

**ANGRY STATES: MAINLAND CHINESE VIEWS
OF JAPAN SINCE 1949**

This dissertation is submitted for the degree of Doctor of
Philosophy

Anthony David Brooks

Trinity Hall, Cambridge

January 7, 2013

Copyright © 2013 Anthony David Brooks
All rights reserved

To Mike Lloyd

Without whose support this project would not have been possible

Declaration

This dissertation is the result of my own work and includes nothing which is the outcome of work done in collaboration except where specifically indicated in the text. The dissertation does not exceed the word limit for the Asian and Middle Eastern Studies degree committee. It is 80,000 words long.

Notes on style

Chinese and Japanese names are not italicised and are given with the surname first, so Mao Zedong's family name is Mao and not Zedong. Other Chinese and Japanese terms are italicised, and written in *pinyin* and *romaji* respectively. In the People's Republic *pinyin* is normally written in lower case. However, for ease of reference this study uses sentence-style capitalisation for the titles of films, books, documents, papers and texts (in *pinyin*), as well as for place names. For the sake of clarity, words commonly used in English are usually chosen in preference to their Chinese and Japanese counterparts; for example "Taipei" (a city in Taiwan), is used in preference to the Chinese *Taipei*.

A character glossary of the most important Chinese terms is provided. A list of abbreviations used in the text is at the beginning of the bibliography. Dates in the footnotes are presented in abbreviated British format, such that August 15, 1945 becomes 15/8/45.

Many of the individuals interviewed for this project did so on the condition that they remain anonymous. Interviews in this study therefore follow the format used by Perry Link in his book *The Uses of Literature: Life in the Socialist Chinese Literary System* (2000), whereby the name of the interviewee is included only when he or she agrees to be named. Full interview transcripts are available on request.

Acknowledgements

First and foremost I would like to thank my supervisor, Dr. Barak Kushner. Without his direction, advice and encouragement, I would never have been able to write this dissertation. Any merit that the thesis has is in no small part due to the detailed critical feedback which I received from Dr. Kushner on each of my many drafts. Other people also patiently read through various versions of the manuscript and made many valuable comments, including Dr. Lily Chang, Donald Fraser and Andraz Melansek. Special thanks also go to my advisor Dr. John Swenson-Wright for his suggestions on tackling the primary literature, as well as to Professor Rana Mitter and his “China’s War with Japan” research group, who helped to shape my rapidly evolving views on the research topic. Rana Mitter, Caroline Rose and Amy King invited me to conferences in Oxford, Leeds and Bristol, where I was not only made to feel most welcome, but I was also given important critical feedback on my work. I am most grateful to both Trinity Hall and the Faculty of Asian and Middle Eastern Studies for the award of generous travel grants, which allowed me to make research trips to China and also to present my work at Harvard University.

Finally, I also owe a great debt to the following individuals in China and elsewhere who gave generously of their time: John Armitage, Henry Chen, Chen Rihua, Chen Xiaoni, Chen Yanshi, Ding Xiangli, Adam Dunnett, John Feng, Gao Yu, Gao Haoqing, Gui Xiaotao, Guo Dingping, He Sai, Hu Cheng, Jin Feng, Kong Yang, Ioana Kraft, Lai Junfei, Li Baiyang, Li Bin, Li Chen, Li Jia, Li Qinyan, Li Tingjiang, Li Xing, Li Ying, Li Yong, Lian Degui, Lin Wei, Lin Xiaoguang, Ling Hai, Joshua Harper, Liu Cheng, Liu Hua, Liu Jianping, Liu Qiong, Lu Peng, Dirk Moens, Sherzod Muminov, Nikolay Murashkin, Pang Liang, Rao Junfei, Ren Kang, Stefan Sack, Jonathan Scott, Jorn Seiero, Michael O’Sullivan, Su Weijun, Wang Dongke, Wang Le, Wang Min, Wang Ping, Wang Xinsheng, Wu Shiyong, Xie Li, Xie Ye, Xu Bin, Xu Hailong, Yan Haisong, Yang Fan, Yang Haobo, Yao Xiaoshu, Yu Chunyu, Yu Tiejun, Charlie Valonso, Kazuyuki Yamazaki, Zheng Zheng, Zhou Ke and Zhu Xiaolong.

Abstract

This thesis presents a study of Chinese views of Japan since the foundation of the People's Republic of China in 1949. The introduction summarises the main aims of the thesis, which are to compare and contrast the way in which different "institutions" (such as the Chinese media) have presented Japan to mass audiences from a historical perspective. The introduction also describes the theoretical models used and outlines the most important recent scholarship on the research topic. Chapter one offers an overview of elite representations of Japan, by concentrating on critical junctures where the Chinese leadership's views of Japan changed. The role of the patriotic education campaign is explored, as well as the hypothesis that since 1949 Chinese Communist Party leaders have always been intensely interested in Japan. The thesis then moves on to four chapters, which analyse how Japan is presented in key institutions. Chapter two on war museums suggests that national and provincial party officials have frequently clashed over the way in which memory of the 1937–45 Anti-Japanese War is depicted. Chapter two also examines the rationale for the rash of museum building during the 1980s. Chapter three concentrates on textbooks, but also deals with the way in which classroom discourses on conflict with Japan are used as a means of emphasising selected government policies. Furthermore, I suggest that the way in which textbook compilers have sought to portray Japan in schools has shown remarkably little variation over the past 60 years. Chapter four analyses war films. My aim here is to explain both why, as in textbooks, the war is used as a vehicle for pursuing unrelated policy objectives, and also why conflict with Japan is still virtually the only acceptable means of portraying that country on celluloid. Chapter five deals with newspapers, and as in chapter two, I find that views of Japan at the national and provincial level are frequently at variance. Chapter six concludes the thesis and summarises its findings, as well as making suggestions for further research.

Contents

Introduction.....	1
Chapter 1.....	21
Elite Views of Japan.....	21
Chapter 2.....	67
Anti-Japanese War Museums: Unit 731.....	67
Chapter 3.....	109
Education and Textbooks.....	109
Chapter 4.....	159
Anti-Japanese War Films.....	159
Chapter 5.....	211
Media Representations of Japan.....	211
Conclusion.....	267
Reference Matter.....	272
Glossary.....	273
Select Bibliography.....	283

Figures

- Figure 1. *People's Daily* article showing support for the Japanese people framed by news highly critical of the Japanese government (7/7/53, p. 4).....30
- Figure 2. Two photographs of former Japanese barracks at Pingfang 100
- Figure 3. The entrance to the Unit 731 museum..... 100
- Figure 4. The “atonement for Japanese crimes” memorial at Unit 731, unveiled in 2010..... 103
- Figure 5. The new commemoration corridor at Unit 731 105
- Figure 6. Chinese lower middle school history textbooks showing almost identical images of students protesting at the GMD’s refusal to fight the Japanese in 1935..... 118
- Figure 7. “A little Eighth Route Army soldier” (*xiao ba lu*) *Elementary School Language Textbook*, 2000, vol. 2, p. 34 153
- Figure 8. Yu Lai is interrogated by Japanese soldiers. *Elementary School Language Textbook*, 2010, vol. 4.2, p. 66 156
- Figure 9. A scene from the film *Underground War* (*Didao zhan*, 1965) showing Japanese troops cowering in the face of a Communist guerrilla 167
- Figure 10. The Japanese commander in *Guerrilla War on the Plains* (*Pingyuan youji dui*, 1955) 183
- Figure 11. The Japanese officer (left) and the Chinese Communist leader (right) in the movie *Letter with Feathers* (*Ji maoxin*, 1953)..... 183
- Figure 12. A scene from *City of Life and Death* (*Nanjing! Nanjing!*, 2009) where Nanjing residents are being buried alive by Japanese soldiers after the fall of the capital 204
- Figure 13. A scene from *Flowers of War* (*Jinling shisan chai*, 2011) showing both schoolgirls (left) and prostitutes (right) trapped in a Nanjing church..... 207

Figure 14. Comparison of the annual total of <i>People's Daily</i> articles relative to the annual total of articles on Japan (1949–2005)	218
Figure 15. Relative frequency of <i>People's Daily</i> articles on Japan (1949–2005)	218
Figure 16. Annual total of <i>People's Daily</i> articles with headlines containing the words “resist Japan” or “War of Resistance” (1949–2005)	221
Figure 17. Monthly totals of <i>People's Daily</i> articles entitled “resisting the Japanese” (top) or “War of Resistance” (bottom) (selected years)	224
Figure 18. Monthly totals of Japan-related articles in the <i>People's Daily</i> 18 months prior to and 18 months following decennial anniversaries of the Japanese defeat	228
Figure 19. Identical coverage of the anniversary of the Japanese surrender on 3/9/70 (selected newspapers)	241
Figure 20. Reform era coverage of the Anti-Japanese War in selected newspapers (15–16 August, national events only)	243
Figure 21. Reform era coverage of the Anti-Japanese War in the <i>Heilongjiang Daily</i> and the <i>Chongqing Daily</i> (15–16 August, local events only)	246
Figure 22. <i>Chongqing Daily</i> editorial showing how the CCP’s version of the war in Chongqing dominates the Nationalist one (15/8/05, p. 3)	248
Figure 23. <i>People's Daily</i> montage showing Anti-Japanese War cartoons (17/8/65, p. 6)	251
Figure 24. <i>People's Daily</i> war montage emphasising Chairman Mao’s contribution to defeating Japan on the top row (29/8/65, p. 6)	254
Figure 25. Images from the <i>People's Daily</i> showing wartime atrocities allegedly committed by the Japanese in Nanjing, Shanghai and Guangzhou (4/8/82, p. 4)	258
Figure 26. A <i>People's Daily</i> war montage which gives prominent place to Nationalist resistance to the Japanese at Taierzhuang (30/8/85, p. 8)	260
Figure 27. Photograph printed in the <i>People's Daily</i> showing Premier Wen Jiabao at the 2004 ASEAN summit seated next to Prime Minister Koizumi Junichiro who has been cut from the picture (30/11/04, p. 6)	263

Figure 28. *People's Daily* image showing Prime Minister Abe Shinzo seated at President Hu Jintao's right hand (8/10/06, p. 1)263

Tables

Table 1. MFA instructions concerning how the USSR should be represented during the 1960 victory over Japan celebrations.....	37
Table 2. Text schemata for Chinese history textbook lessons on Japanese piracy during the Ming dynasty	120
Table 3. Use of macro-semantic indicators in Chinese history textbooks	122
Table 4. Ideological messages replicated in both Ming dynasty Japanese piracy and Anti-Japanese War history texts	123
Table 5. Patriotic statements made by Capt. Deng Shichang during the Battle of the Yellow Sea in lower middle school history textbooks	133
Table 6. Social-political indicators in Chinese lower middle school history textbooks covering the 1931–45 Sino-Japanese conflict (selected years) .	140
Table 7. Quotes from lower middle school history textbooks showing how Jiang Jieshi lost north-east China (selected years)	141
Table 8. Character types in post-1949 Anti-Japanese War films	177
Table 9. Attitudes of <i>People's Daily</i> articles on Japan for the month of August (selected years).....	226
Table 10. Content of <i>People's Daily</i> articles on Japan for the month of August (selected years).....	227
Table 11. Attitudes of <i>People's Daily</i> articles on Japan for the month of February (selected years).....	230
Table 12. Content of <i>People's Daily</i> articles on Japan for the month of February (selected years).....	230
Table 13. Embedded political messages in <i>People's Daily</i> and <i>Red Flag</i> articles on Japan	234

Introduction

In late 2007, one of China's most respected television presenters, Bai Yansong, narrated a controversial but widely viewed Central China Television (CCTV) documentary series called *Yansong Looks at Japan* (*Yansong kan riben*).¹ At the start of the first episode Yansong noted that “[we] Chinese people often admit that we don’t understand Japan, we just hate it.” Whilst the television series (and the accompanying book) portrayed some aspects of Japan in a positive light, most episodes homed in on sensitive bilateral issues, such as the “history problem”² and its relation to the Anti-Japanese War.³ *Yansong Looks at Japan* was highly contentious in other ways too, a fact that was candidly discussed in the book’s preface by Liang Xiaotao, the head of news programming at CCTV. For instance, Liang noted that during the first half of 2006 the Central Propaganda Department repeatedly refused permission to commence filming the series, and final approval was only granted 24 hours after Prime Minister Koizumi Junichiro stepped down from office in September of that year.⁴ Liang’s comments raised as many questions as they answered, such as why should propaganda be relevant to a Chinese television series about Japan? What image of Japan is the Chinese Communist Party (CCP) trying to create?⁵ Who, if anyone, is directly

¹ Bai Yansong, *Yansong kan riben* (Beijing: Zhongguo wenxue chubanshe, 2007).

² The “history problem” refers to sharp differences between the way in which the People’s Republic of China (PRC) and Japan officially interpret their recent past, especially with respect to the First and Second Sino-Japanese Wars (1894–95 and 1937–45 respectively).

³ The exact definition of the war is endlessly contested. Unless otherwise stated I define the *Anti-Japanese War*, the *War of Resistance*, and the *War of Resistance against Japan*, as all mainland Chinese armed opposition to Japanese forces between the years 1931–45, including the outbreak of full-scale war after the so-called Marco Polo bridge incident on 7/7/37. In the PRC the terms *Second Sino-Japanese War*, the *Second World War*, *World War Two* (*in the Far East*) and the *War against Fascism* are frequently understood as applying only to the fighting between 7/7/37 and the Japanese defeat on 15/8/45.

⁴ Prime Minister Koizumi was extremely unpopular in China, not only for his controversial visits to the Yasukuni shrine (where the souls of Japanese war criminals are enshrined), but also for advocating policies that the PRC perceived as aggressive, such as lobbying for a permanent seat on the United Nations Security Council (UNSC).

⁵ Definitions of “Japan” differ according to the period signified. For example, during the Anti-Japanese War Japan could be taken to include the occupied territories of Taiwan and possibly even Manchukuo;

responsible for formulating that image? What do political actors in the People's Republic of China (PRC) understand by the term *history*? Whose history are they arguing about anyway?

Argument

This study attempts to address some of the questions posited above, in order to identify the normative character of mainland Chinese imagery of Japan. The thesis presents research in the field of modern Chinese history, with emphasis on building up a more complete picture of how political actors in the PRC have portrayed Japan from 1949 to the present.⁶ My aim is to focus on exactly what (verbal and visual) image of Japan the Chinese establishment has tried to fashion, as well as teasing out the main actors involved and their rationale for doing so. Additionally, I analyse how information relating to the State of Japan (its emperor, government, politicians, political factions and people) has been presented to the Chinese masses over the past 65 years. These outcomes are then carefully examined not only for what they can tell us about PRC representations of Japan since 1949, but also for what they reveal about how China portrays itself, with its implications for Chinese identity.⁷

Previous scholarship holds that since the foundation of the People's Republic, the subject of Japan, and especially its invasion of mainland China, was largely taboo. In

whereas between the years 1945–52 Japan lost control over those lands as well as its own sovereignty, as a result of its occupation by the United States. However, in the PRC the word Japan is rarely carefully defined, and is frequently taken to mean all aspects of the State of Japan, all its territory, its people, their activities and that country's 1931–45 war record. Except where indicated, this latter definition is used throughout this study.

⁶ Unless otherwise stated, I take the terms *Chinese political actor* and *Chinese state actor* to include all CCP politicians of Central Committee rank. This influential corpus of approximately 320 individuals includes members of the politburo and its standing committee.

⁷ Whilst the word "representation" is a key term in this study, its precise meaning is contested. In the following chapters I use the definition used by Andrew Edgar, whereby representation is "linked to practices and norms of representing...in order to present images of particular social groups. Representation here does not necessarily signify the interests of the group or individual represented, which means that a group can be represented in a way conceived as stereotyping. In this context representation can be characterised as misrepresentation, presentation or construction of identity." See: Andrew Edgar and Peter R. Sedgwick, *Cultural Theory: The Key Concepts*, 2nd ed. (London: Routledge, 2007), 294.

this way, after 1949 Chinese people were shielded from the true nature of the 1931–45 Japanese occupation. For example, in 1989 the American sinologist Allen Whiting asserted that “younger generations [lacked] first-hand knowledge of war, except for what was transmitted by the family.”⁸ Nearly 20 years later, the modern Chinese history scholar Yinan He stated that it was only during the 1980s that “domestic political needs highlighted Japanese war atrocities and Chinese victimhood.”⁹

This seductively coherent narrative has problems, because it fails to account for the fact that from 1949 onwards, senior Chinese politicians, generals in the People’s Liberation Army (PLA), bureaucrats at both the Central Propaganda Department and the Ministry of Foreign Affairs (MFA), and myriad other state actors were intensely interested in Japan, not least because of worries of how to prevent a resurrection of Japanese militarism. Of course, until the commencement of “reform and opening up” in 1978 (hereafter the reform era) mainland archives were closed to foreigners, and it was highly problematic for western scholars to obtain primary source material with which to deconstruct Chinese representations of Japan. Even so, overviews of basic sources by sinologists such as Peter Berton, Eugene Wu and Andrew Nathan, suggest that by visiting disparate collections outside of the PRC (albeit with the aid of a very generous travel allowance), it should have been possible to piece together a coherent account of how PRC elites viewed Japan as early as the 1960s.¹⁰

Whilst a number of studies have at least attempted to show the influence of post-1949 Marxist politics on the writing of Chinese history, they neglect analysis of historiography on Japan, preferring to focus on issues such as emancipation of peasants.¹¹ Other scholars from different fields have sought to interpret Sino-Japanese relations by examining specific ideational components, such as Elizabeth Perry’s work

⁸ Allen S. Whiting, *China Eyes Japan* (Berkeley, CA: University of California Press, 1989), 5.

⁹ Yinan He, “History, Chinese Nationalism and the Emerging Sino-Japanese Conflict,” *Journal of Contemporary China* 16, no. 50 (2007): 2.

¹⁰ Peter Berton and Eugene Wu, *Contemporary China; a Research Guide* (Stanford, CA: Hoover Institution Press, 1967); Andrew J. Nathan, *Modern China, 1840–1972: An Introduction to Sources and Research Aids* (Ann Arbor, MI: University of Michigan, Center for Chinese Studies, 1973).

¹¹ For an account of these papers see: Dorothea A. L. Martin, *The Making of a Sino-Marxist World View: Perceptions and Interpretations of World History in the People’s Republic of China* (Armonk, NY: M.E. Sharpe, 1990).

on protest and Michael Swaine's study of the role of domestic policy in Chinese foreign affairs.¹² What these arguments tend to ignore, however, is a historically informed overview of Sino-Japanese relations over the past 65 years, instead often concentrating on a tightly delineated period of time. In doing so, such analysis ignores the evolution of trends over the course of the PRC's existence. I will argue that the only way to operationalise such a relatively long period of time—during which enormous changes took place in China—is to approach the problem from a historical perspective, which forms the first main idea of my work.

Why History?

By focusing on the dynamics of the research topic as they relate to changing PRC representations of Japan (especially previous acts of Japanese aggression committed against Chinese forces or civilians), we can recover both agency and contingency in the historical manufacture of those images. The utility of this historical approach lies in deconstructing some of the most egregious Euro-centric and America-centric assumptions about the contours of the way in which China has viewed Japan over the past six decades. In turn, this sheds light on the mechanisms by which information about Japan is transmitted by the CCP and its intendant [sic] state apparatus. In other words, this study is not about the history of conflict between China and Japan, but the changing way in which history has been used as a “weapon” with which to verbally attack Japan and, as we will see, other political enemies.

If history is being used as a weapon, it is worth reflecting for a moment on what, exactly, is meant by the term *history*. At its most basic level, history is a means of presenting information in the social sciences. Yet, as with many other concepts in the discipline, its precise meaning is endlessly contested. In Europe, prominent early

¹² Elizabeth J. Perry, “Challenging the Mandate of Heaven: Popular Protest in Modern China,” *Critical Asian Studies* 33, no. 2 (2001): 163–80; Michael D. Swaine, *China: Domestic Change and Foreign Policy* (Santa Monica, CA: RAND, 1995).

modern historians such as Leopold von Ranke (1795–1886) argued that the task of the historian was “simply to show how it was.”¹³ A century later the International Relations (IR) scholar E. H. Carr famously demurred, noting that “facts do not... ‘speak for themselves,’ or if they do it is the historian who decides which facts shall speak.”¹⁴ The logical corollary of this statement is that historical presentation of facts *ipso facto* involves misrepresenting them, because “the past... conjured up... is largely an artefact of the present... [As a result] the past is a foreign country whose features are shaped by today’s predilections, its strangeness domesticated by our own preservation of its vestiges.”¹⁵ In other words, historians are trapped by the present in which they write about the past, and it is precisely that evolving, shifting present that will be carefully examined in this study.

Chinese notions of history have also changed with time, but in very different ways to those conceived by von Ranke and Carr back in Europe. In imperial times Chinese scholars conceptualised history by likening it to a mirror which, if correctly angled, would reflect a golden age upon which present action had to be based or at least rationalised.¹⁶ In post-1949 China though, history was driven by politics rather than acting as a mirror to affairs of state, as the Chinese historian Harold Kahn argues:

[I]deology is, rightly considered, a datum of history. When it [ideology] becomes the datum of history—the end of the scholar’s search as well as his means—the rules of the game change and historical inquiry becomes essentially a political exercise... [As a result, history] moves from an effort to discover what actually was (Ranke’s hope) to an effort to confirm what in fact should be.¹⁷

Kahn’s contention is that in the PRC history is not merely a means of presenting information, rather it is inextricably interlinked with politics and ideology. This means that other conceptual tools are needed to unpack the deeper layers of meaning in

¹³ Edward Hallett Carr, *What Is History?* 40th anniversary ed. (Basingstoke: Palgrave, 2001), xiv.

¹⁴ *Ibid.*, 3.

¹⁵ David Lowenthal, *The Past Is a Foreign Country* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1985), xvi–xvii.

¹⁶ W. G. Beasley and Edwin G. Pulleyblank, *Historians of China and Japan* (London: Oxford University Press, 1961), 6.

¹⁷ Harold Kahn and Albert Feuerwerker, “The Ideology of Scholarship: China’s New Historiography,” *China Quarterly* 22 (Apr.–June 1965), 1.

Chinese historical imagery of Japan.

Why culture studies?

Therefore, the second idea of my work is to locate it in culture studies, in order to analyse more fully the representations noted above and their relationship with another contested concept, ideology. These representations can either be mimetic (i.e. realist, whereby the image is merely a product of what already exists in the real world) or socially constructed. If the latter, it can be constructed in the form of signs (after the French philosopher Roland Barthes), or discursive formations set within regimes of power (after Michel Foucault, another French philosopher), or “framed within a ‘dominant ideology’ which renders power inequalities invisible, natural or just,” (after the culture studies scholar Stuart Hall).¹⁸ In this latter context ideology is taken to mean a “set of ideas and representations in which people collectively make sense of the world and the society in which they live.”¹⁹

Many culture studies scholars have written persuasively on the correlation between ideology and representation.²⁰ One of the most cogent descriptions is by Raymond Williams, who posits that “any society [such as Communist China] at any time has dominant values, meanings and a central system of practices. Within that effective dominant culture there is a ‘selective tradition’ passed off as ‘the tradition,’ *the* significant past.”²¹ Edward Said, though not a culture scholar per se, further explores the links between representation and ideology, as well as explaining why it is efficacious to place them within a historical context:

Each age...reinterprets Shakespeare, not because Shakespeare changes, but because despite the existence of numerous and reliable editions of Shakespeare, there is no such fixed and no trivial

¹⁸ Su Holmes and Sean Redmond, *Stardom and Celebrity: A Reader* (London: Sage, 2007), 258.

¹⁹ Richard Dyer and Paul McDonald, *Stars*, 2nd ed. (London: BFI Publishing, 1998), 2.

²⁰ For a good overview of the subject see: David Oswell, *Cultural Theory* (London: Sage, 2010).

²¹ Raymond Williams, “Base and Superstructure in Marxist Cultural Theory,” in *Cultural Theory*, ed. David Oswell (London: Sage, 2010), 1:21.

object as Shakespeare independent of his editors, the actors who played his roles, the translators who put him in other languages, the hundreds of millions of readers who have read him or watched performances of his plays since the late sixteenth century.²²

Said's point is that any myth generated gains its identity from the interaction of the historical moment with readers or viewers of books, films and plays about the object of that myth as constructed by humans.²³ Applying Said's insight to the Sino-Japanese case, little emphasis has been placed on how the trivial object of Japan is continually refashioned. Therefore, my intention is to unpack the content of post-1949 "messages" on Japan, for what they can tell us about Chinese ideology as defined above.

Why propaganda?

The third and final aim of this study is to locate the production of Chinese representations of Japan within the post-1949 state bureaucracy. In other words, the objective is not only to analyse the "message" on Japan (using culture theory) and how it evolved with time (from a historical perspective), but to place the social construction of verbal and visual imagery on Japan within the framework of Chinese foreign policy and propaganda organs. I therefore argue that it is necessary to supplement historical and cultural studies scholarship, with theoretical tools from the fields of communication and propaganda studies.

To achieve this, I intend to use the theoretical model outlined by the British communication studies theorists Kevin Robins, Frank Webster and Michael Pickering in 1987. They contend that since 1945 the study of communications and propaganda has become the preserve of psychology and sociology, which has obscured crucial debates in areas including, inter alia, IR and politics. They further argue that it is necessary to "[re-] locate the study of propaganda and communications within the

²² Edward W. Said, "Orientalism Reconsidered," in *Cultural Theory*, ed. David Oswell (London: Sage, 2010), 1:33.

²³ A myth "encapsulates and expresses beliefs and values that are shared by, and definitive of, a particular cultural group." Edgar and Sedgwick, *Cultural Theory*, 217.

wider context of political phenomena and theory: legitimisation...bureaucracy, social administration, public opinion, social control [and] the nation state.”²⁴

The Robins, Webster and Pickering model is particularly useful for studying Chinese imagery of Japan, since the fundamental tenet that propaganda is a “matter of the politics of information [flow],” can be applied both quantitatively and qualitatively to examine how the CCP and Chinese government organisations view Japan.²⁵ Bringing the three strands of this study together (historical, cultural studies and propaganda) allows the formation of a working hypothesis, namely that *since the foundation of the People’s Republic in 1949, management of imagery of Japan has been inherently routine and normative*. In short, this research investigates the distortion of imagery on Japan, and how the trope changes with time.

Assuming that the Chinese state is heavily involved in most aspects of how Japan is represented, the metaphor of a cinema provides a useful conceptual framework for drilling down into specific aspects of how China views Japan (however, note that examination of Anti-Japanese War films only forms one part of this study). For the sake of argument, the film shown at our imaginary cinema is called *Angry States*. However, before the image can be transferred from celluloid to the screen a projector is needed (or continuing our metaphor: a transmission system such as newspapers), as well as a lens through which to focus the content (the Propaganda Department, for example) and projectionists who decide what is screened in the auditorium (the CCP and various government organs). Finally, since 1949 the movie itself has been subject to frequent remakes. This thesis uses the theoretical paradigms outlined above (history, cultural studies and propaganda) to analyse these remakes, as well as the activities going on inside the projection room, in order to discover how and why *Angry States* was screened in the first place.

²⁴ Kevin Robins, Frank Webster, and Michael Pickering, “Propaganda, Information and Social Control,” in *Propaganda, Persuasion and Polemic*, ed. Jeremy Hawthorn (London: Edward Arnold, 1987), 5.

²⁵ *Ibid.*, 8.

Historiography

Sino-Japanese relations and the question of how China represents Japan is a pertinent one in the question of understanding the mechanics of how (both verbal and visual) imagery of Japan is formed in the PRC. Whilst relations between China and Japan have historically been presented as “friendly nations with 2,000 years of shared history separated by a thin strip of ocean,” for much of the past 65 years research on many aspects of Japan was off-limits, owing to the political sensitivities associated with academic debates in this area.²⁶

Here is not the place for an extended exegesis on the history of post-1949 Chinese scholarship on Japan, and several excellent overviews of research in different facets of the subject exist. However, it is a fact that much research on Japan is heavily censored, which shapes the way in which Chinese scholars present Japan, as a professor from Fuzhou University explains:

While chief editors are generally only interested in the academic merit of an article or book, on each and every editorial board, there always sits a CCP member whose job it is to check whether or not a proof is politically acceptable. There has never existed any document which sets out what is and what is not acceptable material about Japan, instead the editorial board member unofficially responsible for censorship (e.g. the wife of a city mayor!), will judge the work according to the political views of the day.²⁷

However, Professor Gui Yongtao from Beijing University sees the problem slightly differently, arguing that how elite leaders view Japan is central to understanding how China views that country because:

Censorship is not a question of whether the management of an editorial committee is light or heavy, but more a question of scope. For example, in your country this scope problem does not change very quickly, so if Hitler was thought of as a monster 50 years ago, then he is almost certainly one now. But in China political shifts can be large and sudden...This is our biggest problem as scholars,

²⁶ *Zhongguo riben xue nianjian, 1949–90* (Beijing: Kexue jishu wenxian chubanshe, 1991), 47.

²⁷ Interview at the Centre for Research in the Arts, Social Sciences and Humanities (CRASSH), Cambridge University, Cambridge, 11/2/10.

reading the political tea leaves, in order to gauge what is and what is not acceptable. If you look at the problem in terms of current policy, we do not really know which elite politicians like or hate Japan, which makes it very difficult to know what the limits are, especially when they keep changing. As an example, Hu Yaobang supported Japan but many of his contemporaries loathed it.²⁸

It is precisely because of this censoring of material relating to Japan, coupled with unpredictable shifts in the politically dictated limits on research, that so much about Japan “just can’t be said.” It also follows that if mainland Chinese views on Japan are poorly understood, then the devices by which that country is presented for consumption by mainland Chinese audiences are under-theorised as well.

Despite these problems, there still exists a growing body of Chinese scholarly research on Sino-Japanese relations. Two of the best overviews on Mao era Sino-Japanese relations and historiography on the same subject are *Documents on the Japan Problem (Ribei wenti wenjian)* (five volumes covering the period 1949–65) and the *Almanac of Japanese Study in China, 1949–90 (Zhongguo riben xue nianjian, 1949–90)* (1991).²⁹ There is also a wealth of recently published literature relating to Chinese perspectives on the bilateral relationship. For example, the historian Wang Xincheng provides one of the most objective views of Sino-Japanese contact from the Late Stone Age through to the present day.³⁰ The IR scholars Li Jianmin and Liu Jiangyong instead explore the subject from a Cold War perspective.³¹ A number of Sino-Japanese relations scholars such as Feng Zhaokui and Xu Zhixian emphasise discord, whereas the journalist Ma Licheng is something of a lone voice arguing for a more rational attitude towards Japan.³² Yet other authors have focused on the so-called triangular relationship between the United States, Japan and China, such as

²⁸ Interview with Gui Yongtao at Beijing University, Beijing, 21/12/10. Hu Yaobang was the General Secretary of the CCP from 1982 until 1987, when he was ousted partly for his over-friendliness towards Japan.

²⁹ *Riben wenti wenjian* (hereafter RW, short for *Documents on the Japan Problem*), 2nd ed. (Beijing: Shijie zhishi chubanshe, 1965), 5 vols.; *Zhongguo riben xue nianjian, 1949–90*.

³⁰ Wang Xincheng, *Riben jianshi* (Beijing: Beijing daxue chubanshe, 2005).

³¹ Li Jianmin, *Lengzhan houde zhongri guanxi shi (1989–2006)* (Beijing: Zhongguo jingji chubanshe, 2007); Liu Jiangyong, *Zhongguo yu riben: bianhua zhongde “zhengleng jingre” guanxi* (Beijing: Renmin chubanshe, 2007).

³² Feng Zhaokui and Lin Chang, *Zhongri guanxi baogao* (Beijing: Shishi chubanshe, 2007); Xu Zhixian, *Zhongri guanxi sanshi nian* (Beijing: Shishi chubanshe, 2002); Ma Licheng, “Zaitan dui ri xin siwei,” in *Qianliu*, ed. Le Shan (Shanghai: Donghua shifan daxue chubanshe, 2004), 66–71.

the IR scholar Lian Degui and the Sino-Japanese relations expert Jin Xide.³³ Memoirs by the top leadership also provide a window on Sino-Japanese affairs, albeit a view afflicted by the same problems of bias, inaccuracy and political point scoring as exist in archival records. Examples include volumes by former premier Zhou Enlai (often highlighting cordial relations), the Japanese policy expert Zhang Xiangshan (focusing on normalisation) and MFA advisor Liao Chengzhi (who was instrumental in formulating early PRC policy towards Japan).³⁴

The subject of how China views Japan has not generated a large English language historiography, and much of what exists focuses on Chinese foreign policy. As a result, most published work lacks the ability to detect the underlying workings that drive the formulation of Chinese imagery on Japan. Chalmers Johnson's 1972 journal article *How China and Japan See Each Other* is deficient in that ignores the role of the war in the bilateral relationship.³⁵ *China Eyes Japan* (1989) by Allen Whiting is still considered by many to be the best work on the subject, but it lacks historical perspective in that it narrowly focuses on the 1980s.³⁶ Peter Van Ness (1970), Harold Hinton (1966, 1972) and John Fairbank (1962) are all reliable accounts of Chinese foreign policy during the Mao era, however they all fail to recognise the importance of Japan in the PRC's foreign relations.³⁷ Of the more recent works on Chinese foreign policy the works of David Shambaugh (1994), Denny Roy (1998) and Michael Yahuda (1996) come to mind for the clarity of their writing on Japan.³⁸ The two best later works on Chinese foreign policy towards Japan are Ming Wan's

³³ Jin Xide, *Rimei jizhou yu jingji waijiao* (Beijing: Zhongguo shehui kexue chubanshe, 1998); Lian Degui, *Meiguo yu zhongri guanxi yanbian* (Beijing: Shijie zhishi chubanshe, 2005).

³⁴ Li De'an, ed., *Zhou enlai yu riben pengyou* (Beijing: Zhongyang wenxian chubanshe, 1992); Zhang Xiangshan, *Zhongri guanxi: guankui yu jianzheng* (Beijing: Dangdai shijie chubanshe, 1998).

³⁵ Chalmers A. Johnson, "How China and Japan See Each Other," *Foreign Affairs* 50, no. 4 (1972).

³⁶ Whiting, *China Eyes Japan*.

³⁷ Peter Van Ness, *Revolution and Chinese Foreign Policy; Peking's Support for Wars of National Liberation* (Berkeley, CA: University of California Press, 1970); Harold C. Hinton, *Communist China in World Politics* (London: Macmillan, 1966); Harold C. Hinton, *China's Turbulent Quest; an Analysis of China's Foreign Relations Since 1949* (New York, NY: Macmillan, 1972); Center for International Affairs Harvard University, *Communist China, 1955-1959: Policy Documents with Analysis* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1962).

³⁸ Thomas W. Robinson and David L. Shambaugh, *Chinese Foreign Policy: Theory and Practice* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1994); Denny Roy, *China's Foreign Relations* (Basingstoke: Macmillan, 1998); Michael B. Yahuda, *The International Politics of Asia-Pacific, 1945-1995* (London: Routledge, 1996).

Sino-Japanese Relations and Liao Xuanli's *Chinese Think-Tanks Policy Towards Japan* (2006).³⁹ Additionally, investigating the relationship from a twenty-first century perspective Michael Heazle and Nick Knight in *China-Japan Relations in the Twenty-First Century* (2007) glibly note "the fact that Japan sees the war differently causes problems."⁴⁰ They also (correctly) claim that perceived injustices relating to the war underpins China's contemporary national identity, regrettably without exploring this contention further.

Other scholars have conducted important studies of the Chinese political system, of which it is only possible to mention a few of the most recent here. These include Susan Shirk's *Fragile Superpower* (2008), which contends that China's increasing political power is not necessarily concomitant with a stable China.⁴¹ Sean Breslin's new book *Online Chinese Nationalism* (2010) focuses on the activities of Chinese internet "hyper-nationalists," in contrast to *Strong Society, Smart State* (2012) by James Reilly, who focuses more on foreign policy outcomes.⁴² Finally, David Lampton offers a riposte to the realist school of IR by arguing that Chinese foreign policy is driven by factors other than raw power, such as the calibre of its cadre class.⁴³

No coherent account exists of how Chinese government actors filter Japan related content for domestic consumption. Anne-Marie Brady's *Marketing Dictatorship* (2008) contains much technical detail but no overview.⁴⁴ Daniel Lynch's *After the Propaganda State* (1999) has many useful insights into how the propaganda system works in China, although his thesis that the state is losing control over the

³⁹ Ming Wan, *Sino-Japanese Relations: Interaction, Logic, and Transformation* (Washington, DC: Woodrow Wilson Center Press, 2006); Liao Xuanli, *Chinese Foreign Policy Think Tanks and China's Policy Towards Japan* (Hong Kong: Chinese University Press, 2006).

⁴⁰ Michael Heazle and Nick Knight, *China-Japan Relations in the Twenty-First Century: Creating a Future Past?* (Cheltenham: Edward Elgar, 2007), 3.

⁴¹ Susan L. Shirk, *China: Fragile Superpower* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2008).

⁴² Xuhui Shen and Shaun Breslin, eds., *Online Chinese Nationalism and China's Bilateral Relations* (Lanham, MD: Lexington Books, 2010); James Reilly, *Strong Society, Smart State: The Rise of Public Opinion in China's Japan Policy* (New York, NY: Columbia University Press, 2012).

⁴³ David M. Lampton, *The Three Faces of Chinese Power: Might, Money, and Minds* (London: University of California Press, 2008).

⁴⁴ Anne-Marie Brady, *Marketing Dictatorship: Propaganda and Thought Work in Contemporary China* (Lanham, MD: Rowman & Littlefield, 2008); see also: Anne-Marie Brady, "Guiding Hand: The Role of the CCP Central Propaganda Department in the Current Era," *Westminster Papers in Communication and Culture* 3, no. 1 (2006): 58–77.

manipulation of information is now somewhat dated.⁴⁵ Anecdotal descriptions of the early Communist Propaganda Department in Timothy Cheek's *Propaganda and Culture in Mao's China* (1997) are similarly revealing, but virtually ignore Japan.⁴⁶ One of the best treatments of propaganda and persuasion is the 2006 standard text of the same name by Garth Jowett and Victoria O'Donnell, which clearly sets out recent research on propaganda in addition to its basic theoretical concepts.⁴⁷

There is an extensive historiography relating to Chinese nationalism and the way in which Japan (generally) and the war (specifically) continue to shape Chinese memory. Caroline Rose's two books on Sino-Japanese relations, the first focusing on the 1982 first textbook crisis, and the second examining the history problem, both analyse how memory of the Second World War has caused exasperation on both sides of the Yellow Sea.⁴⁸ Rana Mitter's article on the changing historiography of the war (2003), intricately charts evolving perceptions of the War of Resistance against Japan from the vantage point of contemporary Chinese scholarship on the subject.⁴⁹ His edited volume four years later, *Ruptured Histories* (2007) intentionally declines to give prominence to Chinese views of Japan during the 1950s and 60s, however.⁵⁰

Peter Hayes Gries *China's New Nationalism* (2004) scrutinises nationalist sentiment by Chinese people towards Japan on the basis of "face" (as in gaining or losing face).⁵¹ Gries maintains that the history problem relates to Japan's perceived inability to give face to China, by apologising in a way that is acceptable to Chinese people. William Callahan's recent volume *China: The Pessoptimist Nation* (2010) discusses, as the title implies, the thesis that Chinese leaders have always had

⁴⁵ Daniel C. Lynch, *After the Propaganda State: Media, Politics, and "Thought Work" in Reformed China* (Stanford, CA: Stanford University Press, 1999).

