup>Tickner, 132.

<sup>23</sup>Tickner, 132.

<sup>24</sup>According to Tickner, IPE feminists seek to “uncover hidden power structures that reinforce unequal gender relations” by researching topics such as explaining “women’s disproportionate representation at the bottom of the socioeconomic scale in all societies.”

Tickner, 79.

“Post-colonial feminists point out that Third World women face multiple oppressions, based on racism and imperialism as well as the patriarchy that is characterized in Western feminist analyses.” They capitalize on the importance of locally produced knowledge, “rather than relying on Western knowledge and with its false claims of universalism.”

Tickner, 87.

<sup>25</sup>Prasenjit Duara, “The Regime of Authenticity: Timelessness, Gender, and National History in Modern China,” in *History and Theory* 37, no. 3 (1998): 288.

<sup>26</sup>Duara, 294.

and purity, to be guarded by men.”<sup>27</sup> Thus, regimes can claim legitimacy by casting themselves as the guardians of the authenticity of the “body cultural.”<sup>28</sup> Though regimes seek to monopolize the characterization of what constitutes the nation’s authenticity, Duara also notes the people’s role in co-constructing and sustaining the nation’s regime of authenticity. Duara’s insights are in-line with that of other feminist scholars, which argue that the process of building national identity or nationalism is inherently gendered.<sup>29</sup>

In addition to national essence, nationalism is also built from interactions with other states. Cynthia Enloe’s concept of injured masculinity identity is applicable in understanding how foreign incursion and perceived humiliation impacted the formation of nationalism in China and Japan. Enloe’s approach is founded upon imperial legacy, and thus the rise of nationalism arguably in response to invasion, occupation, and colonization. Enloe makes the argument of injured masculinity-based nationalism largely through examining the ways that peoples of subjugated nations express nationalism. For instance, she concluded that in India, “[a]sserting control over one’s body as a way of rejecting the alien forces of colonialism, secularism, and modernity has been an important component of men’s nationalism in India.” An example is Mahatma Gandhi’s celibacy. Another way that injured masculinity manifests itself is the level of

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<sup>27</sup>Duara, 297.

<sup>28</sup>Duara, 307.

<sup>29</sup>Anne McClintock describes “time as a natural division of gender. Women are represented as the atavistic and authentic body of national tradition (inert, backward-looking, and natural), embodying nationalism’s conservative principle of continuity. Men, by contrast, represent the progressive agent of national modernity (forward-thrusting, potent, historic), embodying nationalism’s progressive, or revolutionary, principle of discontinuity.

Anne McClintock, “‘No Longer in a Future Heaven’: Gender, Race, and Nationalism,” in *Dangerous Liaisons: Gender, Nation, and Postcolonial Perspectives*, ed. Anne McClintock et. al. (Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 1997): 92.

I use the following definition of nationalism, “the attitude that members of a nation have when they care about their national identity, and the actions that the members of nation take when seeking to achieve (or sustain) self-determination.”

Nenad Miscevic, "Nationalism," *The Stanford Encyclopedia of Philosophy* (Summer 2010 Edition), ed. Edward N. Zalta, <http://plato.stanford.edu/archives/sum2010/entries/nationalism/>.



ideological weight attached to the attire and sexual purity of women in the community, by men.<sup>30</sup> Furthermore, Enloe asserts that nationalism is founded upon “masculinized memory, masculinized humiliation, and masculinized hope.”<sup>31</sup>

Adopting an injured masculinity identity powerfully galvanizes a people’s imagination and mobilizes and unites a people for the common mission of regaining masculinity. The process of regaining masculinity often involves redefining or reemphasizing what is the nation’s national essence and then taking actions to preserve or safeguard the national essence. Injured masculinity essentially involves an incursion upon a nation’s national essence, whether it involves invasion of territory or way of life, or both. Because national essence is often embodied in the female gender, as described by Duara, the state or government which is typically regarded as the official protector of a nation’s essence experiences first, a loss of masculinity. This loss of masculinity is also felt by the people who witness the subjugation of their government and either experience subjugation themselves and/or witness or recognize the subjugation of their fellow nationals. Though national essence is often characterized as feminine and the concept of protecting the national essence is viewed as masculine, it does not mean that among the people, only males will experience a loss of masculinity from an event such as foreign subjugation. Both

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<sup>30</sup>Enloe further argues that such weight is attached to women because women are seen as “(1) the community of the nation’s most valuable possessions, (2) the principle vehicles for transmitting the whole nation’s values from one generation to the next, (3) bearers of the community’s future generation, (4) the members of the community most vulnerable to defilement and exploitation by oppressive alien rulers, and (5) most susceptible to assimilation and cooperation by insidious outsiders,”

Cynthia Enloe, *Bananas, Beaches, and Bases: Making Feminist Sense of International Politics*, (Los Angeles: University of California Press, 1989),54.

<sup>31</sup>Enloe, 44.

Similarly, in *Worlding Women*, Jan Jindy Pettman speaks of “[t]he young man [who] goes to war not so much to kill as to die, to forfeit his particular body for that of the larger body, the body politic, a body most often presented and represented as feminine: a mother country bound by citizens speaking the mother tongue.”

Jin Jindy Pettman, *Worlding Women: A Feminist International Politics* (New York: Routledge, 1996): 142.

Ann Tickner describes how war is valorized “through its identification with a heroic kind of masculinity [which] depends on a feminized, devalued notion of peace seen as unattainable and unrealistic.”

Tickner, 49.

male and female sexes can carry varying degrees and combinations of masculinity and femininity based on their roles in society and the situations that they are faced with. For instance, today the emperor of Japan continues to embody Japan's national essence as he has for millennia, but he also embodies Japan's de-masculinization from its World War II legacy. In the aftermath of the war, under U.S.-led Allied Occupation, the Constitution that was imposed upon Japan revoked its power to maintain a normal military force and removed all formal authority of the emperor, relegating him to a ceremonial figurehead.

The perception of a loss of masculinity is amplified through the feedback loops among the interplay of the state's understanding, the general public's understanding, and the understanding of individuals who are acutely affected (such as survivors of rape). After the loss of masculinity is recognized, the process of redefining or rediscovering the national essence can be a long one. Moreover, a weakened government opens up opportunity for various contending groups to compete for rule, which often entails a competition of national narratives. Thus after a group takes power and their national narrative becomes the widely accepted one, steps to actualize regaining masculinity can be carried out. Therefore, there exists a tacit agreement between the new government and the people that the government will successfully follow through with strengthening the country and safeguarding the national essence that has been defined. This process of regaining masculinity can also be long and arduous and marked with setbacks. Over extended periods of time, national interests and narratives tend to change based upon various changing external and internal circumstances. When a state feels a loss of domestic legitimacy for whatever reason, the state can choose to rekindle the narrative of injured masculinity to reignite popular nationalism and to refocus people's attention on how the state is performing at regaining masculinity for the nation.

This dynamic process of formulating national narratives and postures in addition to the interplay of the evolution of relations between and among China, Japan, and the United States from the early modern times can be used to explain why the history question continues to impact Sino-Japanese relations today. As the ultimate patriarch in the triangular relationship today and with Japan under its security umbrella, the United States has played important roles in influencing the national narratives in China and Japan, especially since the end of the Second World War. U.S. Occupation legacy significantly impacted post-Occupation politics and identity-seeking in Japan. Thus, I argue that both rational calculations, culminating in a state's concern for hard power and a national narrative that binds people together under a state are important for a state's maintenance of power and legitimacy. The following analysis accepts the centrality of states in our current international system as it has become entrenched in today's understanding of global relations.

What the following analysis hopes to elucidate is that while states are mostly inherently rational institutions that seek to maintain their own survival, interstate relations can exhibit "irrational" qualities (e.g. the history question in Sino-Japanese relations) because of intricacies involved in gaining and maintaining domestic legitimacy. For a group to gain control and become the state and for a state to continue in existence, some form of domestic legitimacy has to be sustained. A state that loses control over the military or cannot maintain a strong enough military and/or if the state cannot maintain a stable economy, the state tends to lose domestic legitimacy, as it has no capacity to confront foreign invasion and/or domestic unrest and power struggles. However, possessing hard power capacity is necessary but not sufficient for domestic legitimacy. As survival and the desire for belonging are both fundamental to human nature, states also need to sustain national narratives that inculcate nationalism and patriotism in their

citizenry to maintain domestic legitimacy; a degree of nationalistic education is foundational to most functioning countries today. The intricate interplay among demonstrating hard power capabilities (most fundamentally, military, and then economic capacity for sustainability) and constructing effective national narratives, which often involve amplifying the national trauma and glory associated to particular historical events, involved in forming and sustaining domestic legitimacy impacts a state's exterior postures with other states. When such a narrative is build up to sustain a state's legitimacy and tie a people together, the state will have to somehow demonstrate that they are carrying out what they narrate.<sup>32</sup> Thus, states can be domestically pressured to make foreign policy choices that appear "irrational."

Furthermore, these postures are interpreted by other states based upon their understanding of the historical context, play into their national narratives, and become further complicated when such issues come to be used to leverage regional and international relations precisely because the historical context matters. As China continues to emphasize the history in its bilateral relations with Japan, Japan further refocuses these postures to demonstrate to the Japanese populace how the Chinese government demonizes Japan to serve its own legitimacy. The posture feeds into Japan's own recent patriotic education to inculcate national pride amid a time of uncertainty of Japanese nationality due to its faltering economy. Moreover the posture is also effective in reminding other Asian states of the memory of Japanese aggression, thus creating regional pressure against Japanese remilitarization efforts. In addition, calling Japan a continued transgressor can undermine its international reputation and affect U.S.-Japan relations.

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<sup>32</sup>In the case of North Korea, as regular citizens have essentially no access to information that is not censored and propagated by the state, the state can effectively make up a story of how they successfully confronted and defeated evil Western powers to continue to demonstrate to the populace the reality of the state of the world that the state has narrated from the beginning.

As a result, it is difficult for state-level reconciliation to occur in China and Japan today. The Chinese and Japanese states' respective efforts to inculcate domestic confidence in their state's masculinity feeds into a cycle in which each state's assertiveness provokes a response that is rivaled in assertiveness. Cynthia Enloe's assertion that 'all politics is personal' describes the importance of individuals and broadly "non-traditional" actors in international relations. The activities and cooperation of individuals and civil groups in China and Japan may prove to be important for long-term reconciliation. These sub-state level interactions allow for a personalized exchange of ideas and values without high levels of political calculations. Moreover, the United States plays into this process through its active civility that is backed by U.S. soft power, which involves U.S. influence based upon the attractiveness of its values and institutions. As a hegemon in the global system, the United States exerts influence over the international sociopolitical dialogue.

## **Part 2: Historical Basis: Early Modern to Cold War Era**

Early Modern to Modern Period: *Founding of Early Chinese Nationalism:*

In order to understand why Chinese nationalism today contains such a strong element of incomplete reconciliation and subsequently, a level of antagonistic feeling towards Japan, it is useful to go back in time to examine the course of development of nationalism in China. Modern nationalism in China can be traced back to the self-strengthening movements in the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries, which developed in response to western imperialism. What is still referred to as China's "century of humiliation" dates from the First Opium War in 1839. The war launched the first in a series of losses for Qing China and subsequent unequal treaties, which forced Qing China to hand over treaty ports, grant rights of extraterritoriality, among other concessions.<sup>33</sup> Following British lead, other Western powers including Russia, Germany, and France forced the Qing government to hand over concessions and each carved up their sphere of influence in China.

At this point, China's national essence can be understood to be the idea of the fundamental superiority of the Chinese civilization, marked by superior culture and morality. Called the Middle Kingdom, China saw itself as encompassing the entire world, with its core civilization being at the center of the world. Official tributary states represented the next level in the hierarchy of cultural sophistication. States that China did not have diplomatic relations or much contact with represented the very outer rings of what might be considered civilization; essentially those states were considered too barbaric to even engage with China properly. Chinese ideas of civilization are largely based upon Confucianism, including strict

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<sup>33</sup>Extraterritoriality rights allowed foreign residents in port cities to be tried by their own consular authorities rather than going through the Qing legal system.

understandings of hierarchical relations based upon the emperor as the supreme patriarch and with paternal hierarchy reproduced in each household with the father as the family patriarch. As opposed to being held as entrenched subjugation of the weak, these unequal relations are upheld with moral ideals of how the stronger party will safeguard the best interests of the weaker party in exchange for complete submission by the weaker party, in order to maintain overall societal order and stability. This moralistic hierarchical understanding also forms the basis of Sino-centric international relations, with China, represented by the Chinese emperor, at the top. Western incursions and overwhelming Qing defeats represented not only invasions of Chinese territory but also challenged the capability of the paternal essence of Sino-centric civilization that had been developed over thousands of years.