⁴⁶ Timothy Cheek, *Propaganda and Culture in Mao's China: Deng Tuo and the Intelligentsia* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1997).

⁴⁷ Garth Jowett and Victoria O'Donnell, *Propaganda and Persuasion*, 4th ed. (Thousand Oaks, CA: Sage, 2006).

⁴⁸ Caroline Rose, *Interpreting History in Sino-Japanese Relations: A Case Study in Political Decision-Making* (London: Routledge, 1998); Caroline Rose, *Sino-Japanese Relations: Facing the Past, Looking to the Future?* (London: RoutledgeCurzon, 2005).

⁴⁹ Rana Mitter, "Old Ghosts, New Memories: China's Changing War History in the Era of Post-Mao Politics," *Journal of Contemporary History* 38, no. 1 (Jan. 2003): 117–31.

⁵⁰ Sheila Miyoshi Jager and Rana Mitter, *Ruptured Histories: War, Memory, and the Post-Cold War in Asia* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 2007).

⁵¹ Peter Hays Gries, *China's New Nationalism: Pride, Politics, and Diplomacy* (Berkeley, CA: University of California Press, 2004).

ambivalent feelings about how their country should relate to the outside world.⁵² Also worthy of mention is the important study by Prasenjit Duara *Rescuing History from the Nation* (1995), which traces nationalism in China from a historical perspective, concluding that Chinese elites have long advocated the construction of an Other by which to define their “Chineseness.”⁵³

The subject of apologies is another line of inquiry relevant to the research topic. Perhaps the most widely cited study of post-war forgiveness and reconciliation is by Homi Bhabha (1990), which explores the rationale for widely varying attitudes to World War Two by Japan and Germany in the wake of that conflict.⁵⁴ Works by Jennifer Lind (2008) and Yinan He (2009) both competently compare reconciliation by the same two countries, although they come to radically different conclusions as to the Chinese domestic drivers of attitudes.⁵⁵ There are also a number of excellent studies of how Japanese people and elites conceptualise forgiveness, such as recent works by Franziska Seraphim (2006) and Philip Seaton (2007).⁵⁶

Particularly relevant to this study is an identification of the major political actors, ministries and departments involved in dictating how Japan is depicted to the Chinese masses. As already noted, although the number of books on the PRC propaganda apparatus is very small, an extensive corpus of work does exist on the political system. Although a historiography of this area would require a complete study in itself, below are listed some of the most important works relevant to the research topic.

Officially published compendiums of writings exist for most elite leaders, such as the collected or military works of Mao Zedong, Zhou Enlai and Deng Xiaoping.⁵⁷ Mention should also be made here of well-written books on Deng and the reform era

⁵² William A. Callahan, *China: The Pessimist Nation* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2010).

⁵³ Prasenjit Duara, *Rescuing History from the Nation: Questioning Narratives of Modern China* (Chicago, IL: University of Chicago Press, 1995).

⁵⁴ Homi K. Bhabha, *Nation and Narration* (London: Routledge, 1990).

⁵⁵ Jennifer M. Lind, *Sorry States: Apologies in International Politics* (Ithaca, NY: Cornell University Press, 2008); Yinan He, *The Search for Reconciliation: Sino-Japanese and German-Polish Relations Since World War II* (New York, NY: Cambridge University Press, 2009).

⁵⁶ Franziska Seraphim, *War Memory and Social Politics in Japan, 1945–2005* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Asia Center, 2006); Philip A. Seaton, *Japan's Contested War Memories: The "Memory Rifts" in Historical Consciousness of World War II* (London: Routledge, 2007).

⁵⁷ Mao Zedong, *Mao zedong wenji* (Beijing: Renmin chubanshe, 1993–99), 8 vols.; Deng Xiaoping, *Deng xiaoping wenxuan, 1938–1965* (Beijing: Renmin chubanshe, 1989).

by Richard Baum (1996), and the volume using newly released sources by Ezra Vogel (2011).⁵⁸ Collected works also exist for lesser well-known politicians, such as Hu Qiaomu, Mao's former secretary, whose musings on Japan feature prominently in this thesis.⁵⁹

Two older works provide the most comprehensive treatment of Chinese Marxism and PRC governance respectively, namely Maurice Meisner's *Mao's China* (1999) and Kenneth Lieberthal's *Governing China* (1995).⁶⁰ The former's thesis is that Mao's economic reforms set the foundations for China's subsequent rapid development, whilst Mao Zedong Thought has now been quietly jettisoned as a guiding ideology. The latter's excellent book suffers only in that it relies too extensively on interviews in order to "peek behind the scenes" at the way one-party rule is structured in China. A more up-to-date version of how the CCP interacts with state organs is given by Franke Pieke (2009), although he himself admits that it is still extremely difficult to persuade cadres to talk about the inner workings of the Chinese bureaucracy.⁶¹ Of the many secondary works on Chinese history, three of the clearest are John Fairbank's *China: A New History* (1998), the *Cambridge History of China* in 15 volumes and Jonathan Spence's *In Search of Modern China* (1999).⁶²

Few if any published sources exist relating to how different PRC institutions portray Japan over time.⁶³ It has therefore been necessary to look for books and papers on these specific forms of transmission. The work edited by Stephanie Donald (2002), the recent volumes by James Reilly (2012) and Susan Shirk (2011), as well as

⁵⁸ Richard Baum, *Burying Mao: Chinese Politics in the Age of Deng Xiaoping* (Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 1996); Ezra F. Vogel, *Deng Xiaoping and the Transformation of China* (London: Belknap Press, 2011).

⁵⁹ Hu Qiaomu, *Hu qiaomu wenji* (hereafter HQM, short for *The Selected Works of Hu Qiaomu*) (Beijing: Renmin chubanshe, 1993), 3 vols.

⁶⁰ Maurice J. Meisner, *Mao's China and After: A History of the People's Republic*, 3rd ed. (New York, NY: Free Press, 1999); Kenneth Lieberthal, *Governing China: From Revolution Through Reform* (New York, NY: W. W. Norton, 1995).

⁶¹ Frank N. Pieke, *The Good Communist: Elite Training and State Building in Today's China* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2009).

⁶² John K. Fairbank and Merle Goldman, *China: A New History* (Cambridge, MA: Belknap Press, 1998); Denis Twitchett and John K. Fairbank, eds., *The Cambridge History of China* (hereafter CHOC) (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1987), 15 vols.; Jonathan D. Spence, *The Search for Modern China*, 2nd ed. (New York, NY: Norton, 1999).

⁶³ This is in marked contrast to studies on Japanese perceptions of its enemies, see: Barak Kushner, *The Thought War: Japanese Imperial Propaganda* (Honolulu, HI: University of Hawaii Press, 2006).

the earlier journal article by Allen Whiting (1979), are all useful in evaluating the role of mass media in formulating state views on Japan.⁶⁴ Additionally, Donald Zagoria's 1962 study *The Sino-Soviet Conflict* is still considered an essential handbook for deciphering political messages concealed in state media output.⁶⁵

In contrast, there exist only a small number of secondary works on images of Japan in Chinese film, such as Jay Leyda's 1972 magnum opus *Film* (which is more of an industry overview) and John Weakland's 1971 journal article.⁶⁶ Later China film scholars instead classify films from the vantage point of different generations of movie makers, for example the work of Paul Pickowicz (2006).⁶⁷ Additionally, two of the best reviews of the way in which politics shapes Chinese film are Paul Clark's 1987 book *Chinese Cinema and Politics since 1949* and Jerome Silbergeld's *China into Film* (1999).⁶⁸

A limited number of works focus on the various clashes between China and Japan over the depiction of history. These include works by Caroline Rose discussed above and Saburo Ienaga.⁶⁹ In fact, most education scholars and pedagogues approach the interaction of Chinese politics and education from a sociological viewpoint. In this regard the most influential scholars in the field include Emily Hannum (2008, 2010), Vanessa Fong (2004) and Michael Apple (1991, 1996).⁷⁰ Finally, as with the other

⁶⁴ Stephanie Donald, Michael Keane, and Hong Yin, eds. *Media in China: Consumption, Content and Crisis* (Abingdon: RoutledgeCurzon, 2002); Reilly, *Strong Society, Smart State*; Susan L. Shirk, ed., *Changing Media, Changing China* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2011); Allen S. Whiting, *Chinese Domestic Politics and Foreign Policy in the 1970s* (Ann Arbor, MI: University of Michigan Press, 1979).

⁶⁵ Donald S. Zagoria, *The Sino-Soviet Conflict, 1956–1961* (Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 1962).

⁶⁶ Jay Leyda, *Dianying; an Account of Films and the Film Audience in China* (Cambridge, MA: MIT Press, 1972); John H. Weakland, "Chinese Film Images of Invasion and Resistance," *China Quarterly* 47 (Feb. 1971): 439–70.

⁶⁷ Paul G. Pickowicz and Zhang Yingjin, *From Underground to Independent: Alternative Film Culture in Contemporary China* (Lanham, MD: Rowman & Littlefield, 2006).

⁶⁸ Paul Clark, *Chinese Cinema: Culture and Politics Since 1949* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1987); Jerome Silbergeld, *China into Film: Frames of Reference in Contemporary Chinese Cinema* (London: Reaktion Books, 1999).

⁶⁹ Saburo Ienaga, "The Glorification of War in Japanese Education," *International Security* 18, no. 3 (winter 1993).

⁷⁰ Emily Hannum, Hyunjoon Park, and Yuko Goto Butler, "Editor's Introduction: Emerging Issues for Educational Research in East Asia," *Research in Sociology of Education* 17 (2010): 1–14; Emily Hannum et al., "Education in the Reform Era," in *China's Great Economic Transformation*, ed. Loren Brandt and Thomas G. Rawski (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2008), 215–49; Vanessa L. Fong, *Only Hope: Coming of Age Under China's One-Child Policy* (Stanford, CA: Stanford University Press, 2004); Michael W. Apple and Linda K. Christian-Smith, *The Politics of the Textbook* (New York,

institutions examined above, there is only a very limited English historiography of Chinese war museums and their representations of Japan. Important works here include Kirk Denton's 2007 journal article *Heroic Resistance and Victims of Atrocity*, Joshua Fogel's work on the controversy surrounding the Nanjing massacre and its eponymous museum *The Nanjing Massacre in History and Historiography* (2000), and Sheldon Harris's now rather dated work on the former Unit 731 (1994).⁷¹

The historiography indicates that no one volume on Chinese state manufacture of images of Japan exists. However, the important works described in this section all contribute to our knowledge on different facets of production of "Japan." Interrogation of primary sources will test validity of the thesis that since 1949 Chinese political actors have been intensely interested in Japan, its government, politicians and people.

Methodology and chapter structure

Before outlining the structure of the thesis, it is important to note the issues that this study does not deal with. First, this is not a study of the post-war International Relations of East Asia. Many excellent works discussed above cover this subject in detail and besides, IR is of limited relevance to the wider question of how Japan is portrayed in China. Secondly, in order to keep the research manageable, the thesis does not include inquiry into public opinion and mass reaction to the images transmitted. To do so would require a separate study. Space constraints similarly preclude treatment of the way in which the Chinese Nationalists portrayed Japan both prior to 1949 (in the Republic of China) and after 1949 (on Taiwan). Finally, this

NY: Routledge, 1991); Michael W. Apple, *Cultural Politics and Education* (New York, NY: Teachers College Press, 1996).

⁷¹ Kirk A. Denton, "Heroic Resistance and Victims of Atrocity: Negotiating the Memory of Japanese Imperialism in Chinese Museums," *Japan Focus*, 2007, http://japanfocus.org/-Kirk_A.-Denton/2547; Joshua A. Fogel, *The Nanjing Massacre in History and Historiography* (Berkeley, CA: University of California Press, 2000); Sheldon H. Harris, *Factories of Death: Japanese Biological Warfare, 1932-45 and the American Cover-Up* (London: Routledge, 1994).

thesis intentionally ignores the influence of the internet and social networks on the transmission of imagery of Japan. This is not because the web, computers and smartphones are unimportant, but rather because, with respect to the research topic, their influence has only been felt during the last 15 years of the period covered by this study.

The following five institutions together form the conceptual framework of analysis in this thesis, with one chapter allocated to the study of each: the state (elite views), museums, textbooks, film and mass media (newspapers). This choice of categories has been influenced by Evgeny Dobrenko's *Stalinist Cinema and the Production of History* (2008), which analyses how ideology informs identity from the Soviet perspective.⁷² Dobrenko's work forms the broad structure for this thesis, in that he explicitly attempts to deconstruct the role of the state in the production of history, through the institutions of archives, museums, writing and film. Whilst my categorisation differs from the one used by Dobrenko, I believe that his study provides a robust frame for examining the way in which socialist societies manufacture an angry state.

Chapter one contains a detailed narrative of the way in which imagery of Japan is produced. Salient features of this system are described, along with an assessment of their efficacy. It then sets this information in the context of case studies, which examine the manufacture of imagery at key historical junctures. These include elite debates over how and on what dates to celebrate victory over Japan during the early 1950s, the role of Japan in the formulation of a patriotic education campaign during the 1980s, and behind the scenes preparation for the high-profile sixtieth anniversary of the end of World War Two celebrations in 2005. The thesis then moves to four chapters, which investigate different aspects of the state's involvement in the social construction of an image of Japan.

Chapter two concentrates on the manufacture of representations of Japan, in the

⁷² Evgeny Dobrenko, *Stalinist Cinema and the Production of History: Museum of the Revolution*, ed. Sarah Young (Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press, 2008).

form of an extended case study on the former Unit 731 war museum near Harbin.⁷³ This museum has been selected because despite its importance in discourse on the Anti-Japanese War, it has been relatively neglected in both Chinese and western academic debates on the interplay between history and memory, an omission which this chapter intends to rectify. An account of the museum's history and the site on which it stands is assessed from pertinent policy deliberations since the 1950s, including the rationale for the founding of the museum in 1982. The chapter concludes with an assessment of the means by which archival material (so-called exhibits) relating to Unit 731, has been used as an ideological weapon with which to fight elements of the Japanese political establishment.

Chapter three is a study of Chinese history and (to a lesser extent) language textbooks as they pertain to the research topic. It initially focuses on the policy deliberations which inform the production of texts, followed by a description of how Japan is presented in history textbooks. Working on the assumption that only periods of bilateral discord and war with Japan are presented in teaching materials, the investigation is divided into three main periods: Ming dynasty *wokou* piracy, and the First and Second Anti-Japanese Wars (1894–95, 1937–45 respectively). The chapter concludes that representations of Japan have been “sticky,” in that the way in which China's former enemy is presented in Chinese schools has shown remarkably little change since 1949.

Chapter four describes how history is constructed through imagery in film. The relevant features of Anti-Japanese War movies are unpacked, in order that the underlying ideology can be teased out. Using a variety of motion pictures about the war, some of them never written about in English before, this chapter then analyses the construction of myth in celluloid. This myth is deconstructed by means of examination of its component parts, such as race, dress, discipline, stereotypes and attempts to define Japan as China's aggressive Other.

Chapter five determines the role of newspapers in defining a particular image of

⁷³ Or to give it its full title, “The Japanese Invading China Army Biological and Chemical Warfare Unit 731 Criminal Evidence Museum.”

Japan. Following an introduction to the propaganda functions of the press in the People's Republic, content analysis of prominent party newspapers is used to gauge the way in which commentary on Japan has evolved with time. It then examines the mechanisms by which newsprint about Japan is used to pursue domestic policy objectives.

This thesis concludes that manipulation of verbal and visual imagery of Japan since 1949 has been routine and normative. However, careful investigation of five institutions involved with the manufacture of representations of Japan, shows that there is no single image that Chinese propagandists, filmmakers and newspaper editors are trying to project; as demonstrated, for example, by the disagreements between authorities in Beijing and Harbin over the preservation of Unit 731.

The way in which Chinese political actors have produced, defined and presented Japan has evolved with time. However, the resulting images do not appear to have changed at the same speed, as shown by the fact that some textbook views of Japan have hardly altered since the 1950s, whilst during the past two decades tropes of the World War Two Japanese soldier on film have changed out of all recognition. These differing projections of "Japan" have continually been used by elite politicians as a means of pursuing domestic policy objectives, a variety of which are discussed in detail in the thesis. Finally, perhaps the strongest leitmotif of this study is that time and time again, across a range of transmission media, PRC state actors have unconsciously used representations of Japan as a means of defining Chinese identity.

Chapter 1

Elite Views of Japan

Introduction

This first chapter shows the way in which Japan is presented and defined from an elite Chinese perspective.¹ In order to both lay the groundwork for subsequent chapters and to situate Chinese views of Japan within a historical context, the analysis here deconstructs the role of the state in the production of post-1949 imagery of Japan.² By linking the manufacture of a highly-charged trope (namely, “Japan” as defined in the thesis introduction) to Chinese politicians, the key aim is to demonstrate that elite PRC discourse on Japan has continually been used as a political weapon for pursuing unrelated policy outcomes.

My research reveals that since the founding of the People’s Republic, elite Chinese cadres rarely thought of the State of Japan or its citizenry as an unchanging, fixed image. Instead PRC representations of Japan have always been tailored to suit the political objectives of the day. As a result, within the Communist Party leadership there has never been a linear progression in the development of views of Japan (e.g. from enemy to friend, or from friend to trading partner). On the contrary, analysis based on newly-released material suggests that there has been a more chaotic, almost cyclical progression in elite views (e.g. from enemy to friend and back to enemy again). In other words, whilst cornerstone issues such as normalisation (pre-1972) and

¹ Most of the figures discussed in this chapter are of politburo rank, currently 25 in number. See: Lieberthal, *Governing China*, 160.

² Imagery is taken to include both verbal and visual aspects of Japan. See: Peter Burke, *Eyewitnessing: The Uses of Images as Historical Evidence* (London: Reaktion Books, 2001), 1.

bilateral trade were frequently touted as key objectives, actual representations of Japan were often hijacked by leaders in pursuit of unrelated policy goals. These goals ranged from garnering support for peaceful coexistence by Zhou Enlai (1955), to enhancing the CCP's mandate for continued one-party rule (2005).

My contribution is to identify the processes which underpin the ongoing construction of Chinese identity, where identity relates to norms and practices of (mis-)representing images of particular social groups (Japanese Liberal Democratic Party (LDP) politicians, so-called militarists, etc.). This objective is operationalised by interpreting Chinese government papers in such a way that allows us to tease out strategies for presenting “Japan.” Wherever possible, data is cross-referenced with other source material—memoirs of senior party figures, for example—in order to calculate how the trope of Japan serves diverse political ends.

In many respects this chapter presents a revisionist story, which argues for an increased role for Hu Qiaomu in formulating the patriotic education campaign with its harsh focus on Japan's wartime role.³ I present evidence which demonstrates that the patriotic education campaign pre-dated rather than post-dated the 1989 Tiananmen Square incident.⁴ This finding's importance lies in the way in which the campaign deftly emphasises a shared experience of the fight against Japan, in order to buttress evolving notions of Chinese nationhood before 1989.

The analysis below is composed of a series of case studies, not as a chronological narrative, but rather as a selection of critical junctures where the official stance towards Japan changed. At all times I attempt to distinguish between elite attitudes and official policy towards China's erstwhile foe, with the caveat that the distinction is rarely clear-cut. The focus is mainly on narratives of the 1931–45 war fought between the two sides, because since 1949 that conflict has frequently formed a substantial component of PRC debate on Japan. Just as importantly, the war can be

³ Hu was also instrumental in designing the economic agenda at the start of the reform era, see: Hu Qiaomu, *Anzhao jingji guilü banshi, jiakuai shixian sige xiandaihua* (Beijing: Renmin chubanshe, 1978).

⁴ See: Suisheng Zhao, “A State-led Nationalism: The Patriotic Education Campaign in Post-Tiananmen China,” *Communist and Post-Communist Studies* 31, no. 3 (Sept. 1998): 287–302.

thought of as a lens for viewing how imagery of Japan changes with increasing distance from the Japanese surrender in 1945.

This chapter is divided into two main parts. Part I concentrates on the Mao era (pre-1976) and discusses the cyclical nature of the relationship through the 1950s and 60s, as well as how continually changing attitudes towards Japan impacted on representations of that country. Part II covers the reform era (post-1978), and pieces together how the CCP leadership seized on Japanese actions in the 1931–45 conflict as a means for sustaining one-party rule at home.

Part I

From the founding of the PRC until the early years of the reform era, Sino-Japanese relations cyclically alternated between friendly (1953–57, 1963–64, 1971–82) and hostile relations (1949–52, 1957–62, 1965–71). The forces underpinning these abrupt changes were rarely dictated solely by the state of bilateral ties. For example, anti-Japanese mass protests in 1965 were designed in such a way as to both criticise Japanese politicians and to bolster support for Mao Zedong’s political line at the same time. Taken together, the events described below lend support to the thesis that there was no linear progression in thinking on how to present Japan to the masses, because the issue of Japan—and especially its war record—was too useful as a political weapon in pursuit of other policy objectives. The key thing to bear in mind in this rather incohesive set of events, is that commemoration of the 1931–45 conflict was like some form of readily available “ammunition” that could be used at will, whenever a Chinese leader needed additional firepower for achieving other goals. The analysis below, running broadly chronologically from 1949 onwards, unpacks seemingly disparate events for insights on how Chinese elites produced Japan.

Japan is an enemy of the state (1949–52)

From the very earliest days of the PRC, China acquired Soviet protection against Japan by adopting a foreign policy close to that of the USSR, known as the “lean-to-one-side” policy. In the same way, Japan obtained American protection against the Soviet Union by adopting a foreign policy similar to that of the United States.⁵ In this way, for most of the 1950s Chinese policy towards its former enemy lacked independence of action, because all major decisions had to be agreed with Moscow.⁶ Even within this relatively short timeframe however, Chinese political elites vacillated over how to present Japan, suggesting either that there were rifts within the leadership on the issue or, more likely, the way in which China’s former opponent was presented to the masses reflected the expediencies of domestic politics.

In the months following the founding of the PRC the situation was relatively clear-cut, in that Chinese rhetoric mirrored Soviet policy. For example, when convicted Japanese war criminals were released from the Sugamo prison in Tokyo in May 1950, under pressure from the “Parole for war criminals movement,” Premier Zhou Enlai echoed Soviet condemnation of the United States when he contended that, “This arrogant action seriously harms the rights of the Chinese people, who fought a bloody eight year war in order to punish Japan’s war crimes.”⁷ In effect Zhou was publicly endorsing the Soviet demand for harsher treatment of Japanese war criminals, a policy which he was to abandon within the space of a few years.

The following year in 1951, the Chinese opted to increase their support for the USSR by forging a narrative emphasising their joint victory over Japan. After taking advice from the North-Eastern Department Propaganda Bureau (read the Soviet Union), the Central Propaganda Department in Beijing instructed all military personnel, factories, schools and newspapers to celebrate victory over the Japanese annually on September 3, “taking extra care to propagandise Soviet aid and assistance in helping

⁵ Hinton, *Communist China in World Politics*, 369.

⁶ Numerous archival documents attest to this, for example see: MFA doc. #105-00217-01, 1–2.

⁷ Richard H. Minear, *Victors’ Justice; the Tokyo War Crimes Trial* (Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 1971), 172–73; RW, 1:45–46.

our country to defeat the Japanese invaders.”⁸ The rather embarrassing fact that much of the wartime assistance provided by the Soviet Union was given to the Chinese Nationalists (the Guomindang or GMD) and not to the Communists, and the fact that the USSR had only declared war on Japan a week before it surrendered was ignored. This is because the Russians were China’s new ally, and in order to cement Sino-Soviet ties, every opportunity had to be taken to praise Stalin’s contribution to defeating the Japanese.⁹

Rather confusingly, the next year (1952) the CCP Central Committee (hereafter the CCPC) instructed ministries, military districts, and provincial governments to celebrate an event which had nothing to do with beating Japan. This was the fifteenth anniversary of the July 7, 1937 Marco Polo bridge incident (also known as “7.7” or “*qiqi*”), which from now on was taken as the start of full-scale war between China and Japan. Newspapers were not to print their own analysis of the 1937 Marco Polo bridge clash, instead they were to “stress and propagandise the coming together of the Asian peoples, emphasise struggle, and oppose American ‘re-armism’ of Japan, by changing Japan into a Far Eastern invasionary base for the carrying out of invasionary plans [sic].”¹⁰ Newspapers in new China were not permitted independent thought on Japan (or any other matter) because their purpose was to serve the party in pursuit of its political aims, which in 1952 meant blatantly using history to publicly rail against American imperialism in Japan.¹¹

The way in which Japan was depicted in the nation’s press was of crucial importance at this time, because papers were the main conduit for transmitting elite views on Japan to the masses. Radios were initially scarce and China’s first television station (Beijing TV) was not founded until 1958, greatly reducing their usefulness as conduits of information about Japan.¹² In newspapers the Japanese political class was

⁸ *Zhongguo gongchandang xuanchuan gongzuo wenxian xuanbian* (hereafter XCGZ, short for *Literary Selection of CCP Propaganda Work*) (Beijing: Xuexi chubanshe, 1996), 3:286.

⁹ Hans J. van de Ven, *War and Nationalism in China, 1925–1945* (London: RoutledgeCurzon, 2003), 175–77.

¹⁰ XCGZ, 3:378; see also: HQM, 1:324–42; 3:303–06.

¹¹ See: John Swenson-Wright, *Unequal Allies?: United States Security and Alliance Policy Toward Japan, 1945–1960* (Stanford, CA: Stanford University Press, 2005), chap. 2.

¹² Anke Redl and Rowan Simons, “Chinese Media—One Channel, Two Systems,” in *Media in China:*

only one of three foreign enemies, the other two being the Chinese Nationalists on Taiwan and the American imperialists (*meiguo diguozhuyizhe*). These three foreign foes were often roundly criticised in the same breath. Japanese politicians were branded as enemies mainly because of lingering worries about a resurrection of Japanese militarism, which might have led to a renewal of armed aggression against the PRC. The GMD, led by Jiang Jieshi, was criticised even more harshly than the Japanese, because the Nationalists also claimed the right to rule the mainland, they had just fought and lost a bitter civil war against the CCP (1946–49) and they had prevented the return of Taiwan to the mainland by illegally occupying it.¹³ As for the United States, even before the outbreak of the Korean War in 1950, everything that America stood for was now anathema to Mao Zedong. Mao was worried that “American imperialism [had] now replaced Japanese imperialism to oppose the Chinese revolution,” partly driven by fears that the United States might remilitarise and re-arm Japan.¹⁴

It would be rather simplistic though, to say that the CCP leadership only criticised Japan, without trying to understand that country or trade with it. At this time a state of war technically existed between Communist China and Japan, because there had been neither a bilateral ceasefire agreement nor a restoration of diplomatic relations, as after regaining independence in 1952 Tokyo recognised Taipei and not Beijing. This meant that there was almost a complete absence of official communication, which threw up obstacles in the way of trade and also posed problems for cadres in deciding how to depict Japan.¹⁵

For this reason, the Beijing government closely scrutinised any information on Japan that it could lay its hands on. For example, the MFA circulated cuttings from

Consumption, Content and Crisis, ed. Stephanie H. Donald, Michael Keane, and Hong Yin (London: RoutledgeCurzon, 2002), 19.

¹³ The two most widely read anti-Jiang Jieshi tracts were both written by Chen Boda: Chen Boda, *Renmin gongdi: jiang jieshi* (Beijing: Zhonghua xinhua shudian, 1948); Chen Boda, *Ping “zhongguo zhi mingyun”* (Beijing: Zhongyuan xinhua shudian, 1949).

¹⁴ Wang Dongxing, *Wang dongxing riji* (Beijing: Zhongguo shehui kexue chubanshe, 1993), 167. Mao made this statement in Moscow in December 1949.

¹⁵ Yoshihide Soeya, *Japan’s Economic Diplomacy with China, 1945–1978* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1998), 42–43.

Japanese newspapers which showed that only 30 percent of the Japanese population supported American bases on their soil, 73 percent thought that American forces should only be used to protect Japan and more than half opposed the [Korean] War.¹⁶ Analysis was not just limited to events in Japan however, as tens of thousands of Japanese were still stranded on Chinese soil following the Japanese defeat in 1945. As a result, in the north-eastern city of Shenyang, it was considered necessary to survey the attitudes of Japanese living or held captive there, so as to properly propagandise them and neutralise any threat that they might pose as infiltrators.¹⁷ Following the outbreak of the Korean War this was a matter of great urgency, since whilst some Japanese expatriates hoped that “there would be no war [between China and the U.S.]” because “they knew that if war came they could never return [to Japan],” others “spread rumours” that if there was fighting with the United States in north-eastern China “then they would be quickly liberated.”¹⁸ These polls were not conventional public opinion surveys, in that they focused on Japanese nationals in China, and their results were never released. Instead, the findings were transmitted right the highest echelons of government (the politburo), as input on how the party leadership ought to present Japan to the masses.

Improving relations with the Japanese (1953–57)

Barely five years after the founding of the PRC, there was a complete shift in ideology (i.e. ideas and representations) towards Japan. This sharp reversal, away from narratives of war towards ones of trade and normalisation, was driven as much by events in the Soviet Union (e.g. the death of Stalin and Soviet normalisation of relations with Japan) as by Chinese initiatives. In fact, the Korean War which broke out in June 1950 and ended in July 1953 did much to alienate the PRC and Japan, before

¹⁶ MFA doc. #105-00239-03.

¹⁷ In 1950 there were 8 war criminals, 3 suspected war criminals, 524 POWs and 2,149 Japanese immigrants or “others” in Shenyang. See: MFA doc. #118-00086-05, 3. For more on how the Japanese conducted public opinion surveys at this time see: Tessa Morris-Suzuki, “Defining the Boundaries of the Cold War Nation: 1950s Japan and the Other Within,” *Japanese Studies* 26, no. 3 (2006): 315.

¹⁸ MFA doc. #118-00086-03, 4.

they even had a chance to explore ways in which to come to terms with the bitter 1931–45 war that they had so recently fought. Animosity towards Japan throughout the Korean War led to the Japanese being depicted as “running dogs” and stooges of the American imperialists. Needless to say, this did not win the Chinese many friends in the Yoshida Shigeru administration, after the American occupation ended in April 1952.

In spite of this bad feeling, in private the Chinese admitted that harsh economic reality almost forced them to seek trade with Japan. However after the United States passed the Battle Act in 1951, Sino-Japanese trade was prohibited not just in armaments, but also in any trade stuffs that could potentially be used to aid the Chinese war effort in Korea.¹⁹ As a result, only 5.5 percent of the commerce agreed in the June 1952 first Sino-Japanese trade agreement was realised.²⁰ This was a disaster for the PRC, since a run of poor harvests coupled with acute shortages of industrial products (such as tyre rubber), meant that China badly needed trade with its neighbour. It was therefore always likely that the PRC would start making bold positive overtures to the Japanese with the aim of resuming trade, regardless of developments in the Korean War and the economic straightjacket imposed by the Battle Act.

The Chinese were certainly bold in their overtures to the Japanese, in that they were made within 24 hours of Stalin’s death. This “charm offensive” came in the form of announcing the repatriation (from China to Japan) of tens of thousands of Japanese expatriates trapped on the mainland since World War Two.²¹ It might just be a co-incident that China publicised the repatriation immediately following Stalin’s death, but it is also plausible that the Soviet leader would never have permitted the PRC to take such a step towards a country (Japan), which was providing support for the United States in the ongoing Korean conflict.²²

¹⁹ Wang, *Wang dongxing riji*, 162; Cheng Yongming and Shi Qibao, *Zhongri jingmao guanxi liushi nian* (Tianjin: Tianjin shehui kexue chubanshe, 2006), 33–34. The Battle Act was only one of a range of measures that the U.S. took to shut China out of world markets.

²⁰ RW, 2:162–64.

²¹ *Renmin ribao* (hereafter RMRB, short for the *People’s Daily*), 8/3/53, 4.

²² To be precise, the Chinese first indicated their intention to start repatriating Japanese the previous year, in a broadcast made in both Japanese and Chinese on 1/12/52. Nonetheless it is remarkable that the RMRB should choose Stalin’s death as the date on which to announce the repatriation of large numbers of Japanese nationals. See: RW, 1:97–101.

By July 1953, even before the Korean armistice was signed on the twenty-seventh of that month, Sino-Japanese relations had thawed sufficiently to drop the idea of commemorating the “7.7” Marco Polo bridge incident. As a result, there was no mention in the official media of the start of the Anti-Japanese War 16 years earlier on July 7, 1937. In its place was an article approving the Japanese idea of a “friendly relations month” between the peoples of China and Japan (see fig. 1), which was typeset in such a way that suggested the CCP wished to foster goodwill with the Japanese people but not their government.²³ The figure graphically shows that the piece supportive of the Japanese people is surrounded by articles highly critical of their politicians, by emphasising strikes by three million Japanese workers, poorly conceived Japanese industrial policies, numerous company bankruptcies and so on.²⁴ In this respect Deng Tuo, the *People’s Daily* editor, was “constructional and not representational, expressing his...thoughts in the architectural disposition of his material,” ridiculing the Japanese political class in a very Chinese way.²⁵

During the two years following the Korean War armistice, a number of events assisted in producing a more conciliatory attitude on both sides. Firstly, there was a broadly positive response from the Japanese public to the repatriation of 29,000 of their nationals, which the PRC had cleverly organised in a series of staged transfers for maximum publicity. Secondly in August 1954, 417 Japanese war criminals were released and repatriated.²⁶ Thirdly, in April 1954 Zhou Enlai and the Indian Prime Minister Jawaharlal Nehru jointly announced the “five principles of peaceful coexistence,” which were elaborated and expanded on at the conference of Asian and African states held in Bandung, Indonesia the following year.

Unfortunately for the Chinese side, in 1955 the new LDP administration led by Hatoyama Ichiro tried to neutralise the Chinese propaganda advantage, by virtually ignoring the mass repatriation of Japanese expatriates and war criminals. Instead, in

²³ RMRB, 7/7/53, 4.

²⁴ Ibid.

²⁵ This phrase is quoted in a very different context from: H. D. F. Kitto, *The Greeks* (Harmondsworth: Pelican, 1976), 152.

²⁶ *Zhongguo waijiao gailan, 1987* (Beijing: Shijie zhishi chubanshe, 1987), 48–49.



Figure 1. *People's Daily* article showing support for the Japanese people framed by news highly critical of the Japanese government (7/7/53 edition, p. 4).

August that year the Japanese government insisted that 40,000 of their nationals were still unaccounted for, which provoked the angry response in the *People's Daily* newspaper, “How dare they bring up such ‘problems’ when they massacred over 10 million Chinese people, caused over 10 billion [U.S.] dollars’ worth of damage, caused

untold losses to public and private property, captured thousands and thousands of Chinese people, and took them to Japan where they were either made slaves or killed.”²⁷ Despite this problem with the Japanese government, in public the Chinese media continued to depict the Chinese and Japanese people as friends, in accordance with the five principles of peaceful coexistence mentioned above. Nineteen fifty five was also the year in which a formal policy on Japan was finally published, drafted by Wang Jiexiang, the head of the CCPCC International Liaison Department and (from November 1954) a vice minister at the MFA. Wang was one of Mao’s most trusted lieutenants and he was given the job of formulating policy on a range of sensitive issues.²⁸ The broad tenets of the policy were that China sought firstly to forestall the re-emergence of Japan as a major military and political power in Asia; secondly, to manipulate domestic [Japanese] opposition to the policies of Japanese conservatives; thirdly, to increase semi-official contact with Japan through trade and cultural missions; fourthly, to exploit U.S.-Japan policy differences, and finally to step up the campaign to normalise relations.²⁹

Foreign policy (as drafted by Wang) and propaganda requirements converged for the first time, when on August 3, 1955 the Central Propaganda Department ordered that anniversaries of the Japanese surrender were not to be celebrated from now on. “Should newspapers decide to comment on the end of the war at all,” the document opined, “articles should be written in accordance with Comrade Zhou Enlai’s recent speech to the National People’s Congress (NPC) concerning the international situation and our country’s foreign policy, that is, promoting peace in the Far East and making normalisation of Sino-Japanese relations [our] core [policy].”³⁰ The circular ended by emphasising that there would be no future need to propagandise the War of Resistance,

²⁷ Tian Huan, *Zhanhou zhongri guanxi wenxianji, 1945–70* (Beijing: Zhongguo shehui kexue chubanshe, 1996), 96.

²⁸ Xu Zehao, *Wang jiexiang nianpu, 1906–74* (Beijing: Zhongyang wenxian chubanshe, 2001), 422–25. Wang later criticised Mao and was subsequently purged, as a result he is now relatively unknown outside China.

²⁹ US Department of State, *Foreign Relations of the United States* (hereafter FRUS) (1955–57), vol. 3, N-I-E 13-56, para. 124. For analysis that states the U.S. was imprinting its own biases onto its policy towards Communist China: Barbara W. Tuchman, “If Mao Had Come to Washington: An Essay in Alternatives,” *Foreign Affairs* 51, no. 1 (1972): 57.

³⁰ XCGZ, 3:865–69.

which was almost certainly because to have done so would have derailed the improving relations between the two countries.³¹

The initial response from the Japanese government, or rather the absence of one, was not particularly encouraging. Despite the fact that the Chinese side had repatriated thousands of Japanese nationals, treated hundreds of Japanese war criminals leniently and repatriated the remains of Japanese soldiers killed in action, the Japanese government had done little to further the goal of restoring relations. On the contrary, successive LDP governments seemed to deny the very existence of the PRC by returning Chinese expatriates to Taiwan instead of to the mainland because, as already noted, after regaining sovereignty Tokyo recognised Taipei and not Beijing.³² In spite of this setback, the PRC leadership continued to court Japan both publicly and in private. Of the 1,063 Japanese war crime suspects remaining incarcerated in China, 1,012 were released and returned to Japan in Spring 1956, whilst the remaining 51 were tried and sentenced.³³ In stark contrast to the war crimes trials conducted in occupied Japan (and indeed similar trials held by the GMD in China prior to 1949), not a single war criminal tried in the PRC was put to death, a fact which was applauded by the Japanese public.³⁴

Gradually thawing relations allowed cultural diplomacy towards the Japanese people to gather momentum, which got underway with a 50 day tour by the leading Beijing opera star Mei Lanfang.³⁵ So important was Mei's tour in attempting to break the ice with Japan, that Zhou Enlai personally debriefed him during a four hour banquet on his return to China.³⁶ A second part of the cultural diplomacy offensive was the first ever mainland "Japan film week," which was held in cities nationwide during June 1956. One editorial reviewing the festival gushed that it "built mutual sympathy and

³¹ XCGZ, 3:865–69.

³² RMRB 4/11/55, 4.

³³ A number of these war criminals had already been tried and sentenced before the collapse of the GMD administration in 1949, see: MFA doc. #118-00086-05; Adam Cathcart and Patricia Nash, "War Criminals and the Road to Sino-Japanese Normalization: Zhou Enlai and the Shenyang Trials, 1954–1956," *Twentieth-Century China* 34, no. 2 (2009): 99.