The period of continued foreign incursion in late Qing China generated a grave concern for the demise of China as the supreme patriarch of the Sino-centric international system and shook up the foundations of China's national essence. One of the major problems of late Qing was that the government failed to recognize the changing power distributions in the world: the Chinese official, Lin Zexu's letter to the British crown, which addressed Queen Victoria diminutively as a leader of a barbaric power in the outermost fringes of a Sino-centric civilization. Even after realizing continuous defeats, Qing leadership failed to carry out comprehensive reforms because among the ruling elite, there existed elements that concerned only of their personal power and those who were psychologically unwilling to accept China's helplessness at the hands of people that they viewed as the most barbaric among the barbarians. These elements hampered reform efforts of the "self-strengthening movement." The self-strengthening movement was led by scholars such as Liang Qichao and Kang Youwei who proposed expanding democracy and adopting Western technology, especially for the military.

A concern for the loss of protective capability or “masculinity” is embodied in the perception of China becoming the “sick man of Asia.” The phrase “sick man of Asia” or 东亚病夫 originates from Liang Qichao’s translation of a British news article published in Shanghai in 1896.<sup>34</sup> Though the original author may not have intended for such an evocative appeal, the phrase caught on in China, capturing the multifaceted weaknesses of late Qing and the humiliation from being labeled as such from people who the Chinese belittled as outside barbarians just about fifty years ago. Moreover at the time, China would have just suffered defeat in the First Sino-Japanese War (1894-1895). Defeat at the hands of Japan, a non-Western and centuries-long semi-vassal state brought upon an unprecedented level of humiliation and alarm. In addition, “[i]t has been argued that because China’s modernity has been largely a project of Chinese male intellectuals, delays in achieving modernization entailed a ‘besiegedness’ of Chinese masculinity.”<sup>35</sup>

As the demise of the Qing dynasty became increasingly evident towards the end of the nineteenth century, contenders for rule over China sought to redefine China’s national essence and how lost masculinity can be regained. One of the main contenders was the Revolutionary Alliance or Tongmenghui led by Sun Yat-sen. “Sun’s political philosophy was the ‘three principles of the people.’”<sup>36</sup> Sun represented the generation of Chinese revolutionary intellectuals who received thorough Western education and sought to replace the dynastic system

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<sup>34</sup>“东亚病夫,” Baidu 百科, accessed on April 2, 2013, <http://baike.baidu.com/view/582724.htm>.

<sup>35</sup>Yiyang Wang, “Mr. Butterfly in *Defunct Capital*: ‘Soft Masculinity and (mis)engendering China,’” in *Asian Masculinities: The Meaning and Practice of Manhood in China and Japan*, eds. Kam Louie and Morris Low (New York: RoutledgeCurzon, 2003), 54.

<sup>36</sup>The Three Principles are nationalism, democracy, and people’s livelihood. By nationalism, Sun refers to the need for Chinese to unite and foster a multiethnic Chinese nationalism in order to regain the full sovereignty of the Chinese state. Democracy meant a Western-style constitutional government that represents people’s interests and is held accountable to the people. People’s livelihood is a nebulous concept that refers broadly to social welfare. Kenneth Lieberthal, *Governing China: From Revolution Through Reform*, 2<sup>nd</sup> ed. (New York: W.W. Norton & Company, 2004), 28.



with a republican nation-state (as opposed to attempting to reform late Qing, as represented by the older generation of 'self-strengtheners').<sup>37</sup> The other main contender was Yuan Shikai, who consolidated Qing military power under his authority. Yuan's contention represents more of a continuity of the pattern of rise and demise of dynastic cycles throughout the history of pre-modern China. Sun's revolutionary group was in no position to directly confront Yuan's forces and was thus forced to negotiate with Yuan, allowing Yuan to become the second president of the Republic of China. Bowing down to Japanese demands such as the extension of extraterritoriality and declaring himself emperor of China made Yuan's republic no different than late Qing.<sup>38</sup>

Sun Yat-sen's failure to deliver a true republican revolution demonstrated the significance of military power. The subsequent rise of the Kuomintang (KMT) and the Chinese Communist Party (CCP) reflected maturation of Sun's revolutionary idealism and further efforts at redefining China's national essence. The KMT evolved from Sun's former Revolutionary Alliance. It continued to carry on the Three Principles of People while adding military leadership, as represented by its new leader, Chiang Kai-shek, who was the Commander of the KMT's Whampoa Military Academy before succeeding Sun. Officially established in 1921, the CCP initially aligned its efforts with the KMT. The early CCP represented an effort to join the international Marxist revolution and duplicate the success of the Bolshevik Revolution in 1917. Despite initial cooperation, by 1927 Chiang began to view the CCP as a mounting threat to his authority and launched a series of extermination campaigns against the CCP. During this period when the CCP faced near extermination, it broke away from Comintern guidance and found new

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<sup>37</sup>Sun received his early education in Hawaii and then studied in British Hong Kong. Moreover, Sun converted to Christianity and received revolutionary influences while exiled in Japan and Europe.

<sup>38</sup> If fully accepted, the notorious Twenty-one demands would have relegated China to a semicolonial. Libenthal, 29.

leadership under Mao Zedong who called for a rural, peasant-based revolution. Chiang considered the CCP, to be a “a ‘disease of the heart,’ which he said, must be cured before other, more superficial challenges to the body politic (in this case, he was referring to the Japanese).” Under Chiang Kai-shek’s military leadership, the KMT had consolidated power from regional warlords and nearly eradicated the CCP by 1934. Japan’s invasion in 1937 interrupted the civil war in China and gave the CCP time to recuperate while the KMT was forced to confront the Imperial Japanese Army.

Early Modern to Modern Period: *Founding of Early to Wartime Japanese Nationalism:*

Early Japanese nationalism also formed in response to foreign incursion during the age of Western imperialism. Tokugawa Japan witnessed the “internal unrest and foreign incursions that wracked contemporary China” and experienced a taste of western imperialism with the arrival of U.S. Commodore Matthew Perry and his crew in 1853. Perry’s aggressive diplomacy led to the Treaty of Kanagawa in 1854, which included a most-favored nation clause and provided an opening to allow for further contact and trade with Japan. Perry’s squadron, including the so-called “Black Ships” conveyed to Japan the West’s power by virtue of its technological prowess (in particular, military technology).<sup>39</sup> This subjugation and demonstration of the weakness of the Tokugawa Shogunate lead to the resolve in the following Meiji period to modernize and strengthen Japan. Moreover, in addition to physically strengthen Japan, early nationalist scholars such as Aizawa Seishisai “called for a revival of ancient Japanese myths which postulated that all Japanese people were descendants of the same divine ancestress, the Sun Goddess

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<sup>39</sup>“The United States and the Opening to Japan, 1853,” U.S. Department of State, Office of the Historian, accessed April 4, 2013, <http://history.state.gov/milestones/1830-1860/OpeningtoJapan>.

Amaterasu.”<sup>40</sup> In contrast to the trajectory in late Qing, Japanese progressives sought modernization through restoring power under the emperor and adding modernized state institutions.

The process of experiencing foreign incursion to recognizing the loss of masculinity to redefining the national essence and actualizing a plan for restoring state masculinity occurred much faster in Japan, allowing Japan to become an imperialist power by the early twentieth century. The Meiji Restoration in 1868 occurred only little over a decade after the Treaty of Kanagawa. In contrast to the various dynasties throughout Chinese history ruled by various family lines, the Japanese imperial line is viewed as one continuous line from the beginning of civilization. Imperial rule is interrupted by periods of de facto shogun rule, which is akin to a military dictatorship. Shoguns or *Sei-taishogun* (“Barbarian Subduing Generalissimo”) gained power during periods of heightened threat of external invasion through consolidating military authority and demonstrating their capability at safeguarding the empire. Therefore, overthrowing the Tokugawa Shogunate and restoring power to the emperor as the Tokugawa government proved unable to stand up to the United States was a very legitimate rhetoric for the progressives; this rhetoric is captured in the popular political slogan during the period, *Sonno joi* (“revere the emperor, expel the barbarians”). The Meiji Constitution created a constitutional monarchy with the emperor as the head of state; the Constitution was presented in 1899 as a gift from the emperor to the people.<sup>41</sup> The Meiji period is characterized by the pursuit of *fukoku kyohei* (“enrich the country, strengthen the military”).

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<sup>40</sup>Erica Benner, “Japanese National Doctrines in International Perspective,” in *Nationalisms in Japan*, ed. Naoko Shimazu, (New York: Routledge, 2006), 21.

<sup>41</sup>The Meiji Constitution began with these words: “The Empire of Japan shall be reigned over and governed by a line of Emperors unbroken for ages eternal.”  
Linda K. Menton, ed. *The Rise of Modern Japan* (Honolulu: University of Hawaii Press, 2002), 67.

To regain lost masculinity, Meiji Japan sought to demonstrate itself as a modern imperial state. In the words of Ito Hirobumi, a Meiji statesman, “The aim of our country has been from the very beginning, to attain among the nations of the world the status of a civilized nation and to become a member of the comity of European and American nations which occupy the position of civilized countries.”<sup>42</sup> As a part of its modernization efforts, Japan adopted the Prussian public health system to establish standards for the health and physique of the Japanese. “The quantification and classification of the population’s physical condition was considered one of the most important tasks in establishing a modern nation whose main characteristics were declared to be a prosperous economy and a potent military.”<sup>43</sup> Meiji state efforts to rally nationalism were augmented by popular media, which often linked economic success to reproductive capabilities and military prowess to sexual potency. It appeared that Japan put into action what, according to Eric Benner, the liberal nationalist scholar Fukuzawa Yukichi had expressed as “[w]ar [being] an honorable and necessary means of ‘extending the rights of independent governments’ according to the Western norms that Japan had now to embrace.”<sup>44</sup>

However, even after demonstrating its newfound capability or masculinity through winning the First Sino-Japanese War (1895) and the Russo-Japanese War (1905) and annexing Taiwan (1895) and Korea (1910), Japan perceived that it continued to be treated as a second-rate power among Western states. Declaring war on Germany and joining the Allied side of World War I in 1914, Japan expected to gain recognition as an equal power. Nonetheless, Japan experienced humiliation of its masculinity at the Paris Peace Conference (1919) when the fate of the Shandong peninsula in China was debated. “Both the Japanese elite and intellectuals

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<sup>42</sup>Benner, 28.

<sup>43</sup>Sabine Fruhstuck, *Colonizing Sex: Sexology and Social Control in Modern Japan* (Los Angeles: University of California Press, 2003), 21.

<sup>44</sup>Benner, 32.

believed that that former German interests on the Shandong Peninsula should be transferred to Japan without question. Meanwhile, the Chinese started to demand the restoration of various rights they had lost to the powers since the mid-nineteenth century” and the United States expressed support for China.<sup>45</sup> This next level of injured masculinity faced from the West led to the next period of unprecedented Japanese imperial aspirations, which involved a break with the West. “[T]he Japanese intellectuals saw that the [West’s] standards themselves could shift, and would probably keep shifting, thus making it almost impossible for second- and third-ranking nations (including Japan) to meet them. Japan would never be able to cast off its badge of inferiority.”<sup>46</sup>

The proclamation of the Co-Prosperity Sphere led to Japan’s most aggressive period of empire-building including the invasion of China (1937-1945) and demonstrated Japan’s effort to prove its masculinity by claiming superiority and leadership over Asia. In 1931, Japan began its invasion of Manchuria with the Mukden Incident and subsequently withdrew from the League of Nations after other members of the League challenged Japan’s aggression in China.<sup>47</sup> Soon, that led to Japan’s proclamation of creating “The Greater East Asia Co-Prosperity Sphere” in the name of ending Western imperialism in Asia, fostering a pan-Asian bond.<sup>48</sup> As an island with

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<sup>45</sup>Harumi Goto-Shibata, “Internationalism and nationalism: Anti-Western sentiments in Japanese foreign policy debates, 1918-22,” in *Nationalisms in Japan*, ed. Naoko Shimazu (New York: Routledge, 2006), 72.

<sup>46</sup>Goto-Shibata, 77.

<sup>47</sup>“The Mukden Incident of 1931 and the Stimson Doctrine,” U.S. Department of State, Office of the Historian, accessed April 6, 2013, [http://history.state.gov/milestones/1921-1936/Mukden\\_incident](http://history.state.gov/milestones/1921-1936/Mukden_incident).

<sup>48</sup>In general, pan-Asian writings in Japan referred to the following commonalities when proclaiming an ‘Asian identity’: the cultural unity of the peoples and nations of East Asia, based upon the common use of Chinese characters (*kanji*); the ‘racial’ kinship of East Asian peoples and ethnicities (*doshu*), which, in the Western categorization of ‘races,’ all belonged to the so-called ‘yellow race’; the geographical proximity and historical legacy of the Sinocentric order, representing a traditional framework for interstate relations in East Asia, but also close economic relations; the feeling of a ‘common’ destiny (*unmei kyodatai*) in the struggle of Asia or colored peoples against Western imperialism and, at times, Westernization and/or modernization.”

Sven Saaler, “Pan-Asianism Asianism in modern Japanese history: overcoming the nation, creating a region, forging an empire,” in *Pan-Asianism in Modern Japanese History: Colonialism, Regionalism and Borders*, ed. J. Victor Koschmann et al. (New York: Routledge, 2007), 10.

limited natural resources, Japan sought to build a self-sufficient empire whereby it would no longer require approval from the West.

As Japan moved towards more assertive empire building in the 1930s, “early Showa ideologues as well as marketing professionals aligned (female) reproductivity and (male) sexual energy with practices of invasion, aggression, and war.”<sup>49</sup> “By December 1937, cartoons and other authorized mass media had immersed the ordinary public in narratives intended to mobilize the war effort and to legitimize Japan’s aggression in China. Accounts of the Battle of Nanjing were no exception.”<sup>50</sup> Wartime reporting in Japan rallied around pride in the Imperial Army in bringing rightful justice to China. Justification of any atrocities involved attributing blame to Chiang Kai-shek and his “anti-Japanese” movement; “[w]artime narratives emphasized the idea that the state owns its citizens and that public well-being depended on the state and its leaders.” The justification can be understood as, since Chiang Kai-shek and his government had failed to demonstrate capable leadership in safeguarding the interests of the Chinese body politic, Japan will step in and take over the role in becoming the (male) protector of the (female) Chinese nation.<sup>51</sup>

Post-WWII/Cold War Era: *China Under Mao*:

In the post-war era, under Chairman Mao Zedong, China’s national identity came to be built around national strength through the charisma of Mao. “As leading communist officials have subsequently commented, ‘[w]e felt Mao could see farther than we could see and could

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Janis Mimura, “Japan’s New Order and Greater East Asia Co-Prosperty Sphere: Planning for Empire,” *The Asia-Pacific Journal: Japan Focus* 49, no. 3 (2011), <http://www.japanfocus.org/-Janis-Mimura/3657>.

<sup>49</sup>Fruhstuck, 168.

<sup>50</sup>Takashi Yoshida, *The Making of the “Rape of Nanking,”* (New York: Oxford University Press, 2006), 15.

<sup>51</sup>“By the 1930s Japanese school textbooks taught students to believe in Japan’s superior position in Asia, to view China as a civilization in decline...Soldiers were told that expansion into China was Japan’s destiny.” Eykholt, 17.

understand more than we could understand. Therefore, when we did not understand Mao, we assumed that he was right and we were wrong.”<sup>52</sup> Mao sought to legitimize his rule by showcasing the accomplishments of the People’s Liberation Army (PLA) and how they were responsible for saving China at the hands of the Japanese, while portraying KMT’s failure at safeguarding Chinese sovereignty.<sup>53</sup> However, because the CCP’s military arm, the PLA, did not actually engage in much combat with the Japanese army, the study of and investigations into the war were largely limited to the party line. The Rape of Nanking, among other defeats on the Chinese side was largely ignored in official Communist Chinese history and writing, which was the only authority on history.<sup>54</sup> Mao sought to establish inward legitimacy by portraying how the CCP and PLA had successfully saved China from imperialist aggression and therefore communism or Maoism is the rightful path for China’s revival and for China to regain its manhood among the nations of the world.

One of the ways that Mao tried to demonstrate communist China’s newfound strength was through the ambitious involvement with the Korean War or known in China as “the War to Resist U.S. Aggression and Aid Korea.”<sup>55</sup> Under the Cold War context, Communist China

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<sup>52</sup>“Mao had brought the party from a devastation of the failure of the Ruijin in 1934 to nationwide victory in 1949. There were no institutional constraints on Mao’s power, and he psychologically and politically dominate most other leading CCP officials.” Lieberthal, 54-55.

<sup>53</sup>They also wanted to erase any history including the involvement of the Kuomintang, which actually fought most of the battles against the Japanese.

<sup>54</sup>Caroline Rose, *Sino-Japanese Relations: Facing the past, looking to the future?* (New York: RoutledgeCurzon, 2005), 39.

“[H]istorians at Nanjing University had gathered a great amount of data, including photographs, new statistics, and interviews with survivors, and in 1962 they collected it into an eight-chapter manuscript. This manuscript has since served as a basis for further work on the Massacre, even though it was hostage to the political ideology...The Chinese government exercised direct political control over this research and classified the manuscript instead of allowing it to be published.” Eykholt, 25.

<sup>55</sup>“The Korean War of 1950-1953 is a major benchmark in the foreign policy of the People’s Republic of China during the first decade of Communist power. The conflict catapulted the new regime of Mao Tse-tung from the situation of a victor in a civil war to that of a contender with the United Nations for control of Korea.”

naturally sided with the U.S.S.R. and the United States became the archetype of aggressor and enemy. In the 1950s, the PRC government used the Nanjing Massacre as political tool directed against the United States, portraying the “American humanitarians as being as evil as, if not more than, invading Japanese troops.”<sup>56</sup> U.S. retreat in the Korean War gave Mao tremendous boost in domestic popularity and Chinese national pride, as this “marked the first time in more than a century that Chinese troops faced those of the Western countries and did not suffer a humiliating defeat.”<sup>57</sup>

Mao’s death in 1976 opened the door to a more sober criticism of the failure of the CCP’s socioeconomic policies and to a search for a more practical roadmap for reviving China. Mao’s concern for maintaining his own power and position led to his implementation of repeated purges of “capitalistic elements” and of renewed revolutions, which led to millions of deaths, economic and technological backwardness, social instability, and no space for honest appraisal. However, because he had been catapulted to an almost god-like figure, his presence was equivalent to the Party’s legitimacy and he could not be faulted. Therefore, his death provided an opportunity for people to criticize the Party’s failure (which is not a direct criticism of Mao) to help China

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Allen Sues Whiting, *China Crosses the Yalu: The Decision to Enter the Korean War* (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 1960), vii.

<sup>56</sup>According to a journal article published in March 1951 in Beijing, “an American devil deceived Chinese women and gathered them in one place so that Japanese soldiers could kidnap young and beautiful Chinese girls in order to gratify their sexual desires.”

Yoshida, 68-69.

“In addition, in the view of the PRC in the 1950s, the Nanjing Massacre never came close to Hiroshima and Nagasaki in terms of its scale and brutality. Faced with an American nuclear threat, the PRC directed its sympathies toward atomic bomb victims in Japan.”

Yoshida, 69.

“An article in *Xinhua yuebao* (The New China Monthly) in 1952 condemned those Americans who had stayed in Nanjing to establish a Safety Zone. The *Xinhua yuebao* reported that American officials of the Zone had protected foreign property at the expense of Chinese lives, aided the invading Japanese troops, and sent Chinese to be executed by Japanese soldiers. The article included pictures of the Nanjing Massacre with the slogan, “Remember the Nanjing Massacre, Stop American Remilitarization of Japan!”

Eykholt, 24-25

<sup>57</sup>Liberthal, 90.



actualize its (masculine) capacity through measures such as economic prosperity. China's next Communist leader, Deng Xiaoping, began a project of "reform and opening up" in 1978.<sup>58</sup>

Post WWII/Cold War Era: *Japan Under Allied Occupation and Occupation Legacy*:

"like a boy of twelve"

--General Douglas MacArthur<sup>59</sup>

In the immediate aftermath of Japan's surrender, Japanese people and U.S. Occupation jointly fostered Japan's embrace of victimhood, which resulted in a feminization of the Japanese state. Instead of remembering itself also as an aggressor during the war, the chosen memory was Japan as victim. "August 6, the day the United States dropped the atomic bomb on Hiroshima became a national day to commemorate the death and destruction of that incident as well as the war in general."<sup>60</sup> First, a narrative was built around the people and civilian government—including the emperor—being victim to the military faction which seized power and embarked on an aggressive imperial campaign without letting the people know of the real extent of the military's brutality overseas. Despite international controversy over not trying Emperor Hirohito at the Tokyo Trials, Japanese people generally concur on Hirohito's innocence. It is generally accepted that Hirohito became a mere figurehead after the military faction seized power.<sup>61</sup> The Japanese collective saw themselves through the image of the emperor, who is the

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<sup>58</sup>Suisheng Zhao, *A Nation-State by Construction: Dynamics of Modern Chinese Nationalism* (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 2004), 31.

<sup>59</sup>Upon his return to the United States, General Douglas MacArthur addressed a joint session of the Senate on May 5, 1951, whereby he argued that the Japanese could be trusted more than the Germans because "[m]easured by the standards of modern civilization, they would be like a boy of twelve as compared with our development of 45 years." His noted that German development was comparable to "our" development. Therefore, MacArthur argued that Japan was very malleable and that Occupation provided the guiding foundation for a better Japan. In Japan, the phrase, "like a boy of twelve," "awakened people to how they had snuggled up to the conqueror. Suddenly many felt unaccountably ashamed."

John Dower, *Embracing Defeat: Japan in the Wake of World War II* (New York: W.W. Norton & Company, 2000), 550-551.

<sup>60</sup>Eykholt, 24.

<sup>61</sup>"By November 1946, geography and national history were again allowed in schools, and a two-volume national history textbook for elementary schools, *The Course of the Nation* (Kuni no ayumi), which had been approved by

direct descendant of the Sun Goddess.<sup>62</sup> Through the emperor, the people can identify themselves as a nation extending all the way back to the beginning of the line of emperors. Through the emperor, the people can express their identity of cultural richness and morality. Therefore, it was cognitively straightforward to attach all blame of Japan's aggression on the military faction, which became essentially classified as an intruder to Japanese authenticity. Thus, once that problematic thorn is "removed," Japan can continue along its millennia-long path of "pacifism."<sup>63</sup> Japan's embrace of victimhood and renouncement of its own military put Japan into a feminized position under the protection and influence of U.S. patriarchy.

U.S. Occupation policy significantly nurtured Japan's adoption of victim consciousness and to relieve Emperor Hirohito of war responsibility. In the immediate post-war period, American media reports humanized Hirohito and the Japanese people, while attributing all war responsibility to Tojo Hideki and his military faction. *The New York Times* published articles including remarks made by Kido Koichi, one of Hirohito's top advisors during the war, which emphasized that the emperor "knew nothing in advance about the Pearl Harbor attack, learning

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SCAP, was published in September 1946. According to the textbook, it was the military that had dragged Japan into an unwanted war."

Yoshida, 47.

"The main purpose of the trials envisioned by the Japanese was identical to a fundamental subpurpose of the Tokyo trial: to establish the emperor as peace, loving, innocent, and beyond politics...arguing that Japan had been led into "aggressive militarism" by a small cabal of irresponsible militaristic leaders."

Dower, 480.

<sup>62</sup>An ex-general who had tremendous influence at the prosecution of his peers during the Tokyo trial explained that "his rationale for incriminating so many former colleagues was 'to make the emperor innocent by not having him appear in the trial, and thus maintain the national polity.'"

Ibid., 482-483.

<sup>63</sup>"Reston pointed out that many Japanese students had virtually no notion of how their country became involved in the Asia-Pacific War, the names of the leaders responsible for the war, or whether Japan's cause was righteous or not...Japan's peace education had tended to focus on devastations in Japan without supplying much historical context."

Yoshida, 119-120.

"[T]he most ubiquitous passive verb after the surrender was surely *damasareta*, "to have been deceived."

Dower, 491.

about it later from the palace radio.”<sup>64</sup> American portrayal of the Tokyo Trial further centered on Tojo.<sup>65</sup> Publications such as John Hersey’s report on Hiroshima helped to humanize the Japanese people with detailed narratives of six ordinary individuals who survived the bombing.<sup>66</sup> Perhaps there existed an element of U.S. war guilt in regard to atomic bombing of Hiroshima and Nagasaki, however, the escalating U.S.-Soviet rivalry in the aftermath of WWII likely influenced U.S. Occupation considerations.<sup>67</sup> With the communist victory in China, it was important for the United States to build Japan into a strong American ally in Asia.<sup>68</sup> Therefore, keeping Hirohito was important to rebuilding the fabric of society in the postwar devastation, as the emperor has for millennia represented the national essence of the Japanese people. The Japanese textbook, *The Course of the Nation* approved by the Supreme Commander for Allied Powers (SCAP) and published in 1946, blamed the military for dragging Japan into an unwanted war.<sup>69</sup>

However, the strong-handed policies under U.S. Occupation including the imposition of the Constitution and content of education sowed the seeds for the rise of a conservative backlash as a response to a sense of Japanese injured masculinity. SCAP embarked on an effort to inculcate among the Japanese an American understanding of the Pacific War, which included the Japanese atrocities in Nanjing, through newspaper articles, national radio reports, and school

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<sup>64</sup>Yoshida, 73.