³⁴ In 1950 PRC courts sentenced Japanese military officers to death, but their sentences were commuted after personal intervention by Mao, see: MFA doc. #105-00076-01.

³⁵ Harris, *Factories of Death*, 142. During the tour he met with Prince Mikasa, who visited Unit 731 in Harbin during the war, a fact conveniently ignored by the Chinese press.

³⁶ RMRB, 28/7/56, 1.

fraternal love” between the two countries. Audiences in Beijing, Urumqi and Harbin apparently “shed tears on seeing such warm affectionate Japanese people on celluloid.”³⁷ Evidently, the festival was careful to choose movies that depicted a harsh life for the Japanese proletariat under the despotic rule of the American imperialists, as the Chinese filmmaker Jia Ji explained when writing about the film *All for Love* (*Zhengshi weilie ai*):

We can all learn from this independent film. In the true faces of ordinary Japanese people we see the image of a kind, industrious people loving life and loving peace. Even though they have suffered grossly under the U.S. military occupation, even though modern Japanese society is being choked [by America] in such a way that even flowers die...there is yet an awakening of spirit.³⁸

This speech demonstrates how CCP propagandists cleverly spliced positive sentiment towards the Japanese people with anti-American feeling, by trying to drive a wedge between the masses and their political masters (who condoned U.S. military bases on Japanese soil). This neatly served the newly minted Chinese foreign policy towards Japan, by increasing semi-official contact—via the film festival—whilst at the same time attempting to turn Japanese public opinion against the United States.³⁹

It is just possible that these activities would have been permitted to take place regardless of the state of bilateral relations, as the cultural charm offensive coincided with a perceptible reduction of political interference in the arts during the run up to the 1956–57 hundred flowers movement. However, it is more likely that as the Soviet Union had normalised relations with Tokyo in March 1956, the CCP spied an opportunity to follow suit. This is possibly why in a broadcast given *the day after* Moscow and Tokyo exchanged ambassadors, the head of the Chinese Academy of Social Sciences (CASS) Guo Moruo referred to the Japanese in glowing terms, calling that country’s politicians “our beloved Japanese friends” and referring to the State of

³⁷ RMRB, 23/5/56, 3; 24/6/56, 1.

³⁸ *Ibid.*, 24/6/56, 3.

³⁹ Ma Licheng, “Deng xiaoping yu hu yaobangde dui ri guan,” The Ma Licheng Blog, entry posted 26/4/07, http://blog.sina.com.cn/s/blog_49fb8c7801_0009wx.html (accessed 16/6/11). Ma makes the connection between the Mei Lanfang visit to Japan, the Japanese film week and a cultural diplomacy offensive. Ma publishes in blog format because no mainland publishing house will print his work, following the publication of his arguments in 2003–04 for a more reasonable stance towards Japan.

Japan using the politest possible Chinese appellation “your honourable country.”⁴⁰ This was a far cry indeed from just a few years earlier when Japan was labelled as an enemy and its politicians were vilified as dogs.

A second downturn in Sino-Japanese relations (1957–60)

The charm offensive towards Japan failed. After the election of Kishi Nobusuke in February 1957, it became increasingly obvious that the ruling Japanese LDP were oblivious to Chinese blandishments, and the CCP leadership reverted to its position prior to 1953, of branding Japan as an enemy and its ruling party as militarists. In 1960, the Chinese Communists once more found it expedient to propagandise the war, not so much to whip up mass hysteria against the Japanese, but to try and save a Sino-Soviet alliance on the verge of breakdown. Much of this was foreseen by the United States intelligence services, who posited that:

If Japan embarks on either a major rearmament programme, or reverses the present policy of permitting the expansion of unofficial relations with Peiping [sic], then China might publicly revert to the position that Japan is a major threat to peace and launch a campaign of threats and intimidation designed to reinforce leftist opposition within Japan.⁴¹

In fact this is exactly what happened, because after Kishi became prime minister, he embarked on a course of action that was utterly unacceptable to the Chinese. In June of that year he visited Taiwan, the first ever visit of a Japanese prime minister in office, where he agreed with Jiang Jieshi that “if it is possible to recover the mainland, I think that would be extremely good,” and a few weeks later he even claimed that “the CCP is trying to seep into every Asian country.”⁴² Bad feeling on both sides in private quickly spilt out into the open, because politics had been allowed to interfere with non-political

⁴⁰ RW, 2:45–46. Only a few years later Guo was instructed to lead mass rallies criticising the signing of the revised U.S.-Japan Security Treaty in 1960.

⁴¹ FRUS (1955–57), vol. 3, N-I-E 13-56, para. 125.

⁴² RW, 2:54–58. For a brief synopsis of how different 1950s Japanese administrations impacted on Chinese foreign policy, see: CHOC, 14:288.

aspects of the relationship.

Matters came to a head over the “Nagasaki flag incident” in May 1958, where the PRC national flag was torn down and despoiled at the Nagasaki trade fair. The Chinese leadership petulantly accused the Kishi administration of conniving in the desecration of their flag, so as to avoid officially acknowledging the existence of the People’s Republic.⁴³ As a result of this incident, coupled with the failure of a bilateral trade agreement the previous month, the MFA argued that public attacks on Kishi in the Chinese press should be continued right up to the May 1958 election, because “after the Japanese government destroyed the [April] fourth Sino-Japanese trade agreement; we strengthened our counterattacks, but their attitude was despicable, [because they] continued to carry out malicious attacks and provocations, dissembling that even if there was no trade agreement, trade could still be conducted as normal.”⁴⁴ Certainly, this hostile stance towards Japan was partly related to the sharp leftward veer in Chinese domestic politics associated with the Great Leap Forward (*dayuejin*) (1958–60).⁴⁵ However, an increasing number of mainland scholars now argue that relations were bound to worsen once Kishi took office, because his administration interfered on issues that China regarded as domestic, such as the Taiwan problem and whether or not the PRC had the right to a seat at the United Nations.⁴⁶

Trading of insults continued after Kishi won re-election such that by the 1958 anniversary of the “7.7” incident, Japan was being compared to Nazi Germany, in that “Japan is now a tool in the service of the U.S. imperialist invasionary strategy...[and] secretly harbours the desire to exert an imperialist hegemony over East Asia...Japan is now better armed than Hitler at his rise to power, and even has the technology for the propulsion of nuclear warheads.”⁴⁷ The following year (1959) the CCPCC admitted that trade, or lack of it, could be used as a political weapon, by stating that “because

⁴³ I. I. Morris, “Foreign Policy Issues in Japan’s 1958 Elections,” *Pacific Affairs* 3 (Sept. 1958): 219–40.

⁴⁴ MFA doc. #105-00899-04.

⁴⁵ The Great Leap Forward was conceived as a political campaign designed to transform China into an advanced industrialised Communist society. The policy was a disaster, resulting in an estimated 20 million deaths, mainly from famine.

⁴⁶ Liu Jianping, *Zhanhou zhongri guanxi zhuanzhu: bu zhengchang lishi de guocheng yu jiegou* (Beijing: Shehui kexue wenxian chubanshe, 2010), chap. 4.

⁴⁷ RMRB, 7/7/58, 1.

Kishi refuses to rescind the policy of regarding us as an enemy, in principle we will not consider restoring Sino-Japanese trade...[because] we equate politics with trade, even as we criticise them [the Kishi administration] for doing so.”⁴⁸

Chinese leaders were so angry with the Japanese prime minister that they would not countenance a renewal of trade negotiations with Japan, even though mainland China at that time was wracked by a man-made famine caused by Great Leap Forward agricultural policies.⁴⁹ To have condemned Japanese leaders one minute and then have pleaded with them for grain to feed starving peasants the next would have caused the Chinese to lose face. In many ways elite Chinese discourse at this time replicated criticism of Japan in the early 1950s, because two of the drivers underlying the bilateral relationship were unchanged, namely fear of a possible resurgence of Japanese militarism, exacerbated by the presence of American bases on Japanese soil.

Japan renews its security alliance with the United States (1960)

In 1960 the PRC suffered three major political setbacks, the man-made famine induced by the Great Leap Forward worsened (all year), Japan signed a revised security treaty with the United States (January) and Soviet advisors started withdrawing en masse (July).⁵⁰ Attitudes towards Japan at this time were influenced by all three setbacks, suggesting that the way Japan was presented to the masses was affected as much by external events as deliberate policy.

In order to try and prevent the signing of the Japan-U.S. treaty, CCP and government organs were instructed to organise mass protests at home, which would “persuade the Japanese people that a security treaty with the United States was worthless garbage.”⁵¹ The MFA, masquerading as the “Committee for preservation of world peace,” orchestrated supposedly spontaneous demonstrations in provincial

⁴⁸ Jiangsu (hereafter JS) doc. #4019-003-0087, 20.

⁴⁹ Ibid., 102.

⁵⁰ For more information on the Sino-Soviet split see: Zagoria, *The Sino-Soviet Conflict*; on the U.S.-Japan security alliance see: Swenson-Wright, *Unequal Allies?*, chap. 6.

⁵¹ MFA doc. # 105-00737-09. See also RMRB, 23/1/60, pp. 1, 4.

capitals in January 1960, with the aim of denouncing the proposed security alliance. Speeches were planned and indeed made by organisations that had nothing whatsoever to do with foreign affairs, such as the All-China Women's Federation, to demonstrate how united the Chinese people were in their opposition to the treaty. The planning for this event was meticulous, from noting exactly what was to be written on banners to how many thousands of protesters this or that party committee was to provide.⁵² The fact that this and similar demonstrations across the country were given blanket coverage in the nation's media, suggests that the spectacle was as much for domestic as Japanese consumption. Whilst government papers offer no proof that these events were being used to deflect attention away from the famine, it is plausible that they were broadcast nationally at least partly with this aim in mind.

Table 1. MFA instructions concerning how the USSR should be represented during the 1960 victory over Japan celebrations

MFA instructions on how the Soviet Union should be represented during the 1960 fifteenth anniversary victory over Japan celebrations:

- 1) Representatives from the Sino-Soviet friendship association should be present at all mass commemoration events
- 2) During all activities wreaths should be laid at the graves of Soviet war heroes
- 3) Speeches should praise the Soviet soldiers and people for the role they played in... hastening the final collapse of Japanese fascism
- 4) The Soviet peoples should be praised for sending troops to NE Asia [in the closing days of the war] and for their attacks on the invading Japanese armies
- 5) The Soviets should be thanked for the massive assistance they bestowed on our country
- 6) All mass meetings are to emphasise the enormous glorious significance of Sino-Soviet unity
- 7) It is permitted to hold anniversary dinners (make sure the Soviets are invited)
- 8) It is permitted to hold photographic exhibitions, especially those concentrating on Sino-Soviet heroic deeds

Source: MFA doc. #105-00737-05.

⁵² MFA doc. # 105-00737-09.

Plans for further mass demonstrations were drawn up by the Foreign Affairs Leading Small Group (LSG), designed to coincide with the security treaty's coming into force four months later in May 1960.⁵³ These protest plans were approved by the CCPCC and then expanded to include 33 cities involving an estimated 17 million workers.⁵⁴ The fact that the state was willing to organise protests involving so many people at short notice in the middle of a famine, indicates that the CCP leadership was willing to devote scarce resources to influencing an event taking place on Japanese soil, that is, preventing ratification of the security treaty.⁵⁵

Nineteen sixty also marked the first time since 1953 that public criticism of Japan had focused on the Anti-Japanese War. However, this time social remembering of the conflict was confined to north-east China (*dongbei*), and focused on praising the Soviet contribution to the war effort (see table 1).⁵⁶ As noted in the thesis introduction, time and time again CCP leaders followed the example of their imperial forbearers by using historical precedent in order to realise contemporary policy objectives.⁵⁷ In this case the historical “vehicle” was victory in the 1931–45 Anti-Japanese War, and the contemporary policy objective was minimising the political damage caused by the withdrawal of thousands of Soviet advisors a few weeks beforehand. The fifteenth anniversary victory celebrations’ emphasis on Soviet deeds and achievements listed in table one, shows that the Chinese leadership was subtly trying to apologise to the Russians in that part of China where their influence had been greatest.

Relations improve for a second time (1963)

By this stage a cyclical pattern in Sino-Japanese relations becomes apparent, with

⁵³ MFA doc. #117-00785-01. A Leading Small Group is a committee chaired by a politburo member (e.g. the CCP General Secretary) responsible for a specific policy area, such as records and archives, or propaganda and thought work.

⁵⁴ *Ibid.*

⁵⁵ On the protests in Beijing and Chengdu, see: RMRB, 10/5/60, 4 and 11/5/60, 5 respectively.

⁵⁶ MFA doc. #105-00737-05.

⁵⁷ Beasley and Pulleyblank, *Historians of China and Japan*, 6.

cycles of “friendly-unfriendly” or “hot-cold” relations lasting seven to eight years. Unfriendly relations are characterised by focusing on the war (as in 1950–52 and 1960), whilst friendly relations emphasise trade and normalisation.⁵⁸

At the end of 1963 relations started to thaw, exactly a decade after Zhou Enlai had returned large numbers of Japanese expatriates to their homeland. Attacks in the press gradually petered out and a more conciliatory attitude was taken towards Japan affairs in general. For example, in October 1963 Vice Premier Chen Yi met with Japanese journalists noting that “the current state of and construction of Sino-Japanese relations is more-or-less acceptable, we just lack a [Japanese] ambassador and lack a [Japanese] embassy,” indicating that normalisation remained a top foreign policy objective for the PRC.⁵⁹ After the Ikeda Hayato government publicly stated that Japan had the right to “act for itself” in its dealings with the United States, Chinese diplomats were swiftly instructed to “soften their attitude towards Japanese officials in third countries [sic].”⁶⁰ Trade missions were now sent to Japan with instructions not only to explore commercial opportunities, but also to promote the restoration of Sino-Japanese relations. It seems that the beginnings of a second charm offensive were in the making (the first one having lasted only from 1953–57), as cadres dealing with Japanese nationals requesting a return to their homeland were asked “to be polite, friendly and warm, as the state of Sino-Japanese relations requires it.”⁶¹

However, Chinese people were not easily swayed by such blandishments, as the CCPCC soon felt it necessary to indoctrinate the masses on the benefits of foreigners, following a number of incidents in which the latter were attacked or threatened. For instance in early 1964 Japanese émigrés working as engineers in Taiyuan city were followed around by “staring committees,” who taunted them with names such as devils

⁵⁸ This characterisation of Sino-Japanese relations as alternating between hot and cold has been frequently noted in the secondary literature, but mostly in connection with reform era bilateral relations, see: Yanan He, “Ripe for Cooperation or Rivalry? Commerce, Realpolitik, and War Memory in Contemporary Sino-Japanese Relations,” *Asian Security* 4, no. 2 (2008): 165.

⁵⁹ MFA doc. #105-01216-05.

⁶⁰ MFA doc. #105-01214-04. There is a high turnover of prime ministers in Japan, which is related to factional politics within Japanese political parties, For a good explanation of how this works, see: T. J. Pempel, “Bureaucracy in Japan,” *Political Science and Politics* 25, no. 1 (1992): 19–24.

⁶¹ JS doc. #4019-003-0207, 2.

(*guizi*) and Japanese bastards (*riben wangbadan*).⁶² The need to signify those Japanese remaining in China as friendly was thought necessary to “avoid harm from capitalists, revisionists and imperialists,” which was a roundabout way of saying that if Japanese nationals living in China were not made to feel welcome, then the PRC would be scoring a propaganda “own goal” in the eyes of the Japanese political establishment.⁶³

Relations deteriorate for the third time (1965)

The thaw in relations lasted less than two years, since Japanese electoral politics rudely intruded on Chinese plans for normalisation following the election of Sato Eisaku in November 1964. Like the earlier Kishi administration, Sato’s government was perceived as an enemy of China, because he wanted to, “Consolidate domestic and international opposition, both to the Communist system and to dialogue with China. His dream is to attack China’s influence...so as to expand his influence in south-east Asia and to satisfy the demands of the monopoly capitalists.”⁶⁴ This reference to monopoly capitalists was an indirect swipe at Japan’s provision of bases for American forces waging war in North Vietnam.⁶⁵ Major Japanese companies were seen to be making huge profits from the war, such as the Idemitsu Kosan Oil Corporation, which supplied 92 percent of the napalm used by the United States in Vietnam.⁶⁶

Condemnation of Japanese support for American warmongering was swift, when three months after Sato’s election a *People’s Daily* editorial averred that “Japanese militarism has come out into the daylight...it is now basically openly admitted,” and that Japan “aims to attack China and North Korea, [whilst] the militarists want to plunder and rob China’s Taiwan.”⁶⁷ The editorial concluded by suggesting that the Japanese people solve this problem by “rising up and chucking America into the

⁶² JS doc. #4019-003-0204, 2–7.

⁶³ Ibid.

⁶⁴ MFA doc. #105-01759-17.

⁶⁵ See Chen Jian, *Mao’s China and the Cold War* (Chapel Hill, NC: University of North Carolina Press, 2001), 193–257.

⁶⁶ MFA doc. #105-01759-17, 5.

⁶⁷ Tian, *Zhanhou zhongri guanxi*, 4.

sea...like trash.”⁶⁸ This reference to America is a classic case of what the Chinese call “pointing to the mulberry bush and abusing the locust” (*zhisang mahuai*), or making indirect accusations. Chinese elites were worried that the United States might invade China from Vietnam, and one obvious way of preventing this would be to stop Japan from offering logistics support to American forces en route to south-east Asia.

The commentary above would suggest that the 1965 downturn in Sino-Japanese relations and indeed the way Japan was presented in the media was related to Japanese electoral politics. However, secret planning directives issued by the Central Propaganda Department, stated that the main target of the forthcoming twentieth anniversary celebrations of victory over Japan was neither the Japanese militarists nor the American imperialists, but internal CCP factions who opposed Mao Zedong:

In order to commemorate the magnificent historical significance of this victory day, to present the historical experience of the Anti-Japanese War, to present the great significance of Chairman Mao’s thinking on People’s War and Chairman Mao’s political line and the military political line, to rebut the modernists (with reference to the people’s liberation activities and their misconceptions concerning the problems of people’s armed struggle)...it is recommended that nationwide commemoration activities are held from August 15 to September 9 this year.⁶⁹

The 1965 commemoration activities were organised on a gigantic scale. In addition to mass rallies staged across the country, the national media provided coverage of the war for a whole month. Short stories, poems, novels and songs published during the war were reprinted (e.g. the national anthem!), museums held War of Resistance exhibitions, and cinemas screened Anti-Japanese War films (such as the 1965 classic *Underground War*) back-to-back.⁷⁰ Propaganda instructions were clear, however, that the 1945 victory over the Japanese was a subsidiary theme for the celebrations, which should instead concentrate on propagandising Mao Zedong Thought, the ongoing achievements of the PLA and smashing the United States in Vietnam.

It might therefore seem odd that 500 Japanese youth leaders were invited to China

⁶⁸ Tian, *Zhanhou zhongri guanxi*, 4.

⁶⁹ XCGZ, 4:400.

⁷⁰ See chap. 4.

at the same time that millions of Chinese were demonstrating against the Sato government. However, such incongruities are less surprising when considered in the light of long-term PRC foreign policy objectives. In fact, the revolutionary aims espoused during the twentieth anniversary victory celebrations were complementary to the youth visit. This is because, as noted earlier, ever since the founding of the People's Republic China's leaders had wanted to end the United States' military occupation of Japan. However, as the PLA was not strong enough to forcibly expel American forces stationed there, Mao and his acolytes felt that the only feasible way to achieve this goal was via the Japanese ballot box. The broad idea was that a political party sympathetic to the CCP's aims, such as the Japanese Communist Party (JCP), should win office in Japan and then legislate to expel U.S. forces.⁷¹ The JCP had long been China's main cheerleader in Japan, but it was politically inconsequential, mainly because, like the CCP, it espoused violent revolutionary change. Therefore, the explicit aim of the visit was to raise the JCP's profile with centre and right-wing Japanese youth leaders, who formed a major part of the 500 strong delegation.⁷²

The very occurrence of the 1965 Japanese youth visit sent different messages to different audiences. To the JCP, China was reaffirming its support. To the Chinese masses, the Central Propaganda Department intended to show that China was a friend of the Japanese people and an enemy of the Japanese state. To the leaders of Japanese youth organisations, the visit was a rare opportunity to not only increase contact with the JCP in a controlled environment (i.e. on Chinese soil), but also to showcase the very best that revolutionary China had to offer.

Had the onset of the Cultural Revolution (*wenhua da geming*) (1966–76) in August 1966 not caused the PRC to rapidly withdraw from the international arena, it is likely that the dual strategy of cultivating support for the JCP coupled with attacks on the Sato administration would have continued, especially since anti-Japanese demonstrations continued right up to that time.⁷³ Instead, on August 8, 1966 the

⁷¹ See: Yeban Cansan [J], *Yeban cansan xuanji* (Dongjing: Riben gongchandang chubanshe, 1962).

⁷² JS doc. #4019-003-0249/0250.

⁷³ MFA doc. #106-01481-03.

CCPCC formally approved the Cultural Revolution,⁷⁴ after which time foreign affairs were virtually ignored as the masses were “subjected to an intense revolutionary experience, which...[took] the form of xenophobia or pressures for simple withdrawal,” suggesting that policy towards Japan invariably took second place to domestic power struggles.⁷⁵ Elites found that for the time being foreign policy could serve as a minimum source of added anxiety or even a useful distraction.⁷⁶ The MFA was attacked and occupied by Red Guards, and many government organs simply ceased to operate.⁷⁷

As for Japan, neither “people’s diplomacy” nor semi-official cooperation was possible in an era when the formal Chinese bureaucracy had stopped functioning. Political activity on the mainland, such as existed during the latter-half of the 1960s, was confined to disorder, public struggle sessions and general mayhem. Representations of Japan in the public domain were limited to a handful of Anti-Japanese War films such as *Underground War* noted above, which were repeatedly shown in the few cinemas still operating.⁷⁸ Japan, if it was referred to in print at all, was not one but two of the four enemies (*sige diren*), namely American imperialists (who had bases in Japan), Soviet revisionists (who had normalised relations with Japan), Japanese oppositionists (the LDP and its supporters) and Japanese revisionists (the JCP).⁷⁹ The mere fact that the Chinese media was now calling the JCP—China’s staunchest ally in Japan—a revisionist, shows how unstable mainland domestic politics had become.

Normalisation of relations (1972)

⁷⁴ RMRB, 9/8/66, 1. The CCPCC approved the Cultural Revolution by publishing its “Decision concerning the Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution,” which later became known as “the 16 points.”

⁷⁵ Robert A. Scalapino, “The Cultural Revolution and Chinese Foreign Policy,” in *The Cultural Revolution: 1967 in Review: Four Essays*, ed. Michel Oksenberg (Ann Arbor, MI: University of Michigan, 1968), 72.

⁷⁶ Ibid.

⁷⁷ See: Jack Chen, *Inside the Cultural Revolution* (London: Sheldon Press, 1976).

⁷⁸ See chap. 4.

⁷⁹ RMRB, 11/4/68, 6.

By 1971 both sides realised that there was more to be gained from dialogue than from labelling each other enemies, and informal private talks that year agreed that it was harmful to relations if revolutionary rhetoric was used to continually attack Japan about the war.⁸⁰ This marked the third upturn in relations in two decades (the others being 1953–57 and 1963–64). This renewed dialogue and drive towards normalisation was fast-tracked by the “Nixon shock,” which led to a rapprochement between the United States and the PRC. The Mao-Nixon communique issued on February 28, 1972 following the meeting of American and Chinese leaders, paved the way for Sino-Japanese normalisation in 1972.⁸¹

It is outside the scope of this research to examine in minute detail the formal restoration of Sino-Japanese relations in 1972, and the subsequent Treaty of Peace and Friendship between the People’s Republic of China and Japan (hereafter the Peace Treaty) signed six years later. However, for our purposes a number of useful inferences can be drawn from the events surrounding normalisation. Firstly, as a result of the PLA’s increased influence during the ongoing Cultural Revolution, the army had usurped editorial control over key newspapers including the *People’s Daily*. This meant that party elites were sometimes unable to exert influence over content to the extent that they would have liked. In particular, it appears that Zhou Enlai could not pressure generals to include positive coverage on Tanaka Kakuei, who had made it clear that he was receptive to normalising relations after winning the July 7, 1972 Japanese general election.⁸² Nevertheless, the army was not immune to the potential consequences of events unfolding in Tokyo, and as a result PLA media censors prepared domestic public opinion for a possible restoration of diplomatic relations. They achieved this by cleverly equating normalisation (which the Chinese wanted) with opposition to a resurrection of Japanese militarism (which they emphatically did not).⁸³

Secondly, even though many Chinese scholars refer to the decade following the 1972 normalisation as the “golden age” of post-war Sino-Japanese relations, there were

⁸⁰ Zhang Xiangshan, *Zhongri guanxi*, 250.

⁸¹ Henry Kissinger, *On China* (London: Penguin, 2011), chap. 9.

⁸² Zhang Xiangshan, *Zhongri guanxi*, 250.

⁸³ For example see: RMRB, 2/5/72.

problems right from the very start. For example, during the September 25, 1972 welcoming banquet for Prime Minister Tanaka immediately prior to the normalisation talks, he referred to the war as a period during which “Japan-China relations suffered unfortunate progress, our country made tremendous troubles for the Chinese people and I would like to once again express my deep regret.”⁸⁴ Tanaka used the term *meiwaku*, which was translated as “to give somebody minor trouble or inconvenience” (*mafan*). During subsequent talks Tanaka was roundly criticised by both Mao and Zhou, for daring to refer to the deaths of millions of Chinese people during the war as *mafan*. The Japanese prime minister protested his sincerity, by averring that “making trouble” in Japanese was not a light word, and that it could be used to constitute an apology.⁸⁵

Despite normalisation, there was no meeting of minds on the war. Not only had the Japanese side declined to proffer a formal apology for their wartime invasion of China, but in April 1975 Miki Takeo became the first post-war Japanese prime minister to visit the Yasukuni shrine. Worse, in 1978 the souls of 14 class A war criminals were moved there as well.⁸⁶ Had such events occurred even 10 years later, then there would have been uproar in mainland China and elsewhere too, because for a Japanese politician to visit the Yasukuni shrine was seen as condoning atrocities committed by the war dead whose souls were enshrined there. But because fostering friendly relations was paramount, these sleights were ignored to the extent that when the *People's Daily* reviewed progress in the bilateral relationship made since normalisation on August 15, 1975 (30 years after the end of the war), the only news concerning Sino-Japanese ties was good news, reaffirming the Chinese maxim, “Report only good news and ignore the bad” (*bao xi bu bao you*). Unfortunately for the two countries, within a few years the way the war was presented in Japanese schools caused relations to rapidly deteriorate, with the onset of the first textbook crisis in 1982.

⁸⁴ RMRB, 30/9/72, 1.

⁸⁵ Feng Zhaokui, *Duihua: beijing he dongjing* (Beijing: Xinhua chubanshe, 1999), 59–63.

⁸⁶ John Nelson, “Social Memory as Ritual Practice: Commemorating Spirits of the Military Dead at Yasukuni Shinto Shrine,” *The Journal of Asian Studies* 62, no. 2 (May 2003): 456.

Part II

This second part finds that following the outbreak of the first textbook crisis in 1982, the war was used as ammunition in pursuit of a more focused, smaller range of policy objectives, namely rehabilitation of the GMD and the maintenance of one-party rule via a patriotic education campaign. Yu Tiejun, an International Relations professor at Beijing University sums up this change, “During the Mao era, we all knew that mass protests against Japan were really about the war and institutional hatred of Japan. The big difference from the 1980s onwards was that ‘resisting Japan’ in the public domain became more *organised*.”⁸⁷

In the first half of this chapter I argued that Mao era Sino-Japanese relations, and indeed the way Japan was presented to the masses, was characterised by rapidly fluctuating “hot-cold,” “friendly-unfriendly” relations. This tendency continued into the age of Deng Xiaoping, the second generation paramount leader after Mao Zedong.⁸⁸ The political scientist Richard Baum argues that reform era “letting-go (*fang*) and tightening (*shou*) cycles were forced on the leadership as economic reforms were often destabilising, which gave political and economic reform a discontinuous pulsating quality.”⁸⁹

After normalisation in 1972, the first highly-visible hardening of sentiment towards Japan (*shou*) came with the first textbook crisis, which erupted in July 1982. The incident occurred when it transpired that the Japanese Ministry of Education planned to release new history textbooks, which crucially changed Japan’s wartime invasion (*qinliè*) of northern China to an advance (*jinxing*). This caused international outrage, especially in countries such as Korea and China, which bore the brunt of that invasion.⁹⁰ Much of the narrative below traces the chain of events during the decade

⁸⁷ Interview with Yu Tiejun, Beijing University, Beijing, 17/10/10. On using crises to mobilise the masses, see: Chen Jian, *Mao’s China*, 14.

⁸⁸ Technically Hua Guofen was the next paramount leader after Mao’s death, but he was quickly purged by Deng, see: Robert Weatherley, *Mao’s Forgotten Successor: The Political Career of Hua Guofeng* (Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan, 2010).

⁸⁹ Baum, *Burying Mao*, 5.

⁹⁰ Ienaga, “Glorification of War in Japanese Education,” 115.

following the first textbook crisis, because it defines the normative framework in which Japan has been presented to the masses since that time.

The events described here also highlight the important role played by Hu Qiaomu, in driving the way the trope of Japan is produced by the Chinese leadership. As Mao Zedong's former secretary, who was informally known by the sobriquet "one of China's two pens" for his political reliability, Hu Qiaomu was well placed to shape the direction of reform in the decades following Mao's death. As an illustration of the man's importance, Hu was a member of the Records and Archives LSG, which gave him enormous influence over which party documents were released to whom and when.⁹¹ Importantly for views on Japan, he was also chosen by Deng Xiaoping to draft the CCPCC resolution "Concerning some historical questions since the founding of the People's Republic" (*Guanyu jianguo yilai dangde ruogan lishi wentide jueyi*) (hereafter the resolution) on June 27, 1981, which as we will see was used to rehabilitate the GMD's role in the war.⁹²

Returning to the textbook crisis then, this event acted as a catalyst, by providing Hu Qiaomu with an opportunity to voice disquiet over China's post-1972 rapprochement with Japan. Less than a week after the outbreak of the imbroglio, Hu wrote a blistering attack on Japan in the hard-line *PLA Daily* (*Jiefang ribao*), which was subsequently reprinted in newspapers around the country.⁹³ The newspaper gave the author of the attack as "one of our in-house commentators," which is often a euphemism for a top leader, and it was only after Hu Qiaomu's memoirs were published posthumously in 1993 that his authorship of the original editorial was revealed.

Superficially the crisis had a negligible effect on the growing friendly ties between the two countries' leaders.⁹⁴ This is why on September 28, 1982 at a time when the

⁹¹ Michael H. Hunt and Odd Arne Westad, "The Chinese Communist Party and International Affairs: A Field Report on New Historical Sources and Old Research Problems," *China Quarterly* 122 (June 1990): 259.

⁹² *Zhongguo jiaoyu nianjian* (hereafter ZJN, short for *China Education Yearbook*) (1949–81), 1. For a full text of the resolution, published immediately after its approval at the sixth meeting of the eleventh party plenum see: RMRB, 1/7/81, 1.

⁹³ *Jiefang ribao*, 2/8/82, 1. For an example of a reprint: *Heilongjiang ribao* (hereafter HLJRB, short for *Heilongjiang Daily*), 3/8/82, 3.

⁹⁴ On the textbook crisis see: Rose, *Interpreting History in Sino-Japanese Relations*.

brouhaha had still not died down, CCP General Secretary Hu Yaobang felt confident enough to say to Japanese Prime Minister Suzuki Zenko, “When China and Japan cooperate there will be two benefits (fortune for our descendants and peace), and when there is discord there will be two harms (losses for our descendants and war),” with an emphasis very much on the former.⁹⁵ Hu Yaobang continued to press for good relations both in November 1983 when he addressed the Japanese Diet in Tokyo, and again in 1984 when he invited Japanese Prime Minister Nakasone Yasuhiro to stay at his house during a state visit to Beijing. Perhaps the high-tide in bilateral relations was an invitation made by General Secretary Hu to Prime Minister Nakasone for 3,000 Japanese young people to visit China in September that year (1984).⁹⁶

Yet beneath the surface, events were taking place which would force elite discourse on Japan in the opposite direction to that which Hu Yaobang was trying to lead it, as concerted efforts were being made to strengthen memory of the war. This suggests that different cliques within the leadership sought to use the Japan issue for differing political ends. Put differently, the leading 1980s proponent of improved Sino-Japanese relations, the politically liberal Hu Yaobang (wanting more reform), was a bitter political enemy of the arch-conservative Hu Qiaomu (wanting less reform). Relations between the two titans were so strained, that in 1986 a committee set up by Hu Yaobang ordered the arrest of Hu Qiaomu’s son on corruption charges, which if proven could have carried the death penalty. As the offspring of other elite leaders who opposed Hu Yaobang’s economic liberalisation were also targeted, the charges “carried a strong hint of political retaliation.”⁹⁷ In 1987 Hu Yaobang was removed from office, partly because of a campaign to oust him led by Hu Qiaomu and other party conservatives, and partly because of alleged mistakes in his handling of the Sino-Japanese relationship, such as inviting thousands of Japanese youths to the PRC at taxpayers’ expense.⁹⁸ Whilst it is improbable that Hu Qiaomu persuaded the party to start aggressively

⁹⁵ Ma Licheng Blog, “Deng xiaoping yu hu yaobangde dui ri guan.”

⁹⁶ RMRB, 24/3/84, 1.

⁹⁷ Baum, *Burying Mao*, 176–77.

⁹⁸ Joseph Fewsmith, *Dilemmas of Reform in China: Political Conflict and Economic Debate* (Armonk, NY: M.E. Sharpe, 1994), 177–80.

publicising Japan's wartime atrocities as a means of undermining Hu Yaobang politically, until the full publication of Hu Yaobang's memoirs it is impossible to discount this possibility.⁹⁹ What this political squabbling does indicate, however, is that the Japan issue frequently rises in importance when political leaders are vying for supremacy.

Hu Qiaomu and rehabilitation of the GMD

During the 1980s Hu Qiaomu became a leading agent of change for the way Chinese elites thought about Japan. This change manifested itself in two critical areas, the rehabilitation of the Nationalists and the patriotic education campaign. Taking these two issues in turn, rehabilitation of the GMD was closely linked to China's number one foreign policy objective, reunification with Taiwan. By pressing hard for renewed cooperation with the GMD in the mid-1980s, Hu Qiaomu and other CCP leaders tried to forestall moves towards Taiwanese independence which erupted with the foundation of the Democratic Progressive Party (DPP) in September 1986. For example, a *People's Daily* editorial on August 22, 1985, intimated that Nationalist cooperation with the CCP (and not with independence-minded Taiwanese democrats) was the best way forward now, by writing that in the 1930s "owing to the unceasing efforts of the CCP, resistance of the whole country to the Anti-Japanese War rapidly developed, and finally, the GMD suffered to cooperate with the CCP, in a correct viewpoint of united opposition to Japan."¹⁰⁰ In other words, the Chinese beat Japan in World War Two because the GMD cooperated with the CCP, and the time was now ripe for the two parties to cooperate again.¹⁰¹ Hu Qiaomu even made a direct plea to the GMD to cooperate (and preferably re-unite) with the mainland in the party's top theoretical magazine *Red Flag (Hongqi)*, using the following argument:

⁹⁹ See: Hu Yaobang, *Zhongri mulin youhao guanxide xin fazhan* (Beijing: Renmin chubanshe, 1984). This book gives no comment on the Hu-Hu conflict.

¹⁰⁰ RMRB, 22/8/85, 5.

¹⁰¹ Parks M. Coble, "China's 'New Remembering' of the Anti-Japanese War of Resistance, 1937–45," *China Quarterly* 190 (June 2007), 402–03.

Following the Japanese invasion of China, through the joint cooperation for the second time of the two parties, and the ardent participation of every patriotic [Chinese] nationality, the Chinese War of Resistance against Japan developed into a war by a united China...Despite the fact that following the joint victory the GMD wilfully insisted on civil war afresh, China has now become a civilised and advanced socialist country.¹⁰²

Further on in the article, Hu Qiaomu announced that the amount of research on the Anti-Japanese War (in the form of papers, books, local histories and foreign translations) ought to increase substantially because: it was of great historical significance; the Chinese people had made the biggest wartime sacrifices; it was every historian's duty to write about the war; and because in thousands of small ways, Japan was trying to conceal or gloss over atrocities committed during the war. Early examples of books resulting from this carefully orchestrated campaign include He Li's *A History of the War of Resistance against Japan (Kangri zhanzheng shi)*, which even included a section on why the CCP and the GMD should cooperate again, and numerous books on the Nanjing massacre, which gave "the government a potent weapon with which to try to intimidate Japan...to see that Japan accorded China the respect which it [felt] it [deserved]."¹⁰³

Hu Qiaomu's exhortation to renew cooperation with the mainland amounted to a complete U-turn in PRC policy, as previously the GMD (along with the Japanese government) had been branded as lackeys of the American imperialists. To determine the reason for this change in direction, it is necessary to examine the CCPCC June 1981 historical questions resolution mentioned above. The head of the committee drafting this resolution was none other than Hu Qiaomu, who was personally nominated for this task by Deng Xiaoping, the new paramount leader. This document was important because it sought to apportion blame for the excesses of Mao's leadership and the Cultural Revolution. For our purposes though, the significance of the resolution lies in

¹⁰² *Hongqi* 18 (1985): 10. In July 1988 the journal was renamed as [*Seeking*] *Truth (Qiushi)*.

¹⁰³ He Li, *Kangri zhanzheng shi* (Shanghai: Shanghai renmin chubanshe, 1985); on the Nanjing massacre see, for example: Cheng Zhaoqi, *Nanjing datusha yanjiu: riben xugou pai pipan* (Shanghai: Shanghai cishu chubanshe, 2002); the quote is from: Joshua A. Fogel, *The Nanjing Massacre in History and Historiography* (Berkeley, CA: University of California Press, 2000), 57.

its formal reappraisal of the Anti-Japanese War, because for the first time it accepted that the GMD played a major role in the fight against the Japanese. The fact that the CCP decided to expend so much effort in promoting this new policy demonstrates how much reunification meant to the party leadership, even during a period of far-reaching economic reform which was consuming much of their attention.

Hu Qiaomu, the patriotic education campaign and Japan's role in it

Hu Qiaomu's imprimatur is also evident in the way he used the patriotic education campaign to help fashion reform era debate on Japan. This new campaign was developed by Hu and several of his hard-line colleagues independently of the education system, and then folded into reform era school curricula during the early to mid-1980s (see chap. 3).