<sup>65</sup>With regards to the Rape of Nanking, Matsui Iwane, the commander of the Central forces at the time of the massacre was among the seven who were sentenced to death at the Tokyo Trial. Furthermore, “[t]he court ruled that Japanese soldiers killed 200,000 civilians and prisoners of war in six weeks of occupation and that approximately 20,00 cases of rape occurred during the first month of the occupation. This judgment of the Nanjing Massacre set in place the standard understanding of the event in Japanese postwar historiography, and SCAP prohibited any harsh criticisms of that judgment during occupation.”

Ibid., 51.

<sup>66</sup>Ibid., 76-77.

<sup>67</sup>Eykholt, 21.

<sup>68</sup>Pragmatists in Japan perceived that “the United States was eager to use Japan as an ‘unsinkable aircraft carrier.’” Richard J. Samuels, *Securing Japan: Tokyo’s Grand Strategy and the Future of East Asia* (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 2007), 32.

<sup>69</sup>According to the textbook, “Although the government made every effort to end the incident and to maintain friendly relations with China, the military rapidly enlarged the fighting.” Yoshida, 47.

textbooks. “In 1947, Allied advisors essentially dictated a new constitution to Japan’s leaders,” including Article 9 which prohibited Japan from maintaining a normal military force and relinquished its right to belligerency.<sup>70</sup> In the words of John Dower, “Japan—only yesterday a menacing, masculine threat—had been transformed, almost in the blink of an eye into a compliant, feminine body on which the white victors could impose their will.”<sup>71</sup> Emblematic of Japanese injured masculinity was MacArthur’s reference to Japan being “like a boy of twelve,” compared to the more advanced Western civilization.<sup>72</sup>

The U.S.-Japan Security Treaty (1952) signed at the conclusion of Occupation officially tied Japan under the U.S. security umbrella and entrenched Japan’s dependency on the United States. Under the Cold War context, with Japan under the U.S. sphere and China under the Soviet sphere, the two countries became enemies by default. Japan was pressured to recognize the Republic of China in Taiwan, to sign a parallel peace treaty with the ROC to conclude the war and “to adhere to the rigorous American policy of isolating and economically containing the PRC.”<sup>73</sup> Japan normalized relations with the PRC only after President Richard Nixon’s visit to the PRC in 1972. Furthermore, in order to build Japan into a bulwark against communism in Asia, the United States moved quickly to remilitarize Japan, despite reluctance from the conservative government and the Japanese populace.<sup>74</sup> To dissuade public fears of remilitarization, “[t]he ground forces, inaugurated in July 1950, were identified only as a

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<sup>70</sup>Eykholt, 24.

<sup>71</sup>Dower, 139.

<sup>72</sup>Ibid., 551.

<sup>73</sup>Ibid., 552.

<sup>74</sup>“By the fall of 1949, it was reliably reported that some five hundred former Japanese pilots were being recruited with SCAP’s support by the ousted Chinese Nationalist regime in Taiwan for possible assistance in retaking the mainland.”

Ibid., 511.

‘National Police Reserve’ (NPR), and tanks rolled through their manuals as ‘special vehicles.’”<sup>75</sup> Moreover, on its path of economic recovery, Japan experienced its first economic boom based on “providing ‘special procurements’ for American forces fighting in Korea.”<sup>76</sup>

In the words of occupation era prime minister, Yoshida Shigeru, occupation “had left a ‘thirty-eighth parallel’ running through the heart of Japanese people,” with two opposing groups contending for the future of defending Japan’s national essence. On the left were the progressives who represented the new anti-military nationalism and “espoused allegiance to the original occupation ideals of ‘demilitarization and democratization.’”<sup>77</sup> Progressives argued that Japan should repent for its wartime aggression by transferring its victimhood from the atomic bombings to internalizing the overall cruelty of war and to subsequently “become a champion of a non-militarized, non-nuclearized world.”<sup>78</sup> On the right were the conservative politicians, bureaucrats, and business interests that the Americans supported and embraced under Cold War considerations. Essentially, power (both political and economic) in Japan reverted back to the wartime elite.<sup>79</sup>

The two sides appeared to agree on rebuilding Japan as a nation of science and rationality, albeit for arguably different reasons. The progressives viewed science as a way to further espouse peace and renounce militarization and the rationality that comes with science as a way to prevent an ideological (particularly, of the militaristic genre) arrest of the government as had happened during the Showa era. In an idealistic sense, the progressives linked science with

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<sup>75</sup>Ibid., 547.

<sup>76</sup>Ibid., 528.

<sup>77</sup>Ibid., 554.

<sup>78</sup>Ibid., 493.

<sup>79</sup>“The economic and other wartime leaders who had been prohibited from holding public office were gradually ‘depurged,’ while on the other side of the coin, the radical left was subjected to the ‘Red purges.’” Ibid., 525.

democracy. The conservatives led a successful effort to capitalize on the security arrangement with the United States to rebuild Japanese nationalism through scientific development and economic growth. In the wake of the atomic bombs dropped on Hiroshima and Nagasaki, conservatives interpreted Japan as having “lost to the enemy’s science.”<sup>80</sup> “In a speech to young people, Education Minister Maeda explained that ‘the cultivation of scientific thinking ability’ was key to ‘the construction of a Japan of culture.’”<sup>81</sup> As demonstrated by the 500 million yen diverted from previous military funds in order to promote science soon after Japanese surrender, science will replace military power as the mechanism for defending Japan’s national essence and regaining masculinity.<sup>82</sup> To the West, the “little men were transformed into economic ‘miracle men’ and ‘supermen’ almost overnight” in the 1960s, when Japanese automobiles and electronic products poured into the West and came to compete with Western-produced goods.<sup>83</sup>

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<sup>80</sup>Ibid., 494.

<sup>81</sup>Ibid., 495.

<sup>82</sup>Ibid., 495.

<sup>83</sup>Ibid., 557.

*“People of all the nations of the world absolutely should not abandon the right to initiate wars of self-defense.”*

*--Tojo Hideki<sup>84</sup>*

### **Part 3: Contemporary Relations**

Rise of China and Patriotic Education:

After Mao’s death in 1976, the floodgate of government criticism opened and in the early 1990s, the Chinese Communist Party (CCP) launched the “Patriotic Education Campaign” to invigorate nationalism in order to reestablish its legitimacy. The Party felt particularly threatened after the 1989 Tiananmen crisis, leading President Deng Xiaoping to “conclude that the biggest mistake for the CCP in the 1980s was that the party did not focus enough attention on ideological education.”<sup>85</sup> The Patriotic Education Campaign was designed to project the Party as the protector of China’s national sovereignty and the redeemer of its “century of humiliation.”<sup>86</sup> It was a concerted effort by top Party officials to arouse Chinese popular nationalism by harking back to China’s victimhood under the imperial legacy in the late nineteenth and early twentieth century. The Chinese nation came to be portrayed as a victim, a victim of imperialism as

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<sup>84</sup>Ibid., 461.

<sup>85</sup>Morris Low, “Competing Masculinities in Modern Japan,” in . *Asian Masculinities: The Meaning and Practice of Manhood in China and Japan*, eds. Kam Louie and Morris Low (New York: RoutledgeCurzon, 2003), 90.

The CCP needed to open a space for the people to express their dissatisfaction; they needed to channel the people’s dissatisfaction away from the Party.

Zhao, 8.

In the 1980s, student demonstrations in Beijing and the rest of the country used “anti-Japanese feelings as a pretext to voice their anger against the Communist Party, which they felt was unresponsive to the sentiments and needs of the Chinese people.”

Eykholt, 39

“Fraud, embezzlement, and corruption within the Party were specific complaints, and students wanted a greater public voice in the affairs of the nation. A general complaint was that after thirty-five years of Communist rule, China was still a backward country.”

Ibid., 38.

<sup>86</sup>The “century of humiliation” generally refers to the period between Qing defeat in the First Opium War in 1839 and the expulsion of the Western imperialists after 1945 or the establishment of the People’s Republic in 1949.

Some argue that the humiliation cannot be fully redeemed without the return of Taiwan.

Zheng Wang, *Never Forget National Humiliation: Historical Memory in Chinese Politics and Foreign Relations* (New York: Columbia University Press, 2012), 3, 50.

captured by the saying, “勿忘国耻”, or “never forget national humiliation.”<sup>87</sup> The victimhood can be understood as the de-masculinization of the state and the state taking on a subsequent injured masculinity mentality as it seeks to regain China’s loss of masculinity. An event that became iconic in the representation of national humiliation was the Rape of Nanking.<sup>88</sup>

Throughout China, textbooks and war memorials all came to emphasize the “official” death toll of the massacre and to portray how Japan has continued to fail to rightfully acknowledge and apologize for its transgressions against the Chinese nation.<sup>89</sup> Japan became the archetypal victimizer in the China-as-victim rhetoric.<sup>90</sup>

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<sup>87</sup>The notion of national humiliation is entrenched through stories that help to forge national identity by reaching back through China’s long history. National humiliation has become embodied by the folk legend behind the idiom of *Woxin changdan* (卧薪尝胆), meaning “sleeping on brushwood and tasting gall.” The story involves the defeat and capture of King Goujian of the kingdom of Yue by the kingdom of Wu during the Spring and Autumn period of Chinese history. “Upon being granted his freedom, Goujian returned to Yue and rebuilt his military. To never forget the humiliation he suffered during his defeat, Goujian exchanged his silk-padded bedding for a pile of brushwood and hung a gall-bladder from the ceiling in his room; he forced himself to taste the gall-bladder every day before having dinner and going to bed. By imposing such measures of suffering upon himself, Goujian reinvigorated his strength and ultimately conquered Wu twenty years later.” Ibid., 230-231.

<sup>88</sup>Michael Berry, *A History of Pain: Trauma in Modern Chinese Literature and Film* (New York: Columbia University Press, 2008), 169.

<sup>89</sup>“The official People’s Education Press published new history textbooks for middle and high schools in 1992. The focus of the new books was on the foreign powers’ invasions and oppressions. The narrative of the Anti-Japanese War has also been revised. The emphasis is placed on the international and ethnic conflict between China and Japan, rather than the internal and class conflict between the CCP and KMT.” Wang, 102.

The Memorial for Compatriot Victims of the Japanese Military’s Nanjing Massacre in Nanjing opened on August 15, 1985. “Upon first entering, the visitor faces a stone wall with ‘VICTIMS 300,000’ inscribed on it, showing the central importance of this death total to Chinese representations.”

Eykholt, 34.

<sup>90</sup>“Many Chinese consider the greatest humiliation during the century of humiliation to be China’s defeat by Japan, a former tributary and vassal state.”

Wang, 54.

“The names of tens of thousands of victims are written on the wall spaces between the display of bones, invoking feelings of loss, destruction, and humiliation. Exiting, the visitor once again walks along the stone field. The revolutionary statue is central to all of this, adding a heroic overtone to the loss, tying everything to China’s revolutionary victory and, by extension the Communist Party. There is no individuality or obvious political division. Instead the feeling is communal and collective. These are displays for all people, commemorating at time when the motherland suffered before uniting under the Communist leadership to stand up to its enemies.”

Eykholt, 35.

“Every year in August on the anniversary of Japan’s surrender and again in December on the anniversary of Nanjing’s fall, newspaper articles and public gatherings ritualize the Massacre and rekindle hatred for Japan’s wartime deeds. Today, Chinese continue to view Japan’s actions as an unprovoked and unconscionable attempt to



The patriotic education and narrative emphasis on victimhood permeated across Chinese society, proliferating in popular films and literature. In China, all books, films, and media go through an approval process or are at least under surveillance by the Propaganda Department of the CCP (later, changed its name to the Publicity Department in English). In 2004, Beijing implemented a project called the Three One Hundred for Patriotic Education, whereby a hundred each of “films, songs and books with a common theme of patriotism” are to be created and recommended to the whole society.<sup>91</sup> The sustained patriotic education campaign implemented through various prisms of people’s lives contributes to the institutionalization and entrenchment of ideas of patriotic nationalism. In the 1980s and 1990s, as people collectively sought to search for national identity, so-called “root-searching” works of literature proliferated, whereby themes of searching for “real man” and “concern for the degeneration of manhood” were conveyed.<sup>92</sup>

The film portrayals of the Nanjing Massacre helped to elevate the tragedy as a symbol of the rape of the Chinese nation.<sup>93</sup> The influence of these films cannot be overlooked, as they often become blockbusters within China. One of the most recent films on the Rape of Nanking is *The Flowers of War*, directed by one of the most acclaimed Chinese directors, Zhang Yimou and starred the American actor, Christian Bale. The film became the top-grossing Chinese film of 2011.<sup>94</sup> Another recent film on the topic, *City of Life and Death* won Best Director and best Cinematographer at the 4<sup>th</sup> Asian Film Awards.<sup>95</sup> Moreover, Michael Berry argues that “[i]n the

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exterminate the Chinese spirit.”

Ibid., 12.

<sup>91</sup>Wang, 109.

<sup>92</sup>Yang, 56.

<sup>93</sup>Zhao, 79.

<sup>94</sup>Pamela McClintock, “Box Office Report: Christian Bale’s ‘Flowers of War’ Already Top-Grossing Chinese Film of 2011,” *The Hollywood Reporter*, December 30, 2011, accessed April 2, 2013, <http://www.hollywoodreporter.com/news/christian-bale-flowers-of-war-dark-knight-china-box-office-277004>.

<sup>95</sup>Jonathan Landreth, “Lu Chuan’s ‘City of Life and Death’ Gets 11-City U.S. Tour in May,” *The Hollywood Reporter*, April 15, 2011, accessed April 2, 2013, <http://www.hollywoodreporter.com/news/lu-chuans-city-life-death-179012>.

case of the Rape of Nanking, it is only through an intricate series of literary and historical trajectories that intersect and intertwine that the elusive specter of history comes alive.”<sup>96</sup> The very overt portrayals of rape of virgin schoolgirls by perverted Japanese soldiers in popular films such as *The Flowers of War* contribute to the effort to personalize the tragedy and feelings of national humiliation in each individual. *The Flowers of War* exemplifies the notion of women as embodying the national essence; particularly virgin girls.<sup>97</sup> The story is based around different groups of people working together to save the virgin schoolgirls from being violated and being killed. These different groups include the Westerner (or perhaps, more specifically, the American), the prostitutes, Chinese soldiers, young boys, and the pro-Japanese collaborators (*hanjian*).<sup>98</sup> The story empowers individuals from entire range of the cross-section of Chinese society to unite and take action to safeguard China’s national essence; merely the soldier’s (or the Chinese military’s) effort is not enough.

The patriotic education campaign has also opened up the space for personal and family memories of World War II to be expressed. These personal memories include memories of the political leaders. In December 2003, Premier Wen Jiabao touched on his war memories at a reception dinner given by Secretary of State Colin Powell:

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<sup>96</sup>Berry, 178.

<sup>97</sup>“Women’s ordeals of loyalty and fidelity thus do not set them apart from men, but the characteristics of the female body gave it unique possibilities as a theater for the drama of virtue. Women’s breasts, providing essential nourishment, could be offered in filial service. Penetrable, woman’s body was a site where the drama of resistance to invasion could be acted out. Weaker, it could shame men unwilling to rise to the same heights of virtue. Procreative, it was a resource to be sold or controlled. Attractive, it offered opportunities to men to prove their moral worth by exercising self-restraint. There were four didactic Ming story types that seem to have made an unambiguously correct use of this theater of virtue, curbing dangerous desire and exalting loyalty, hierarchy, and the appropriate separation of the sexes. The four are stories of filial piety, virginity, resistance to remarriage, and resistance to rape.”

Christina K. Gilmartin, Gail Hershatter, Lisa Rofel, and Tyrene White, eds. *Engendering China: Women, Culture, and the State* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1994), 111.

<sup>98</sup>In the development of modern Chinese nationalism, prostitution was often cast as a vice characteristic of “old” Chinese traditions which were used to explain China’s political vulnerability during the century of humiliation. Movements to strengthen China involved getting rid these old vices. Ibid., 160.

*Flowers of War*, DVD, directed by Zhang Yimou (China, 2011).

It is very difficult to understand someone's thinking and to know this person without knowing his growth experience. I was born during China's Anti-Japanese War. I can never forget the scene when I huddled against my mother stood in front of the bayonets of Japanese soldiers. My hometown was all burned up, including the primary school that my grandpa ran. If my American friends would ask me about my political beliefs, I can tell you clearly and definitely, I myself and my people will use our own hands to build my country well.<sup>99</sup>

The feedback loop between these personal memories and official memory that has spun the wave of heightened popular nationalism in China since the 1990s and importantly, gender embodiments play a role.<sup>100</sup> Memory is constantly being reconstructed. The complete monopolization of history production by the state during the post-war era, under Mao Zedong undermined the production and transmission of authentic personal memories of survivors. By the 1980s, when Deng Xiaoping loosened the state's grip on Chinese society, many of the survivors from the Nanjing Massacre had passed away and so much time had passed. Research shows the difficulties associated with recovering memories even of traumatic events. As a result, there is a tendency for an individual's memories to blend with current events and indoctrination and produce results with varying degrees of authenticity. Thus, memory can often display confirmation bias. Personal confirmation of national humiliation can be found in family memories and incites feelings of nationalism that seemingly stem from an internal locus of control. This perception of an internal locus of control empowers individuals to take action and seek personal redress.<sup>101</sup>

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<sup>99</sup>Wang, 139.

<sup>100</sup>“Scalapino suggests that the emergence of Chinese nationalism occurred simultaneously from the top down, through the action of the state, and from the bottom up, through the will of the nation.”

Zhao, 14.

<sup>101</sup>“Western scholars have found memory is often quite resilient after years of repression, but it also is subject to distortion, both willful and unconscious.”

From my interviews with Chinese nationals currently around the ages of 21 or 22 (i.e. they were born in 1990 or 1991), they express annoyance and frustration towards Japan's unsatisfactory acknowledgement of history and emphasize the importance of remembering history and getting a sincere apology. Those whose families are from the most affected areas from Japanese occupation (Nanjing and Manchuria) expressed stories of atrocities transmitted by family members. The following is a fairly moderate response that I received, "In my opinion, the Japanese killed so many innocent people in that event [i.e. the Rape of Nanking], did a lot of sins to Chinese people. The history is clear and well-proved. Current Japanese government should have [a] correct understanding of that unpleasant period of history, apologize to the relatives of victims, deal with the bilateral issues in [a] proper way, and do some good things to develop the relationship between our two countries."<sup>102</sup>

The Rape of Nanking is an event where individuals can expediently attach gendered binary constructs to allow for an arguably, simplified yet powerful understanding and memory of Chinese victimhood and Japanese perpetration, allowing the Chinese state to recapture its legitimacy based upon reviving masculinized Chinese humiliation from continued Japanese wronging. Ideas are more easily internalized when we can see clearly an example and then a complete counterexample, as is the case in binary constructs. Taking it a step further, feminism argues that these binary constructs are never gender neutral (though often claimed as), but rather exhibit hetero-normative bias.<sup>103</sup> In a way, the more explicitly gendered, the binary construct, the more it can be easily popularly understood because of the hetero-normative norms that have

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Yang, 141-144.

<sup>102</sup>Individual A.

See Appendix A.

<sup>103</sup>For instance, hetero-normatively speaking, "perpetrator" tends to invoke a "male" connotation, while "victim" tends to invoke a "female" connotation. One can also argue that "good vs. evil" also evokes a similar line of connotations.

been established in our society. As a result of the powerful simplicity of gendered narratives, they tend to be very effective at arousing popular nationalism. The narrative of the “century of humiliation” from Western imperialism has become simplified, culminating on Japan as the ultimate victimizer of China. Chinese education emphasizes how a country that has failed to properly remember history and rightfully repent its past transgressions will inevitably repeat its actions. Chinese people have become adamant about receiving a sincere apology from Japan and unyielding to any signs of Japanese remilitarization.

#### Japan, Economic Underperformance and Growth of Neo-nationalism:

Japan’s postwar economic miracle formed the basis of newfound national pride that strengthened the conservative influence in Japan, including the return of the idea of being a superior race. A 1979 book by a Harvard professor, titled, “Japan as Number,” generated alarm in the West and fascination with discerning the root of Japan’s miraculous economic rise. By the 1980s, Japan had become the second largest economy in the world, right behind the United States, from a “country that only recently had lain in ruins and been dismissed as a ‘fourth-rate nation.’” Critics both outside of and within Japan pointed to “the country’s deep history and traditional values” in explaining the Japanese model. Japanese people became increasingly interested in understanding the meaning of “being Japanese,” as people saw newfound pride for the “Yamato spirit.”<sup>104</sup> The image of the emperor transformed to being “a man of science” and “Japanese soldiers were transformed into salarymen and factory workers.”<sup>105</sup> This newfound pride laid the foundation in the growth of today’s neo-nationalism that seeks to break with Japan’s neighbor countries’ memory of Japan as the wartime aggressor.

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<sup>104</sup>Dower, 557.

<sup>105</sup>Morris Low, “Competing Masculinities in Modern Japan,” in *Asian Masculinities: The Meaning and Practice of Manhood in China and Japan*, ed. Kam Louie et al. (New York: RoutledgeCurzon, 2003), 96.

The flipside of the tremendous economic success is Japan's powerlessness in terms of being able to carry out sovereign foreign policy due to continued de-masculinization from its security agreement with the United States and Article 9. Although being under the U.S. umbrella was helpful for Japan's postwar economic recovery, the constraint on being able to conduct independent foreign policy is increasingly seen as a nuisance in Japan. The Self Defense Forces generates a sense of de-masculinization for Japanese society and entrenches U.S. patriarchy upon Japan as it is completely modeled after the U.S. military forces.<sup>106</sup> Being put under U.S. shield allowed Japan to take on a pacifist national identity. While, "in many senses, the salaryman, reflected in the term *kigyo senshi* ('corporate warrior') that was used to describe the salarymen who supposedly bore Japan's 'Economic Miracle' of the 1950s and 1960s on their shoulders, appeared to replace the soldier as the new masculine ideal," Japanese people increasingly seek to become a 'normal' state.<sup>107</sup> Plans to revise Article 9 were expressed in the Liberal Democratic Party platform in its most recent and successful presidential bid in 2012.<sup>108</sup> Additionally, in

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<sup>106</sup>This de-masculinization is reflected in the complicated views on masculinity in Japanese society. In today's Japan, hetero-normative masculine qualities such as being physically strong and athletic are not popularly upheld. "The masculinity of the 'big, strong, and smelly' rugby players lies in stark contrast to the masculinity of the pale, slight boys wearing eye makeup and carrying expensive designer handbags in the Shinjuku." In Richard Light's study, these male high school rugby players on the one hand "recognized that theirs was a form of masculinity that was increasingly out of touch with modern youth culture in Japan" and on the other hand, "seemed to feel that they were sacrificing popularity with girls to uphold the ideal of being a 'real' man in Japan."

Richard Light, "Sport and the Construction of Masculinity," in *Asian Masculinities: The Meaning and Practice of Manhood in China and Japan*, eds. Kam Louie and Morris Low (New York: RoutledgeCurzon, 2003), 113.

Peter J. Katzensten, *Cultural Norms and National Security: Policy and Military in Postwar Japan* (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 1996), 102.

"In the 1980s, Davis Bobrow reports, a leading Japanese international affairs analyst could calmly describe the Self-Defense Forces as 'a piece of furniture that any modern house or nation has, a chair for the American visitor to sit on.'"

Katzensten, 100.

<sup>107</sup>Romit Dasgupta, "Creating Corporate Warriors: The 'salaryman' and masculinity in Japan," in *Asian Masculinities: The Meaning and Practice of Manhood in China and Japan*, eds. Kam Louie and Morris Low (New York: RoutledgeCurzon, 2003), 122.

A 'normal' sovereign state, meaning one that has the right to keep a military and to declare war.

<sup>108</sup>"As prime minister in 2006-2007, Abe made revising the 1947 constitution a key part of a drive to shed a U.S.-imposed 'post-war regime' that conservatives say weakened traditional values and fostered too apologetic a view of Japan's wartime history."

areas of Japan where U.S. military bases are located, there are increasing levels of complaint by the locals about the conduct of U.S. military base officers.<sup>109</sup> Today's generation in Japan increasingly view the existence of U.S. bases on Japanese soil as an affront to their sovereignty.

Strong right-wing tendencies in contemporary Japan seek to fully regain Japanese masculinity by shedding the "U.S.-imposed post-war regime."<sup>110</sup> Japanese neoconservatives such as Tokyo University Professor Nobukatsu Fujioka, assert that Japanese were "brainwashed by United States to accept the 'Tokyo War Crimes Trials view of history.'"<sup>111</sup> Fujioka is representative of the neoconservatives who assert that education should be about invigorating patriotism and national pride:

"I am completely opposed to having the Japanese state branded a sex criminal," Fujioka said. Children who study history texts that portray Japan as an "evil" and "barbaric" country "will surely despise Japanese history, hate Japan and look upon Japanese people [including themselves] with contempt," he argued.<sup>112</sup>

Moreover, the growing influence of the right-wing in Japan demonstrates a Japan that increasingly feels its masculinity threatened by its economic recession from the 1990s and a rapidly growing China. The underperforming economy and changing demographics in Japan has

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Linda Sieg, "Analysis: Japan's Abe get second chance at loosening limits on military," *Reuters*, December 22, 2012, accessed April 2, 2013, <http://www.reuters.com/article/2012/12/11/us-japan-election-constitution-idUSBRE8BA06O2012121>.