The analysis presented below forms the basis of a revisionist argument. It differs from the current consensus of scholarly opinion, which assumes that the main force behind the patriotic education campaign (and its heavily nationalist bias against Japan) was the 1989 Tiananmen Square incident.¹⁰⁴ Instead, I argue that the driver of the education campaign was neither the nationwide student protests centred on Tiananmen Square nor their suppression by the army in June of that year.¹⁰⁵ I contend that the focus of the patriotic education campaign was initially re-educating cadres and only latterly educating young people about history. I further posit that Japan was only one of many targets of the campaign (the others included Great Britain, France and other imperialist powers) who were perceived to have slighted China during the so-called century of humiliation.¹⁰⁶

Current thinking on the patriotic education campaign is that it was a post-Cold

¹⁰⁴ Suisheng Zhao, "A State-led Nationalism." Zhao was one of the first to posit that the patriotic education campaign was formulated as a direct cause of the Tiananmen Square incident.

¹⁰⁵ The literature on the Tiananmen Square incident is vast, for example see: XCGZ, 4:879–1055; Zhang Liang, *The Tiananmen Papers*, ed. Andrew J. Nathan and E. Perry Link (New York, NY: Public Affairs, 2001).

¹⁰⁶ See: Callahan, *China: The Pessimist Nation*. The century of humiliation refers to the period from 1840 when the British fought the First Opium War against the imperial Qing, until the defeat of Japan in the Second World War in 1945.

War phenomenon which “appealed to nationalism in the name of patriotism, to ensure loyalty in a population that was subject to many domestic discontents.”¹⁰⁷ The crux of the campaign was to:

[Warn] of the existence of hostile international forces [mainly the Japanese and the United States] in the world perpetuating imperialist insult to Chinese pride. The patriotic education campaign was a state led nationalist movement, which redefined the legitimacy of the post-Tiananmen leadership in a way that would permit the Communist Party’s rule to continue on the basis of a non-Communist ideology.¹⁰⁸

In other words, following the debacle of the Tiananmen Square incident elite Chinese leaders such as Deng Xiaoping and Premier Li Peng saw a need to indoctrinate youth, in order to make them “identify the party with the nation.” In this way, criticism of the party by young people who demonstrated in June 1989 would be seen as unpatriotic.¹⁰⁹ Rapidly enacted legislation turned plans for the patriotic education campaign into reality, culminating in the September 1994 “Outline for conducting patriotic education.”¹¹⁰ This outline came replete with instructions on how students should devote more study to the century of humiliation, a period which included both the first and second Sino-Japanese Wars (1894–95 and 1937–45).

The above argument has been accepted by many western scholars as the definitive view on how “top-down” patriotic nationalism and anti-Japanese sentiment became entrenched in the post-1989 education system. Subsequently, most other scholars writing on Chinese nationalism have defined their standpoints relative to it, for example by discussing “bottom-up” or “grassroots” nationalism, as opposed to Suisheng Zhao’s top-down version.¹¹¹ However, I argue that the patriotic education campaign started gathering momentum almost ten years before the 1989 Tiananmen Square incident. This means that Tiananmen cannot be the sole reason for the virulently anti-Japanese patriotic education campaign (with its shrill denunciations of Japan and

¹⁰⁷ Zhao, “A State-led Nationalism,” 287–88.

¹⁰⁸ Ibid.

¹⁰⁹ Ibid., 289.

¹¹⁰ Ibid., 293.

¹¹¹ For example, see: Gries, *China’s New Nationalism*, 20.

other great powers during the century of humiliation), because it predated the events of June 1989 by almost a decade.

The CCP has long used appeals to patriotic sentiment as a means of both supporting the socialist cause and settling scores. As early as 1967, the history editor of *Red Flag* magazine, Qi Benyu, used patriotism as a cloak for attacking political opponents in the opening stages of the Cultural Revolution.¹¹² However, it was not until 1981 that the first indications of a concerted patriotic education campaign appeared in print. The book *From the Opium Wars to the May the Fourth Movement* (*Cong yapian zhanzheng dao wusi yundong*) was the first that sought to change the dominant Chinese history narrative from one of victory, that is, “we won the war” to one of victimhood, or “we need to remind ourselves of the crimes and atrocities committed during the century of humiliation.”¹¹³ The book was written by the conservative Hu Sheng, who in 1955 had been the deputy director of the Propaganda Department.¹¹⁴ Although the tome was neither a best-seller nor used in Chinese classrooms, a review in the *People’s Daily* indicates that party elites saw the value of its content because:

This book’s strength is...that it used patriotic thinking to analyse historical events...[and that it was] neither Empress Cixi nor Emperor Guangxu who were the main actors facing history...but the hundreds of millions of exploited, oppressed destitute peasants engaged in hard manual labour struggling for an existence. [This means that] only if there is leadership of the proletariat will the revolution eventually be won; only if there is a system for the establishment of socialism will it be possible to save China! This helps us to know better, that a real patriot, ought to be a protector of the socialist system and the leadership of the party.¹¹⁵

This article was entitled “Vivid patriotic education material” (*Shengdong aiguo zhuyi cailiao*), which suggests that the book was a riposte to the Japanese, who were just in the process of publishing textbooks which glossed-over Japan’s war crimes.¹¹⁶

¹¹² *Hongqi* 5 (1967), 9.

¹¹³ Hu Sheng, *Cong yapian zhanzheng dao wusi yundong* (Shanghai: Shanghai renmin chubanshe, 1982); Mitter, “Old Ghosts, New Memories,” 122.

¹¹⁴ Here conservative means political views on the left of the CCP.

¹¹⁵ RMRB, 30/11/81, 5.

¹¹⁶ Caroline Rose, “The Textbook Issue: Domestic Sources of Japan’s Foreign Policy,” *Japan Forum* 11,

However, the article was published a full eight months before the Chinese noticed the content of the amended Japanese textbooks (resulting in the 1982 first textbook crisis), which discounts this possibility as a reason for implementing the patriotic education campaign. The book itself was not used as part of the campaign, rather it was a catalyst which changed the way in which party elites saw both history and Japan's place within it. As a result of this growing interest in Hu Sheng's new book, Wang Zhen, the director of the Central Party School in Beijing, invited Hu to discuss "studying history and promoting the patriotic spirit," in terms of a patriotic education for *party cadres*.¹¹⁷ Wang argued that:

Lin Biao did not have the slightest shred of common historical knowledge and it was this lack of even a basic history education that led to the calamity of the Cultural Revolution. Had Lin Biao had even a rudimentary knowledge of history, and the great contributions of many other famous thinkers, politicians, generals, outstanding scholars and literati then he would not have blindly peddled the cult of Mao which wreaked havoc in the late 1960s. However, this is not to repudiate Mao's immortal contribution to China's history, but reading of this kind of history would allow us to see how imperialists worked to the detriment of China, and to place [history] in context of the resolution "Concerning some historical questions since the founding of the People's Republic."¹¹⁸

Wang's withering criticism was not just directed at the party elite. He urged all CCP cadres to read history, in order that they might avoid problems besieging the party at that time, such as embezzlement, bribery and overstaffing. Certainly, Wang believed that young Chinese people could learn from history too, but he felt very strongly that cadres should learn *first*. This history was not simply the war against Japan writ large. On the contrary, the party was now seeking to inculcate cadres in such a way that emphasised China's past.

Interestingly, a *People's Daily* editorial published shortly afterwards omitted all reference to cadres, concentrating solely on exhorting youth to "ardently love the motherland, ardently love the party and ardently love socialism," all by means of a

no. 2 (1999): 205–06.

¹¹⁷ *Hongqi* 2 (1982), 2–5.

¹¹⁸ *Ibid.*, 3.

patriotic education.¹¹⁹ The reason for this omission is not clear, but it is plausible that it was to avoid embarrassing the party leadership over the issue of blame for the Cultural Revolution, a topic which remains sensitive to this day. The editorial insisted that the word on patriotic education should be spread by every means possible, via news, publishing, television and radio, with publishers in particular exhorted to “increase the output of patriotic education works for everyday reading.”¹²⁰ This was the first time that the nation’s media organs had been simultaneously urged to produce patriotic education work.¹²¹

In July of the following year the Propaganda Department and the CCPCC secretariat jointly issued a “Call for comments on strengthening the dissemination of a patriotic education,” which was made on the front page of the *People’s Daily*.¹²² Three points can be inferred from the call. Firstly, although the Chinese government is technically required to request comments on all new legislation, it is relatively common for it not to be publicised, or if it is the window for making comments is often extremely short. Therefore this call must have been considered of high importance because it was given publicity on the front page of the party’s most prestigious newspaper.¹²³ Secondly, it is normally ministries rather than the CCPCC secretariat that request comments, which means it is highly likely that the politburo authorised the wording of the call in this case. Thirdly, and again highly unusually for draft legislation, the call included not only the full text of the draft, but a detailed analysis of why the new law was important.¹²⁴

In contrast to Wang Zhen’s treatise on patriotism in *Red Flag* a year earlier, by 1983 the focus of the patriotic education campaign was now squarely on educating young people about history, of which conflict with Japan formed only a part. The

¹¹⁹ RMRB, 10/2/82, 1.

¹²⁰ Ibid.

¹²¹ One of the most concise explanations of how the party uses the media to get its message across is given by Hu Yaobang in: XCGZ, 4:665–85.

¹²² RMRB, 16/8/83, 1. As the name suggests, a call for comments is a formal request by a Chinese government ministry for comment on a proposed piece of legislation.

¹²³ Guoguang Wu, “Command Communication: The Politics of Editorial Formulation in the RMRB,” *China Quarterly* 137 (Mar. 1994): 194.

¹²⁴ Calls for comments on contentious legislation frequently omit problematic clauses or elide the text of the new law altogether, making it difficult to meaningfully comment on the draft.

campaign was centred just as strongly on “the motherland’s stunning beauty and its ancient cities, historical relics, outstanding scientists in history” and their overall contribution to China. In other words, one should love one’s country as well as learn from history. A month later, *China Education News (Zhongguo jiaoyu bao)* published an instruction to the effect that the new patriotic education campaign should be implemented across the whole country, at every age (including kindergartens), using “multiple-delivery techniques so as to ensure the widest possible dissemination.”¹²⁵

Up to the mid-1980s, the overall picture is one of formulating a new patriotic education campaign for indoctrinating cadres, which then rapidly morphs into a means of educating young people to better love and appreciate their country. Both strands of the campaign focus on humiliation of China by foreigners including but not limited to the Japanese. The period between September 1986 and February 1987 showed a marked hardening of attitude towards Japan and its role in the patriotic education campaign. The reasons for this are not clear, although it coincided with both arguments with the Japanese government over their supply of Overseas Development Aid (ODA), as well as domestic unrest associated with high unemployment, social inequalities and inflation.¹²⁶ On September 29, 1986, Hu Qiaomu attended an educational materials selection conference, at which he said that the entire education process (including higher education) should be linked to patriotic thinking, rather than Mao Zedong Thought or Marxism, because:

Students study in order to contribute to the modernisation of the socialist undertaking... We need to develop students’ patriotic sentiment... in order that they will not think that the “grass is greener on the other side of the fence” or that after leaving the country they don’t want to come back... An important reason why graduating students at different times have differing views on the level to which they serve the motherland [is that] during their entire education they do not have enough patriotic education.¹²⁷

In other words, history teaching should be emphasised in order to stop the brain drain of

¹²⁵ *Zhongguo jiaoyu bao*, 26/8/83, 1.

¹²⁶ See Chae-Jin Lee, *China and Japan: New Economic Diplomacy* (Stanford, CA: Hoover Institution Press, 1984).

¹²⁷ HQM, 2:646–47.

China's top talent, by making them love their country and know that the "fruits of socialism" (Hu Qiaomu's words) were hard won. Six months later, when Deng Xiaoping was meeting with the president of Gabon, he expanded on Hu Qiaomu's argument, averring that:

As soon as China abandons socialism, it will return to a semi-colonialist, semi-feudalist society, not to mention today's "reasonably well-off society" (*xiaokang*), we wouldn't even be able to guarantee food and warm clothing. Therefore understanding one's own history is vital. Young people don't understand this history, [but] we will use history to educate young people... This history tells us, that it is impossible for China to take the capitalist road, apart from the socialist road there is no other road for China to take.¹²⁸

This speech implied that young people needed to know more about humiliation by Japan and other so-called great powers in order to learn "why socialism?" and "why history?" On the *very same day* that Deng made his comments (February 18, 1987), the arch-conservative Li Peng (soon to be promoted to number two in the CCP rankings after the Tiananmen crisis) attended yet another youth patriotic education campaign conference, along with Wang Zhen who, as we saw earlier, sowed the seed of an idea for patriotic education of cadres in 1982. Incidentally, these conferences were held shortly after both Hu (Qiaomu) and Wang's children were under investigation for corruption, by discipline committees loyal to Hu Yaobang, a leader who wanted friendship with and not criticism of Japan. It is therefore possible that the intensification of the patriotic education campaign at this time was intended as a riposte to General Secretary Hu, by orchestrating a crusade that would criticise Japan in every classroom in the land.

The communiqué from the 1987 conference lends further credence to the idea of teaching Chinese youth about history, in order to bolster support for the party before the 1989 Tiananmen Square incident. This was achieved in a number of ways including: teaching more history (especially 1931–45 war history); paying attention to the flag raising ceremony; National Day activities to be held annually on October 1 (in order to

¹²⁸ XCGZ, 4:790–92.

understand where the PRC came from); and visiting hero commemoration, revolutionary history and other historical sites.¹²⁹ As the history of the party's rise to power is largely one of resistance against the Japanese, the above list of activities implied paying much more attention to the CCP's wartime role. The article concluded with a very clear indication of what patriotic education was *for*, that is, "establishing the lofty ideas of communism" and what it was *against*, namely "others who proclaim westernisation as the classic model, this is totally the wrong way."¹³⁰

As part of the new pre-Tiananmen patriotic education campaign, party newspapers took to recommending books which captured the movement's zeitgeist. These were not textbooks as such, but "patriotic everyday reading material"¹³¹ directed at youth, which explored patriotism in detail.¹³² Patriotic reading competitions were also held, giving prizes for books which not only recounted the exploits of patriotic national heroes (such as those who sacrificed their lives in defeating the Japanese), but also those who made outstanding contributions to politics, military affairs, science and philosophy.¹³³

Criticising the Japanese for their actions during the century of humiliation was not the only theme in this growing output of patriotic educational literature. During the Anti-Japanese War Mao noted that "patriotism is a historical category, which changes along with the changing times."¹³⁴ Later writers took this utterance to mean that the category could be divided into different classes, such as "proletarian patriotism" and "socialist patriotism." The latter form of patriotism was considered especially important because "only socialism could save China," and because "ardently loving the motherland meant ardently loving the CCP."¹³⁵ Therefore, to be socialist was now to be patriotic (and vice versa), to be either meant ardently loving both China and the party, via a thorough understanding the country's recent history. Thus "[recent] history has

¹²⁹ RMRB, 10/2/87, 1.

¹³⁰ Ibid.

¹³¹ Huang Weiwen, Jia Lanpo, and An Zhimin, *Zhongguo lishide tongnian* (Beijing: Zhonghua shuju, 1982); and Cheng Linsheng, *Aiguozhuyi zongheng tan* (Lanzhou: Gansu renmin chubanshe, 1983).

¹³² See also patriotic education book reviews in: RMRB, 2/4/84, 5; and 15/6/84, 3.

¹³³ Ibid.

¹³⁴ Zhang Xishun, *Aiguozhuyi zongheng tan* (Taiyuan: Shanxi renmin chubanshe, 1987), 19. Similar (sometimes identical) arguments have been published in other 1980s books of the same title published by regional publishing houses.

¹³⁵ Ibid., 29.

already proved that without the CCP there would be no new China; the historical proof is the same, without the CCP there would be no socialist China to modernise.”¹³⁶

To sum up, these pre-Tiananmen books on patriotic education were not generally designed for children to learn about Japan or the actions of other imperial powers during the century of humiliation. Rather they set out the rationale for intensifying the teaching of modern Chinese history in schools, with the aim of showing that criticising the party is unpatriotic, because of its leading role in fighting off the Japanese imperialist invaders and subsequently founding the PRC.

The way in which the patriotic education campaign developed after June 1989 is well documented elsewhere and need not concern us here.¹³⁷ What is important is that internal party documents from the period following the Tiananmen incident reflect a sense of crisis, with leaders desperately casting around for a means of bolstering support for a one-party system of governance, that had virtually vanished overnight in the former Soviet Union. The result was a complete rebranding and recalibration of the patriotic education campaign in order to support continued CCP rule, with an increased emphasis on the actions of Japan during the century of humiliation. In other words, under the aegis of the third (Jiang Zemin) and fourth (Hu Jintao) generation leaders, there has been a deliberate attempt to bring the war and Japan’s role in it to the fore.¹³⁸

How patriotic education developed after Hu Qiaomu’s death

In the immediate aftermath of the Tiananmen Square incident China was politically ostracised, and most western countries considered it inappropriate to visit the PRC at this time. However the Japanese emperor Akihito accepted an invitation to visit China in October 1992, the first ever by a Japanese emperor. This trip created a

¹³⁶ Ibid., 46.

¹³⁷ See n4.

¹³⁸ Kent E. Calder, “China and Japan’s Simmering Rivalry,” *Foreign Affairs* 85, no. 2 (1985): 129–139. Calder argues that later generations of leaders had to take a harder line on all issues and not just Japan, because they lacked the prestige of earlier politicians such as Mao.

significant amount of goodwill between the two countries, with the result that the period following the visit has been described as one of the best in the post-war relationship.¹³⁹ Ironically, it took place just weeks after the death of Hu Qiaomu, as if he somehow symbolised the blocking of better bilateral ties.

As it turned out, the drumbeat of the patriotic education campaign continued to sound loud and clear throughout the rest of the 1990s, as if there had been no visit by the emperor at all. For example, from 1995 onwards, lower middle school history textbooks now included a chapter on “why history matters,”¹⁴⁰ which explicitly linked history of the war to love of the party, by asking students to consider why “if there was no CCP there would be no new China” and why “only socialism can save China?”¹⁴¹

Throughout the 1990s, the Propaganda Department also made sure that students were continually reminded of the importance of patriotism and history. For example, on November 1, 1996, Deputy Prime Minister Li Lanqing opined that “in support of the glorious achievements of modern construction and the magnificent aims [of the party], students should study more recent, modern and party history...Patriotism should now also concentrate on national defence and the security of the country.”¹⁴² By “studying more history” he meant studying past attacks by imperialists (including Japan) on China, by “modern history” he meant the Anti-Japanese War, and by “party history” he meant defeating the Japanese and the GMD. This instruction that patriotic “national defence” education should also be strengthened, came immediately after the 1995–96 Taiwan Straits crisis, which suggests that domestic policy continued to intrude into commentary on Japan.¹⁴³

In 1997, the year before President Jiang Zemin’s disastrous state visit to Japan—where he publicly criticised the Japanese because they had not sufficiently apologised

¹³⁹ Yahuda, *The International Politics of Asia-Pacific*, 323.

¹⁴⁰ *Zhongguo lishi chuzhong ban* (hereafter ZL, short for *Chinese History Lower Middle School Edition*) (1995), 1:1–3.

¹⁴¹ *Zhongguo lishi cankao ziliao chuzhong ban* (hereafter ZL (C), short for *Chinese History Reference Material Lower Middle School Edition*) (1995), 1:8–10. Teachers are instructed to ask the questions quoted here, in order to deepen students’ knowledge of why history is important.

¹⁴² *Gaige kaifang yilai sixiang zhengzhi gongzuo dashi ji* (Beijing: Renmin daxue chubanshe, 2007), 200.

¹⁴³ The PRC has always asserted that the Taiwan problem its own internal affair and is therefore a domestic not a foreign policy issue.

for their wartime actions—the Propaganda Department authorised the naming of 100 patriotic education sites which young people could visit, as part of its ever-strengthening patriotic education campaign. These locations not only included ancient monuments, but also recent sites of revolutionary struggle (especially those demonstrating the humiliation of Chinese by Japanese and other foreigners, such as Unit 731 described in chap. 2). Thus patriotism was no longer an abstract concept taught in the classroom or in front of the national flag, but a vision of what China was and should be, in the form of patriotic education sites dotted around the country.

The new millennium ushered in a new low in bilateral relations between the two countries, although this downturn was driven by policy disputes, rather than the way history and Japan's role within it was presented to ordinary Chinese people. During the tenure of Prime Minister Koizumi Junichiro (2001–06), tensions rose repeatedly over his unofficial visits to the Yasukuni shrine, as well as over trade differences, mainland activists landing on the disputed Diaoyu Islands and disagreements over the delimitation of the Economic Exclusion Zone (EEZ) in the East China Sea.¹⁴⁴ Unsurprisingly, this downturn in Sino-Japanese relations was accompanied by a continuing focus on the patriotic education campaign and wartime atrocities committed by the Japanese. For example, in 2004, the Propaganda Department issued a call for comments coordinated with 10 other ministries, including those of education, culture and finance, recommending that patriotic education work be strengthened by making patriotic education sites (e.g. key World War Two battlefield sites) free or half price for students.¹⁴⁵ The idea here was to ensure that all schoolchildren, regardless of their parents' financial situation, would be able to visit patriotic sites in the locality of their schools. As many of these bases were former Japanese military installations or sites of atrocities committed by Kwantung Army soldiers, the aim was to fix enemy wartime deeds in the minds of the nation's youth.

¹⁴⁴ Yinan He, "History, Chinese Nationalism and the Emerging Sino-Japanese Conflict," 14–15; Yinan He, *The Search for Reconciliation*.

¹⁴⁵ For full text of the call, see: RMRB, 1/10/04, 2.

Celebrating the sixtieth anniversary of victory over Japan

Up to this point we have concentrated on the role of Hu Qiaomu and the influence of the patriotic education campaign in delineating how the state defines Japan. However, our analysis would not be complete without an in-depth examination of how, in recent years, party elites have represented Japan during wartime anniversaries. The behind the scenes planning or “internal plumbing” for such events, tells us much about how the party sees itself and other political actors.¹⁴⁶

Central Policy Document (*Zhongfa*) No. 4 issued by the State Council in April 2005, entitled “Request for instructions concerning the activities commemorating the sixtieth anniversary victory in both the Chinese people’s War of Resistance against the Japanese and the global fight against fascism,” (hereafter the anniversary activities) set out the rationale for the decennial celebrations.¹⁴⁷ It argued that they would be “a big event, of the greatest political and policy significance, which would be closely watched by the whole nation and every [foreign] state.” Cadres should therefore “pay great attention to the commemorations and organise them with the greatest care.”¹⁴⁸ Many other countries planned memorial events to mark the end of the war, including the victors in Britain, France and the United States; and the losers in Germany and Japan.¹⁴⁹ So in this respect, China was no different to other nations that wanted to collectively remember the war in their own way.

However, China was unusual in that it was the state which insisted on micro-managing each and every aspect of the celebrations. This is demonstrated by the assertion in *Zhongfa* (2005) No. 4 that the commemorations must represent the parties involved in the fighting (e.g. the CCP and the GMD) in a way which emphasised the Communists’ role in winning the war. Simply put, unlike in other countries, in 2005 the

¹⁴⁶ John Lewis Gaddis, *The Landscape of History: How Historians Map the Past* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2004), i.

¹⁴⁷ *Jiangsu sheng xuanchuan nianjian, 2005* (Nanjing: Jiangsu sheng renmin chubanshe, 2005), pp. 258–60; 290–95.

¹⁴⁸ *Ibid.*, 294.

¹⁴⁹ As an example of commemorative memorabilia in Britain, see Ministry of Defence (UK), “Second World War Commemorative Booklets,” Ministry of Defence, <http://www.mod.uk/DefenceInternet/AboutDefence/History/WW260thBooklets/SecondWorldWar60thAnniversary.htm> (accessed 5/9/12).

Chinese state insisted on adherence to the narrative that the CCP united and led the masses to victory in both the Anti-Japanese War (1945) and the Chinese Civil War which followed it (1946–49).

The 2005 commemoration events started in early May (to coincide with the date of the defeat of Nazi Germany on May 8, 1945) and ended in early September (marking the anniversary of the formal Japanese surrender on September 2, 1945). They were seen by the party as a golden opportunity to “strengthen the people’s pride, confidence and sense of self-esteem.” Every opportunity was to be used to sing the praises of “how good the CCP is, how good socialism is and how good reform and opening up is [sic].”¹⁵⁰

As during previous commemorations marking the end of the war (e.g. 1951–52, 1965, 1985) “Japanese militarists [but not the Japanese people] should be denounced and their heinous crimes exposed,” and “under no circumstances should people be allowed to seize the opportunity to beautify the GMD or belittle the CCP.”¹⁵¹ Such comments suggest enduring continuity in the way in which PRC elites have portrayed Japan, such as extreme sensitivity to claims that the GMD did most of the fighting against the Japanese. If the Nationalists in Taiwan were able to prove this, it would imply that the GMD (and not the CCP) has a greater claim to rule mainland China.

Nothing was left to chance during the celebrations, because were the wrong message on the CCP’s role in beating the Japanese to gain wide circulation, then at the very least the party would have had to conduct a rapid damage limitation exercise. At worst the masses would have started questioning the Communists’ right to rule. In other words, memory of the war was used as a vehicle for consolidating and promoting continued one-party rule on the mainland:

Special attention is to be paid to small newspapers, small journals and management of the internet; the blocking of foreign internet sites with opposing views is to be strengthened; and internet comment or articles appearing online are to be immediately scrubbed, should they mock the history of our War of Resistance [against Japan]. All media must praise our achievements in the War of

¹⁵⁰ *Jiangsu sheng xuanchuan nianjian*, 2005, 294.

¹⁵¹ *Jiangsu sheng xuanchuan zhishi* (2005) no. 9, 14/4/05, quoted in *Jiangsu sheng xuanchuan nianjian*, 2005, 294.

Resistance against Japan and our role in the global fight against fascism... those who do not must be severely punished.¹⁵²

Such was the importance of these sixtieth anniversary events, that provincial *Propaganda Yearbooks* in 2005 and 2006 devoted around 10 percent of their publications to planning for and monitoring feedback from the celebrations. This, of course, does not mean that 10 percent of the Propaganda Department's manpower and time was devoted to the commemoration activities. However, it does demonstrate that close attention was paid to these events and their associated accrual of propaganda benefits at the very apex of government.

Preparations were not just restricted to planning the commemoration ceremonies themselves. To illustrate, the civil affairs, finance and health ministries as well as the PLA Central Political Department were ordered to arrange "express sympathy" events for war heroes across the country, so as to avoid the charge that China was not looking after those who actually fought the Japanese.¹⁵³ Additionally, all provinces were to ensure that World War Two veterans were neither suffering financially nor chronically ill because of an inability to pay for treatment. Other countries too would have been embarrassed were soldiers who risked their lives fighting for their homeland found to be living in poverty. The difference with China, is that because the fight against Japan was and remains absolutely central to the CCP's claim to legitimacy over the GMD, it could not afford a public relations disaster in the form of photos of neglected war veterans being beamed round the world.

All provinces, regardless of whether they were in CCP, GMD, Japanese, warlord or so-called puppet regime hands between 1931 and 1945, were to hold anniversary activities commemorating the CCP's role in the war. In central Hubei Province, for example, where CCP forces hardly fought at all, the provincial propaganda bureau still argued that the 2005 commemorations would form a "brilliant opportunity for propagandising, with obvious propaganda results, [namely] propagandising the

¹⁵² Ibid.

¹⁵³ To give an indication of the numbers of veterans attending in just one city, Chongqing, an estimated 250 war heroes attended an "express sympathy" event there organised by the PLA. See: *Chongqing ribao* (hereafter CQRB, short for *Chongqing Daily*), 16/8/05, 2.

glorious achievements of the party in leading the Chinese people through an arduous yet magnificent struggle against the Japanese.”¹⁵⁴ At the provincial level, just as at the national level, it was expressly forbidden to praise the role of “other forces” in beating the Japanese. This was the CCP’s moment of glory (in 2005) and the party was to ensure that no one else could claim to have defeated the Japanese, not even in Hubei Province.¹⁵⁵

Conclusion

Since the founding of the PRC in 1949 there has never been one inviolable, unchanging image of Japan, even for party elites. This chapter has demonstrated that there has been no linear progression or development in the Chinese leadership’s view of Japan. Instead, change in the production of verbal and visual imagery of Japan has frequently been hijacked by other policy dictates, ranging from the need to show support for the Soviet Union, to deflecting attention away from the mistakes of the Great Leap Forward.

The evidence presented also makes a case for revisiting the influence of Hu Qiaomu, in hardening of elite attitudes towards Japan, especially during the decade following the 1982 first textbook crisis. I contend that Hu was also a key political actor in the formulation of a pre-Tiananmen patriotic education campaign which prominently (but not exclusively) focused on Japan’s wartime role. This campaign was initially an idea for indoctrinating cadres about history, in order to prevent a recurrence of the Cultural Revolution. However, it quickly morphed into a vehicle for inculcating young Chinese people on the benefits of socialism and one-party rule.

Whilst the long-term drivers of Sino-Japanese bilateral relations are relatively well understood—such as normalisation (pre-1972), trade and the cyclical nature of the relationship—the processes underpinning the way in which elites view Japan are

¹⁵⁴ *Hubei sheng xuanchuan nianjian, 2005* (Wuhan: Hubei renmin chubanshe, 2006), 13.

¹⁵⁵ *Ibid.*, 64–68.

much less well known. This is precisely because the Japan issue has continually been used as a means of pursuing different policy objectives, for example criticising the GMD's contribution to the war effort. The next four chapters examine in more detail different "institutions" through which Japan is presented to the masses: museums, textbooks, films and newspapers; with the aim of painting a more finely textured picture of the way in which Japan has been (mis-)represented.

Chapter 2

Anti-Japanese War Museums: Unit 731

Introduction

This chapter explores the dialectic of remembering and forgetting in Chinese war museums, as it relates to the memory of Japanese actions in World War Two. In particular, I chronicle the chain of events which led to the opening in 1985 of an important but understudied war museum, the “Japanese Invading China Army Chemical and Biological Warfare Unit 731 Criminal Evidence Museum” at Pingfang near Harbin, or Unit 731 for short. From its construction during the late 1930s until August 1945, this top secret Japanese military establishment conducted Chemical and Biological Warfare (hereafter CBW) experiments on thousands of live human guinea pigs, mostly captured Chinese citizens.¹

To date the scholarly literature in both English and Chinese has generally neglected Unit 731 in favour of three more prominent wartime commemoration halls: the Nanjing Massacre Museum (Nanjing, opened 1985), the Museum of the Chinese People’s Resistance against Japanese Aggression (Beijing, opened 1987) and the September 18 History Museum (Shenyang, opened 1991). Domestic research on these three sites in particular, has tended to concentrate on the suffering inflicted on Chinese people as a result of Japanese aggression, rather than the museums themselves.²

¹ Harris, *Factories of Death*, 62.

² Much of the secondary literature in both English and Chinese concerns the incidents or the wars that these museums are portraying. For example, whilst the Chinese literature on the Nanjing massacre runs to over 10,000 articles, there exist only a handful of works in any language which examine the Nanjing Massacre Museum itself. One of the best overviews of Chinese war museums can be found in: Kirk A.

This neglect is unwarranted, since Unit 731 is anything but a passive repository of war memory awaiting visiting tourists. On the contrary, archives relating to the site offer a fascinating glimpse of internal party debates on how China's erstwhile adversary (Japan) should be portrayed. For example, during the 1950s and 60s the provincial authorities in Harbin endeavoured to demolish the entire Pingfang site, in order to erase memory of the war there. However, in attempting to raze this former Japanese base to the ground, the Heilongjiang CCP People's Committee encountered fierce opposition from leaders in Beijing. Twenty years later, shortly after the start of the reform era, the changing fortunes of Unit 731 caused it to be reclassified as a national patriotic education base (1982), and several years after that parts of the site were opened to the public (1985). The centrepiece of the Unit 731 site now became a criminal evidence museum.

Subsequently, memory of the site, as well the information presented within its walls, has been continually contested by both foreign and domestic political actors.³ This verbal warfare occurred precisely because commemorative structures form “political arenas in which definitions of identity and culture are asserted,” and because the selection of knowledge there, as well as the presentation of ideas and images is “enacted within a power system...This is the power to represent: to reproduce structures of belief and experience.”⁴ The changing ways in which these forces act upon Unit 731 make it ideally suited as a lens with which to study how Chinese political actors have sought to conceptualise the Anti-Japanese War.

The competing narratives analysed in this chapter—local versus national government, elite PRC versus leading Japanese politicians (such as Koizumi Junichiro), and so on—can be thought of as threads, which can be woven together in

Denton, “Heroic Resistance and Victims of Atrocity;” see also: Takashi Fujitani, Geoffrey M. White, and Lisa Yoneyama, *Perilous Memories: The Asia-Pacific War(s)* (Durham, NC: Duke University Press, 2001).

³ Archaeologists disagree on the definition of the term *site* to such an extent that some major specialist dictionaries in the field omit it. In this chapter I take site to mean “an identifiable location informed by the memory of past events,” as defined in: Jacqueline Rossignol and LuAnn Wandsnider, eds., *Space, Time, and Archaeological Landscapes* (New York, NY: Plenum Press, 1992), 23–24.

⁴ Ivan Karp and Steven D. Lavine, *Exhibiting Cultures: The Poetics and Politics of Museum Display* (Washington, DC: Smithsonian Institution Press, 1991), 1.

order to create a tapestry showing the relationship between history and memory as they relate to the Unit 731 site. Such insights are important, because sociologists still do not know how societies remember, or even why the past is of relevance.⁵ However, in recent decades scholars attempting to answer these two questions have started to theorise memory, and to conceptualise it in relation to history and collective identity. For example, Eric Hobsbawm argues that the way in which people form collective memory is linked to the notion of the “invention of a tradition.”⁶ Jens Bartelson comes to a similar conclusion, in that he posits collective memory is a key attribute in the process of state formation, because it practically “remembers [a nation] into existence.”⁷ The French sociologist Pierre Nora also provides a useful distinction between memory and history, by arguing that “memory attaches itself to sites, whereas history attaches itself to events.”⁸ In this way, memory becomes distorted and unpredictable, not only by censorship and propaganda, but because it is “capable of lying dormant for long periods only to be suddenly reawakened.”⁹

In this chapter I will track the political processes involved in constructing Unit 731 as a site of Chinese war memory. I have chosen this methodology because taking a holistic approach to theoretically deconstructing a single PRC commemoration museum allows us to unpack the complex relationship between war history, war memory and identity.

This chapter is divided into three parts. Part one shows how after the war Unit 731 became subject to history itself, in that at various stages after 1949 its function and even its right to exist was challenged by different political actors. Part two then demonstrates how Unit 731 exhibits were used to selectively remember the past, in order to achieve sharply-defined political objectives. Finally, part three examines the physical structure of the museum.

⁵ Barbara A. Misztal, *Theories of Social Remembering* (Maidenhead: Open University Press, 2003), 5.

⁶ Eric J. Hobsbawm, *The Invention of Tradition* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1992).

⁷ Jens Bartelson, “We Could Remember it for you Wholesale: Myths, Monuments and the Constitution of National Memories,” in *Memory, Trauma and World Politics: Reflections on the Relationship Between Past and Present*, ed. Duncan Bell (Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan, 2010), 50.

⁸ Pierre Nora, *Realms of Memory: Rethinking the French Past* (New York, NY: Columbia University Press, 1996), 1:3.

⁹ *Ibid.*

Part I

Unit 731 becomes subject to history

After the First World War the Japanese military looked for “cheap but highly destructive” munitions which could assist them in their plans for territorial expansion across East Asia.¹⁰ Chemical and Biological Warfare was seen by the Japanese as just another means of helping them achieve this objective. In order to design and produce CBW munitions, within months of the Japanese occupation of Harbin in February 1932, the “Research Centre for Epidemic Prevention” (a euphemism for the Japanese military CBW research centre) moved there from Tokyo.¹¹ After changing location several times, from 1938 onwards Japanese CBW research was masterminded at Pingfang, a five square kilometre cantonment just beyond the southern outskirts of Harbin.¹² Shortly after the move to Pingfang, the complex was renamed Unit 731, and testing of chemical and biological agents on live prisoners continued there right up until August 1945.¹³

Early in that month (August 1945) the retreating Japanese took great pains to destroy evidence of their CBW activities, which meant killing and disposing of all remaining Unit 731 prisoners, detonating experimental laboratories and destroying documents.¹⁴ Documentary evidence relating to Unit 731 at the Kwantung Army

¹⁰ 731 budui rijun qinhua zuizheng bowuguan, ed., *Qinhua rijun guandongjun qisanyi xijun budui* (Beijing: Wuzhou chuanbo chubanshe, 2005), 3.

¹¹ Ibid.

¹² The complex included an airfield and a barracks, with an estimated 3,000 personnel working there by August 1941. See: Tsuneishi Keiichi, “Unit 731 and the Japanese Imperial Army’s Biological Warfare Program,” trans. John Junkerman, *Japan Focus* (2005), <http://www.japanfocus.org/-Tsuneishi-Keiichi/2194>.

¹³ Harris, *Factories of Death*, 75. See also: Peter Williams and David Wallace, *Unit 731: The Japanese Army’s Secret of Secrets* (London: Hodder & Stoughton, 1989); Hal Gold, *Unit 731: Testimony* (Tokyo: Yenbooks, 1996).

¹⁴ Harris, *Factories of Death*, xxix.

headquarters in Xinjing, the one-time capital of Manchukuo (present day Changchun) was also destroyed, but as we will see the destruction was not completed thoroughly.¹⁵

During the war Unit 731's real purpose seems to have been kept from the CCP, and it was not until after the Chinese Communists took control of Harbin in April 1946 that they suspected the original function of the site.¹⁶ However by the time the Communists came to power in 1949, the Soviets had already amassed sufficient evidence relating to Japanese CBW activities with which to conduct war crimes trials at Khabarovsk.¹⁷ Evidently, some of this material was shared with the Chinese, following which they aligned themselves with the Soviet position.

After the founding of the PRC, one of the first documents to be published on Unit 731 was a pamphlet written by the Harbin People's Government Hygiene Bureau.¹⁸ It might seem rather odd that a hygiene bureau would publish such an overtly political tract criticising the Japanese. However, since the end of the war hygiene department cadres had had to deal with a number of serious plague outbreaks in Harbin, which were probably caused by rats set free from Unit 731 in the closing days of World War Two. These officials therefore had the most detailed knowledge of Unit 731, which is why they were chosen to write about it.¹⁹

The main argument of the pamphlet bore the imprimatur of the CCPCC, as its focus was on matters of national rather than local importance, such as arguing that the Soviets should place more Japanese militarists on trial and punish them with the utmost severity. This was because the Chinese people "want revenge on the biological warfare criminals who killed our compatriots."²⁰ Even harsher opprobrium was reserved for the

¹⁵ *731 budui zuixing tiezheng* (Changchun: Jilin sheng dang'an guan chubanshe, 2003). Changchun is located 300 kilometres south of Harbin.

¹⁶ Officials from the hygiene bureau suspected that Unit 731 was the source of recurring plague outbreaks in the city. However, thorough Japanese destruction of Unit 731's research facilities before their retreat, coupled with subsequent widespread looting by locals made it difficult to piece together the unit's former purpose: MFA doc. #105-0092-02(1), 10–12.

¹⁷ *Materials on the Trial of Former Servicemen of the Japanese Army Charged with Manufacturing and Employing Bacteriological Weapons* (Moscow: Foreign Languages Publishing House, 1950).