<sup>109</sup>"a 1995 rape of a 12-year-old Okinawan girl by three U.S. soldiers galvanized the anti-base movement."

John Feffer, "Japan: The Price of Normalcy," *The Asia-Pacific Journal: Japan Focus* 2 no. 9 (2009), <http://www.japanfocus.org/-John-Feffer/3009#>.

<sup>110</sup>Sieg.

<sup>111</sup>Sonni Efron, "Defender of Japan's War Past," *Los Angeles Times*, May 9, 1997, accessed April 2, 2013, [http://articles.latimes.com/print/1997-05-09/news/mn-57094\\_1\\_gulf-war](http://articles.latimes.com/print/1997-05-09/news/mn-57094_1_gulf-war).

<sup>112</sup>"Despite his controversial views, Fujioka is not a fringe character. His allies include 62 lawmakers from Prime Minister Ryutaro Hashimoto's Liberal Democratic Party; some conservatives from the opposition; the *Sankei* newspaper, one of Japan's largest dailies; more than 60 opinion leaders, including prominent writers, critics, psychoanalysts, and academics; a famous comic-book author who has launched an Internet home page to promote Fujioka's agenda; some members of an archconservative Shinto religious group; and senior executives of the blue-ribbon Fujitsu and Ajinomoto companies."

Ibid.

led to the gradual demise of the strict postwar *sarariiman/sengyo-shufu* (“salaryman/housewife”) regime whereby “the husband is accustomed to demanding the services and attention of his indulgent housewife in an authoritarian manner.”<sup>113</sup> China’s rapid economic rise—overtaking Japan as the world’s second largest economy in 2010—threatens Japan’s regional and global economic position.<sup>114</sup> A public opinion survey conducted by Japan’s Cabinet Office in 2011 shows an overall steady increase in Japanese people’s positive impression of the SDF and expression of the need “to adopt education to instill feelings of protecting the country” since the early 1990s.<sup>115</sup>

With its regional and global power increasingly threatened by China’s rise and its declining economy, Japan has moved to embrace a more patriotic education and seeks to rebuild its masculinity by casting off its own stigma as a wartime aggressor, allowing for possible normalization (or legalized remilitarization). “By the late 1990s, the Liberal Democratic Party

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<sup>113</sup>“Japan’s Economy Shrinks in 4<sup>th</sup> Quarter, Stays in Recession,” *The Associated Press*, February 14, 2013, accessed March 5, 2013, <http://ajw.asahi.com/article/economy/business/AJ201302140026>.

“Even though the salaryman model still has a powerful influence on the perception of masculinity in Japan, its hegemony has been threatened by recent economic and demographic changes that have called into question the necessity of male breadwinning and domination over women...Likewise in the home, the status of salarymen as husbands and fathers is increasingly ambivalent.”

Futoshi Taga, “Life Histories of Japanese Male Youth,” *Asian Masculinities: The Meaning and Practice of Manhood in China and Japan*, eds. Kam Louie and Morris Low (New York: RoutledgeCurzon, 2003), 138-139.

<sup>114</sup>“In an opinion poll of the general public by the *Yomiuri Shimbun* in 1997, 74% responded that China’s economic power will pose a great or some threat [to Japan], and in another poll in 1995, 37% thought that China will have more economic power than Japan and become Asia’s biggest economic power. In 1995 a Nikkei-Dow Jones poll found that 16% of Japanese already regarded China as the strongest economic power in the world, compared to 5% of Americans. In the future, 66% of Japanese saw China as the strongest economic power, compared to only 17% of Americans.”

Drifte, 148.

“Compared to other Asians, Chinese are most hostile to a Japanese leadership role in Asia. In an opinion poll with business executives and academics in the Asia-Pacific region (eleven countries, including Taiwan and Hong Kong), it turned out that 70.2% in all the eleven Asian countries agreed to a leading Japanese role, but only 16.2% did so in China and 43.3% in South Korea.”

Ibid., 154.

<sup>115</sup>James Simpson, “Post-Disaster Opinion: China and the SDF,” Japan Security Watch, New Pacific Institute, March 17, 2012, accessed March 5, 2013, <http://jsw.newpacificinstitute.org/?p=10040>.

“Public Opinion Survey on Self-Defense Forces and Defense Issues” (“自衛隊・防衛問題に関する世論調査”), Cabinet Office of Japan (内閣府大臣官房政府広報室), accessed April 2, 2013. <http://www8.cao.go.jp/survey/h23/h23-bouei/index.html>.

The Cabinet Office oversees the daily affairs of the Cabinet and is officially headed by the Prime Minister.



and the Ministry of Education embarked upon a patriotic education campaign reminiscent of the early 1980s, with the aim of reclaiming control over history (and other) textbooks.” In 1999, the Education Ministry pressured textbook publishers to ensure “more balance” in textbooks and to increase emphasis on “respect for national symbols, specifically the national flag and anthem.” Middle school history textbooks screened under this campaign toned down the Nanjing Massacre by referring to it as the “Nanjing Incident” and replaced the term “invade” (*shinryaku*) with “advance” (*shinshutsu*) in regard to Japan’s campaign in China during the Second World War.<sup>116</sup> Moreover, “the word ‘rape’ was not always allowed by the Ministry of Education.” These changes work to tone down the perception of Japan as a predacious aggressor that cannot be entrusted with military power.<sup>117</sup>

From my interviews with Japanese nationals currently around the ages of 21 or 22 (i.e. they were born in 1990 or 1991), many express negativity with regards to China’s “anti-Japan” patriotic education program and view history issues such as the Nanjing Massacre having become increasingly politicized by China. On the Nanjing Massacre, a student recounts, “[the issue of Japanese apology] is [an increasingly] difficult problem because [the] Chinese Government under [the] Chinese Communist Party uses a strategy of anti-Japan educational policy to avoid citizen's criticism or protest movement against the Chinese Communist Party.”<sup>118</sup> Another individual expresses that “[t]here are some people who do not acknowledge the

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<sup>116</sup>Caroline Rose, *Sino-Japanese Relations: Facing the past, looking to the future?* (New York: RoutledgeCurzon, 2005), 60.

<sup>117</sup>Ibid., 58.

This effort became referred to as the “third textbook offensive,” attracting tremendous criticism both domestically and from abroad (notably China and South Korea). One of the most controversial components included the approval of the *Atarashii rekishi kyokasho* (New history textbook), a work produced by the radical right-wing group, Tsukurukai. Many members of the group claim that the comfort women system did not exist at all, or else was not implemented by the state.

Ibid., 59.

<sup>118</sup>Individual B.  
See Appendix A.

incidence, yet the majority of the citizens admit the existence of the massacre. Howsoever, quite a few share an opinion that there are some fabrications and false data in the view proclaimed by Chinese authority.”<sup>119</sup> The effect of Japan’s patriotic education campaign in the late 1990s is also evident as one individual recalled that in the sixth grade, the history textbook had mentioned that 300,000 people in were killed in Nanjing by Japanese soldiers, yet “[i]n high school, description about the massacre was decreased and changed. Only a footnote of a page mentioned it, and the number of casualty was decreased [to] approximately 60,000.”<sup>120</sup> The individual who confessed that his views might be considered “radical right wing,” agreed with the Japanese government’s effort to “not teach uncertain incidents, which lead to looking down on our country.”<sup>121</sup>

In addition to China’s rapid economic growth in recent years, its increasing assertiveness in foreign policy ensure Japan’s refusal to acquiescent to Chinese government demands for Japanese apology over history, as both countries seek to convey masculine strength to their domestic citizenry. This rivalry is further complicated by Japan’s alliance with the United States and the global rivalry between the United States and China, which includes Beijing’s opaque leadership and U.S. China policy that oscillates from engagement to containment based on its perception of Beijing’s motivations. “Kojima Tomoyuki dates this shift towards discussing China as a big power and potential threat to around summer 1993. The U.S. shift from viewing Japan as the new threat after the demise of the Soviet Union to seeing China instead as the new

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<sup>119</sup>Individual C.  
See Appendix A.

<sup>120</sup>Individual C.  
See Appendix A.

<sup>121</sup>Individual C.  
See Appendix A.

major threat has certainly contributed to this change in Japan.”<sup>122</sup> China’s rise also couples with its growing importance for the United States both in terms of contention and cooperation. Not only does Japan fear entrapment in a U.S. security strategy against China, but it fears abandonment by the United States. Japan continues to view U.S. normalization of relations with China in 1972 “without prior consultation with Japan” as a form of abandonment and harbors insecurity over U.S. commitment to Japan.<sup>123</sup> Moreover, Beijing has taken on increasingly unfriendly stances against Japan in order to improve its regional dominance vis-à-vis Japan and as a mechanism to undermine U.S. supremacy. “In 1998 China opposed a US proposal to invite Japan to a conference of nuclear powers in Geneva to work out a strategy after the nuclear tests by India and Pakistan” and China has repeatedly refused Tokyo’s request for support of its bid for a permanent seat on the UN Security Council.<sup>124</sup>

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<sup>122</sup>“Mainstream authors [in Japan] express concern about China’s military modernization, the rise in military expenditures, the issues of missiles (increase, export, testing), the development of an ocean-going navy (implications for China’s territorial demands) and the general influence of the People’s Liberation Army on China’s politics.” Drifte, 80-82.

<sup>123</sup>“In 1999 newly declassified US documents disclosed that in 1972 President Nixon and Prime Minister Zhou Enlai discussed Chinese concerns about Japan increasing its influence in Taiwan and other Asian countries as a result of US withdrawal from some parts of Asia.”

Ibid., 162-163.

<sup>124</sup>Ibid., 151.

The permanent members of the United Nations Security Council are the United States, the United Kingdom, France, Russia, and China. Each of them has the power to veto; therefore a full consensus is required for the adoption of a resolution, such as adding another state to the Council.

#### **Part 4: Civil Society and Reconciliation**

Incomplete reconciliation is an important factor in causing continued tensions in Sino-Japanese bilateral relations. Andrew Rigby emphasizes the importance of the active participation of those who “suffered directly (or their representatives)” in successful reconciliation. As a result, feminist international relations theory has much to contribute to reconciliation politics as opposed to realism and liberalism, with their emphasis on states and international institutions, respectively.

State and institutional level reconciliation has notably failed in achieving complete reconciliation for China and Japan. Caroline Rose breaks down the reconciliation efforts into two cycles. Rose characterizes the first cycle as being the early post-war period through the Cold War. The governments in essence monopolized the attempts at reconciliation. “This involved attempts to reveal the truth and provide justice through the International Military Tribunal in the Far East (IMTFE) and other war crimes trials held in China, to agree upon war reparations (which were waived by the PRC in 1972), and to settle the past (that is, provide apologies and a reflection on Japan’s wartime activities) through the agreements signed in the 1970s (the Joint Statement of 1972, and the Treaty of Peace and Friendship of 1978).”<sup>125</sup> However, by the 1980s, as Chinese society became more open with Deng Xiaoping’s reform policies, “the inadequacies, partiality, omissions, and even injustices of earlier settlements were becoming apparent.”<sup>126</sup> The continued bilateral tensions with periodic flare-ups caused by incomplete reconciliation with issues such as textbook debates and shrine-visits by Japanese officials demonstrate the failure of the state-level reconciliation described in Rose’s first cycle of

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<sup>125</sup>Rose, 24.

<sup>126</sup>Ibid.

attempted reconciliation. Similarly, international institutions have also failed to effectively step in and bring forth complete reconciliation. Again, international institutions such as the IMTFE failed to deliver sufficient reconciliation, as they can often become captured by the interests of the most powerful states.

In line with Cynthia Enloe's assertion that all politics is personal, non-governmental individuals and groups in China, Japan, and the United States have increasing bearing on interstate relations. Not only are states constrained in their policy choices from passionate public pressures, individuals are taking it into their own hands to seek to redress and reconciliation. Arguably, true reconciliation can only be achieved through these transnational civilian channels. First, individuals have already become empowered in their internalized understanding of both personal and collective injured masculinity. Thus, individuals desire to take personal action and gain redress for themselves and their nation. Moreover, while states are ultimately largely constrained by self-help and realpolitik tendencies as a result of the anarchic structure of the international system, individuals undergoing transnational engagements remain under the protection of their governments and can thus express more culturally nuanced and emotive forms of engagement which help to foster a better understanding between two countries over time. Especially for two countries with very different political systems, there can be "a failure to grant full legitimacy to the other system and the delay in developing common interests," civilian actors can help to mediate interstate relations in the medium to long term.<sup>127</sup>

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<sup>127</sup>"This difference also became apparent in the much earlier reconciliation of Germany with Western countries than was the case with countries under Communist rule in Eastern Europe."

Drifte, 15.

Through civilian engagement, mutual understanding can be rekindled. Japan and China do share similar cultural and linguistic heritages. If better mutual understanding can be reached, then balance of threat activity can be mitigated if it is determined that the other state does not have intentions that are fundamentally conflicting or malevolent. During the height of *Pax Britannica*, the United States allied with Great Britain and as the power

In addition to its hard power, the United States also exerts influence on the Sino-Japanese reconciliation dialogue through its vociferous civilian actors. Iris Chang's book, *The Rape of Nanking: The Forgotten Holocaust of World War II*, catapulted the massacre and Japanese wartime atrocities to an unprecedented global spotlight in the late 1990s. Her book remained on the New York Times Bestsellers for ten weeks immediately after its release in 1997. For many Americans it was the first time that they became aware of the WWII atrocities in China and of the stories behind them. As an American of Chinese descent, she was versed in Mandarin and travelled to Nanjing to interview survivors, among conducting other forms of research on the massacre.<sup>128</sup> "In a bizarre twist, Chang has come under attack not only from Japanese ultranationalists--who assert that the 1937 massacre of Chinese civilians by Japanese troops never took place--but also from Japanese liberals, who insist it happened but allege that Chang's flawed scholarship damages their cause." In stirring such controversy, the book reignited interest in the topic among both progressives and right-wing nationalists in Japan, and has sparked interest on the topic globally, particularly also in China and the United States. Chang gave the issue a new life of its own, internationally.<sup>129</sup> No longer is it a bilateral issue, but an issue of a crime against humanity. Though Chang's book and active advocacy for Japanese apology boosts the CCP patriotic education position, perhaps more importantly her work empowered the individuals who witnessed and survived the tragedy and the anti-war activists in Japan.

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distributions shifted by the end of WWI, grand power shifted to the United States with the two countries continuing to share what some refer to as a "special relationship," as a result of shared history and language ties.

<sup>128</sup>Eykholt, 55.

<sup>129</sup>However, during this period, revisionist works by figures such as the Tokyo University education professor became much more popular than the more academically respected studies.

"a well-respected 1997 study of the Nanjing massacre by historian Tokushi Kasahara recently sold 55,000 copies--a huge hit for a Japanese academic book, but nowhere near the 1.2 million sales for the tomes of revisionist Tokyo University education professor Nobukatsu Fujioka."

Sonni Efron, "War Again is Raging Over Japan's Role in 'Nanking'," *Los Angeles Times*, June 6, 1999, accessed April 2, 2013, <http://articles.latimes.com/1999/jun/06/news/mn-44838>.

In China, she has become memorialized as somewhat of a martyr. She is compared to Minnie Vautrin, the American missionary who stayed behind in Nanjing and saved many lives through unwavering efforts at safeguarding the Ginling Women's College as a safety zone. Vautrin committed suicide soon after returning to the United States in 1941. In 2004, Chang committed suicide at the age of 36. The Chinese government pledged to build two statues in commemoration of Chang, "for her exposure of 'atrocities committed by Japanese aggressors' in China and the spirit to 'dig up the historical truth.'"<sup>130</sup> One statue will be placed in the Nanjing Massacre Memorial Hall in Nanjing and the other statue will be donated to Chang's family in the United States.<sup>131</sup> By engaging with individual survivors, Chang touched their lives in immeasurable ways, giving their stories a voice that resounds internationally.<sup>132</sup> Moreover, books and documentaries about her have been released in English and Chinese since her death. Her mother, Ying-Ying Chang a retired professor of microbiology, has dedicated herself to carry on her daughter's spirit; last year she gave a talk at Fudan University in Shanghai regarding her newly published memoir on her daughter's life and her message of "the power of one."<sup>133</sup> By helping to internationalize or trans-nationalize the issue, Chang is an example of a non-state actor who has contributed to shaping the understanding of Japanese wartime aggression and thus, the Sino-Japanese reconciliation dialogue.

Civil society groups in China and Japan are also contributing to the reconciliation process. Rapid growth of civil society in China and Japan began during the 1990s, whereby civil society

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<sup>130</sup>“Statues to remember former AP reporter Iris Chang,” Xinhua News, June 22, 2005, <[http://news.xinhuanet.com/english/2005-06/22/content\\_3116925.htm](http://news.xinhuanet.com/english/2005-06/22/content_3116925.htm)>.

<sup>131</sup>Ibid.

<sup>132</sup>Kathleen McLaughlin, "Iris Chang's suicide stunned those she tried so hard to help—the survivors of Japan's 'Rape of Nanking,'" *San Francisco Chronicle*, November 20, 2004, accessed April 5, 2013, <http://www.sfgate.com/entertainment/article/Iris-Chang-s-suicide-stunned-those-she-tried-so-2634180.php>.

<sup>133</sup>石剑峰, "有些人的一生专为别人而度过," 东方早报, dfdaily.com, May 18, 2012, <http://www.dfdaily.com/html/150/2012/5/18/793508.shtml>.

is defined as “a spontaneous, concerned group of citizens who interact independently of government, while collaborating with it at certain times and opposing it at others.”<sup>134</sup> While Caroline Rose attributes the relatively late development of civil society in Japan to traditional Japanese governance and society, whereby the officialdom provided the public goods and acted in the public interest and the masses largely pursued private interest within the governmental framework, this explanation can arguably also be applied for China’s case of civil society development.<sup>135</sup> However, in China there exist greater legal and political barriers to the development of genuine civil society groups under authoritarian rule. Though the activities of civil groups in China continue to be restricted, the space for growth came during Deng’s initiation of China’s “opening up and reform.” Furthermore, new technologies such as the Internet fostered an unprecedented space for ideas exchange and social networking across great distances.<sup>136</sup>

The renewed interest in the war (described as “the memory boom of the 1980s and 1990s”) and opened space for societal input has allowed for the growth of ideas beyond a simplistic antagonistic nationalism that, for instance, the Chinese state has attempted to construct with the patriotic education campaign. While there is increasingly patriotic and assertive popular nationalism in China and Japan, at the same time, elements of general humanistic concern are brewing and these elements may be critical to the process of long-term reconciliation. One way that this phenomenon has manifested itself is in the entertainment industry. The popular film, *City of Life and Death* caused tremendous controversy in China, over what may appear to be

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<sup>134</sup>Rose, 28.

<sup>135</sup>“Japanese groups involved in pursuing reconciliation with China originate mainly, but not exclusively, from the left, and include anti-war groups, education-related groups, lawyers’ associations, war veterans’ associations, organizations run by teachers, academics, journalists, union representatives, and so on.”

Ibid., 29.

<sup>136</sup>Ibid., 28-29.



sympathy for Japanese soldiers in the film's portrayal of the Rape of Nanking. In contrast, Tim Tausch argues that the film intends to break down binary constructions (e.g. good vs. bad, perpetrator vs. victim, Chinese vs. Japanese) in order to highlight the fact that war is destructive for everybody and that individuals ultimately bear the effects of war. Specifically, Tausch explores the film's utilization of multiple narrations from various vantage points, whereby both "the self and other" are narrated. Tausch argues that this style allows for "transnational narration," which again, reverberates back to the breaking down of binary constructions (i.e. one state's narrative versus another, or the victimizer state's narrative versus the victim state's narrative).<sup>137</sup>

The rise of civil lawsuits reflects the rising wave of transnational civil society in China, Japan, and South Korea. "The Chinese redress movement began in September 1988, when more than 200 residents of a village in Shandong Province sent the first letter seeking compensation for forced labor in Japan to the Japanese government by way of the Japanese Embassy in Beijing."<sup>138</sup> The Chinese lawsuits are important in achieving Rigby's characterization of reconciliation, which requires active grassroots participation. On the one hand, "the hearings and trials revive painful and contentious historical memories" and receives extensive media coverage.<sup>139</sup> Importantly, "[l]eading activists like Wang Xuan joined the movement not out of hatred of the Japanese; rather, they wanted to engage in constructive dialogues with Japanese through the suits. Wang emphasized that she was seeking to reject war with peace by talking

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<sup>137</sup>Tim Tausch, "National Consciousness vs. Transnational Narration," in *Chinese Identities on Screen*, Klaus Muhlhahn, Clemens Von Haselberg, eds., 2012.

<sup>138</sup>Ming Wan, *Sino-Japanese Relations: Interaction, Logic, and Transformation* (Washington, D.C.: Woodrow Wilson Center Press, 2006), 304.

<sup>139</sup>"The China Central Television named Wang Xuan [a Chinese plaintiff] one of the ten people that "emotionally moved China the most in 2002, along with the likes of Yao Ming, the number one draft pick of the U.S. National Basketball Association in 2002... The China Central Television began airing a documentary series on the Chinese lawsuits in Japan in September 2003." Ibid., 319.

about the war responsibility issue rather than seeking a vicious cycle of violence.”<sup>140</sup> These lawsuits are often brought to court in Japan with the cooperation of groups in Japan that provide funding for the individuals’ court proceedings, pro-bono litigation services, and evidence from research by Japanese scholars.

Moreover, in response to the textbook debates of 1982, the mid-1980s, and the late 1990s, civil society groups and individuals in China, Japan, and South Korea have launched a joint-textbook writing effort. “In May 2005, the first joint history textbook in East Asia, *The Modern and Contemporary History of Three East Asian Countries*, was simultaneously published in China, South Korea, and Japan (in the respective languages of each country), after three years of preparation. This nongovernmental project, in which some fifty independent teachers, historians, and members of civic groups from the three nations participated, aimed to establish a jointly recognized interpretation of history.”<sup>141</sup> The textbook attempts to break the binary constructs of perpetrator/victim narrative by using an “introspective narrative” that “encourages its readers to explore the deep roots and causes of historical tragedies, to reflect on past mistakes, and to learn from history.”<sup>142</sup> Though not without its own shortcomings, the joint history writing can allow people to step out of the patriarchal, hetero-normative, masculine-privileged, nationalisms and move into a more general humanist understanding of tragedy and interstate relations to allow for meaningful reconciliation.

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<sup>140</sup>Ibid., 326.

Rose, 98.

<sup>141</sup>Wang, 210-211.

<sup>142</sup>Ibid., 212.

*“If Japan and China cooperate, they can support half the Heavens.”*

*--Deng Xiaoping<sup>143</sup>*

**Conclusion:**

As a hegemon in the global system, the United States played an important role in the development of postwar Sino-Japanese relations. The most obvious influence lies in U.S. occupation of Japan and the resulting U.S.-Japan Security Alliance, which continues to promise U.S. defense of Japan with Japan officially prohibited from maintaining offensive capability. The United States continues to maintain military bases in Japan and United States maintains Japan to be its strongest ally in East Asia.<sup>144</sup> Japan cannot conduct truly independent foreign policy; it is forced to be an accomplice in U.S. grand strategy. Under the Cold War context, China and Japan became automatic enemies. Japan only normalized relations with the People's Republic of China after the U.S. President Richard Nixon visited China in 1972 to build diplomatic relations. Another important occupation legacy is the Tokyo Trials and how the United States unilaterally absolved Japan of war guilt under Cold War security considerations. From the initially idealistic goals of “democracy and demilitarization,” the United States quickly reverted to dismissing the charges against and supporting the leadership of the wartime conservative elite and rebuilding Japan's military capacity. With the communist victory in China, the United States very quickly shifted its focus from reforming Japan, the wartime aggressor, to rebuilding Japan into a bulwark against communism in the Asia Pacific region.

The other central issue in the triangular relationship involves the Taiwan controversy. After the brief postwar cooperation between the KMT and the CCP collapsed in 1946, the United States continued to support the losing KMT. After the CCP established the People's Republic in

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<sup>143</sup>Eto Shinkichi, “Recent Developments in Sino-Japanese Relations,” *Asian Survey*, 20 no. 7, (1980): 740.

<sup>144</sup>Jackie Calmes, “Japan and United States Reaffirm their Close Ties,” *The New York Times*, February 22, 2013, accessed February 24, 2013, <http://www.nytimes.com/2013/02/23/world/asia/japan-and-united-states-reaffirm-their-close-ties.html?pagewanted=all>.