¹⁸ MFA doc. #105-00076-03.

¹⁹ Two years later in 1952, the Chinese claimed that the United States used similar weaponry to launch over 2,000 CBW attacks on the PRC during the Korean War. See: Ruth Rogaski, "Nature, Annihilation, and Modernity: China's Korean War Germ-Warfare Experience Reconsidered," *Journal of Asian Studies* 61, no. 2 (2002): 383.

²⁰ MFA doc. #105-00076-03, 9.

United States though, as America had allegedly assisted in covering up the crimes of the putative war criminals (and Unit 731 commanders) Lieutenant General Ishii Shiro and Major General Kitano Masaji:

We...denounce this [act] to all the peoples of the world, we insist that the Japanese biological warfare criminals repay their blood debt! We fiercely oppose each and every action by the American imperialists in covering up [the crimes of these] Japanese war criminals.²¹

Such denunciations indicate that the new Chinese administration was intent on using Unit 731 as a means of pillorying both the Japanese militarists and the American imperialists. The pamphlet, which was published on the eve of the outbreak of the Korean War, can be viewed in terms of Cold War narratives, which signified that American forces occupying Japan were seen as an even bigger threat than the Japanese, because of their attempt to encircle the PRC. Interestingly, the publication was released just two weeks after American Secretary of State Dean Acheson's famous January 1950 press club speech, in which he outlined a policy for containing Communist powers in East Asia (e.g. China) by means of erecting a defensive perimeter around them.²² Viewed in this light, the pamphlet's contents seem more like a riposte to the concept of American encirclement than a critique of Japanese war criminals.

Unit 731 papers are unearthed in Changchun (1953)

Three years later documents relating to Unit 731 were unearthed during building work at the site of the former Kwantung Army headquarters in Changchun.²³ These Japanese military papers proved that the Japanese had conducted vivisection experiments at Unit 731 on captured Chinese Communists, Russian spies and common criminals, to name but a few. Immediately publicising these records would have

²¹ *Ibid.*, 7.

²² John Lewis Gaddis, *The Long Peace: Inquiries into the History of the Cold War* (New York, NY: Oxford University Press, 1987), 72.

²³ *731 budui zuixing tiezheng* (Ha'erbin: Heilongjiang renmin chubanshe, 2001), 2. There seems to be considerable confusion about the history of these documents. The date they were discovered is given either as 1953 or 1955, with variously 3,600 or "over 80" files found, of which some were moved from police custody to provincial archives in either 1969 or 1982.

reinforced the case, outlined above, for criticising the United States. Similarly, sharing the dug-up files with the Soviet authorities would have given the Russians additional documentary evidence with which to place more Japanese suspects on trial. China's new Soviet allies would have certainly been most interested in the files, since they proved beyond reasonable doubt that during the 1930s and 40s captured Russian agents had been the subject of vivisection experiments at Unit 731.²⁴

In fact none of the excavated papers were released, instead they were placed in the hands of the Manchurian Puppet Archive Office, a branch of the Public Security Bureau (PSB). The records then sat untouched until the 1960s, when they were slowly catalogued.²⁵ There are several possible reasons as to why these reports and fragments were not placed in the public domain. Firstly, in 1950s China there was a relative paucity of Chinese scholars of Japan, which meant that China lacked the institutional capacity with which to properly analyse the documents found in Changchun.²⁶ However were this true, then as the number of trained Japan scholars rose through the 1950s and 60s, the files would have been quickly analysed and released, which was patently not the case.²⁷ Moreover, right from the start the authorities seem to have had a reasonable grasp of the contents of this find, since over 40 officials were seconded from other bureaus and ministries to scrutinise the unearthed documents.²⁸

A second and more plausible reason for the non-release of the Unit 731 papers was that at the time the files were found, diplomatic relations with Japan were rapidly improving, as evinced by the mass repatriation of 29,000 Japanese expatriates in early 1953 and a rapid increase in the number of visiting semi-official Japanese delegations. As a result, it was now no longer politic to harangue the Japanese over their wartime activities, because to have done so would have wrecked Chinese attempts to improve bilateral ties.²⁹ Even if the Unit 731 papers were dug up in 1955 as opposed to 1953, as

²⁴ Cathcart and Nash, "War Criminals and the Road to Sino-Japanese Normalization," 93.

²⁵ No record exists as to why the authorities did not publicise the cache back in the early 1950s.

²⁶ *Zhongguo riben xue nianjian, 1949–90*, 22–23.

²⁷ *Ibid.*

²⁸ Jilin sheng dang'an guan, "731 buduide you yi zuizheng," *Zhongguo dang'an* 10 (2001): 55–56.

²⁹ For a graphic illustration of Chinese attempts to improve bilateral relations from December 1952 onwards, see: RW, 1:97–101.

some archival sources contend, this reasoning would still hold true, since Sino-Japanese relations gradually strengthened between the years 1953–55. In summary, during the early years of the new People’s Republic, the fate of Unit 731 and unearthed evidence relating to it mirrored the state of Sino-Japanese relations.

Different branches of the party apparatus sought to present memory of the war with Japan in different ways. We know this because during the late 1950s officials from the provincial CCP committee in Heilongjiang and the State Council in Beijing sharply disagreed over the future role that Unit 731 should play in the nation’s consciousness. Throughout the second half of the 1950s, after plague outbreaks emanating from Unit 731 had been brought under control, the Heilongjiang authorities made repeated requests to the authorities in Beijing for permission to redevelop the former Unit 731 site.³⁰ Their rationale was that in order to meet centrally imposed production quotas, the municipal government was urgently in need of flat land for new factory space. To provide that space, it was proposed to build on the ruins of Unit 731.³¹ Heilongjiang cadres evidently did not consider the ruins worth preserving, and besides, much salvageable building material from the Unit 731 ruins (such as bricks) had already been taken by local residents, making what remained even less worth keeping.

This argument is rather disingenuous, considering that Pingfang lies over 20 kilometres from the centre of Harbin. Furthermore, both Harbin and Pingfang lie on the Songhua River floodplain, all of which is eminently suitable for building factories on. In other words, had it so wished, the Harbin city government could have easily chosen somewhere closer to Harbin to expand production facilities. To be fair, by 1950 aviation factory No. 122 had already been established immediately adjacent to the ruins of the Unit 731 headquarters, and it was now looking to expand. This work unit had in fact been given responsibility for protecting the former 731 site, which it did in a most perfunctory manner, by erecting a barbed wire fence around part of the ruins and building over the rest!³²

³⁰ See: MFA doc. #105-00954-04.

³¹ Ibid.

³² Jin Chengmin, *Riben jun xijun zhan* (Harbin: Heilongjiang renmin chubanshe, 2008), pp. 633, 647. At the time of writing the management of the aviation factory still routinely deny access to curators from

I contend that the authorities in Harbin knew that this former research centre was in some way “different” and more important as a site of war memory, not least because in 1950 the local hygiene bureau had published a treatise excoriating Japanese CBW criminals and their activities at Unit 731.³³ Moreover, in north-east China generally, ruins and physical reminders (administrative buildings, barracks and so on) of the Japanese occupation abounded, so in this case the local government must have sensed the importance of the Unit 731 ruins, otherwise they would simply have ignored or demolished them without seeking higher guidance.

This raises the intriguing possibility that the real reason for the haste with which the Harbin authorities wanted to redevelop Unit 731, was that the ruins were an embarrassment or a slur on the entire region. In this sense Heilongjiang cadres saw the ruins as signifying a “site of forgetting” (that embarrassment) and not one of remembering it.³⁴ Another possibility is that at the time of the first request in 1957, the PRC had just concluded its own war crimes trials in Shenyang which, in the eyes of the Harbin authorities, obviated any need to preserve Unit 731 as proof of Japanese war crimes.

Meanwhile, in Beijing, the subject of preserving the Unit 731 ruins was considered so important that Premier Zhou Enlai was asked for his comments on the issue. Writing on behalf of Zhou, the State Council’s 1957 official response was that it was necessary to preserve the ruins, because “[Unit] 731 forms extremely important proof, not just for [the PRC] but also for Soviet war crimes trials of Japanese...all your actions are to proceed from this principle.”³⁵

Taken at face value, this statement could be taken to mean that prior to the Sino-Soviet split in 1960, all relations with foreign powers were interpreted in Beijing through the lens of perceived Soviet Union foreign policy requirements. This is another way of saying that the Chinese leadership thought that the Soviets might want them to

the Unit 731 museum wishing to conduct archaeological research. Interview with Assistant Curator Wang Dongke, Unit 731 Museum, Harbin, 15/7/11.

³³ See n18.

³⁴ Unfortunately, neither the Heilongjiang provincial nor the Harbin city archive have released records which could prove or disprove this assertion.

³⁵ MFA doc. #105-00548-09.

preserve the ruins, so preserved they should be.³⁶

Zhou Enlai also reasoned that it was necessary to preserve the ruins for the following four reasons: “one, the international situation; two, the state of Sino-Japanese relations; three, in order to preserve proof of enemy crimes; and four, so as to expose and attack Japanese militarists.”³⁷ As will be shown, in later decades these four guiding principles were repeatedly invoked, using “the past [in order to] continuously recreat[e] and reformulate...[it] into different pasts from the standpoint of [an] emergent present.”³⁸ In other words, even during the 1950s Unit 731 was becoming part of history itself, by evolving into an important potential reservoir of memory for gaining leverage over Japan, should the state of Sino-Japanese relations deteriorate to such an extent as to require it.

Not content with the 1957 decision from the State Council, the Heilongjiang CCP People’s Committee made further requests to demolish the Unit 731 ruins in 1958, following which it noted that:

In 1957 and 1958 my province asked for guidance from the State Council, who gave instructions that *in order to preserve evidence of the enemy’s crimes* [emphasis mine], it is necessary to preserve a part of the [former Unit 731] ruins...If it is necessary to further demolish the preserved part of the ruins, because to do otherwise would [negatively] influence the development of production,...then written comments from higher authorities should be sought...The State Council does not agree that it is crucial to demolish the ruins.³⁹

So despite the best efforts of the local authorities to efface the memory of Pingfang, Zhou Enlai himself decreed that the ruins should remain as proof of atrocities committed by the Kwantung Army in north-east China. The lack of further archival correspondence on the matter suggests that the Heilongjiang government accepted the State Council’s ruling, and thereafter made no further requests to build over the ruins.

³⁶ Chinese MFA records relating to Unit 731 make no explicit reference to the Soviets requiring them to preserve the former cantonment. However, documents relating to the 1949 Khabarovsk war crimes trials make it clear that amassing of evidence on CBW experiments at the Pingfang facility was ongoing at this time. See: *Materials on the Trials of Former Servicemen of the Japanese Army*, 14.

³⁷ See n35.

³⁸ George Herbert Mead, *The Philosophy of the Present* (1932; repr., La Salle, IL: Open court Pub. Co, 1959), 235.

³⁹ MFA doc. #105-00954-04.

However, this does not mean that officials in Harbin sought to implement the guidance from Beijing by carefully preserving the ruins, or even that they agreed with the judgement. In fact the opposite seems to have happened, as during the Great Leap Forward local Pingfang residents were allowed to cart off hundreds of tonnes of bricks from the ruins for building purposes, and steel retrieved from the site was melted down in local blast furnaces.⁴⁰

Further desecration of the former Japanese CBW facility then took place during the late 1960s and early 70s, when an estimated 3,000 People's Volunteers (*minbing*) and middle school students completely levelled many of the remaining structures.⁴¹ Actually, during the Cultural Revolution buildings and cultural relics across the nation were vandalised or damaged, so in this respect Unit 731 was not unusual. For example, the Nanjing Aviation Martyrs' Museum on the northern outskirts of Nanjing was desecrated a second time by Red Guards in 1966, having already been vandalised in late 1937 by invading Japanese troops.⁴² Moreover, across much of the country government had virtually stopped functioning, so it is quite possible that the authorities could not have stopped the destruction at Pingfang, even had they wanted to.

This insouciance by the local authorities over the fate of Unit 731 is worth highlighting for two reasons. It shows that no matter how passionately central government cared about the issue, foot-dragging and a blithe lack of interest by local government conspired to create an altogether different reality on the ground.⁴³ The wilful destruction of the Unit 731 site also implies that at various stages of China's recent history domestic politics has overridden all other considerations. In this case, allowing Red Guards and People's Volunteers to wantonly destroy a vital piece of the nation's collective memory in defiance of State Council instructions, shows that China has not always accorded top priority to preserving proof of Japanese crimes. During the early decades of the People's Republic the overall picture we have is one of the Unit

⁴⁰ Jin, *Riben jun xijun zhan*, 647.

⁴¹ *Ibid.*

⁴² Interview with Curator Zhang Pengli, Nanjing Aviation Martyrs' Museum, Nanjing, 30/9/11.

⁴³ In a different context, this point is made in: Graham T. Allison, *Essence of Decision: Explaining the Cuban Missile Crisis* (Boston, MA: Little, Brown, 1971), 166.

731 ruins being acted upon by competing domestic political forces (the State Council, Red Guards and so on), which affected both its physical structure and the way in which it was represented. At the close of the Mao era (1976) the former Unit 731 site was virtually destroyed, with its loss seemingly unlamented.

Part II

Hu Qiaomu, Unit 731 and war memory

One of the constantly recurring themes of this study is that Mao's former secretary Hu Qiaomu was frequently involved in behind the scenes decision making on how to portray the history of China's war with Japan. During the Cultural Revolution Chen Boda (who like Hu was one of the party's top theoreticians) attacked the history profession with the famous jibe that "history is basically completely useless," which led to historians being persecuted to such an extent that their subject was "smashed to pieces by the Gang of Four," an ultra-left clique which included Mao's wife Jiang Qing.⁴⁴

From 1980 onwards, Comrade Hu rehabilitated China's beleaguered historians and gave them the green light for using history as a means of solving intractable problems—such as how to "correctly" remember wartime Japanese atrocities committed at Unit 731. Hu Qiaomu offered reconciliation with historians, by accepting that "in order to solve current real, practical problems, you can't ignore history...it does not matter how complex the problem, if you use history's vision to analyse [problems], everything can be understood."⁴⁵ These remarks, coming from one of China's most prominent Marxist theorists, removed at a stroke the ideological stigma that had so

⁴⁴ HQM, 3:104.

⁴⁵ Ibid., 106–07. The speech was made at the second national Chinese history conference, held on 8/4/80.

recently been attached to historians and their work. From the early 1980s onwards then, remembering these atrocities allowed the CCP to blot out memory of the Cultural Revolution. This plan was executed in two stages.

During the first stage Deng Xiaoping quickly sought to draw a line under the excesses of the Mao era, by apportioning blame for the party inspired catastrophes of the Great Leap Forward and the Cultural Revolution, coupled with a reappraisal of post-1949 party policies. Deng achieved this by asking Hu Qiaomu to draft the historical questions resolution discussed in the last chapter.⁴⁶ In this respect the publication of the resolution in June 1981 was spectacularly successful, since it was structured in such a way that any future criticism of the CCP elite over its own past could be neatly deflected, by always referring back to the party's own criticism of itself in the text of the resolution. This process also seems to have had a cathartic function, allowing party leaders to get on with their day-to-day job of running the country, whilst at the same time avoiding recriminations for such egregious mistakes as the Great Leap Forward man-made famine. Furthermore, the very fact that the historical questions resolution was published at all, demonstrated that Deng Xiaoping wanted to differentiate himself from the secretive style and personality cult associated with his predecessor Mao Zedong.

However, formally drawing a line under the party's Mao era mistakes was emphatically not the same as forgetting those mistakes. After all, at the time of publication of the historical questions resolution (in 1981) the Cultural Revolution was still fresh in everyone's memory, since it had ended only five years previously (in 1976), with Mao's death and the arrest of the Gang of Four. This left something of a vacuum in CCP debates on all sorts of recent historical issues, because the resolution, revelatory as it was, still papered over many uncomfortable truths which could not be talked about.

Put differently, although by CCP standards the June 1981 historical questions resolution had been unusually open, the CCP still needed to find an effective means of *forgetting* incidents and political campaigns that now, in the post-Mao era, might call

⁴⁶ See p. 47 n92, this thesis.

into question its right to rule. For example, was the CCP fit to rule if its Great Leap Forward policies caused a man-made famine which had killed more Chinese people than the Japanese during the war?⁴⁷ Was the CCP fit to rule if it had launched political campaigns which killed Chinese “rightists” and landlords in ways just as violent as any invading Kwantung Army soldier?

The second stage of Deng Xiaoping’s master plan, to erase public collective memory of policy mistakes committed during the Mao era, involved downplaying post-1949 history by highlighting war memory. Before we can assess the evidence for this though, it is necessary to contextualise Deng’s thinking in terms of the global rise of wartime commemoration from the 1980s onwards. This is required because if the Chinese increase in remembrance of World War Two mirrored the rise taking place globally, then downplaying memory of Mao-era excesses would not explain the 1980s rise in prominence of Chinese wartime commemoration at Unit 731 and elsewhere.

Unit 731 and the explosion of war memory in the 1980s and 90s

As noted in chapter one the first textbook crisis erupted in July 1982, following the publication in Japan of revised history textbooks which downplayed the wartime invasion of mainland China by Japanese forces.⁴⁸ It is well documented that this crisis provided the initial momentum for the building of a small number of high profile Anti-Japanese War museums around the country, such as the Nanjing Massacre Museum noted above.⁴⁹ However, it is not clear whether this burst of war museum construction was influenced by purely domestic considerations. This doubt exists because Barbara Misztal notes that during the 1980s and 90s there was a global explosion of “commemorative fever,” in the form of an astonishing burst of interest in

⁴⁷ David M. Bachman, *Bureaucracy, Economy, and Leadership in China: The Institutional Origins of the Great Leap Forward* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1991), 213.

⁴⁸ See also: Rose, *Interpreting History in Sino-Japanese Relations*; Rose, *Sino-Japanese Relations*.

⁴⁹ See: Fujitani, White, and Yoneyama, *Perilous Memories*, chap. 1.

collective memory as a historical phenomenon.⁵⁰ It is therefore important to ascertain to what extent these global trends influenced the Chinese decision to start building museums commemorating the Anti-Japanese War.

The historian Michael Kammen provides a comprehensive list of causal factors for the 1980s and 90s burst of interest in sites of memory, which forms a useful framework for analysing the Chinese case. Firstly, during the 1980s and 90s there was a worldwide surge of well-organised, well-funded civic commemorations, such as the bicentenary of the 1776 revolution in the United States (1975–76) and the quincentennial anniversary of Columbus’s first voyage to the New World (1992). Kammen argues that events such as these acted as a catalyst for other major global commemorations.⁵¹ Certainly, after the death of Mao Zedong in 1976 and China’s reforms got underway, the country was much more open to the influences of foreign diplomacy, culture and trade. To illustrate with just one example, between the years 1980–2000 the number of Chinese students studying abroad increased from 2,124 to 38,989. Returnees also increased, from just 162 in 1980 to 9,121 in 2000.⁵² However, during the early 1980s, China had only just commenced its reform and opening up to the outside world, and it is unlikely that commemoration events such as those mentioned above would have influenced the Chinese leadership’s decision to start their own large-scale commemorative activities at Unit 731 and elsewhere.

Secondly, Kammen talks of “delayed memory syndrome,” which he defines as “a period of 15 years of relative neglect or repression following some major historical trauma.”⁵³ This line of reasoning plausibly explains the lack of interest in the Holocaust and the Vietnam War until the 1960s and 80s respectively. However, the delayed memory syndrome model does not fit the Chinese situation very well either, since the post-1982 surge in state-led remembrance at Unit 731 did not commence until 50 years after the first Japanese biological warfare unit was set up in Manchuria (in

⁵⁰ Misztal, *Theories of Social Remembering*, 2.

⁵¹ Michael Kammen, “Review of ‘Frames of Remembrance: The Dynamics of Collective Memory’ by Iwona Irwin-Zarecka,” *History and Theory* 34, no. 3 (1995): 245–61.

⁵² Hannum et al., “Education in the Reform Era,” 233.

⁵³ Kammen, “Review of Frames of Remembrance,” 250.

1932 at Beiyinhe), and almost 30 years after the retreating Japanese abandoned Unit 731 in 1945. The 15 year rule might have held were it not for the intervening revolutionary upheaval of the Chinese Civil War, the Great Leap Forward and the Cultural Revolution. At the very least, this suggests that the production of war memory was delayed by domestic political events.

Another possibility here is that the sheer scale of the suffering during the Japanese occupation meant that after the war the CCP found it exceptionally difficult to deal with this humiliation (as did the GMD on Taiwan), and it therefore shunned detailed analysis of specific incidents (e.g. biological warfare attacks) or sites (e.g. Unit 731) by peremptorily blaming feudalism or fascism instead.⁵⁴ These “scars of war” remained buried for so long because they were overlain by the fresh pain of Chinese-versus-Chinese conflict following the foundation of the PRC, such as the anti-landlord campaigns of the early 1950s.⁵⁵

Thirdly, Kammen briefly details a number of other possible causal factors that could account for the 1980s and 90s commemoration fever. These include a rise of state-sponsored tourism, which packages the past as heritage, and of memory “as an act of consciousness,” where war veterans feel the need to confess as their lives draw to a close.⁵⁶ He also talks of the role that increasingly “authoritative” war films play in stimulating war memory because they “tell it like it really was.”⁵⁷ Taking each of these points in turn, it is unlikely that state-sponsored mass tourism would have been a driving force for reviving memory of Unit 731 during the early 1980s, as there was nothing for tour groups to see—in 1982 the Pingfang site was not much more than a pile of rubble. Even today, the local Harbin government prefers to promote the city as a tourist or investment destination, rather than as the scene of grisly biological war crimes.⁵⁸

Kammen’s idea of remembering “as an act of consciousness” applies to former

⁵⁴ Lary and MacKinnon, *The Scars of War*, 2.

⁵⁵ *Ibid.*, 11.

⁵⁶ Kammen, “Review of Frames of Remembrance,” 250.

⁵⁷ *Ibid.*, 249.

⁵⁸ See: Harbin city government website, “Ha’erbin shi huanying nin,” Harbin city government, <http://www.harbin.gov.cn> (accessed 10/11/11).

Japanese soldiers posted to Unit 731 rather than to Chinese prisoners who were sent there, because not a single Chinese inmate came out alive.⁵⁹ However, during the 1980s and 90s a number of inmates' relatives and forced labourers still survived. These individuals were interviewed in order to elicit more information about Unit 731.⁶⁰ However, it is implausible that their testimony provided the initial impetus for opening the Unit 731 museum, since the process of interviewing them only gathered momentum after the decision to open the museum was taken. What is clear though, is that after the 1982 textbook crisis erupted in July, staff at Unit 731 moved with considerable alacrity to provide "proof" of the atrocities committed there. For example, Mr Zhao Guanxing, a Chinese forced labourer at Unit 731 who was 18 years old at the time of the Japanese surrender, was interviewed by three newly-hired curators from the virgin Unit 731 research centre, just weeks after the textbook crisis imbroglio.⁶¹ These staff must have been recruited with great speed, as prior to 1982 Unit 731 neither existed as a separate work unit, nor did it employ any staff.

Finally, with respect to mainland Chinese war movies, as I discuss in chapter four, from 1949 to the present day hundreds of feature films and countless television dramas have been made about the Anti-Japanese War, but films which "told the war it as it really was" did not start appearing until after the release of *The Bloody Battle for Taierzhuang* in 1985. This film thus post-dated the initial surge in commemorative activity at Unit 731. It is interesting to note that since 1949 whilst mainland Chinese films have been made on many aspects of the 1931–45 war, not a single film or entertainment drama has been made about Unit 731, which suggests that the CCP wanted to forget rather than remember its history. However, numerous educational documentaries have been made about Pingfang, implying that there is a "correct" or at

⁵⁹ A small number of inmates from the Beiyinhe CBW unit escaped in 1933, which partly as a result was quickly closed down. 731 budui rijun qinhua zuizheng bowuguan, *Qinhua rijun guandongjun qisanyi xijun budui*, 21.

⁶⁰ See: Bao Haichun, ed., *Qinhua rijun xijun zhan ziliao xuanbian* (Hulunbei'er: Neimenggu wenhua chubanshe, 2010); and Toshiyuki Tanaka, *Hidden Horrors: Japanese War Crimes in World War II* (Oxford: Westview, 1996), chap. 5.

⁶¹ Mr Zhao was interviewed on 21/8/82. Unit 731 exhibit (viewed at Pingfang on 13/7/11). The term *prisoner* should not be confused with the term *forced labourer*, as the latter was not allowed any contact with the former.

least an “approved” way of interpreting Unit 731 history, focusing on the atrocities committed by the Japanese militarists, and the idea of a “museum as ‘proof’ of war crimes.”⁶²

The commentary above suggests that the global explosion of war memory during the 1980s shares few similarities with the Chinese case, except for the timing. We therefore turn to other possible reasons for the explosion, which brings us back to the question of whether the Chinese leadership used memory of World War Two to downplay party mistakes committed during the Mao era. Here the evidence shows that there was indeed a battle for ownership of the past waged on several fronts, fought against the ruling LDP partly in the form of a patriotic education campaign. The analysis below adds depth to the arguments provided in the previous chapter, that the way memory of the war was presented in mainland China showcased CCP achievements whilst at the same time attacking other views on the conflict.

A battle for ownership of the past

Within a few weeks of the first textbook crisis, retired Japanese Prime Minister Kishi Nobusuke stirred controversy afresh by proposing to construct a memorial to the Japanese “Manchurian colony” in Shizuoka Prefecture, Japan.⁶³ The proposed construction of this monument had a bearing on the fate of Unit 731 (which was located in Manchuria) for two reasons. Firstly, Kishi emphatically stated that the founding of a Japanese Manchurian state was “in order to found an ideal country, there was absolutely no intention of setting up a colony.”⁶⁴ The implication here is that if the aim of the Japanese was to build a “Manchurian paradise,” then the intentions of the

⁶² For example, *Devil's Gluttony* (see below) was serialised for CCTV in 2003, accompanied by best-selling reprints of the book. Meanwhile, outside of mainland China in Hong Kong, several highly controversial, extremely violent films were made about Unit 731, including *The Man Behind the Sun* (*Hei taiyang 731*, 1983) and its sequel *Death Factory 731* (*731 sharen gongchang*, 1988).

⁶³ RMRB, 24/8/82, 6. No reasons are given as to why the monument was to be built in Shizuoka Prefecture.

⁶⁴ Ibid.

Japanese settlers there must have been honourable too. A logical corollary of this statement is that the occupiers never committed war crimes such as those perpetrated at Unit 731. Yet if the Japanese never colonised Manchuria, then why was a retired Japanese prime minister now proposing to build a “Manchurian colony” monument in the first place? It is rather like the Germans offering to build a monument to commemorate their “advance” into Poland during the Second World War, whilst conveniently forgetting that they had built the Auschwitz concentration camps.

The second reason that the proposed “Manchurian colony” monument has a bearing on Unit 731 relates to official Chinese antipathy towards the monument’s sponsor, Kishi Nobusuke. Not only had he served in the Japanese colonial administration in Manchuria (after which he was held as a class A war crimes suspect but never indicted), but worse, as far as the Chinese were concerned, during his tenure as prime minister (1957–60) he denied that the PRC was the legitimate government of China.⁶⁵ Seen in this light, by averring that the Japanese never had colonial designs on north-east China, Kishi Nobusuke was simply reopening wounds that had never fully healed in the first place, which led Deng Xiaoping to retort:

If Kishi Nobusuke wants to build a memorial to the founding of Manchuria, then we have to build our own monuments to the invading Japanese militarists. In this way we can educate our people, our youth, and our descendants about this very important truth.⁶⁶

The Unit 731 museum director gives this August 1982 statement by Deng as one of the main reasons for the establishment of the Unit 731 museum, which shows that during this period the emergence of the history problem was not solely related to disputes over textbook content.⁶⁷ The main thrust of Deng Xiaoping’s reasoning here, is that if Japanese right-wing politicians such as Kishi tried to deny their wartime history, then the PRC leadership needed to educate the Chinese masses about Japanese atrocities committed in the name of colonialism. In this way, memorials and monuments relating

⁶⁵ Richard J. Samuels, *Machiavelli’s Children: Leaders and Their Legacies in Italy and Japan* (Ithaca, NY: Cornell University Press, 2003), 141.

⁶⁶ Jin, *Riben jun xijun zhan*, 633.

⁶⁷ Ibid.

to the war, such as Unit 731, would form part of what I term an “education toolkit,” for teaching Chinese people about the contested nature of war memory (e.g. Japanese right-wing politicians denying the colonisation of Manchuria). This toolkit was predicated on the tradition that “history can serve as a mirror” (*yishiweijian*), which means that correctly interpreted, history can act as a guide to future conduct.⁶⁸ The first textbook crisis and the “Manchurian colony” monument dispute had repercussions well beyond China and Japan. For example, politicians in South Korea also protested vigorously against these 1982 attempts to re-write history, since they had been colonised by the Japanese too.⁶⁹

As a result of the renewed controversy over wartime memory, in September 1982 the head of the Propaganda Department in Beijing, Deng Liqun (no relation of Deng Xiaoping), decided to commission a fresh report into Unit 731 and the war crimes committed there during the war. A month later, on seeing the completed paper, minister Deng instructed that:

We need to turn this [unmarked] grave for 10,000 [Chinese people], that [unmarked] grave for 10,000 [Chinese people], the site of the Nanjing massacre and the Japanese militarists’ biological warfare factory in Harbin, etc., into national cultural heritage sites.⁷⁰

The alacrity with which Deng Liqun commissioned the report suggests that the central government had not forgotten Zhou Enlai’s 1957 dictum that: “the Unit 731 ruins must be preserved in case the state of Sino-Japanese relations requires it,” even as the issue’s dormancy for 25 years raises the question of why it should have been resurrected then.⁷¹ Zhou Enlai presciently foresaw that this discursive site of war memory might, in a potential future dispute with Japan, become a metaphorical stick with which to beat it. Minister Deng’s attitude towards the Suzuki Zenko administration could be summed up as “do not try to deny your invasion and occupation of China, as we have proof in

⁶⁸ Si Maguang, *Zizhi tongjian*, eds. Liu Houbin, Li Xiaojun, and Han Shufeng (Beijing: Zhongguo renmin daxue chubanshe, 2010). Tellingly, post-1949, the first recorded use of this oft-quoted phrase is in early 1983, barely six months after the first textbook crisis. See: RMRB, 22/2/83, 6.

⁶⁹ Rose, “The Textbook Issue: Domestic Sources of Japan’s Foreign Policy,” 206.

⁷⁰ Jin, *Riben jun xijun zhan*, 648.

⁷¹ See n35.

the form of the ruins at Unit 731.”

The germ of an idea for a patriotic education campaign

It is therefore unsurprising that in October 1982, Deng Liqun forwarded the completed report on Unit 731 to Hu Qiaomu, who in response cleverly reasoned that this general neglect in preserving relics of the Japanese invasion was detrimental to both the Chinese and Japanese peoples. As will be shown in the unfolding argument below, in order to drive this argument home, nine months later on June 21, 1983 Hu was building a case for linking Unit 731 to the Chinese education system:

Recently a Japanese author wrote a book about Unit 731 called *Devil's Gluttony*, which became a...best-seller in Japan because most...people in Japan did not know the truth about the invasion of China by Japanese militarism [sic], let alone the facts about using Chinese people for live biological warfare experiments. Not long ago, this author visited the southern outskirts of Harbin to inspect the ruins of that period's Japanese biological warfare factories, and found that most of the ruins did not even exist anymore...Of course, we cannot preserve all of the ruins, but preserving such a small proportion of such an important [historical site] is a total lack of responsibility on the part of our generation.⁷²

Hu Qiaomu was making two important points, namely that it was the responsibility of the older generation to preserve ruins of the conflict with Japan before they passed away, and also that by abnegating this responsibility they were partly responsible for the lack of Japanese awareness about the war. Hu's implication here was that if there was collective war amnesia in Japan, then the Japanese education ministry could freely doctor domestic textbooks in any way they wished, because there was no proof (in the form of museums or monuments) with which to refute such allegations. Crucially, China would be partly to blame for this Japanese amnesia, because the older generation had missed the opportunity to convert important mainland Chinese sites of war history

⁷² HQM, 3:187. The book which Hu refers to is: Morimura Seiichi [J], *E'mo de baoshi: riben xijun zhan budui jiemi*, trans. Luo Weilong and Chen Naixuan, (Beijing: Xueyuan chubanshe, 1983). This book was originally serialised in *Akahata*, the JCP newspaper.

into sites of war memory. Hu Qiaomu was firing the opening salvos in a battle between China and Japan for contemporary ownership of wartime memory, as originally played out during the 1930s and 40s at Unit 731, Nanjing and elsewhere.

Put differently, during the 1980s Hu Qiaomu saw Japanese revisionism over war memory as a pretext for jump-starting the process of remembering the war in China, by moving history (e.g. in the form of Unit 731 atrocities) into the short-term memory of the Chinese masses. Comrade Hu brilliantly argued that this “memory deficit” on the part of both the Chinese and Japanese people, could be remedied by means of building museums and monuments as discursive sites of memory with which to remember the war:

Even though the masses have received a comprehensive historical education, there are many historical truths about which they are not too clear. The war took place very recently, but today we do not have a single commemoration museum to it. Actually, the eight year War of Resistance against Japan was an extremely important turning point in China’s history, which ultimately led to victory in the revolutionary [civil] war.⁷³

Hu Qiaomu also realised that there was no point in building museums or monuments to commemorate past atrocities or battles if no one visited them. He therefore suggested that the most important sites of remembrance should become patriotic education bases (*aiguo zhuyi jiaoyu jidi*), which young people would then visit whilst at school, as part of a state-led patriotic education campaign. Interestingly, this speech was made just a few weeks after the promulgation of the “Call for comments on strengthening the dissemination of a patriotic education” discussed in the last chapter, indicating that museums were very much a central plank of the proposed legislation:

Setting up war museums will provide a patriotic education for the masses and our young people, in order to let [them] know what sort of country we are, what sort of development and struggle we have gone through, and the foundations laid for development in [our] varied undertakings.⁷⁴

Hu Qiaomu does not directly state why young people needed to focus on refashioning

⁷³ HQM, 3:186.

⁷⁴ Ibid.

memory of the war. However, he hints at a possible reason in his assumption that the older generation should reconstruct the past as museums and monuments, because they were the ones who actually fought the war. This would imply that the younger generation, who did not experience the war, were in greatest danger of forgetting it. If young Chinese people were not continually reminded of Japanese atrocities committed at Unit 731, Nanjing and elsewhere, then in future they would be in no position to protest if any right-wing Japanese politician or bureaucrat attempted to whitewash history by denying their invasion of China. What better way to ensure that every Chinese citizen is armed with the appropriate “tools” with which to rebut any interpretation of the past which obfuscates the Japanese invasion, than by ensuring that as schoolchildren they compulsorily attend wartime commemoration sites? In some ways this plan mirrored the idea of Jewish interest groups in the United States and elsewhere, who focused on memory of their race’s persecution by the Nazis during the 1930s and 40s, because of concerns that “as those survivors of the Holocaust pass away Holocaust deniers will gain traction.”⁷⁵ However, the Chinese case differs in that it was the state (as opposed to interest groups) which acted as the main driver in refashioning memory of the war as an ideological weapon, which would in future allow China “to cast itself as a ‘victim state.’”⁷⁶

Naturally, these sites of contested memory would present the war from the Communist Party’s perspective. This would explain why Hu proposed that the reconstruction of these sites be funded mainly by the public purse, rather than by private donations, as they had been in much of Western Europe after World War One.⁷⁷ Only by using government funding to pay for the reconstruction, would the Chinese state have the final say in this early 1980s bilateral dispute over whether Japanese forces advanced into or invaded China.

⁷⁵ Richard J. Evans, *Lying about Hitler: History, Holocaust, and the David Irving trial* (London: Verso, 2002), 257.

⁷⁶ The phrase in quotation marks is taken from: Peter Novick, *The Holocaust and Collective Memory: The American Experience* (London: Bloomsbury, 2000), 8–9.

⁷⁷ J. M. Winter, *Sites of Memory, Sites of Mourning: The Great War in European Cultural History* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1995), 86.

Remembering in order to forget?

As discussed above, the second stage of Deng Xiaoping's plan to blot out memory of the Cultural Revolution and other "party-versus-Chinese" campaigns was to divert attention towards atrocities committed by the Japanese during the war. The Soviet historian Peter Kenez argues that propaganda states "overwhelm citizens...with official interpretations of reality. Initiating political challenges to these states becomes virtually unthinkable—which is precisely the goal."⁷⁸ His hypothesis neatly fits the evidence required to build a prima facie case for Deng Xiaoping's post-Cultural Revolution administration needing to "reinterpret reality," by forgetting party mistakes and remembering Japanese atrocities. This was achieved by apportioning blame for previous CCP errors in the form of the historical questions resolution (released in June 1981); *forgetting* recent historical events which would cast doubt on the party's fitness to rule (ongoing); and initiating a patriotic education campaign so as to remind today's youth of crimes committed by Japanese and other foreigners in China (February 1982 onwards).

The missing link needed to make this new official reinterpretation of reality binding, was a version of history which would allow the Chinese people to *remember* the achievements of the party, even as they were required to purposely forget its mistakes. The first textbook crisis and the Kishi Manchurian monument debacle helped to forge that missing link, by acting as catalysts for an explosion of war memory from 1982 onwards, through which the CCP could refashion its own wartime role. Thus, remembering the war allowed the CCP to construct a new comprehensive version of reality, based on its role in beating those very same Japanese militarists in its quest to found the PRC. The brilliance of this strategy was that for as long as certain factions of Japanese society (LDP politicians, right-wing groups, senior generals from the Japan Self-Defence Forces (JSDF)) denied their country's former activities at Unit 731 and

⁷⁸ Peter Kenez, *The Birth of the Propaganda State: Soviet Methods of Mass Mobilization, 1917–1929* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1985), 3.

elsewhere, Chinese politicians would have an excuse *par excellence* for diverting attention away from party mistakes towards party achievements, such as the war.

Once the political decision was made to move ahead with this strategy for re-interpreting history, it was fleshed out in the form of administrative instructions. At the end of 1982, a few months before Hu Qiaomu's musings on the need for war museums, the Ministry of Culture issued Order No. [82] 1289 "Instructions on the work required to properly protect criminal evidence of the Japanese invasion of China."⁷⁹ This order instructed that from now on (late 1982) all activities relating to the museum's work should stem from the premise that the ruins should be preserved and that young people should be educated about Unit 731's history.⁸⁰ To that end, on December 1, 1982, Unit 731 was assured continued national attention, by being classed as one of the first Chinese patriotic education bases.⁸¹ This decision has led to the restoration of Unit 731 as a criminal evidence museum, such that it currently receives 200,000 visitors a year.⁸² During this period, over two million characters of evidence have been examined and more than 1,000 exhibits have been catalogued. To this day, work continues on interviewing ethnic Japanese formerly employed at Unit 731, as well as surviving conscripts and close relatives of those killed at the Unit.

Compensation claims using evidence from Unit 731

In 1982, after the impetus of the first textbook crisis and the Manchurian monument incident, all surviving Unit 731 documentary evidence seems to have been

⁷⁹ The full text of the order can be found at: Ministry of Culture (PRC) website, "Wenhua bu gonggao tongzhi," Ministry of Culture, <http://www.ccnt.gov.cn> (accessed 14/11/11).

⁸⁰ Jin, *Riben jun xijun zhan*, 648.

⁸¹ Ibid.

⁸² As a comparison with other wartime commemoration halls, during the first decade after opening to visitors in 1987 the Beijing War of Resistance Museum received 7 million visitors, whereas the much smaller John Rabe and International Safety Zone Memorial Hall in Nanjing receives 11,000 visitors per year. Rana Mitter, "Behind the Scenes at the Museum: Nationalism, History and Memory in the Beijing War of Resistance Museum, 1987–1997," *China Quarterly* 161 (Mar. 2000): 281; Interview with Deputy Curator Yang Shanyou, John Rabe Memorial Hall, Nanjing, 21/5/11.

transferred from the police to provincial archives for analysis.⁸³ The provincial archivist's mandate was to provide proof of Japanese crimes, which could then be neatly folded into broader state-directed narratives relating to memory of the Anti-Japanese War. Of course, during the 1980s and 90s leaders in Beijing could have chosen to reconstruct the Japanese invasion of China in any number of ways, by authorising research on Kwantung military strategy, economic policy in areas occupied by the Japanese, or even attitudes of Japanese settlers living in China. However, none of these avenues for research were pursued, because focusing on "Japan as enemy" was the most efficacious means of showcasing CCP achievements, forgetting the party's own mistakes, and criticising the Japanese.

Seen in this light, research undertaken by state employed archivists and scholars after 1982 was not so much "objective representation" as "subjective interpretation" of the Unit 731 archives.⁸⁴ By subjective interpretation, I mean choosing or filtering material, and then releasing it in stages to a mass audience in order to achieve central government aims. By following the train of events which led to the two stage release of Unit 731 documentary evidence, it is possible to map out these objectives, which I posit were (and remain): fostering a strong sense of Chinese victimhood, proving specific acts of Japanese barbarity, demonstrating the complicity of contemporary Japanese politicians in covering up criminal acts committed in China before 1945 and finally, embarrassing individuals or factions within the LDP who deny the war. This leads us to the problem of what caused the evidence to be released into the public domain at certain times.

The first major release of Unit 731 records in 1999

After Emperor Akihito's visit to China in 1992, Sino-Japanese relations improved

⁸³ *731 budui zuixing tiezheng* (Changchun), 589.

⁸⁴ The terms in quotation marks are from: Peter Hamilton, "Representing the Social: France and Frenchness in Post-war Humanist Photography," in *Representation: Cultural Representations and Signifying Practices*, ed. Stuart Hall (London: Sage, 1997), 81.

considerably, with China making only muted, infrequent criticisms about Japan. This short post-Tiananmen rapprochement between the two powers came to an abrupt end in 1995, when Prime Minister Murayama Tomichii failed to pass a “No war” resolution in the Japanese Diet.⁸⁵ This failure sparked a blaze of Chinese criticism, signalling that a re-emergence of Japanese militarism would not be tolerated.⁸⁶ Interestingly, this criticism erupted on the very day that representatives of the world’s seven largest industrialised economies (the G7) were meeting in Canada, and was quite possibly designed to embarrass Japan in front of other world leaders.

Within weeks of this spat, in August 1995 one Mrs Gou Lanzhi—the widow of a Mr Zhu Zhiying—launched a civil compensation claim in Tokyo, for damages relating to the abduction of her husband in Mudanjiang in 1941 and his subsequent murder at Unit 731.⁸⁷ Technically the plaintiff could have lodged a war crimes suit, as there is currently no statute of limitation for such cases.⁸⁸ However, as the time since a putative war crime occurred increases it becomes ever harder to secure a conviction, as evidence is lost to posterity, and potential witnesses or suspects die of old age. This problem is particularly relevant here, since the case was filed over half a century after Zhu Zhiying disappeared. Mrs Jing’s case was quickly followed by an avalanche of similar civil compensation claims lodged by “history activists” with no connection to the Chinese state, in many cases launched with the support of Japanese lawyers who wished to highlight Japan’s wartime conduct.⁸⁹ The historian James Reilly analyses the reasons why Chinese state organs kept themselves at arm’s length from the court proceedings, for example because the CCP did not want to lose lucrative trade deals with Japan.⁹⁰

⁸⁵ Ryuji Mukae, “Japan’s Diet Resolution on World War Two: Keeping History at Bay,” *Asian Survey* 36, no. 10 (Oct. 1996): 1011. In fact, relations were starting to deteriorate before the Diet resolution, for example in May 1994 when Justice Minister Nagano Shigeto called the Nanjing massacre a fabrication.

⁸⁶ For example, see the RMRB 16/6/95 headline: “We warn the Japanese right-wing factions: It is not permitted to overturn the history of the invasion!”; or the RMRB front page slogans on 25/6/95: “Stop distorting history! Recognise China’s position on Taiwan! Renounce World War Two crimes!”

⁸⁷ 731 budui rijun qinhua zuizheng bowuguan, *Qinhua rijun guandongjun qisanyi xijun budui*, 142.

⁸⁸ Theodor Meron, “War Crimes Law Comes of Age,” *The American Journal of International Law* 92, no. 3 (1998): 462–68.

⁸⁹ For example see: Wan, *Sino-Japanese Relations*, 316.

⁹⁰ James Reilly, “China’s history activists and the war of resistance against Japan,” *Asian Survey* 44, no. 2 (2004): 276–94.

What concerns us here though, is not so much the courtroom battles, but Chinese official involvement, regardless of whether that involvement was made public at the time. Monographs published by Unit 731 admit that the elderly Mrs Jing did not bring the above-mentioned lawsuit herself, rather she was invited to lodge a claim by the “National executive committee on evidence collection of the Asia-Pacific War victims,” which is quite possibly a euphemism for the Chinese government.⁹¹ If this statement is true (and there is no reason to think that the Unit 731 museum would fabricate state involvement in the case), then it is highly suggestive that the CCP wished to force the Japanese courts to admit war crimes committed by the Kwantung Army as a punishment for the failure of the “No war” resolution in 1995.⁹²

This assertion is lent credence by the fact that, four years later in August 1999, several weeks before the Tokyo District Court pronounced on a number of compensation cases (including the one brought by Mrs Jing), the Chinese government authorised the public release of records relating to Japanese CBW crimes committed at Pingfang, because “these archives expose Unit 731 crimes and provide strong legal proof for relatives seeking to sue and seek compensation for crimes committed on their kin.”⁹³ To demonstrate its empathy with potential or current plaintiffs, the CCP provided blanket Chinese media coverage for the release of these exhibits, which it saw as proving Japanese war guilt.⁹⁴ Intriguingly, none of the articles specifically mentioned which lawsuits this newly released evidence was directed at, instead preferring vague generalisations about corroborating Japanese war crimes.

The archives could, in fact, have been released at any time following their discovery in Changchun in 1953. Instead, the authorities ultimately gauged that maximum impact would be gained by offering these papers as proof in court cases being heard in Japan, which would explain why the Chinese side argued that “we” need

⁹¹ This organisation is quite probably fictitious, since I can find no other reference to it either in print or online.

⁹² Moreover, contemporary Chinese sources rarely make a sharp distinction between compensation claims and war crimes, inferring that the Chinese state preferred to blur the two court actions in order to brand them as one and the same.

⁹³ *731 budui zuixing tiezheng* (Ha'erbin), 419.

⁹⁴ For example see: *Guangming ribao*, 3/8/99, 1; *Zhongguo dang'an*, 1999, vol. 10, 8–12.

to prove the names, the date of birth, the ages and the hometowns of those Chinese liquidated at Unit 731.⁹⁵ This strongly suggests political influence in the timing of the documents' release, because the disclosure of archives in China is rarely dictated by the pace of contemporary events. Moreover, it is even less common for such a release to be accompanied by a press conference. Newspaper and journal articles printed accompanying the publication of these papers admitted that the decision to publish was taken nationally, although they declined to elaborate further.

As it turned out, the release of this material failed to achieve a positive outcome for the Chinese plaintiffs. The courts in Tokyo argued that neither a case for compensation nor a formal apology had been made, since too much time had elapsed since the alleged crimes were committed, the plaintiffs had provided insufficient proof, and the court was not a suitable forum for deciding on matters such as apologies or compensation.⁹⁶ The Chinese authorities were evidently dealing with a potentially explosive situation, in that encouraging Mrs Jing (and maybe others) to lodge claims in Tokyo might cause common Chinese people to roundly condemn the party if those cases then failed.⁹⁷ My basic argument here is that in order to forestall such criticism, the party then produced its most conclusive documentary evidence of Japanese war guilt, that is, a second batch of Unit 731 records, so as to prove the cases in its own domestic court of public opinion.

The second major release of Unit 731 records in 2001

Just as in the early 1950s Zhou Enlai authorised the repatriation of Japanese POWs in batches for maximum publicity, documentary evidence from Unit 731 was also released in tranches for PR purposes. Here the similarity ends, however, because

⁹⁵ Bao, *Qinhua rijun xijun zhan ziliao xuanbian*, 64.

⁹⁶ Tuwu Gongxian [J], "Guanyu 731 budui xijunzhan susong shenpanjuede pipan tantao," *Changde shifan xueyuan xuebao* 6 (2002): 12–14.

⁹⁷ For an example of how the party tries to assuage domestic concerns over foreign policy in order to avoid protest, see: Christopher R. Hughes, "Nationalism in Chinese Cyberspace," *Cambridge Review of International Affairs* 13, no. 2 (2000): pp. 196, 206.

whereas in 1953 each group of POWs was released in pursuit of one overriding goal, namely normalisation of bilateral relations, in 1999 and 2001 the Chinese government publicised Unit 731 records for different reasons on each occasion. In 1999 Unit 731 archives were published to coincide with the compensation trials held in Tokyo described above, whereas the second release of documents two years later was primarily designed to berate Prime Minister Koizumi.

On September 6, 2001, the director of the Jilin Province provincial archive held a press conference, detailing the work that his organisation had carried out on records relating to Unit 731.⁹⁸ This batch of military papers in Japanese provided proof of CBW experiments carried out on 277 people, as well as evidence that high-ranking Manchurian officials and military officers knew of Unit 731 and its activities.⁹⁹ A quote from the Jilin press conference helps to pinpoint the reason for choosing September 2001 as the publication date for this second and final tranche of Unit 731 exhibits:

Our country's government has approved [the release of these archives] on the seventieth anniversary of the 9.18 incident, so as better to expose the Japanese imperialists "invasionary" crimes, to expose the insufferable arrogance of the Japanese extreme right, and to oppose the Japanese government's "oppositional" attitude and ambivalence to [Unit] 731.¹⁰⁰

One point to note from this statement is that, as in the past, it was the central rather than local government which took the initiative over Unit 731. This demonstrates that party leaders in Beijing saw Unit 731—and documentary proof relating to it—as tools to be used in pursuit of national objectives. Were this not the case, then local cadres would have been allowed to manage the Unit 731 ruins, archives and exhibits as they saw fit, for example by trying to build over the unit after the denouement of the 1956 Shenyang war crimes trials.

⁹⁸ *Zhongguo dang'an bao*, 17/9/01, 1. These were the records excavated during the early 1950s.

⁹⁹ *Ibid.* This tranche of archives also contained information about wartime plague outbreaks in Manchuria, which were allegedly deliberately caused by the Japanese.

¹⁰⁰ *731 budui zuixing tiezheng* (Changchun), 508. The term 9.18 refers to the Mukden or Manchurian Incident on 18/9/31, which acted as a pretext for the Japanese invasion of what is now north-east China.

A second point to note is that the CCP seems to have been trying to use Unit 731 records, in order to fix the past in a certain way. Their method here was to portray the Japanese extreme right-wing as Other, not only by roundly condemning them, but also by using new archival finds to prove that their “extreme right-wing” forbearers had committed atrocities at Unit 731. Of course, as the papers released in 2001 had not been publicly scrutinised (they had spent most of the past 50 years in the custody of Chinese public security organs), it is impossible to know for sure whether or not other Unit 731 papers are still being withheld from release, perhaps because they do not fit the arguments that the Chinese side is trying to make.

My intention here is not to suggest that the authorities were being economical with the truth, as the Jilin Province archivists had evidently used much badly damaged, fragmentary evidence to painstakingly reconstruct the activities of one of Japan’s most secretive and heinous wartime military establishments. Rather, my meaning here is that just because officials in Beijing authorised the release of Unit 731 papers in 2001, this does not indicate that they did not withhold or destroy other papers which told, perhaps, a different story. Scant but tantalising evidence for this assertion exists in the form of a discussion with a Unit 731 curator, who stated that in post-1982 interviews conducted by museum staff, elderly Chinese averred that during the 1930s and 40s many locals thought that the Japanese invaders behaved better towards them than their own military forces!”¹⁰¹ Such an assertion emphatically does not fit with the picture that the CCP was trying to build over 50 years later, namely that the invading Japanese had been incorrigibly evil. Evidence pointing to such a conclusion would never be allowed to see the light of day.

Although the seventieth anniversary of the 9.18 incident was given as the official reason for publishing the second batch of Unit 731 evidence, this statement should not necessarily be taken at face value. If the anniversary of 9.18 was so important, then why did cadres wait until 2001 to release the papers? Could they not have released them on

¹⁰¹ Interview with Assistant Curator Wang Dongke, Unit 731 Museum, Harbin, 17/7/11. This would explain why recently published records of interviews with surviving Unit 731 Chinese conscripts contain only highly-negative significations of Japan.

some earlier 9.18 commemoration? On the one hand it could be argued that the papers had only recently been catalogued and analysed, and it was therefore not possible to present them as evidence at earlier commemorations. On the other hand, as noted above, these papers bear Chinese date stamps from the 1960s, which implies that the Chinese had catalogued them at that time and therefore knew how important they potentially were. A second quote from the press conference offers a possible explanation for the decision to wait until September 2001 before releasing the papers, in that it would “expose the *ridiculous historical perspective of the Japanese extreme right* [emphasis mine], as well as being of great positive benefit for those investigating the responsibility for the Japanese imperialists’ war.”¹⁰²

In light of this last statement, it is plausible that the real reason for this angry Chinese outpour was that the Japanese Prime Minister Koizumi Junichiro, made his first visit to the Yasukuni shrine less than two weeks before the 2001 press conference.¹⁰³ Worse, unlike previous prime ministerial visits to the shrine made by Nakasone Yasuhiro (1985), Miyazawa Kiichi (1992) and Hashimoto Ryutaro (1996), Koizumi’s informal visits were made very publicly. As if to bait those who opposed trips to this Shinto shrine in Tokyo, Koizumi taunted them with the slogan “I visit the Yasukuni shrine regardless of what happens.”¹⁰⁴

There is no conclusive proof that the Unit 731 archives were released as a riposte to Prime Minister Koizumi’s visit, but the timing is significant. The decision to proceed with the release of the archives so soon afterwards can be construed as either a warning from the Chinese, or a signal that they had detailed records of what really happened at Unit 731. In this way, the release of the archives so long after they were discovered, shows that in Chinese eyes Japanese prime ministerial visits to Yasukuni were completely unacceptable. This would explain why the Jilin Province archive press conference made such concerted attempts to portray the Koizumi administration as extremist, and the views of the Japanese government as ridiculous. Finally, it is worth

¹⁰² *731 budui zuixing tiezheng* (Changchun), 507.

¹⁰³ Daiki Shibuchi, “The Yasukuni Shrine Dispute and the Politics of Identity in Japan,” *Asian Survey* 45, no. 2 (2005): 197–215.

¹⁰⁴ *Ibid.*, 210.

noting that at this stage of Koizumi's tenure in office, sources of friction with China such as renewed Japanese attempts to gain a UNSC seat (2005) and repeated visits to Yasukuni lay in the future, removing them as possible causes of the Chinese anger directed at the Japanese government.¹⁰⁵ Yet politically-charged law suits and the rancour associated with them can only tell us so much about the museum itself, and in order to gain a more holistic idea of the way Unit 731 is presented and perceived we now turn to its physical structure.

Part III

The physical structure and meaning of the Unit 731 museum

The first thing that strikes visitors to the Unit 731 museum is how difficult it is to reach. The site is generally not marked on tourist maps and the only bus that travels directly from Harbin to Pingfang is a slow one, making over 20 stops along the way. The Unit 731 museum might be a "crucial centre of national memory," but it seems that unless you are part of either a school group (for which attendance is compulsory as part of the patriotic education campaign) or a tour group (on my three visits to Unit 731 I never saw a single tour bus or group) visiting is not encouraged.¹⁰⁶ This seems to tie in with the post-1949 thinking of the local authorities, who have continually tried to ignore or downplay the memory of Unit 731.

Arriving in Pingfang one passes former Unit 731 buildings, including army barracks now turned into shops and apartments (see fig. 2), water towers, railway sidings and so on. These repositories of war memory are completely ignored by the local inhabitants of Pingfang who, if they are even aware of the previous roles that these

¹⁰⁵ See: Peter Gries, "Nationalism, Indignation and China's Japan Policy," *SAIS Review* 25, no. 2 (2005): 110.

¹⁰⁶ The term in quotation marks comes from Nora, *Realms of Memory*, vol. 1, xvii.

structures once performed, now prefer to forget them. Only buildings inside the museum complex are labelled or signposted in any way.

As soon as the visitor arrives at the entrance to Unit 731, he or she instantly realises that this is somehow not a “normal” museum. There are no loudspeakers blaring pop music, no stalls selling souvenirs, nor are there touts offering to show one round. Instead there is what I would call a “vacuum of activity,” in that the Unit 731 main entrance is left empty and untended, providing space for the visitor to dwell on past atrocities committed by the Japanese (see fig. 3). Again, unlike many museums in China, admission to this site is free, which means that the central government wishes to encourage visits to patriotic education bases such as this one, even as the local authorities wish to downplay its presence by failing to promote it.



Figure 2. Two photographs of former Japanese barracks at Pingfang.



Figure 3. The entrance to the Unit 731 museum.

Before starting our tour, it is worth considering the assumptions that underpin the site, in order to gauge the political claims that Unit 731 makes about Japan. The culture scholar Ivan Karp posits that “every museum exhibition, whatever its overt subject, inevitably draws on the cultural assumptions and resources of the people who make it. Decisions are made to emphasise one element and to downplay others, to assert some truths and ignore others.”¹⁰⁷ In other words, museums are all about contestations of power, the power to present Japan and its wartime relationship with China in a certain way. The Chinese literature scholar Kirk Denton expands on this, by arguing that all PRC museums are “used as tools by the state to propound officially sanctioned views of modern history...[in that they become] pedagogical tools for the teaching of party history to the masses.”¹⁰⁸ This theoretical perspective affords a conceptual lens for decoding empirical evidence, presented in the form of the symbolism suffusing both the museum buildings and the exhibits it contains.

Five aspects of the Unit 731’s physical bricks-and-mortar presence allow us to capture the image of Japan that the museum attempts to impart to visitors. Firstly, as already touched upon, Unit 731 as proof of Japanese war crimes is a strong theme which comes not just from its formal title (i.e. as a criminal evidence museum), but also through the official narratives which the commemorative structures are trying to convey. By tracing the history of CBW warfare in Japan from the 1920s right through to the Japanese defeat in 1945, the discourse unfolding room-by-room converts loss, despair, and anger into victimhood, grief and lastly hope. Loss and despair exude almost all of the exhibits as they detail the horrific nature of the crimes committed at Unit 731. A newly opened section on the history of chemical warfare in twentieth-century Japan for example, cleverly interweaves narratives of loss and despair with anger. The former are conveyed by covering corridor walls with detailed lists, of instances where the Japanese military used chemical weapons against the Chinese. The anger is plainly evident from the captions detailing the inhumanity of

¹⁰⁷ Karp and Lavine, *Exhibiting Cultures*, 1.

¹⁰⁸ Kirk A. Denton, “Museums, Memorial Sites and Exhibition Culture in the People’s Republic of China,” *China Quarterly* 183 (Sept. 2005): 567.

these Japanese crimes.

Secondly, a sense of victimhood pervades the entire museum, in that China is presented as both a past and a present victim. China the past victim is conceptualised by means of the CBW warfare experiments carried out on Chinese people. China the present victim is characterised in the form of newly refurbished rooms detailing how Chinese “today” are still being harmed as a result of Japanese actions, for example using graphic footage from the 2003 Qiqihaer incident (where dozens of Chinese people were injured after mustard gas seeped from unearthened wartime canisters left by the Japanese). The corridors are virtually dark, windows are few and the place is barely heated in winter, which further heightens the sense of victimhood. The Unit 731 museum is not a place to be glad or happy.

Thirdly, set off against China the victim there is hope for the future, a fervent desire that by highlighting Japanese atrocities they can never happen again, and also optimism that (for remember this is a state-led narrative) the Japanese will apologise for their crimes in a way acceptable to the Chinese people. To emphasise this, shortly before exiting the museum are several rooms dedicated to reconciliation and peace, lined with emotional pictures of former Unit 731 Japanese staff confessing their past crimes, as well as photos of recent visits by Japanese delegations.

Another potent symbol of hope is the new “atonement for Japanese crimes” memorial, erected in the grounds of the Unit 731 museum, adjacent to pens that many years ago were used to breed plague-infested rats. This memorial, unveiled on the sixty-fifth anniversary of the Japanese surrender, on August 15, 2010, is one of the first of its kind, in that it was erected by Japanese people in the grounds of a Chinese war museum (see fig. 4).¹⁰⁹ The date chosen to unveil the monument was significant in itself, in that as we saw in the previous chapter, throughout the history of the PRC this date has normally been used by the state to criticise the Japanese political establishment. However, even if the monument represents tentative moves by both sides to come to terms with memory of the war, the Chinese authorities have tried to ensure that it cannot

¹⁰⁹ See also HLJRB, 16/8/10, 1.

be attacked or defaced by Chinese nationalists. This is why the shiny new monument stands in a guarded, locked compound.



Figure 4. The “atonement for Japanese crimes” memorial at Unit 731, unveiled in 2010.

Fourthly, personal (as opposed to collective) grieving is now increasingly permitted at museums such as Unit 731. Unlike in western countries, where Great War (1914–18) memorials document the landscape in almost every village, in China collective remembrance of the war has traditionally been focused on a small number of commemorative sites including, after 1982, Unit 731.¹¹⁰ In Christian countries those in mourning turned to churches to aid their sorrow, and as a result war memorials located in or adjacent to churches have tended to dwell on traditional devotional architecture.¹¹¹ However, Communist China is officially atheist and during the Mao era temples and churches were mostly closed, thereby precluding their use as sites for individuals to grieve their loved ones killed by the Japanese.

It is only very recently that the Chinese authorities have encouraged the use of war museums as sites for relatives to grieve or commemorate named individuals. In a

¹¹⁰ Winter, *Sites of Memory, Sites of Mourning*, 1.

¹¹¹ *Ibid.*

similar fashion to the Nanjing Massacre Museum extension (which opened in 2007), since 2010 the museum complex at Unit 731 has commemorated individuals who perished within its walls, with name plaques mounted along a corridor imitating the style of a modern-day Chinese crematorium. Only names of those proved to have been killed here are included. Figure five, taken in summer 2011 shortly after the memorial wall opened, records the names of the prisoners who met their deaths here. In places photos have been attached to the plaques, where the family of the deceased has been identified and relatives are now free to pay respects to their former loved ones. This form of commemorating the war allows people to grieve personally as they see fit, as opposed to collectively as the Chinese state sees fit. Yet even in personal commemoration, the state has a role to play, since China has no official war cemeteries or war graves commission.¹¹² Museum curators that I spoke to all over the country (not just at Unit 731) stated that this job of identifying the war dead by name is now forming an increasingly important part of their work, allowing families to come and mourn in person, albeit in the confines of a museum.

Finally, it is worth briefly re-emphasising two points relating to the physical structure of Unit 731 which have been already given extensive treatment earlier in this chapter, namely distortion of the message and how that message changes with time. Since the Unit 731 museum opened in 1985, it has maintained a relentless focus on Japanese crimes, for example by using archival evidence from the unit as exhibits or documentary proof of atrocities committed by Japanese forces at Pingfang. In this respect, the main message of the museum, even now, seems to be that the Japanese committed unconscionable crimes during the war, they continue to deny them and therefore this museum needs to exist in order to remind LDP politicians of their responsibility to own up and confess. A number of scholars have written about this need to force a confession in order for the Chinese side to gain face, in a contemporary battle for political supremacy in East Asia.¹¹³

¹¹² Lary and MacKinnon, *The Scars of War*, 8.

¹¹³ For example see Gries, *China's New Nationalism*, 90.



Figure 5. The new commemoration corridor at Unit 731. Individual photos have been attached where identified, note also the plaques engraved with Korean names (far right).

Yet by concentrating on war crimes the museum denies visitors the opportunity to consider other narratives, such as the activities of the GMD in north-east China, or the role played by Japanese military units not involved in CBW. In this respect, the Unit 731 museum is no different from the commemorations of wars in antiquity, where they “reflected the political and religious views of the state...[and the] continuous, unremitting and inevitable victory of the ruler.”¹¹⁴ By reflecting the views of the state in the museum, the CCP is shaping the discourse unfolding inside for political and pedagogic purposes (bashing right-wing Japanese politicians, indoctrinating children), simply because the party won the fight against the Japanese and came to power. If this were not the case, then the Japanese might never have left Harbin in the first place and the Unit 731 museum would not exist today. In other words, the fact that Unit 731 exists at all means that the CCP is staking a political claim to power. This is because the CCP is able to say anything it wishes (with respect to Japanese atrocities committed in north-east China) simply because it faces no organised domestic political opposition to doing so.

¹¹⁴ Alan Borg, *War Memorials: From Antiquity to the Present* (London: Leo Cooper, 1991), 1.

The other point I wish to reiterate is that the way in which Unit 731 has been interpreted has changed with time itself, which is another way of saying that the museum is “not exempt from history.”¹¹⁵ For example, immediately after the war locals scavenged the site for bricks, steel wire, glass bottles and so forth for recycling. They neither knew nor cared that they were despoiling very special ruins, which could tell future generations much about the Japanese occupation of China. Twenty years later during the Cultural Revolution, the Unit 731 site was razed to the ground, as Red Guards sought to remove any memory of the war. Fast forwarding another 20 years to the reform era in 1985, the site was “rehabilitated” as a national patriotic education base with which to remind younger Chinese about the crimes committed by Japan during the century of humiliation. These three snapshots of Unit 731’s history demonstrate that not only have representations of the CBW facility (and the eponymous museum which now occupies part of the former base) changed drastically since the foundation of the PRC, but also that any post-1949 interpretation of what the site signifies must be analysed in terms of its history.

Conclusion

After the war Unit 731 became subject to history itself, in that during the Mao era, political actors on both the local and national stage clashed over the future of the site. To illustrate, immediately after the foundation of the PRC, local cadres allowed factories to be built over part of the former military base, effectively erasing its presence there. At this time arguments raged back-and-forth between the provincial and national government, over whether to preserve or demolish the site, with the State Council preferring the former option (so as to preserve proof of enemy crimes) and cadres in Harbin repeatedly requesting the latter.

During the 1980s and 90s there occurred a global outpouring of remembering,

¹¹⁵ Ivan Karp, Christine Mullen Kreamer, and Steven D. Lavine, *Museums and Communities: The Politics of Public Culture* (Washington, DC: Smithsonian Institution Press, 1992), 12.

which the historian Michael Kammen posited was caused by factors such as delayed memory of conflict, an increase in state-directed tourism and a growing tendency to “tell it [history] like it really was.” Whilst all these forms of remembrance are applicable to Unit 731, it is also highly likely that the former Japanese CBW headquarters was “remembered into existence” following the first textbook crisis and the Manchurian monument incident in 1982, because of a perceived need to fight back against right-wing LDP politicians who, for example, published textbooks denying the invasion of China. This riposte took the form of a battle for ownership of the past as it referred to Unit 731, and also a recognised requirement to use the education system to indoctrinate Chinese youth about Japan’s past.

In part, this indoctrination highlights a continuing leitmotif of this thesis, namely Hu Qiaomu’s influence in moulding PRC views of Japan. Hu argued that war memory encapsulated in wartime commemoration halls ought to form a central plank of the nascent patriotic education campaign. In fact, Hu’s ideas on museums formed part of a broader post-Cultural Revolution rehabilitation of history, which sought to change the Mao era dogma that “history is useless” to one where history plays an extremely important role in the CCP’s rise to power. He did this by demonstrating that the war was a turning point in the party’s fortunes which ultimately brought it victory over the GMD. At a stroke then, Hu’s thesis changed the way in which Unit 731 was seen, from being a blot on the collective Chinese memory that should be forgotten, to a museum that could and should be used to re-remember the party’s rise to power. This new remembering was selective, in that highlighting wartime atrocities committed by the Japanese, allowed the Chinese Communists to downplay memory of post-1949 policy mistakes and disasters, such as the Cultural Revolution.

Exhibits from the Unit 731 museum, in the form of documentary proof, allowed elite leaders to construct a new version of war memory. They achieved this by releasing archives in 1999 and 2001, almost 50 years after they were unearthed. In 1999, publication of Unit 731 archives allowed the authorities to influence domestic Chinese and international Japanese audiences in ongoing battles over wartime compensation in the Japanese courts. Two years later, the release of a second tranche of archives

coincided with visits to the Yasukuni shrine by Prime Minister Koizumi. In both cases, the construction of this filtered version of war memory—that is, the selective release of Unit 731 historical records—was used to achieve very concrete objectives, influencing court cases and warning Koizumi.

In contrast, the physical structure of Unit 731 presents a confection of narratives, which concentrate on pain, anger and victimhood, accompanied at the same time by tentative messages of hope for the future. These messages of hope are transmitted in a number of ways, such as by allowing families to grieve named individuals at new commemoration walls, and also by the recent unveiling of an “atonement for Japanese crimes” memorial. Since the 1980s commemoration of atrocities once committed at Unit 731 has enabled the party to prevent history of the war from being swept away. In this respect, the Chinese Communists must feel that public funding used to preserve the site has been money well spent.

Chapter 3

Education and Textbooks

Introduction

In a culture that has traditionally placed great emphasis on education and moral cultivation, it is almost impossible to overemphasise the importance of the education system as a means of shaping young Chinese people's views on Japan.¹ Therefore, in order to analyse how Japan has been portrayed to students, it is crucial to examine textbooks, the main means of information transmission in Chinese schools. Both Chinese and foreign scholars have written widely on the Chinese education system and history's place within the school curriculum.² However, as noted by the education scholar Michael Apple in 1992:

The school curriculum is not neutral knowledge. Rather what counts as legitimate knowledge is the result of complex power relations, struggles and compromises among identifiable class, race, gender, and religious groups...[yet] little attention has been paid to that one artefact that plays such a major role in defining whose culture is taught—the textbook.³

Another pedagogy scholar Graham Down expands on this to explain why textbooks are

¹ Chuan-sheng Chen, Shin-ying Lee, and Harold W. Stevenson, "Academic Achievement and Motivation of Chinese Students: A Cross-National Perspective," in *Growing up the Chinese Way: Chinese Child and Adolescent Development*, ed. Sing Lau (Hong Kong: Chinese University Press, 1996), 69–92.

² For example see: Ronald F. Price, *Education in Communist China* (London: Routledge & K. Paul, 1970); and Stig Thøgersen, *Secondary Education in China After Mao: Reform and Social Conflict* (Aarhus: Aarhus University Press, 1990). On history in the school curriculum: Zhao Henglie, *Zhongguo lishi ziliao xuan* (Shijiazhuang: Hebei sheng chubanshe, 1987); Zhao Yafu, *Lishi jiaoyu jiazhi lun* (Beijing: Gaodeng jiaoyu chubanshe, 2003).

³ Michael W. Apple, "The Text and Cultural Politics," *Educational Researcher* 21, no. 7 (Oct. 1992): 4.

so important in any culture:

Textbooks, for better or worse, dominate what students learn. They set the curriculum, and often the facts learned, in most subjects. For many students, textbooks are their first and sometimes only exposure to books and reading. The public regards textbooks as authoritative, accurate, and necessary. And teachers rely on them to organise lessons and structure subject matter.⁴

In China textbooks are seen as especially important, because the PRC education system emphasises rote learning, with little student interaction or hands-on activities.⁵ Additionally, reviews of relevant teacher instruction manuals provide further insights on how lessons are actually taught, as they inform educators which parts of a text students should focus on.⁶ These two assumptions (textbooks form the basic means of information transmission in schools, but they do not contain neutral knowledge) provide our starting point for a careful examination of how Japan is signified in Chinese classrooms.

This chapter seeks to ground Chinese textbook discourse on Japan, in the wider context of the enormous changes that have taken place in the education system since 1949. It will seek to identify the power relations and contested sites of knowledge on Japan, in order to define whose vision of that country is taught. In order to achieve this, initially I chart the administrative changes in the PRC education system which have critically affected the transmission of information in schools.

Following this outline of how textbooks are formulated, my argument is then developed in four main stages, which form the normative framework for the analysis in this chapter. These stages coincide with the four main areas in which the trope of “Japan” is developed in Chinese teaching materials: 1) Japanese piracy during the Ming dynasty (1368–1644), 2) the First Sino-Japanese War (1894–95), 3) the Second Sino-Japanese War (1937–45), including resistance to Japanese forces from 1931

⁴ H. Tyson-Bernstein, *A Conspiracy of Good Intentions: America's Textbook Fiasco* (Washington, DC: The Council on Basic Education, 1988), viii.

⁵ Gerard A. Postiglione and Jason Tan, *Going to School in East Asia* (Westport, CT: Greenwood Press, 2007), 107.

⁶ Unfortunately, analysis of teacher instruction manuals only forms a minor part of this study, since they are even more difficult to obtain than old editions of textbooks.

onwards (in history textbooks), and 4) the Second Sino-Japanese War (in language textbooks). Ming dynasty piracy and 1894–95 wartime representations of Japan are found in history texts only, whereas verbal and visual imagery on the Second Sino-Japanese War is found in both history and language textbooks. These periods of bilateral conflict and discord have been chosen, because commentary relating to peaceful friendly relations in the historical record is virtually absent from post-1949 pedagogic texts.

I apply Critical Discourse Analysis (CDA) and a “social-political indicator” model (based on the frequency of occurrence of key terms) to successive editions of mainland Chinese teaching materials, in order to identify how portrayals of Japan have evolved since the foundation of the PRC. These theoretical techniques are employed to investigate a data set which reflects the major revisions to PRC history texts in 1957, 1965, 1980 and 2000.⁷ Texts from the year 2010 are also included, because they form the most recent complete edition at the time of writing (language texts are categorised slightly differently as will be explained below).

PRC education policies and history textbooks (1949–2012)

Even before the founding of the PRC, both the CCP and the GMD grasped the fact that textbooks played a vital role in inculcating children. This view was based on the premise that the two parties viewed society as a “collective body to be known and disciplined through...[inter alia] techniques of modern government,” which they took to include using textbooks to indoctrinate young people.⁸ As a result, both before and immediately after 1949, the CCP moved with great alacrity to remove Nationalist textbooks from classrooms in liberated areas, in order to minimise the risk of students absorbing politically “incorrect” GMD thought.⁹

⁷ ZJN (1949–81), 503–04.

⁸ Michael Tsang-Woon Tsin, *Nation, Governance and Modernity in China: Canton, 1900–1927* (Stanford, CA: Stanford University Press, 2000), pp. 6, 179.

⁹ Robert Culp, “Rethinking Governmentality: Training, Cultivation and Cultural Citizenship in

In keeping with early CCP education policies the new Communist government prioritised reducing illiteracy and opening new schools, in order to achieve national reconstruction and economic development.¹⁰ This concept was consistent with ideological concerns to reduce class differences and the pragmatic idea of producing a skilled labour force.¹¹

The PRC imported a Leninist state structure, which led to the Chinese education system inheriting the same institutional conflicts which had plagued the Soviets since the 1920s.¹² As a result of these conflicts it took fully four years to publish and distribute new history teaching materials (1953) based on the Russian model. Over half of the new 1953 history course was international (i.e. unrelated to China), because of the Soviet Union's greater engagement with the outside world.¹³ It was only in the years 1956–57, as relations with Russia started to sour ahead of the Sino-Soviet split, that Chinese pedagogues published their own complete set of history textbooks, with content much more focused on China.¹⁴

No sooner had the 1956–57 history teaching materials been published, than textbook compilers became embroiled in the anti-rightist campaign (1957–58). Teaching and textbook content quickly became prime targets in this ideological fight against intellectuals.¹⁵ In order to make room for the increased political activity associated with the campaign, school syllabi were radically changed or cropped.¹⁶ Even though modern Chinese history (with its emphasis on the 1931–45 Sino-Japanese conflict) was frequently the last period to be cut from history textbooks, the overall effect of these changes was to greatly reduce the amount of classroom teaching on Japan.

Nationalist China,” *Journal of Asian Studies* 65, no. 3 (Aug. 2006): 529–554.

¹⁰ Detractors called these early CCP policies “guerrilla education,” see: Glen Peterson, Ruth Hayhoe, and Yongling Lu, *Education, Culture, and Identity in Twentieth-Century China* (Ann Arbor, MI: University of Michigan Press, 2001), 40.

¹¹ Emily Hannum, “Political Change and the Urban-Rural Gap in Basic Education in China, 1949–1990,” *Comparative Education Review* 43, no. 2 (1999): 195.

¹² Peterson, Hayhoe, and Lu, *Education, Culture, and Identity in Twentieth-Century China*, 42–43.

¹³ Yu Weimin, *Lishi jiaoyu zhanwang* (Shanghai: Huadong shifan daxue chubanshe, 2002), 51–53.

¹⁴ Interview at the People's Education Press library, Beijing, 25/10/10.

¹⁵ Albert Feuerwerker and S. Cheng, *Chinese Communist Studies of Modern Chinese History* (Cambridge, MA: East Asian Research Center, Harvard University, 1961), x.

¹⁶ ZJN (1949–81), 503.

Following the disaster of the 1958–60 Great Leap Forward, moderates under Comrade Liu Shaoqi gained the political ascendancy, which led to a lull in the persecution of intellectuals and moves to reverse previous changes made to the history syllabus. However, by the time the Cultural Revolution was launched in 1966, left-wing extremists once again gained the upper hand and turned education into a political battlefield.¹⁷ If individual provinces and cities published textbooks at all, they invariably conformed to Mao's idea of class struggle and various political crusades such as the "Criticise Lin [Biao] and Confucius!" (*pilin pikong yundong!*) campaign.¹⁸ In short, between the years 1949–76 teaching took place against a backdrop of almost constant political interference in the school system.¹⁹ This political meddling severely affected the ability of children to absorb teaching on Japan as presented in textbooks.

After the close of the Mao era and the end of the Cultural Revolution in 1976, there was a move away from class struggle, towards goals such as quality, competition, nurturing individual talents, and imparting scientific and technological skills.²⁰ Deng Xiaoping articulated this new zeitgeist in May 1977 when he famously reflected, "Where should we start from, in order for our country to reach advanced status in the world? I think we should start from science and education."²¹ Few people, including the education minister, Liu Xiyao, expected the Deng reforms to last without a major Maoist backlash, especially as education remained a frontline political issue.²²

In 1978 Deng personally ordered the setting up of a "Read and Edit Teaching Materials" LSG, under the purview of the vice minister for education, Pu Tongxiu.²³ One of the LSG's main aims was to reduce the prominence of politics in teaching materials, a task of considerable interest to teachers because then, as now, they regarded the "textbook as all [sic]."²⁴

¹⁷ Yu Weimin, *Lishi jiaoyu zhanwang*, 55.