1950, the United States recognized Chiang Kaishek's Republic of China on Taiwan as the legitimate Chinese state. The United States did not officially recognize the PRC until 1979. The Treaty of Peace with Japan or the San Francisco Peace Treaty signed between Japan and 48 Allied nations to officially end World War II and to allocate war reparations in 1951 did not include either the PRC or the ROC because of international controversy over which government was legitimate. However, Japan was pressured by the United States to sign a separate peace treaty with the ROC in 1952. Only until 1972 did Japan establish a Joint Communiqué with China whereby Japan recognized the PRC as the sole legitimate government of China and China officially renounced claims for war reparations for the Second World War. Therefore, although the war ended in 1945, as a result of the overbearing U.S. influence on bilateral relations, the two sides did not come to an official agreement on the terms of the conclusion of the war until 1972. Moreover, China continues to view Taiwan to belong to China and asserts that the Taiwan issue is a domestic Chinese issue. U.S. and (U.S.-encouraged) Japanese relations with Taiwan are interpreted as meddling and represent an affront to Chinese sovereignty (particularly since Japan had annexed Taiwan in 1895 and official held Taiwan as a colony until Japan's surrender in 1945). The CCP includes Taiwan's foreign domination in its narrative of China's century of humiliation and asserts reunification to be one of its goals in reviving China from national humiliation or injured masculinity.

The "history problem" continues to impact Sino-Japanese relations as a result of the interplay of domestic and external factors that have unearthed underlying concerns with masculinity complexes. In the contemporary period, the Chinese government's emphasis on Japan's aggressive history and inability to repent for its past wrongs is utilized to revert the Chinese populace's attention back to the tacit agreement that the CCP's government was

founded upon, which was to strengthen China, regain its lost masculinity importantly, by safeguarding its national essence from the threat of foreign incursion. The rhetoric of Japanese aggression and remilitarization is also helpful for a rising China to curry alignment with its neighbors and regionally contain Japan. On another level, it is used to undermine trust between the United States and Japan as a means to weaken the U.S.-Japan security alliance that has allowed the United States to maintain a powerful offensive military position within incredible geographic proximity to China. Because of China's historical superiority complex resulting from perceiving itself to be the apex of civilization and from being the supreme patriarch in its Sino-centric system of international relations, its feelings of humiliation and injured masculinity from invasion and subjugation by the West and Japan in its early modern and modern period are exceptionally strong.<sup>145</sup> These feelings have become re-inculcated in the Chinese populace by the Chinese government with a particular emphasis on the CCP's difficult efforts and immense triumphs over safeguarding Chinese national polity and reviving China to its historically-proven rightful position of (at least regional) dominance.<sup>146</sup>

On the other side, Japan's powerful postwar economic position has declined, with its masculinity threatened and in response there has been a corresponding rise of neo-nationalism seeking to halt and rebuild the declining masculinity by re-instilling national pride that is no longer exclusively based upon economic performance, but including more "traditional" measures

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<sup>145</sup> Wang, 72-73.

<sup>146</sup> One way that the CCP has showcased its successful efforts at reviving China is the narrative that was built around the 2008 Beijing Olympics. "At the official website of the Beijing Organizing Committee for Olympic Games, an article appeared entitled 'From 'Sick Man of East Asia' to 'Sports Big Power'... Many Chinese [have come to] enthusiastically believe that that victory in international sports games, especially in the Olympics is the best way to 'wipe away' the national humiliation related to being called the Sick Man of East Asia.'" Ibid. 151-152.

of masculinity, such as military power.<sup>147</sup> Japan's underperforming economy since the 1990s has threatened the sanctity of the salaryman model of ideal citizen and masculinity. The national government has largely been captured by more right-wing conservative influences that seek to revert Japan's de-masculinization from the U.S.-imposed Article 9 and the occupation legacy of apologetic national education. Though there exist strong progressive groups in Japan, liberals have largely failed to seize and maintain national leadership. The renowned nationalist, Shinzo Abe's victory in the 2012 elections demonstrated an overall disillusionment with the governments of the left-leaning Democratic Party of Japan and a renewed embrace with the right-leaning Liberal Democratic Party.<sup>148</sup> Chinese emphasis on the Rape of Nanking further fuels conservative influence in Japan. Conservatives use outside criticisms of Japanese wartime aggression to confirm its agenda of redefining and rebuilding Japanese masculinity, as expressed by Nobukatsu Fujioka, when he declared his adamancy against Japan being "branded as a sex criminal." In Japan, citizens are increasingly receptive to the idea of a 'normal' Japan that is able to conduct its own foreign policy and defend its own national polity.<sup>149</sup>

During times of crisis, whether internal-based, external-based, or both, the government experiences a loss of masculinity from its inability to maintain stability and to safeguard the national polity and can recapture the loyalty of its people by galvanizing popular nationalism in a way that unites people and redefines the threat in the state's favor. For states to be successful at

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<sup>147</sup>However, Japan's ability to remilitarize and become a 'normal' state is hampered by its history. The policy trajectory of the conservatives in Japan fits well into China's narrative of how Japan will remilitarize and threaten peace in Asia once again. This feeds into memory of Japanese wartime aggression, as the patriotic revisionism of textbooks, etc., is highly reminiscent of Japan's past trajectory towards regional expansion.

<sup>148</sup>The conservative Liberal Democratic Party has essentially dominated Japanese government since it came into power in 1955. The Democratic Party of Japan won a landslide victory in 2009 and ruled until 2012. Jayshree Bajoria, "The Rise of Political Opposition in Japan," *Council on Foreign Relations*, August 31, 2009, <http://www.cfr.org/japan/rise-political-opposition-japan/p20097>.

<sup>149</sup>Martin Fackler, "Japan Shifts From Pacifism as Anxiety in Region Rises," *The New York Times*, April 1, 2013, accessed April 1, 2013, [http://www.nytimes.com/2013/04/02/world/asia/japan-shifting-further-away-from-pacifism.html?pagewanted=1&\\_r=1&smid=fb-share](http://www.nytimes.com/2013/04/02/world/asia/japan-shifting-further-away-from-pacifism.html?pagewanted=1&_r=1&smid=fb-share).

this, they have to continue to hold some level of material power (i.e. the economy is not completely falling apart and the security of the state is not existentially threatened): survival and belonging are both fundamental to human nature. Therefore, contemporary China has been able to transfer the people's dissatisfaction with the CCP into nationalism that is targeted against Japan. Moreover, this narrative has taken such hold because the government is able focus the narrative drawing from events in China's modern history and from legendary stories of China's millennia-long civilization. The narrative is also powerfully strengthened by personal stories of trauma that allow individuals to confirm the ideas over time. The Rape of Nanking carries such a gendered weight that allows individuals to powerfully personalize China's national humiliation and unite over the cause of redemption.<sup>150</sup>

The conservative government in Japan is also working to redeem its national legitimacy in the face of prolonged economic recession. Therefore, it seeks to redefine the state's masculinity to include military power, which also signifies a return to a more "traditional" valuation of masculinity. The postwar economic miracle focused Japan's masculinity on economic performance and the salaryman became the masculine ideal. However, "traditional" masculine ideals in many societies often include military valor; Japan certainly has a deep culture of reverence for military valor with the high position of the samurai class and influence of the bushido ethics in Japanese history. Having military capacity defines a state sovereignty in the world system and allows it to fulfill the most fundamental promise to its people under the social contract, which is national security. Being able to feel masculine while accepting the relinquishment of normal military power is viewed an "untraditional" embrace of masculinity

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<sup>150</sup>Gender perhaps carries such unique influence on people because gender is often confounded with biological sex. Because of the privilege of rationality in our society, science is held on a pedestal. By confounding gender with sex, people can internalize the infallibility of gender and gender roles at a young age.

(which was Japan's only choice at the time). With a faltering economy (but, not failing), Japan is hoping to boost the image of the military to rebuild faith in the state's masculinity. China certainly helps with this rhetoric of a need for having a 'normal' military, with its increasing assertiveness over issues such as disputed islands. Therefore, Japan will be increasingly intolerant of China's portrayal of its masculinity as being aggressively perverted, as portrayed in films on the Rape of Nanking in China. As Japan further seeks to become 'normal' and to remove its wartime stigma, the CCP will only continue to use such gendered narratives to not only galvanize Chinese nationalism against Japan, but also re-alarm the feelings of the peoples of other Asian states that suffered from Japanese aggression.

Foreign invasion or imposition appears to be most powerful in capturing the idea of the threat of survival via rendering a people impotent. Thus, even when there no longer exists an existential foreign threat, a government can choose to recall back to the danger of foreign threat in order to rebuild a shaken legitimacy. Though arguably a diversionary tactic, nationalistic education is a fundamental component of all states. The importance of public support to the sustainability of any state government is non-negligible.<sup>151</sup> These narratives are most powerful when they involve binary simplifications of historical events. Heteronormative gender constructs inherently underlie binary notions. These constructions powerfully resound with the primal human nature of concern for potency and fertility, as they are foundational to survival. Merged with narratives about the history of the people, feelings of nationalism are powerfully galvanized, whereby individuals can individually feel the injured masculinity of the state and of the collective national essence being violated through an "imagined community," as described by Benedict Anderson. Today, China and Japan both utilize narratives of foreign incursion, either

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<sup>151</sup>In dictatorships such as North Korea, the government keeps its population "satisfied" by using intensive propaganda to feed the public glorifying information about the government.



directly or indirectly in order for the states to boost domestic legitimacy. The emphasis on historical wronging by other states during periods of weakness builds a highly amplified injured masculinity complex among the populace. Though useful in boosting a government's domestic legitimacy, they also come with the price of serving to constrain the actions of the state, as the more these feelings are amplified, the more the people holds the state accountable to taking a strong stance against any questions over history in dealings with other states.

Therefore, civil society actors can be indispensable to meaningful reconciliation between China and Japan. The Chinese and Japanese states' efforts to inculcate domestic confidence in their state's masculinity perpetuate a cycle in which each state's assertiveness provokes a rivaled response. Engagement of individuals and non-state groups in China, Japan, and the United States can help to foster long-term understanding between China and Japan. Moreover, the level of transnational cooperation involved in civil lawsuit and joint-textbook writing efforts helps towards building a generally humanistic view of the tragedies of war which effectively channels the rising public sentiments over Japanese apology away from the binary, antagonistic, nationalist views that are in-conducive to reconciliation.

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## Appendix A

I gathered informal information from unnamed Chinese and Japanese college students regarding the Nanjing Massacre in order to gain a sense of contemporary sentiment of Sino-Japanese relations, beyond my secondary research. This is not meant to be a thorough survey; in total I spoke to about eleven individuals either in-person, through email, or other forms of social media. I collected basic identifying information such as gender, age, and city/town of residence (and sometimes, the university of attendance). Probably, my greatest surprise was the wide range of opinions and the degree of awareness over the Nanjing Massacre among the Japanese nationals. Of course, I cannot draw any significant conclusions, as this is not a thorough survey research; however, in general, it appears that the spectrum of opinions is reflective of the divergent neo-nationalists and anti-war pacifists trend from my secondary research.

The following is the basic list of questions that I extended to Chinese nationals. Overall, I attempted to encourage open-ended discussion as much as possible. The responses were either in Mandarin Chinese or English (I have Mandarin Chinese language capability).

- 1) When was your first exposure (when did you first hear about the Nanjing massacre)?
- 2) Talk about your first exposure in school (what you learned, what age you were, etc..)
- 3) When you learned about it as you got older, over the years were there any changes in the way you learned about the event?
- 4) Did your grandparents/parents talk about the massacre with you...if so what are their opinions?
- 5) General opinions/feelings about the massacre and/or Japan (including current bilateral issues).

The following is the basic list of questions that I extended to Japanese nationals. Overall, I attempted to encourage open-ended discussion. The responses were in English.

- 1) First exposure in general.
- 2) First exposure in school. (when? what did you learn? vivid memories or emotions?) In school textbook, were the words used were more like "shinshutsu" or "shinryaku"?<sup>152</sup>
- 3) Over the years, were there any changes in the way that you learned about the massacre? Were there changes in the way that the event was portrayed in the textbook and/or by your teachers? Did your teachers ever express personal opinions on the matter?
- 4) Is the Pacific War (WWII in Asia) ever discussed by parents and grandparents Did your grandparents and/or parents ever discuss this topic [Nanjing Massacre]? If so, how did they portray it?
- 5) General opinions/feelings about the Nanjing Massacre, the Pacific War (WWII in Asia), and China (including current bilateral issues).
- 6) Do you know the event as "Nankin Jiken" or "Nankin Daigyakusatsu"?<sup>153</sup>

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<sup>152</sup>“shinshutsu” means “advance,” while “shinryaku” means “invade.” The first carries more much neutral tone without incriminating the aggression of the Japanese Imperial Army during WWII. Many critics have pointed to the usage of “shinshutsu” instead of “shinryaku” in Japanese textbooks when describing the Nanjing Massacre specifically or Japanese aggression in China broadly, as attempts to “whitewash” Japanese history.

<sup>153</sup>“Jiken” translates to “incident,” while “daigyakusatsu” translates to “massacre.” Similar to “shinshutsu” versus “shinryaku,” one carries a significantly heavier meaning of atrocity and aggression than the other.