¹⁸ Zhao Henglie, *Lishi jiaoxue xuanji*, 108.

¹⁹ Price, *Education in Communist China*, 1–2.

²⁰ Keith Lewin, *Educational Innovation in China: Tracing the Impact of the 1985 Reforms* (Harlow: Longman, 1994), 87, quoted in Hannum, "Basic Education in China, 1949–1990," 200.

²¹ Deng Xiaoping, *Deng xiaoping tongzhi lun jiaoyu* (Beijing: Renmin jiaoyu chubanshe, 1990).

²² Suzanne Pepper, *Radicalism and Education Reform in 20th-Century China: The Search for an Ideal Development Model* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2000), 491.

²³ ZJN (2001), 305.

²⁴ Zhao Yafu, *Lishi jiaoyu jiazhi lun*, 49–50.

Two main changes to the teaching of history took place. Firstly study of the subject was made compulsory for all schoolchildren and secondly, history teaching materials were revised between the years 1978–80, with the latter change responsible for removing the most egregious intrusions of Marxist theory into the classroom. Actually, much of this rewriting concerned subjects unrelated to how Japan was portrayed, such as the rather abstruse problem of why peasant warfare should be represented realistically rather than using frontline struggle.²⁵ These reforms took place following the signing of the Sino-Japanese Peace Treaty (1978), a period considered by many to be a golden age in the two countries' bilateral relationship. However, as the analysis in this chapter will show, rapidly warming relations did not necessarily translate into a more sympathetic view towards Japan in history textbooks.

This is because, as noted in the last chapter, during the 1980s a patriotic education campaign was introduced into schools, which was then further strengthened after the 1989 Tiananmen Square incident. A new series of patriotic history textbooks was also published during this period as part of the campaign. Throughout the last decades of the twentieth century then, Chinese history textbooks continued to devote substantial amounts of text to World War Two and Japan's role in it. In spite of this, on March 12, 2000, after inspecting school textbooks, President Jiang Zemin criticised the People's Education Press in Beijing for not having enough history in its publications!²⁶ He argued that "we need to strengthen the education of young people in historical knowledge, in order to help them understand China's past and present."²⁷ Jiang's comments demonstrate that party elites pay attention to textbook content and reserve the right to alter it. President Jiang further insisted that students study the century of humiliation more closely, a century in which Japan was perceived to have played a leading role in shaming China.

Individual provinces now have the right (since 2001) not to use education materials prepared by the People's Education Press, with the caveat that any textbook has to

²⁵ ZJN (1949–81), 504.

²⁶ Until the year 2000, the People's Education Press had responsibility for editing and publishing (but not printing) all PRC textbooks.

²⁷ For a full text of Jiang's criticisms see: ZJN (2001), 305.

cover a set syllabus approved by government inspectors. As a result there has been a widening of the permissible debate on how history is taught in schools, as textbook content is now no longer the sole preserve of Beijing education cadres.²⁸

PRC education policies and language textbooks (1949–2012)

Any examination of how the mainland education system portrays Japan would not be complete without an examination of Chinese language (*yuwen*) textbooks, containing as they do many stories relating to the Anti-Japanese War.²⁹ Since 1949 language teaching in mainland China has been subject to many of the same political influences as those for history textbooks. However, those pressures were not identical, for instance the language syllabus was designed from the outset without Soviet assistance because of the language barrier, whereas early editions of PRC history textbooks were heavily influenced by Russian advisors. Another difference is that language teaching lends itself to political interference more naturally than subjects such as say, chemistry or maths (which teach hard facts), because language textbook compilers can insert material which accords with prevailing elite ideologies.³⁰ The People's Education Press Propaganda Office frankly admits that language textbooks are based on "listening, speaking, reading and writing...with the task of explicitly inserting 'political thought education' into [Chinese] language study [emphasis mine]."³¹ Furthermore, language textbooks are written using characters, the script of the dominant Han majority. As a result ethnic Han cultural codes and views on Japan are

²⁸ For examples of this widening of debate, see (arguing for less teaching on the war): Fu Yuangen, "Putong gaozhong lishi xinde kecheng jiaoxue shejide xin tansuo," *Lishi jiaoyu* 5, no. 498 (2005): 50–52; (and arguing for the reverse) Wen Tinghua, "Guanyu zhongxue keben kangri zhanzheng neirong bianxiède jidian xiangfa," *Lishi jiaoxue* 3, no. 472 (2003): 45–46.

²⁹ *Language (yuwen)* is a contraction of the terms *national language (guoyu)* and *study of Chinese literature (wenxue)*. For ease of reference, in this chapter I refer to these teaching materials as "language textbooks."

³⁰ R. F. Price, "Moral Political Education and Modernization," in *Education and Modernization: The Chinese Experience*, ed. Ruth Hayhoe (Oxford: Pergamon, 1992), 211–37.

³¹ *Renmin jiaoyu chunbanshe tongxun*, 26/8/10, vol. 10, no. 8, 4.

transmitted to all Chinese students, even if their first language is not Mandarin.³²

During the late 1950s, in much the same way as history teaching, language instruction was seriously disrupted during both the anti-rightist campaign and the subsequent Great Leap Forward. It was only from 1961 onwards, as political moderates gained the upper hand, that language teachers were able to redress the balance, resulting in the 1963 slogan that “language teaching is the basic component [of a child’s education].”³³ As with other subjects, this escape from the influence of extreme politics in the classroom was short-lived, since schools were closed following the onset of the Cultural Revolution in 1966. When editing of language teaching materials was resumed in the late 1970s, the People’s Education Press vowed not to let political interference cause language teaching to stagnate (*tingzhibuqian*) and that in future pedagogic reform should not be abandoned halfway (*bantuerfei*), as it was during Mao era political campaigns.³⁴ Reforms in 2001 to the way in which textbooks are designed and distributed mean that as with history texts, local selection of language teaching materials can now be made without reference to the People’s Education Press in Beijing, provided that they are approved by Ministry of Education inspectors prior to release.

Theoretical tools

Superficially, Chinese history and language textbooks show little variation between subsequent editions. In both syllabi, lessons, stories and their accompanying images are often republished with little or no change, such that it is sometimes impossible to differentiate between old and new versions (see fig. 6). Therefore, theoretical techniques are needed which can tease out any small differences in text. Two tools permit scrutiny at this micro-level, CDA (with its emphasis on structures of

³² Of the 55 minorities who make up 8 percent of China’s population, only a small number have their own script (Mongolian and Tibetan, for instance). As a result, even though moves are now underfoot to encourage minority students to study at school in their own languages, most of them will use Han Chinese character based textbooks.

³³ *Renmin jiaoyu chunbanshe tongxun*, 26/8/10, vol. 10, no. 8, 4.

³⁴ *Ibid.*

control) and a social-political indicator model (which examines the occurrence of specific verbal criteria within a passage). These methods are briefly discussed below, before we turn to the first part of our analysis, namely, presentation of Ming dynasty Japanese piracy in post-1949 history textbooks.

Critical Discourse Analysis focuses on “the role of discourse in the (re)production and challenge of dominance,” where dominance is defined as “the exercise of social power by elites, institutions or groups, that results in social inequality.”³⁵ CDA analyses top-down relations of dominance rather than compliance or resistance from the bottom-up.³⁶ This theory therefore focuses on social rather than personal power, in that:

It is based on privileged access to socially valued resources such as wealth, income, position, status, force [and] group membership...[This] power involves control, either by force or “modern” and often more effective [means which are] mostly cognitive, and enacted by persuasion, dissimulation, or manipulation...to change the mind of others in one’s interests.³⁷

The term *control* in the above quote is frequently located in specific institutional fields, structures, or genres, such as textbooks and newspapers.³⁸ One of CDA’s prime advantages is its flexibility, in that it has never been, nor has it ever attempted to provide a single specific theory or methodology.³⁹ This affords the researcher great flexibility in terms of the actual tools used to probe a text. These range from analysing text schemata and macro-semantic indicators to examining linguistic markers. Both here and in chapter five, CDA’s analytical framework is applied to (frequently negative) significations of Japan, in order to examine the mechanics of social power as wielded by the Chinese state.

The social-political indicator model also used in this chapter was originally

³⁵ Teun A. van Dijk, “Principles of Critical Discourse Analysis,” *Discourse & Society* 4, no. 2 (1993): 249–50.

³⁶ *Ibid.*, 250.

³⁷ *Ibid.*, 254.

³⁸ Allan Luke, “Text and Discourse in Education: An Introduction to Critical Discourse Analysis,” *Review of Research in Education* 21 (1995): 17.

³⁹ Gilbert Weiss and Ruth Wodak, *Critical Discourse Analysis: Theory and Interdisciplinarity* (Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan, 2007), 12.



图28 参加“一二·九”运动的学生跟反动军警搏斗

出来的水冻成冰，冰上印着斑斑的血迹。

第二天，各学校宣布总罢课。

更大规模的斗争酝酿成熟了。12月16日，在北平城里的天桥，一万多个学生和无数市民会合起来，举行市民大会，议决誓死反对日本帝国主义。接着，从那里引出二里多长的示威行列。国民党反动军警向学生进攻，学生负着伤，流着血，搏斗到深夜。

北平学生的英勇斗争立刻影响到全国各地。杭州、武汉、广州、南京、上海、西安、天津、成都等许多城市的学生纷纷集会、罢课、示威，各阶层人民也起来要求抵抗侵略。“一二·九”运动成了全国抗日民主运动新高潮到来的标志。

1936年初，北平和天津的学生组织了三千多人的宣传团，沿着平汉铁路南下，向农民、市民和铁路工人宣传抗日救亡的道理。广大群众亲切地接待他们。但是，国民党的特务和军

国共产党领导下，北平学生首先行动起来。

1935年11月，北平学生成立了北平市学生联合会。接着，北平学生联合会召开代表大会，决定向国民党政府请愿，要求抗日救国。12月9日，北平各大中学校的学生，冒着刺骨的寒风，打着旗子、标语，涌向街头。在请愿的队伍里响起了《义勇军进行曲》。随着歌声，“打倒日本帝国主义！”“反对华北防共自治！”“停止内战，一致对外！”等口号迸发出来。各路队伍六千多人冲破反动军警的拦阻，集合到新华门门前，向北平国民党负责人何应钦请愿。新华门紧闭着，门前布满军队、警察，排列的摩托车上驾起了机关枪。学生代表要求何应钦出来接见。但是，他震慑于人民的抗日怒潮，躲避到北平西山去了。学



参加“一二·九”运动的学生同反动军警搏斗



★参加“一二·九”游行的学生同反动军警搏斗

游行队伍到达王府井大街南口时，警察拿着水龙头对准学生冲射。青年学生的头上、衣服上，立刻结成了冰。警察还端着上了刺刀的枪，向赤手空拳的学生刺去。警察抓住学生后，按在马路边，用脚踢，用枪把打。学生顽强不屈，仍然高喊抗日口号。这一天爱国学生30多人被捕，100多人受伤。

12月16日^①，北平1万多学生再次冲破军警的层层阻挠，走上街头，反对华北自治。“一二·九”运动以后，平津青年学生组织南下宣传团，到工厂、农村和士兵中去，宣传抗日救国，走同工农相结合的道路。北平学生的英勇斗争，得到全国人民的支持和响应。“一二·九”运动掀起了全国抗日救亡运动的新高潮。

“一二·九”运动以后，在中国共产党领导下，平津学生组织“平津学生南下扩大宣传团”，分四个团沿平汉铁路线南下，深入工人、农民和士兵中，宣传抗日救国。他们一路上高呼口号，唱救亡歌曲，散发传单，到农民家访问。学生们很受教育。有的学生说：“以前我以为吃窝头是最苦

★枪口对外，齐步前进！
不伤老百姓，不打自己人！
我们是铁的隊伍，
我们是铁的心，
维护中华民族，
永做自由人！
——救国军歌

^① 这一天是冀察政务委员会成立的日子，北平学生再次游行反对，冀察政务委员会被迫转移成立。

站满了军警、特务。学生代表要求何应钦出来接见。何应钦早已吓得躲开了。学生提出抗日要求，被无理拒绝。他们愤怒已极，立即宣布示威游行。一路上学生振臂高呼：“打倒日本帝国主义！”“打倒汉奸卖国贼！”“停止内战，一致对外！”“反对华北自治！”他们喊出了全国人民久已压抑在心中的呼声。示威队伍走到王府井大街南口，反动派调来大批武装军警拦截。学生高呼：“冲啊！冲啊！”一齐向前冲去。反动军警挥舞着大刀、皮鞭和木棒，对付手无寸铁的学生，还用水龙向学生喷射。水龙里喷射出来的水，在学生身上冻成了冰。经过一天的搏斗，学生一百多人受了伤，三十多人被捕。爱国学生没有退缩，第二天，爆发了全市学生的总罢课。



参加“一二·九”运动的学生同反动军警搏斗

Figure 6. Chinese lower middle school history textbooks showing almost identical images of students protesting at the GMD's refusal to fight the Japanese in 1935. Clockwise from top left: 1957 (vol. 4, p. 55), 1965 (vol. 4, p. 98), 1980 (vol. 4, p. 43) and 2000 (vol. 4, p. 43).

devised by the China education scholar Ronald Price.⁴⁰ Chinese textbooks frequently show little variation between successive editions, because of the extreme prevalence of highly-formulaic narratives, where “language is predictable in form and idiomatic, and seems to be stored in fixed, or semi-fixed chunks [phrases].”⁴¹ Price’s robust yet simple methodology teases out micro-level variations in text by measuring the number of times selected terms feature in a given body of prose (e.g. the word “communism”). He uses a total of 74 terms covering a wide range of topics, in order to capture meaning embedded in Chinese textbooks. In order to sharpen the efficacy of the model, I have sharply reduced the number of indicators, so as to make them more relevant to analysing conflict with Japan.

Ming dynasty Japanese pirates (*wokou*)

In PRC Chinese history texts covering the Ming dynasty, the narrator describes the long-term pirate menace from the viewpoint of Chinese humiliation by Japanese bandits. Attributes of both sides are portrayed in black and white terms, with positive representations attributed to Chinese resistance, and negative imagery applied both to the Japanese pirates and to those Chinese who collaborated with them. This creates what I term a “double binary opposition,” which favours the Chinese over the Japanese, and resistance over collaboration.⁴² In this way, the texts cleverly base the case for Othering on the criterion of whether one defends or betrays the motherland, rather than that of nationality.⁴³ In this way Ming dynasty officials, amongst others,

⁴⁰ R. F. Price, “Chinese Textbooks, Fourteen Years on,” *China Quarterly* 83 (Sept. 1980): 535–550.

⁴¹ Alison Wray, *Formulaic Language and the Lexicon* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2002), i.

⁴² On binary opposition see: Liu, “Construction of Cultural Knowledge,” 106.

⁴³ Stuart Hall, *Representation: Cultural Representations and Signifying Practices* (London: Sage, 1997), 235–38.

are castigated for not properly defending the motherland, because they neglect to maintain Chinese coastal defences against the Japanese invaders.

Text schemata (the plot)

The genre presented is one of historical conflict, in this case low intensity piracy by *Japanese pirates (wokou)* from the end of the Yuan dynasty (1271–1368) to the mid-Ming, with the threat eradicated by the end of the sixteenth century.⁴⁴ The overall text schemata is presented as shown in table two below.

Table 2. Text schemata for Chinese history textbook lessons on Japanese piracy during the Ming dynasty

Stage	Text schemata
I	Japanese pirates are active along the Chinese coast from the late Yuan
II	During the early Ming the government vigorously defends the coast from pirates
III	By the mid-Ming sea defences are relaxed
III. A	The Japanese run amok on the Chinese mainland
III. B	Ming general Qi Jiguang is sent to train the Chinese masses as a fighting force
III. C	Strong leadership, brilliant tactics and harsh discipline gel this fighting force into a formidable war machine
IV	The Japanese are annihilated and the pirate menace disappears

The above schema allows the “Japan problem” to be presented as Ming China’s finest hour, with social meaning communicated through the lens of Chinese resistance. The *wokou* issue is ultimately solved by the Chinese masses uniting together in order to fight and defeat the enemy.

⁴⁴ For ease of reference, lexicography that frequently appears in the texts analysed is translated and placed in italics throughout, as in the sentence shown. Also note that the examination of history teaching materials here focuses on lower middle school rather than elementary or upper middle school history textbooks, because over the past 65 years this syllabus has been subject to the least disruption (e.g. during Mao era political campaigns).

Use of semantic processes to establish a political order

Overlain on top of the plot outlined above are semantic processes (topics), and articulating them permits a deeper understanding of the actors involved. Here Japan is defined as an agent which causes material losses and kills innocent Chinese people (see table 3). The *wokou* take advantage of Chinese weakness by attacking defenceless coastal peoples, and they actively seek out traitorous medieval capitalists and feudal landowners to help them implement their plans. In contrast to the honourable Chinese they are fighting, the pirates are presented as being utterly untrustworthy, because it is impossible to differentiate them from legitimate Japanese merchants:

They brought weapons and goods with them, if they had the opportunity, they would kill people, commit arson and loot goods; if there was no opportunity, they would masquerade as traders, plying their wares and doing business.⁴⁵

In sharp contrast China is described in terms of the signifier *people* (*laobaixing*) or *masses* (*dazhong*), who suffer greatly at the hands of the Japanese invaders.⁴⁶ Undaunted, the Chinese people fight back and repulse the invader under the leadership of national heroes such as Qi Jiguang.

Textbooks have limited space to put across complex issues, with the result that often the plot can seem rather dry and stilted, with characters cast in simple black and white, rather than complex shades of grey. However, the texts explaining the *wokou* threat exploit this sharp contrast in order to establish a political order. That order is predicated on the assumption that “we” the Chinese people, can mobilise a well-armed, strictly-disciplined efficient fighting force in order to repel any invader. All that “we” need to do in order to defeat the enemy, is to unite under brilliant leadership.

⁴⁵ ZL (1980), 2:57.

⁴⁶ The Ming Histories present the Chinese position in very different terms, in that the main actors are officials fighting off the *wokou*, not the masses. See: Zhang Tingyu, ed., *Ming shi* (Shanghai: Zhonghua shuju, 1936), 14:8352–57.

Building on this so-called black versus white, Chinese against Japanese (and their collaborators) pattern, table three further shows how macro-semantic indicators (topics) are used by textbook compilers to reinforce perceptions of the Japanese across the centuries. The table graphically illustrates a striking resemblance between micro-level discourses relating to fighting the *wokou* and the CCP's own anti-Japanese resistance between the years 1931–45.⁴⁷ Whilst the main actors in these two conflicts are obviously different, the way the underlying normative values of the two opposing sides interact is very similar.

Table 3. Use of macro-semantic indicators in Chinese history textbooks

Macro-semantics (topics)	Sixteenth century Japanese <i>wokou</i> piracy	1931–45 Anti-Japanese resistance
1) Major actors	Chinese people, <i>wokou</i> , Ming government	Chinese people, Kwantung Army, CCP, GMD
2) The threat	Japanese invasion	Japanese invasion
3) Negligence by the state	Ming government fails to maintain coastal defences	Jiang Jieshi fails to defend China from the Japanese
4) Resulting in...	<i>wokou</i> continually raiding the Chinese coast	Japanese forces invading and occupying China
5) Harm inflicted on the Chinese people	Killing, looting, rape and massive financial loss	Killing, looting, rape and massive financial loss
6) Exacerbated by...	Chinese traitors	Chinese traitors
7) The people resist by...	Uniting under talented Ming commanders	Uniting under talented CCP commanders
8) End result	Japanese defeat	Japanese defeat

The most obvious similarity is that both the Ming *wokou* and the twentieth-century Imperial Japanese Army invade and occupy Chinese soil, causing great loss and hardship to the people. Another analogy is that during both the Ming

⁴⁷ See next section.

dynasty and the Republican era, the Chinese government is portrayed as being too inept or corrupt to deter the Japanese. Textbooks covering Ming dynasty and Republican era history further converge in that they both aver it was a well led, disciplined force under the command of able Han Chinese commanders who ultimately defeated the Japanese.⁴⁸ These analogies suggest that in both instances (PRC mainland textbook coverage of the *wokou* and the Anti-Japanese War), the CCP is sending the same subliminal ideological messages to schoolchildren. The most important of these are listed in table four. The idea here is not necessarily that the Japanese have always been this way, since history texts do not present them as an ever-present invader. However, by painting Japan as continually invading China, the aim is to show that the Japanese are an ever-present threat.

Table 4. Ideological messages replicated in both Ming dynasty Japanese piracy and Anti-Japanese War history texts

Ideological message conveyed
1) Japanese aggression is always punished
2) Only by uniting can the Chinese people deter threats
3) If you are weak you will be beaten
4) Japanese collaborators will forever live in infamy
5) The Chinese people need to be led
6) When led properly the Chinese people are undefeatable
7) Chinese forces will always ultimately prevail over Japanese attackers
8) The Japanese can never be trusted

Linguistic markers

Linguists frequently apply markers to text in order to build alternative lexicons, which in turn help to construct a definitive ideological position inside a text.⁴⁹ Within

⁴⁸ For example, see ZL (2000), 2:168; *ibid.*, 4:86.

⁴⁹ Norman Fairclough, *Critical Discourse Analysis: The Critical Study of Language*, 2nd ed. (Harlow:

the framework of binary opposites noted above, politeness markers are used in history texts describing piracy during the mid-Ming, in order to denigrate the Japanese and eulogise the Chinese. As a result, the former are referred to either as *wokou* (a derogatory term in itself) or the *enemy* (*diren*). Conversely, the Ming general Qi Jiguang is feted as a national hero for defeating the Japanese, who is worthy of “an everlasting mention in the annals of history.”⁵⁰

Within the context of constructing an alternative lexicon of Japan and then contrasting it against China so as to achieve complete naturalisation, I offer two further macro-semantic devices.⁵¹ These are “victim” and “victory” markers (see words in italics below), which attempt to secure ideological closure by Othering Japan. In the context of the Ming pirate menace, an ideological position of victimhood is constructed using victim markers, whereby Chinese people are attacked by an *enemy*, which savagely rises up to attack them. These *rampant* (*changjue*) pirates then *kill* (*sharen*) coastal people, *burn their homes* (*shaofang*) and *loot their property* (*qiangdao*). The Japanese continuously *harass* (*cuanrao*) “my” country [sic].⁵² Interestingly, the picture painted of the *wokou* menace employs the same semantic victim markers used to describe the Japanese Kwantung Army 400 years later (see tables 3 and 4). This indicates that textbook compilers are using portrayals of Japan in different periods to paint the same pen portrait of Japanese people as an enemy.

Binary opposites are created by offsetting the *wokou* with Chinese people who are defined by means of victory markers. Peasants and miners enlist in “Qi’s army,” they are given *strict military training* (*yange xunlian*), they *fight courageously* (*zuo zhan yonggan*) and are subject to *harsh discipline* (*jil ü yanming*).⁵³ To emphasise the benefits of this arduous regime, the Chinese are *victorious* (*sheng*) in 100 out of 100 battles, which is code for with proper leadership the Chinese are ever-victorious. Conversely, in this victory narrative the Japanese are ridiculed as they are *purged*

Longman, 2010), 31.

⁵⁰ ZL (1980), 2:58.

⁵¹ Hall, *Representation: Cultural Representations and Signifying Practices*, 245.

⁵² ZL (2010), 7.2:96. Some of these phrases such as *changjue* appear in the *Ming shi*, which is suggestive of an unchanging view of Japan over the centuries.

⁵³ ZL (2000), 2:169.

(*qingchu*), *annihilated* (*jianmie*), *eliminated* (*suping*) and *suppressed* (*saoping*). These victory markers contained in textbooks provide moral instruction for PRC schoolchildren, by praising those Chinese people who, in times past, stood up to the Japanese.

Comparison with the historical record

Comparison of PRC textbooks recounting Ming dynasty Japanese piracy with the historical record reveals considerable discrepancies. The first gaping hole in the *wokou* textbook commentary is that it conveniently omits to mention Yuan dynasty Chinese aggression towards the Japanese. The failure of punitive expeditions during the Yuan against Japan greatly contributed to the rise of the pirate problem, which was further compounded by Japanese instability at the time.⁵⁴ To mention this in present-day Chinese history textbooks, however, would not accord with the ideological construct of China as a peaceful nation. As a result the Yuan invasions are ignored.

The textbooks are equally silent concerning other reasons as to why Japanese maritime piracy broke out in the first place. In fact the first Ming emperor, Hongwu (reigned 1368–98), was not only hostile to the Japanese but he was also doubtful of the Chinese coastal people's loyalty. To solve both problems at the same time, he banned civil maritime commerce in 1372.⁵⁵ An illicit pirate trade then rose to satisfy Chinese demand for Japanese products. Whilst certain elements of the ban were rescinded by subsequent Ming emperors, it basically stayed in place until 1567, and the *Cambridge History of Japan* posits that this legalisation of private commerce removed one of the prime incentives for Japanese piracy at a stroke, namely high profits on illegal bilateral trade.⁵⁶ This would suggest that the *wokou* raids ceased

⁵⁴ Ivy Maria Lim, *Lineage Society on the Southeastern Coast of China: The Impact of Japanese Piracy in the 16th Century* (Amherst, NY: Cambria Press, 2010), 61.

⁵⁵ *Ibid.*, 62.

⁵⁶ John Whitney Hall and James L. McClain, *The Cambridge History of Japan* (hereafter CHOJ) (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1991), 4:261.

because civil maritime commerce was now legal, and not because (as stated in textbooks) the Japanese were defeated by heroic Chinese peasants.

Equally problematic is the notion that the Ming government was negligent in protecting the Chinese population from piracy. In fact, for much of the Ming dynasty the coastal regions were in little need of defence, because between 1440 and 1550 there were only 25 recorded *wokou* raids. It was only during the 1550s that the pirate raids rose exponentially to 467 attacks, before falling again to 75 incidents in the 1560s.⁵⁷ With such a sudden spike in the number of reported encounters, it is hardly surprising that the authorities were unprepared, as prior to 1551 there was no perceived requirement to build either shoreline batteries or protective walls around inland towns.

My point here is that the textbook narrative wishes to portray the Ming administration as incapable of protecting people from the *wokou*, because it failed to erect sufficient coastal defences. Had the text noted that piracy had spasmodically afflicted China's shores for centuries, and that the frequency of Japanese attacks climbed from an average of one attack every four years before 1550, rising to one attack per week (between 1551–60) within the short space of a few years, then it would be much more difficult to press such a charge. In short, PRC history textbooks distort the truth in order to criticise both Japanese pirates and previous rulers of China.

A third problem is that there is no consensus on who the *wokou* actually were. As the *Ming Histories* famously note, only three out of ten *wokou* were Japanese, whereas the remaining seven out of ten were people who subordinated themselves to the pirates.⁵⁸ The picture is further confused by accounts suggesting that the pirates were Chinese coastal peoples who turned to banditry, in order to escape the predations of Ming troops quartered on them (ironically with the purpose of protecting them from the Japanese). Another theory is that provincial officials wanting to mask

⁵⁷ Ibid., 249.

⁵⁸ Zhang, *Ming shi*, 14:8353.

weakness or corruption labelled all local disturbances as *wokou*.⁵⁹

In all textbook editions examined, compilers found it expedient to group big landowners and big business interests together, branding them as *wokou*, *spies* or *secret agents* (*neiying*) for the Japanese. In other words, a post-1949 CCP political discourse (which denigrates private sector commerce and prohibits individual ownership of land) is imprinted on modern textbook narratives detailing the *wokou* piracy, so as to reinforce the cultural beliefs and values of the ruling CCP, such as those listed in table four.

If assumptions on the identity of the pirates (and much else) are manipulated for ideological purposes, then it is logical to also question the history textbook adulation of Qi Jiguang. This celebrated Ming general indeed scored famous victories over the Japanese. However, he was only one of many military figures engaged in fighting off the *wokou*, and I offer that textbook compilers selected him because (unlike other generals) he was never disgraced or removed from office. For example, Zhu Wan battled the pirates in Fujian Province, but he was sacked in the face of concerted local opposition to lucrative illegal trade with Japan.⁶⁰ Similarly, the able general Hu Tsung-hsien was recalled because of political infighting in Beijing, and yet another commander Chang Ching, was disgraced for incompetence.⁶¹ Chinese history textbook compilers chose Qi Jiguang then, not only for his martial prowess, but also because he could serve as an unblemished role model for annihilating Japanese invaders.

In chapter one, I argued that the *People's Daily* occasionally uses the positioning of articles on a page to express official intentions towards Japan. Similarly, a cursory inspection of Chinese textbooks shows that in all editions, lessons on the *wokou* are preceded by teaching on the harmonious [sic] voyages of the Ming dynasty eunuch admiral Zheng He (1371–1433) and how Chinese diaspora peacefully colonised south-east Asia during this period. Following classes on the *wokou*, is commentary on

⁵⁹ The analysis in this paragraph relies heavily on: CHOJ, 4:252–54.

⁶⁰ Kwan Wai So, *Japanese Piracy in Ming China during the 16th Century* (East Lansing, MI: Michigan State University Press, 1975), 6.

⁶¹ *Ibid.*, 7.

the late-sixteenth century Sino-Japanese clashes over Korea. The subtext conveyed here is that historically Chinese explorers and settlers have always expanded peacefully to the mutual benefit of all parties, in sharp contrast to Japanese invaders.⁶²

Unchanging history texts on Ming Japanese piracy?

During the past 60 years history teaching on the *wokou* has changed remarkably little. In many instances, the exact same wording used in 1950s textbooks can be found in 2010 versions over half a century later. This would suggest that successive editions of history textbooks on *wokou* piracy are constructing the same overall ideological system (described above), by presenting an unchanging set of sanctioned social relations.

Texts in subsequent editions do not mirror each other exactly, however, and it is worth exploring micro-level textual differences for what they can tell us. Firstly, by the mid-1960s Ming dynasty history had been elided from school history texts, on the basis that study of events during feudal (imperial) times was irrelevant to the needs of contemporary proletarian revolution. The subtext here is that in 1965 making revolution was considered even more important than bashing Japan or putative Japanese collaborators.

Secondly, compared to both earlier and later editions of mainland history textbooks, the 1980 edition devotes double the amount of text space to criticising Japanese piracy. This would seem to refute the hypothesis that the content and tone of Chinese teaching materials—as they relate to Japan—accurately reflects the state of contemporary Sino-Japanese relations. In that year not only were bilateral ties cordial, but within the previous decade China had both normalised relations with and signed a Peace Treaty with Japan (in 1972 and 1978 respectively). Therefore, if textbook representations of Japan (tone, length of commentary, etc.) were solely informed by

⁶² For example, see: ZL (2010), 7.2:93–95.

the contemporary state of Sino-Japanese relations, then it is inconceivable that 1980 editions of history textbooks would have substantially increased the amount of text chastising the Japanese.

There are a number of possible explanations for this dichotomy, for instance post-1949 Chinese textbook portrayals of Japan might bear no relation to the contemporary state of Sino-Japanese relations. Alternatively, criticism of Japan contained in classroom texts might be “sticky,” in that there is a long, undefined time-lag between bilateral relations improving and a watering down of pointed criticism of Japan in teaching materials. It is also possible that there was no oversight of textbook compilers in 1980 and that they could therefore write whatever they liked about Japan. This however is unlikely, especially since education at that time was still a frontline issue politically and new texts were bound to receive careful scrutiny.⁶³ A more plausible explanation is that the ideological system underpinning the *wokou* narrative had not changed, as set out in the Chinese macro-level textbook discourse (i.e. all teaching materials). In order to examine whether or not the ideological system informing historical representations of Japan in textbooks has in fact altered, we now turn to lessons on the First Sino-Japanese War.

Textbook representations of the First Sino-Japanese War (1894–95)

The First Sino-Japanese War features prominently in all post-1949 Chinese history textbooks, since it was the first conflict during the century of humiliation in which imperial China was pitted against a former vassal state, namely Japan.⁶⁴ Following a declaration of hostilities by the Meiji emperor (1868–1912) on August 1, 1894, fighting lasted just over eight months, and the conflict concluded with a peace treaty signed on April 17, 1895.⁶⁵ Land battles were fought in Korea, Manchuria and

⁶³ See n22.

⁶⁴ On the vassal system, see: John King Fairbank and Ta-tuan Ch'en, *The Chinese World Order; Traditional China's Foreign Relations* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1968).

⁶⁵ Stewart Lone, *Japan's First Modern War: Army and Society in the Conflict with China, 1894–95*

Shandong, with naval engagements confined to adjacent waters. The causes of the war are complex and are still being debated by scholars. Some see chronic instability in Korea as a major factor, whereas others posit that “if by dealing with Asia in an authoritative, or even authoritarian, manner Japan could win the West’s respect and avoid a confrontation, then so be it.”⁶⁶

Mainland textbooks pointedly ignore these debates, preferring to concentrate on Chinese responses to Japanese aggression rather than the aggression itself. In so far as the teaching materials contain any analysis of the conflict’s causes at all, the Qing dynasty is entirely to blame because it was corrupt, incompetent and the Chinese government committed traitorous crimes.⁶⁷ In all editions the imperial house and its senior military commanders are deemed culpable for “maintaining a stance of not fighting the Japanese.”⁶⁸ Such assertions however, do not fully fit the reality on the ground. Certainly, there were occasions where the opposing side made territorial gains with hardly any resistance from Qing forces, such as when Port Arthur was abandoned in the face of invading Japanese divisions in November 1894.

Generally, however, history texts on the First Sino-Japanese War are economical with the truth, in that they continually highlight the “craven capitulation” (i.e. unwillingness to fight) by the Chinese military high command. For example, during the 1895 battle for Weihaiwei in Shandong Province, children are taught that the naval base was “easy to defend and difficult to attack,” but cowardice by Qing commanders meant that the ships were afraid to put to sea, with the result that they were sunk in harbour by Japanese torpedoes.⁶⁹ This contrasts sharply with eyewitness accounts of the battle, which record that the Japanese only took Weihaiwei after fierce fighting and even then Chinese frigates continued to shell Japanese positions from adjacent sea areas.⁷⁰

(London: Macmillan Press, 1994), 1.

⁶⁶ L. M. Cullen, *A History of Japan, 1582–1941: Internal and External Worlds* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2003), 232; Lone, *Japan’s First Modern War*, 17.

⁶⁷ *Zhongguo lishi jiaoshi jiaoxue yongshu chuzhong ban* (hereafter ZL (J), short for *Chinese History Classroom Teaching Guide Lower Middle School Edition*) (2010), 8.1:17.

⁶⁸ ZL (1980), 3:21.

⁶⁹ *Ibid.*, 25.

⁷⁰ Lone, *Japan’s First Modern War*, 167.

There are a number of possible reasons for this obsession with portraying Chinese commanders as inept. Firstly, in a very Chinese way textbooks are apportioning blame for the Japanese invasion to Qing leaders. The historian Wai-Yee Li argues that all “historical writings represent the discourse of authority par excellence in the Chinese tradition,” such that even by the Han dynasty (202 BCE–CE 220), the concept of apportioning praise and blame was already well established.⁷¹ Post-1949 textbooks follow this long precedent, by meting out praise to ordinary soldiers and sailors who defend their country, whilst at the same time heaping blame on the Qing empire, its rulers, and the Japanese. This would accord with an essentially Chinese Marxist view of the world, that on the one hand the masses are honest, loyal and (in wartime) fight hard. On the other hand, China’s imperial rulers are cast as unfit to govern because of their incompetence and their unwillingness to take on the enemy. The logic of criticising China’s former Qing ruling house bears a very marked similarity to the way in which the Nationalists are condemned in textbook commentary on the Second Sino-Japanese War in the 1930s and 40s (see next section).

The text here is highly coded so as to denigrate any former ruler of China in a way which presents the CCP as the obvious, natural choice for governing China after 1949. Whilst it might seem far-fetched to argue that party textbook compilers saw a dynasty that collapsed in 1911 as a threat and therefore a target of criticism, it should be remembered that even today the CCP is not the only claimant to the mandate to rule “all under heaven” (i.e. China), and that every opportunity must be taken to inculcate youth that all former rulers of China were unqualified to govern. Furthermore, in 1949 it was less than 40 years since the Qing dynasty fell, during which time there were several attempts to re-establish a monarchy.⁷² When viewed in this light, it is not so bizarre that CCP textbook compilers should attempt to cast China’s former Manchu rulers as opponents.

A second reason for constructing an idealised picture of an aggressive Japan

⁷¹ Wai-Yee Li, “The Idea of Authority in the Shih Chi (Records of the Historian),” *Harvard Journal of Asiatic Studies* 54, no. 2 (1994): 345.

⁷² For example, the last Qing emperor Pu Yi was deposed in 1911 and then reinstated as the emperor of the puppet Manchukuo state (present day north-east China) in 1932.

attacking a floundering non-Han Qing government, is the liminal space it provides for casting ordinary Chinese as heroes. These heroes are then offset against corrupt high-ranking Qing commanders, and the wicked, rapacious opposing Japanese forces. Taking the Battle of the Yellow Sea (September 1894) as an example, all editions set the scene by emphasising Chinese heroism in attacking a superior Japanese force. During the engagement the Japanese flagship *Matsushima* sustains over one hundred casualties, along with four other Japanese warships which are heavily damaged and “virtually sink.”⁷³

Contemporary reports, however, indicate that only three sailors were killed on the *Matsushima* and that no Japanese warship even came close to sinking.⁷⁴ Whilst the exact number of casualties and the extent of damage to individual ships is still a matter of academic debate, the substantial difference between eyewitness accounts of the battle and post-1949 Chinese textbook narratives suggest that figures in the latter are embellished. The aim here is to enhance the Chinese contribution to the battle, and to disguise the fact that whilst the Japanese side lost not a single warship and sustained only 100 casualties in total, China lost a substantial part of its northern fleet, including the *Zhiyuan*, a state-of-the-art armoured cruiser recently purchased from Britain.⁷⁵ Here, as with Ming dynasty piracy, textbooks are economical with the truth, in order to present the Japanese enemy as ultimately destined to lose.

Whereas classroom narratives on the battle frame Japanese action only in terms of losses sustained, all textbooks contain extended coverage of Capt. Deng Shichang, and his heroic deeds as commanding officer of the *Zhiyuan*. This trope of the hero who bravely fights the enemy and then perishes in order to avoid capture, frequently recurs in textbooks, films and books (see table 5).⁷⁶

Drawing on the linguistics scholar Ruqaiya Hasan’s notion of articulating

⁷³ ZL (2010), 8.1:17.

⁷⁴ Frederick Warrington Eastlake and Yoshiaki Yamada, *Heroic Japan: A History of the War Between China & Japan* (1897), pp. 88, 109.

⁷⁵ On the respective capabilities of the Chinese and Japanese fleets see: S. C. M. Paine, *The Sino-Japanese War of 1894–1895: Perceptions, Power, and Primacy* (New York, NY: Cambridge University Press, 2003), 180.

⁷⁶ For example see the history lessons on the siege of Pyongyang during the same conflict: ZL (2000), 3:70.

different semantic resources, allows us to draw inferences on the political order constructed by means of reifying hero Deng.⁷⁷ Written practices (history lessons on the First Sino-Japanese War) are marshalled in order to exhibit Deng Shichang’s selfless sacrifice to the Chinese people. Implicit questions presented to schoolchildren include: “What is patriotism?” (dying for your country, not abandoning your post), and “Who fights the Japanese?” (not Qing leaders or generals, but loyal patriotic Chinese people).

Table 5. Patriotic statements made by Capt. Deng Shichang during the Battle of the Yellow Sea in lower middle school history textbooks

Textbook, volume and page number	Excerpts from Capt. Deng during the Battle of the Yellow Sea
ZL (1957), 3:39	“It is honourable for us to die in the North Sea.”
ZL (1965), 3:78	[as for 1957]
ZL (1980), 3:25	“ <i>Matsushima</i> is the Japanese flagship; if we can sink her, we can attack the enemy navy’s morale.”
ZL (2000), 3:70	[after jumping into the sea and refusing a lifeline] “I promise that I would die along with all the sailors on my ship.”
ZL (2010), 8.1:17	“We are sailors protecting our country, whether we live or die was long ago of no consequence. Even though we are sacrificed, this [battle] can strengthen our country’s prestige.”

Another rhetorical question contained in attendant teaching manuals is, “Why should we carefully study the patriotic deeds of Deng Shichang?”⁷⁸ This is a different way of asking, “What is the didactic moral of this story?” Deng’s heroic feats are fashioned not so much as to tell children what to do, rather they provide role models telling them how to think. These daring exploits include encouraging injured gunners to remain at their posts, so that they can kill as many Japanese as possible, and Captain Deng’s patriotic determination to perish with his ship after it is fatally hit.

⁷⁷ R. Hasan, “Semantic Variation and Sociolinguistics,” *Australian Journal of Linguistics* 9, no. 2 (1989): 221.

⁷⁸ ZL (J) (2010), 8.1:16.

The subtext to this commentary is that China is not weak but strong, and that with determined leadership Japan can be beaten. Whilst Qing admirals and ministers (code for any non-Communist ruling class) are nowhere to be seen during the sea battle, brave Captain Deng demonstrates courage under fire (code for the party leading the masses). As a result of Deng's heroic attack the Japanese flagship is apparently seriously damaged.

Students in class are taught that squarely facing the Japanese in battle is morally correct, even when your vessel is hit and your crew are dying. This example of earnestly exhorting one's men to not run (or in this case steam) away from danger at the battlefield, acts as a metaphor for how Communist leaders want the next generation of young Chinese to see themselves, namely as heroes willing to take on the Japanese in peace or in war.⁷⁹

A third possibility for vilifying the Qing leadership at the same time as the Japanese, is that textbook compilers wish to underscore that negotiating with an enemy is futile, or to paraphrase the words of Mao Zedong, "If you are backward you will be beaten" (*luohou jiu ai da*).⁸⁰ This grammar emerges in the context of lessons on the April 1895 peace talks, which resulted in the signing of the humiliating Shimonoseki treaty. Teaching manuals accompanying the Chinese history syllabus instruct teachers to explicitly request that students pay close attention to the Shimonoseki negotiations, so as to expose both the incompetence of the Qing, and "the avaricious greed and brutality of the Japanese invaders."⁸¹ As this is the only occasion that teachers' instruction booklets specifically comment on Japan in context of the First Sino-Japanese War, it is worth further exploring how both sides in the talks are characterised.

Both the leader of the Qing delegation to Shimonoseki, Li Hongzhang, and his Japanese interlocutors are described using pejorative terms which imply that they are

⁷⁹ For details of how sacrifice is embedded in contemporary Chinese narratives, see: Arthur Waldron, "China's New Remembering of World War II: The Case of Zhang Zizhong," *Modern China* 30, no. 4 (1996): 945–978.

⁸⁰ Mao Zedong, *Mao zedong xuanji* (Beijing: Renmin chubanshe, 1991), 5:101.

⁸¹ ZL (2010), 8.1:17.

both enemies of China. The lesson first emphasises how the punitive terms of the final treaty caused great suffering to the Chinese people. The Japanese are then portrayed as being superior to the Qing, for instance when Li Hongzhang cravenly accepts Japanese Prime Minister Ito Hirobumi's demand that China cedes Taiwan:

When faced with the invader's threats, the contemptible Li Hongzhang shamelessly said "Taiwan is already in Japan's mouth, there is no need to be impatient!" Ito Hirobumi treacherously replied "[We] have not swallowed it yet, and we are very hungry!" This single question and its reply, exposed the thoroughly unrestrained faces of the avaricious invader and the traitorous-sell-the-country-criminal-slave [Li Hongzhang].⁸²

The discourse here attempts to achieve full naturalisation, by signifying both Minister Li and Prime Minister Ito as completely beyond the pale of acceptable behaviour. The opposites constructed here show the Japanese state as strong/superior/aggressive/the victor, and Qing China as weak/inferior/humiliated/the victim. However, both Japan (as signified by Ito) and the Qing dynasty (Li) are both cast as ignoble, disloyal and criminal, in that they connive to force unequal treaties on China.

The underlying norms and values outlined above and transmitted to students in class, are a gross subversion of the true course of the negotiations and the main parties involved. Firstly, the textbooks neglect to mention that Li Hongzhang was one of China's leading statesmen at the time, a man who was widely respected for, amongst other things, recovering Jiangsu Province during the Taiping Rebellion (1850–64).⁸³ Secondly, there is no mention that Li Hongzhang was shot and seriously injured by an assailant shorting after commencing the peace talks, no wonder he was weak and had to negotiate from his bedside! Thirdly, in using an extremely harsh lexicon to present Li as a Chinese traitor, teaching materials naturally overlook his positive attributes, such as the fact that he continuously "denounced all aspects of the Japanese position."⁸⁴

In doing so Li was consistently bargaining hard in order to achieve the best

⁸² ZL (1980), 3:26.

⁸³ Mutsu Munemitsu, *Kenkenroku: A Diplomatic Record of the Sino-Japanese War, 1894–95*, ed. and trans. Gordon Mark Berger (Tokyo: University of Tokyo Press, 1982), 60.

⁸⁴ *Ibid.*, 183.

possible deal for China, albeit from a very weak negotiating position. For example, he repudiated demands that Japanese forces be allowed to build military positions in Tianjin, since this would leave Beijing vulnerable to attack.⁸⁵ My point here is that textbook compilers are attempting to establish the conviction amongst their young readers that negotiating with the Japanese enemy—or indeed any foe—is pointless, within a larger picture of Qing leaders unfit to either rule or govern. To ram this point home, compilers find it necessary to omit inconvenient features of the historical record which do not accord with this view.

Another way of identifying who compilers are criticising and why is to analyse the precise location of text on the First Sino-Japanese War, as it relates to other lessons describing historical events of the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries. As already noted, classes narrating the Ming dynasty *wokou* threat are both preceded and followed by essays extolling the virtues of the peace-loving Chinese admiral Zheng He and non-threatening medieval Chinese settlers.

History texts bringing to life the First Sino-Japanese War are flanked by stories which depict late Qing China as being surrounded by hostile foreign enemies and ruled by weak leaders too ineffectual to combat them. Seen in this light, Japan is the principle but not the only foreign enemy. Adjacent to the First Sino-Japanese War narrative is commentary on Japan attacking Korea from the 1870s onwards, forcing that country both to sign unequal treaties and to put up with the ignominy of Japanese soldiers stationed on Korean soil.⁸⁶ Frequent mention is also made of incursions by other foreign powers, such as the two Opium Wars fought against the British, and the Sino-French War of 1883–85.⁸⁷ Texts describing the aftermath of the First Sino-Japanese War relate how China's imperialist enemies, including Japan, later sought to carve up China like a melon.⁸⁸ Unlike history teaching on the *wokou* however, texts flanking classes on the First Sino-Japanese War set a weak Qing in binary opposition to encroaching foreign imperialists, of which Japan is the most

⁸⁵ Ibid.

⁸⁶ ZL (1980), 3:20.

⁸⁷ ZL (1957), 2:58.

⁸⁸ ZL (2000), 3:74–75.

rapacious but not the only colonial power (the first binary opposition). In turn, this is complemented by comparing Chinese heroism with Japanese aggression (the second binary opposition).

On the one hand, it might be argued that during the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries, Chinese territory was indeed frequently subject to incursions by foreign powers and that it is therefore correct that teaching materials should reflect this. However, this argument flies in the face of the Chinese historian Paul Cohen's assertion that during the late Qing domestic issues were far more important than conflicts with foreign barbarians.⁸⁹ Put differently, if foreign affairs (including the First Sino-Japanese War) were of relatively minor consequence to late Qing politics, then modern day textbooks ought not to exclusively dwell on them.

Yet this is patently not the case, as PRC textbooks devote considerable print space to the First Sino-Japanese War, which is both preceded and followed by lessons describing colonial aggression by other foreign powers (including Japan). This means that either Cohen is wrong, or post-1949 textbook compilers have some other reason for laying out teaching materials in this way. The most plausible explanation for this is to stress the notion that the Qing is too feeble to stand up to foreign enemies and that China should not be ruled by an imperial house. This conveniently dovetails with the ideological position constructed throughout the syllabus, namely that history textbook discourse on Japan attempts to bolster CCP rule. With the aim of further unpacking that ideological position, we now turn to analysis of mainland history texts on the Second Sino-Japanese War.

History textbook representations of the Second Sino-Japanese War (1931–45)

The texts in this section examine coverage of the Second Sino-Japanese War as presented in PRC history textbooks (including armed resistance between the 9.18

⁸⁹ Paul A. Cohen, *Discovering History in China: American Historical Writing on the Recent Chinese Past* (Guildford: Columbia University Press, 1984), 2–3.

incident in September 1931 and the outbreak of full-scale war following the July 1937 Marco Polo bridge incident). These textbooks were published up to half a century apart (in the case of the 1957 and 2010 editions) yet they cover much the same events, the lessons are recognisably the same and there is often a marked similarity in the text too. Critical Discourse Analysis is a powerful tool with which to analyse short passages, but for large bodies of text, such as here, it is useful to complement CDA with other theoretical tools, such as Ronald Price's use of "social-political indicators."⁹⁰ As discussed earlier, I have adjusted Price's model in such a way that it becomes a more efficacious model for analysing lessons on the 1931–45 conflict, principally by sharply reducing the number of indicators, so as to concentrate on variables specific to the Second Sino-Japanese War. For ease of reference, the analysis below is divided into four sub-sections, depending on whether the frequency with which a particular indicator occurs is constant, decreasing, increasing or fluctuating (see table 6).

Constant frequency of indicator

Table six shows that since 1949, there has been no substantial change in the frequency of references to either the Japanese occupation or the Nationalist leader Jiang Jieshi. Bearing in mind that since 1949 the PRC has been through wrenching economic and social change, it might be expected that substantial rewrites of history syllabi during this period would alter the weighting accorded to these indicators, so as to reflect the rapidly evolving political mores of the day and the views of different paramount leaders.⁹¹ Instead, in many important respects, history lessons on the Anti-Japanese War today are virtually unaltered from their 1950s predecessors. The most plausible explanation for this is that the ideologically informed picture of World War Two that the CCP is trying to create has not changed since the 1950s either. By inspecting our metaphorical painting more closely, it is possible to gain a more nuanced

⁹⁰ Price, "Chinese Textbooks, Fourteen Years On," 539.

⁹¹ On post-1949 political and economic change in China, see: Rana Mitter, *Modern China: A Very Short Introduction* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2008).

view of the canvas.

In all textbook narratives since 1949, the speaker communicates the war situation by activating attitudes which portray Japan as an implacable opponent. This might seem unsurprising in light of the fact that the two countries fought on opposite sides in World War Two. Yet other countries that fought each other in this conflict have managed to reconcile their pasts to the extent that animosity does not spill over into textbooks.⁹² This obsession with presenting Japan as an incorrigible enemy, intent on occupying and colonising China, manifests itself on almost every page of Chinese history lessons about the war, to such an extent that in one edition (2000) a whole chapter is devoted to “brutal Japanese rule,” containing numerous instances of *harming* (*shanghai*), *injuring* (*shang*), *killing* (*sha*), *raping* (*qiangjian*) and *gassing* (*duqi*) Chinese people, whilst *burning* (*shaohui*) and *looting* (*qiangjie*).⁹³ At the same time there is no mention of the possibility that atrocities might have been committed against the Japanese, the enemy simply had to be expelled or annihilated by any means whatsoever.

The high frequency of indicators positioning Japan in opposition to China (through use of markers such as *enemy* (*diren*), *invaders* (*qinlǐezhè*), *occupation* (*zhanyong*), “*mop-up*” operations (*dasaodang*) by the Japanese, etc.) suggests that there has been little change in the way in which the CCP wishes to portray Japan to children. This is another way of saying that compared to other genres, such as media and film, the rate of change of significations of Japan in history textbooks is slow or “sticky,” in that certain social-political indicators are insensitive to changes in the bilateral relationship. Were this not the case, then the rate of change of significations of Japan embedded in history teaching materials would be much more volatile.

Another important point to note is that Jiang Jieshi appears extremely prominently in all history textbooks recounting the Anti-Japanese War, so prominently in fact, that he is cited more often than Mao Zedong! This is because in PRC classrooms Jiang Jieshi is, and always has been, depicted as either incompetent, a punchbag, or a pathetic

⁹² Lind, *Sorry States*, 15.

⁹³ ZL (2000), 4:64–68.

Table 6. Social-political indicators in Chinese lower middle school history textbooks covering the 1931–45 Sino-Japanese conflict (selected years)

Social-political indicator	1957	1965	1980	2000	2010
Constant frequency of indicator					
Jiang Jieshi (Chiang Kai-shek)	34	48	42	34	55
Japan as enemy	72	135	90	51	52
Japan as invaders and colonisers; puppet governments	116	71	36	104	111
Japanese occupation or colony	31	13	16	31	41
Japanese attacks or “mop-up” operations	36	36	17	49	52
Victory	28	31	24	22	52
Decreasing frequency of indicator					
Traitors	41	26	40	25	...
Resistance...under the leadership of the CCP	79	72	43	33	41
...by the CCP or CCP forces	98	55	84	68	52
...by the masses	69	64	68	33	33
...from CCP base areas	52	44	18	51	26
CCP guerrilla attacks on Japanese forces	69	44	44	37	22
Japanese forces as imperialists	62	50	27	28	4
Patriotism	28	17	11	11	...
Revolution	39	17	17	8	4
GMD not resisting/GMD surrendering to the Japanese	48	65	45	38	11
GMD attacks on CCP forces	71	55	49	23	11
Increasing frequency of indicator					
GMD politicians and military officers	11	3	3	22	55
Joint anti-Japanese resistance by GMD and CCP forces	23	26	22	27	41
Warlords	8	8	...	12	26
Resistance by “China” or “Chinese armies”	59	5	25	45	133
Japanese politicians/military officers or military units	...	...	...	21	18
Japanese army	5	16	10	77	140
Sacrifice	7	8	5	21	18
Fluctuating frequency of indicator					
Mao Zedong	16	26	36	7	7
Named CCP leaders	38	15	51	35	18
Named Chinese patriots or foreigners	5	...	3	62	15

Note: Data for all years has been adjusted by a multiple in order to permit comparisons based on the total number of pages. The multipliers used are: 1957=1.0, 1965=1.0, 1980=0.9, 2000=1.4, 2010=3.6.

figure of fun (for example by making jokes about his false teeth) for allowing the Japanese to invade in the first place. Someone had to get the blame for not defending China and the intense criticism of Jiang suggests that textbook approval committees still, to this day, pin much of that blame on him.

Table 7. Quotes from lower middle school history textbooks showing how Jiang Jieshi lost north-east China (selected years)

Textbook, volume and page number	How Jiang lost north-east China
ZL (1957), 4:39	Jiang Jieshi gave the order to “absolutely not resist [the enemy]” to Chinese armies in the north–east and ordered the armies to retreat...Thanks to Jiang Jieshi’s ignominious policies of non-resistance...by the beginning of 1932 the stunningly beautiful territory and countless treasures of the 3 north–eastern provinces had been completely lost to the enemy.
ZL (1980), 4:23	In less than half a year, the 3 provinces of north–eastern China had been lost. Thanks to Jiang Jieshi’s traitorous policies of surrendering by not resisting [the enemy], more than 100,000 square kilometres of stunningly beautiful territory and countless treasures were completely lost.
ZL (2000), 4:33	In less than half a year, more than 100,000 square kilometres of the stunningly beautiful 3 provinces of north–east China had completely fallen into enemy hands.
ZL (2010), 8.1:70	In just over 4 months, more than 100,000 square kilometres of the stunningly beautiful north–eastern Chinese [territory] had completely fallen into enemy hands.

To name just one example in this blame game, great emphasis is placed on the December 1936 Xian incident where the warlord Zhang Xueliang and the GMD commander Yang Hucheng abducted Jiang, because of the latter’s insistence that the primary enemy was the CCP and not the Japanese. The implication here is that Jiang Jieshi obviously had his strategy back-to-front, and that he should have been fighting the Japanese and not the Communists.⁹⁴ It is therefore no surprise that as recently as the year 2000, history textbooks devote a whole chapter to explaining why Jiang’s Nationalist forces half-heartedly repulsed the Japanese, yet at the same time aggressively attacked Communist guerrillas.⁹⁵

However, it would be wrong to assume that just because Jiang Jieshi plays a

⁹⁴ ZL (1965), 4:103–04.

⁹⁵ ZL (2000), 4:64–68.

starring role in PRC history textbooks that significations of his persona are static. This is because since the 1980s there has been a grudging acceptance of the role that Nationalist forces commanded by Jiang played in facing the Japanese during the war, as noted in previous chapters.⁹⁶ As teaching materials on the Anti-Japanese War often read more like a critique of Jiang Jieshi than a rational account of Japanese actions or strategy, it is useful to compare the manner in which the vitriol towards Jiang has lessened with successive editions of history texts. To illustrate, table seven clearly shows that earlier editions of textbooks attribute the rapid loss of north-eastern China in early 1932 to Jiang Jieshi's ignominious policies and his traitorous behaviour. However, by the year 2000, history texts omit all reference to him in conjunction with the fall of Manchuria to the Japanese.

This is more historically accurate, since during the late 1920s and the 1930s most of this region was under the sway of warlords with only nominal loyalty to the GMD government. Therefore, if textbooks deem it necessary to apportion blame for the loss of north-east China, then it would be more appropriate to direct criticism towards warlords such as Zhang Xueliang. The excerpts shown in table seven do not go this far though, instead recent editions merely note in a rather terse fashion that the territory was lost.

Decreasing frequency of indicator

Chinese traitors and Japanese collaborators

In imperial times official histories invariably heaped opprobrium on any Chinese who collaborated with China's enemies. This pattern continued into the twentieth century. For example, in describing Manchurian resistance during the 1930s and 40s,

⁹⁶ For both early and more recent examples of publishing on how the GMD correctly faced the Japanese during the war, see: Ma Zhendu, *Cansheng: kangzhan zhengmian zhanchang daxieyi* (Guilin: Guangxi shifan daxue chubanshe, 1993); Guo Rugui, *Zhongguo kangri zhanzheng: zhengmian zhanchang zuo zhanji* (Nanjing: Jiangsu renmin chubanshe, 2005).

Rana Mitter argues that “constructing a resistancialism [sic] that sets up China in opposition to Japan and thereby necessarily posits Japan as Other, the propagandists had to erase memories of the multiple examples of previous Chinese interaction with the Japanese.”⁹⁷ In other words, during the Republican era, any current or former contact with the Japanese ran the risk of being seen as traitorous. This was despite the fact that in other parts of the country away from Manchuria, Chinese forces continually negotiated or collaborated with the Japanese when expedient to do so.⁹⁸

After the founding of the PRC, textbook compilers continued building this myth of resistancialism, in order to present collaboration as an aberration in the face of united resistance to the Japanese. As a result, wartime leaders who publicly espoused non-resistance or cooperation with the enemy, such as Jiang Jieshi and Wang Jingwei, were branded *traitors* (*hanjian*) in textbooks. Incidentally, during the Mao era, political opponents of Chairman Mao, such as Wang Ming, were also denounced as *hanjian* in the classroom, the ultimate Chinese insult.⁹⁹

The gradual rehabilitation of Jiang Jieshi during the 1980s certainly goes some way to explaining why the term *traitor* appears less frequently, since textbooks published in the new millennium decline to describe him as one. It is also plausible that reform era propagandists increasingly wished to play down separatist sentiment within Greater China by (what they continue to term) “splittists,” such as the Nationalists on Taiwan and the Uighurs in Xinjiang. They aimed to achieve this by removing references to Chinese wartime collaboration with the Japanese. This is because in a culture that sets such store on historical precedent, recounting instances of wartime treachery (i.e. collaboration) might set a dangerous example which could be seized on by independence-minded groups.

⁹⁷ Rana Mitter, *The Manchurian Myth: Nationalism, Resistance, and Collaboration in Modern China* (London: University of California Press, 2000), 17.

⁹⁸ Hans J. van de Ven, “The Kuomintang’s Secret Service in Action: Operational and Political Aspects of the Arrest of Liao Chengzhi,” *Intelligence and National Security* XVI, no. 4 (2001): 205.

⁹⁹ Wang Ming (1904–74) was an early senior leader of the CCP and a major political rival to Mao Zedong. Wang Jingwei (1883–1944) (no relation of Wang Ming) was a GMD politician who collaborated with the Japanese from the late 1930s onwards, in order to head a rival administration in Nanjing.

Resistance to the Japanese under the leadership of the CCP

In successive versions of history textbooks, the CCP plays a still prominent but declining role in beating the Japanese, as measured by the number of times that the indicator *under the leadership of the party* (*zai dangde lingdao xia*) is cited. Communist Party leadership is presented in the context of leading the masses to victory in a holy or sacred war, which ties in with the traditional Chinese belief that rulers have a divine right to rule and the more modern Leninist doctrine that the people should be led.¹⁰⁰

Taking each of these concepts in turn, the question of whether or not communism is a religion (with its implication of a divine right to rule) is beyond the scope of this study and in any case is well documented elsewhere.¹⁰¹ However, it is possible that the Anti-Japanese War is slowly being transformed into a holy crusade by using religious lexicography with the “aim of legitimis[ing] or even sacralization of the present political structure,” which is code for continued CCP rule.¹⁰² Here politically influential ideologues (textbook compilers) are packaging and distributing official ideology (the CCP’s right to rule) through the medium of textbooks to a politically powerless group of consumers (Chinese schoolchildren).¹⁰³

Moving on to the question of leadership, history texts on the Anti-Japanese War exhibit a strong and active (but lessening) involvement of *CCP armies* (*ba lu jun, xin si jun*), *volunteer militias* (*minbing*) and *the masses* in history lessons about the war. All of these actors unquestioningly obey the party, a strategy encapsulated in the oft-quoted idiom “the party is the mainstay of the people” (*zhongliudizhu*).¹⁰⁴ The political scientist Tony Saich convincingly argues why the masses should be led:

¹⁰⁰ ZL (1965), 4:117; Tony Saich, “Discos and Dictatorship,” in *Popular Protest and Political Culture in Modern China: Learning from 1989*, ed. Jeffrey N. Wasserstrom and Elizabeth J. Perry (Boulder, CO: Westview Press, 1992), 256–57.

¹⁰¹ Émile Durkheim, *The Elementary Forms of the Religious Life*, 2nd ed. (London: Allen and Unwin, 1976), 316.

¹⁰² James Thrower, *Marxism-Leninism as the Civil Religion of Soviet Society: God’s Commissar* (Lewiston, NY: E. Mellen Press, 1992), 72.

¹⁰³ This sentence paraphrases Thrower, p. 74.

¹⁰⁴ See: ZL (2000), 4:84. This idiom is repeated *ad nauseum* in the media and in speeches by leaders.

While Marx saw the proletariat as the universalising force that would bring unity through the destruction of bourgeois civil society, it was Lenin who later substituted the party as the universalising agent. The model of the party-state structure that was offered to China was thus elitist in nature, and this gelled well with China's own imperial tradition...Commitment was crucial no matter how personalised the leadership...[The CCP] claimed a higher truth and demanded devotional conduct.¹⁰⁵

In the context of PRC textbook narratives on the Anti-Japanese War, Saich's point is that the realisation of this higher truth was achieved through quasi-religious devotion by the masses to the party, which manifested itself (in textbooks and elsewhere) in the form of collective action to defeat the Japanese under the leadership of the party.

However, this explanation is perhaps a little too tidy, in that if the CCP (and only the CCP) led the Chinese to victory in the fighting against Japan, then it is inconceivable that textbook compilers would give rising prominence to roles played by other political actors in beating the Japanese. Yet this is exactly what happened, and to explain why it is necessary to examine joint CCP-GMD resistance, as well as the role that Nationalist forces played in beating the Japanese.

Rising frequency of indicator

GMD resistance against the Japanese

During the Mao era textbooks painted Nationalist resistance against the Japanese between the years 1931–45 as pathetic and inconsequential, so much so that the text often reads more like a polemic, full of barbs and implied criticisms. Taking 1965 lessons as an example, the GMD is described as an “opposing-the-CCP-surrendering-to-the-Japanese-reactionary-clique,” its policies are presented as being ridiculous and

¹⁰⁵ Saich, “Discos and Dictatorship,” 256–57.

its leader Jiang Jieshi is branded as an enemy.¹⁰⁶ This excerpt, and others like it, use asymmetric power relations to construct narratives in such a way as to portray the war in a way other than it really was, because “to serve the ideology, representations must be made to appear to be other than what they are. Above all, they must appear to lack these very contradictions that informed their production.”¹⁰⁷

It is for this reason that textbook compilers felt it necessary to contrast the GMD (surrendering to the enemy) against the CCP (fully committed to taking on the Japanese), because in reality in much of the country it was the Nationalists who were fighting Japan and not the Communists. If asymmetric power relations were the sole reason for lambasting the GMD, then it would be expected that reform era textbooks would continue to attack them with equal ferocity. This is because even today part of the myth of the CCP’s rise to power is the prominent role it played in beating the Japanese, even as the party reluctantly accepts that the GMD also played a vital part in winning the Anti-Japanese War.

Instead, editions published after the political rehabilitation of the Nationalists during the early to mid-1980s, are much less fervent in their criticism of Jiang Jieshi’s party. In the 2000 and 2010 editions for example, not only is the GMD contribution to fighting the Japanese more balanced (by removing epithets such as *surrendering* (*touxiang*) and *reactionary* (*fandong*)), but the deeds of illustrious Nationalist generals such as Zhang Zizhong are recounted in detail too. Embedded within this reform era textbook narrative is further tacit acknowledgement that the Nationalists played a bigger role than the Communists in the war. This can be seen in the form of a much higher ratio of citations of GMD to CCP leaders (see table 6).

Joint GMD-CCP resistance against the Japanese

With respect to the Nationalist’s role in the war, a few further points are worthy of

¹⁰⁶ ZL (1965), 4:123–24.

¹⁰⁷ Bill Nichols, *Ideology and the Image: Social Representation in the Cinema and Other Media* (Bloomington, IN: Indiana University Press, 1981), 290.

note. Firstly, during the Mao era joint GMD-CCP cooperation was used almost exclusively in a pejorative sense, in that it referred to Nationalist leaders repeatedly spurning Communist proposals to jointly resist the Japanese. After the GMD were politically rehabilitated (see above), references to joint cooperation usually signified rapprochement between the two parties instead.¹⁰⁸ Secondly, this recent highlighting of GMD resistance is reinforced by a rising frequency of reference to involvement by *Chinese (zhongguo ren)* or *Chinese armies (zhongguo jun)* in the war, which is code for non-Communists fighting the Japanese.

Yet textbook compilers only cede so much ground in this respect, in that Jiang Jieshi and the party he led are, even today, presented as being unfit to rule China, based on their conduct during the war. This is why textbooks devote whole chapters to eulogising life in Communist base areas (such as Yanan), immediately followed by lessons which explain in graphic detail the travails of life under GMD rule (hyperinflation, corruption, arbitrary arrest).¹⁰⁹ It is as if the textbooks are saying indirectly, “we now accept that it was mainly the Nationalists and not the Communists who opposed the Japanese wartime occupation, but we refuse to accept that this equates to a right to rule China.” Were this not the case, fully 60 years after the end of the war, there would be no need to present life for the masses under Jiang Jieshi as so harsh and desperate.

Japanese politicians and generals

As noted above the way Japan is conceptualised in history textbooks remains broadly unchanged between 1957 and 2010, in that references to Japan as an *enemy* and an *invader* are relatively constant. Interestingly, this trait is accompanied by a relatively recent rise in the appearance of named Japanese officials, politicians and generals. Likewise, Japanese military formations are increasingly called by their proper title (Group Army X or Regiment Y), as opposed to more generic terms such as *imperialist*

¹⁰⁸ On linguistic theory as it relates to this problem see: Wray, *Formulaic Language and the Lexicon*, 31.

¹⁰⁹ For example see: ZL (2000), lessons 8 and 9.

invader (diguozhuyi qinl iezhe).

Superficially, this would seem to indicate that the Japanese invasion of China from 1931 onwards is being presented in more balanced terms, a sort of de-Othering of that country's armed forces in representations of the Second Sino-Japanese War. On the other hand, a cursory inspection of reform era textbooks reveals a marked increase of commentary on alleged Japanese atrocities committed during that conflict.¹¹⁰ Teaching manuals accompanying lessons about the Nanjing massacre, for example, instruct students to memorise that the pogrom was carried out after Japanese forces took the capital, and that the massacre was conducted against unarmed civilians and Chinese forces who had already laid down their weapons.¹¹¹ This increasing insistence on re-remembering atrocities committed by the Japanese, decades after they were allegedly perpetrated mirrors narratives in war museums, where these events are “being remembered back into existence” in order to construct a victim narrative.¹¹²

Fluctuating frequency of indicator

If the cult of Mao as it appears in Chinese history textbooks were a piece a music, then it would grow in volume in the decades after 1949, rising to fever pitch in the years immediately after the chairman's death as a mark of respect to the late leader. The volume in our song would then fade to the point where it is now virtually inaudible. This pattern of a prolonged rise followed by a dramatic decline in references to Mao Zedong is repeated for indicators of other CCP leaders too. The rationale for such changes only becomes apparent when these figures are compared to the sharp rise in mentions of GMD politicians and generals, which as noted above implies that textbook compilers increasingly accept that it was the GMD and not the CCP that bore the brunt of the fighting against the Japanese.¹¹³

¹¹⁰ ZL (2010), 8.1:76.

¹¹¹ ZL (J) (2010), 8.1:144–45.

¹¹² Bartelson, “Memory, Trauma and World Politics,” 50.

¹¹³ See table 6.

The lessons drawn from post-1949 textbooks analysed so far in this chapter have, like the texts themselves, focused exclusively on episodes of historical Sino-Japanese conflict. However, at first glance the lower middle school history textbook (2010 edition) appears to be an exception to this rule, in that it recounts the story of Liu Changchun, the first mainland Chinese athlete to take part in an Olympiad, the 1932 Los Angeles Olympics.¹¹⁴

However, on closer inspection the story accurately reflects the attitudes of textbook compilers towards the major actors in the Anti-Japanese War. Japan is seen as *cunning* (*jiaohua*) for trying to send its own athletes to represent the so-called puppet Manchukuo State instead of Liu Changchun; the GMD is portrayed as *weak* (*ruo*) for not trying to stop them; and the Chinese people are shown as displaying *correct tendencies* (*zhengquede qingxiang*) for protesting against the pusillanimity of the Nationalists. China is *humiliated* (*chiru*) at the Los Angeles Olympics because Liu—who attends the event after all—is knocked out in the first round. The moral of this story, is that the People’s Republic under the leadership of the CCP is the real hero, owing to the success of the 2008 Beijing Olympiad almost 80 years later.

Language (*yuwen*) textbooks

Unlike most other mainland school syllabi, language teaching materials are edited very frequently. As a result of this continual editing the positioning of specific lessons within the language textbook series varies enormously, such that a text might arbitrarily appear in elementary school curricula one year and then in middle school assigned readings the next. For this reason, rather than using random sampling to pick relevant texts (which might miss important Japan-related tales because of their seemingly

¹¹⁴ ZL (2010), 8.1:73.

unplanned distribution in language teaching materials) I have selected three stories which frequently appear in the language syllabus. I have also included the well-known Mao era short song “I’m a soldier” (*wo shi yige bing*), for its polemical views on wartime Japan and the Nationalists.

For ease of comparison with extracts analysed elsewhere in this chapter, the lessons examined below are mostly chosen using the same baseline years: 1957, 1965, 1980, 2000 and 2010. As with history teaching materials, the relatively static presentation of Japan as a wartime enemy, implies long-term continuity in the ideological messages which language textbook compilers wish children to internalise.

With 2,000 years of shared Sino-Japanese history, much of it peaceful, there are many uncontentious areas of bilateral contact that could have been chosen for inclusion in language textbooks, such as Japanese absorption of Chinese culture during the Tang dynasty, or the technological prowess of modern Japanese factories located in China. Yet these and other subjects which might portray Japan in a positive light are ignored, because language textbook compilers instead concentrate on building a discourse which paints the Japanese state in a negative light.¹¹⁵ In this respect one theme dominates all others, the Communist-led resistance to the Japanese between the years 1931–45. This is because the Anti-Japanese War has special significance for the Chinese, as it was the first war during the century of humiliation which they actually won. It is therefore unsurprising that the theme of the stories described below is one of ultimate victory over the Japanese. Even the one story where a victim narrative predominates, that of the young hero Yu Lai, victory is assured because of his defiant resistance to the better armed, more numerous Kwantung Army soldiers.

The subtext to these language lessons encapsulates the CCP’s enduring philosophy towards the Anti-Japanese War. The war enables the Communist Party to portray itself as the prime defender of China against the Japanese, a herculean fight over many years which now undergirds its right to rule.¹¹⁶ As a result, the course of the conflict is painted as closely paralleling the CCP’s rise to power. Deftly weaving these two

¹¹⁵ See also: Apple, “The Text and Cultural Politics.”

¹¹⁶ See: Perry, “Challenging the Mandate of Heaven,” 163–80.

narratives together (the conflict and the CCP's rise) allows the party to characterise its coming to power as inevitable. Moreover, the inability of the Nationalists (nominally the ruling power in China at the time) to resist encroachment by Japan enables the CCP to portray them as unfit to govern.¹¹⁷ The short song translated below, "I'm a soldier," articulates these pillars of party rule, by providing us with a Maoist picture of how the CCP depicted the war, singing about it from the viewpoint of a common soldier.

I'm a soldier (1965)

I'm a common soldier
Defeat the thieving Japanese dogs and exterminate the Jiang bandit army
I'm a soldier, I love my country, I love my people
The revolutionary war tests me, and hardens my views
I firmly grasp my gun, my eyes see clearly
Whoever dares make war, I will resolutely attack them without mercy.¹¹⁸

The song is not educational in the sense that it teaches children facts about the Anti-Japanese War, instead it teaches them how to think emotively about the hostilities. The Japanese are described using pejorative terms such as *thieves (qiangdao)* and *dogs (gou)*. Jiang Jieshi is criticised by failing to use his formal title which denies him face. This is because calling a leader only by his surname in Chinese is an implied insult (President Hu Jintao is never, ever referred to as "Hu" in the Chinese media). In contrast, when wartime CCP leaders are mentioned, they are always referred to either by their full name or their surname and their title. Worse, calling the Nationalist armed forces *bandits (jiang fei jun)* is a direct snub, which attempts to brand the GMD under Jiang Jieshi as incapable of ruling China.

Love for one's motherland is another theme in this song which frequently occurs in other language textbook passages too.¹¹⁹ There is never any indication that the Chinese

¹¹⁷ He, "The Emerging Sino-Japanese Conflict," 2.

¹¹⁸ *Yuwen xiaoxue ban* (hereafter YW (X), short for *Language [Textbook] Elementary School Edition*) (1965), 2:93.

¹¹⁹ For example, see: *Yuwen chuxue ban* (hereafter YW (C), short for *Language [Textbook] Lower Middle School Edition*) (2010), 7.2:59–62.

people are divided by class (landlord/peasant), government (CCP/puppet governments loyal to Japan/warlords/GMD) or nationality (Han majority/ethnic minorities). The lessons gloss over such divisions with the implication that “we” are all one people together, who all ardently love our motherland and wish to see the Japanese annihilated. Published in 1965, this song might also have been meant as an indirect warning to the United States and Japan not to attack China, as it was published at a time of rising Japanese involvement in supplying American forces in Vietnam.¹²⁰

Grammar drills accompanying “I’m a soldier” divide new vocabulary into two types, with the aim of creating naturalisation in the same way as the *wokou* history texts. Words associated with Japan are purely negative, such as *enemy* and *invade*, whereas those linked with the Chinese are positive adjectives such as *courage* (*yonggan*) and *daring* (*danzi*), or active verbs *exterminate* (*pumie*).

“A little Eighth Route Army soldier” and “Five soldiers on Wolf Tooth Mountain”

A number of war stories have appeared so often in language textbooks that they have become ingrained in the nation’s consciousness. Arguably the two most famous of these tales are “A little Eighth Route Army soldier” (*xiao ba lu*), which is a short ditty about a young boy who has joined the eponymous army, and “Five soldiers on Wolf Tooth Mountain” (*langya shan wu zhuangshi*), about a quintet of Communist fighters who throw themselves off Wolf Tooth Mountain in order to avoid enemy capture.¹²¹ The continual appearance of these passages over the past 60 years suggests that their embedded political messages are still valid, otherwise the stories would have been withdrawn long ago, in the same way that Nationalist language textbooks were removed from circulation after 1949.

The story of “A little Eighth Route Army soldier” describes a healthy young Communist who fights alongside the Eighth Route Army, the CCP’s most successful

¹²⁰ See: Chen Jian, *Mao’s China*, chap. 8.

¹²¹ For *xiao ba lu* see: YW (X) (1992), 2:46; *ibid.* (2000), 2:34. For *langya shan wu zhuangshi* see: YW (C) (1980), 8:55–58; YW (X) (2010), 5.1:118–23.

wartime fighting force. Despite the fact that the boy is a fighter, his simple uniform is clean and in good repair (see fig. 7). He is alert, intelligent and he maintains his studies whilst on the battlefield. This story paints the picture of youths as the CCP would like them to be.¹²² The virtuous morals imparted here map out the ideal of hard-working, diligent, studious, hygienic children-cum-anti-Japanese-fighters ready to serve their country. Class is an unstated issue in that the little soldier is obviously not rich, as typified by the fact that he is only wearing straw sandals. By signifying the young hero as a peasant, the story sanctions and encourages working class relations. The cultural logic here tries to engender distrust of the Nationalist ruling class, by eulogising the common boy who goes off to fight for his country whilst the GMD, landlords and rich merchants are nowhere to be seen.



Figure 7. “A little Eighth Route Army soldier” (*xiao ba lu*) *Elementary School Language Textbook*, 2000, vol. 2, p. 34.

¹²² See also: Roberta Martin, “The Socialization of Children in China and on Taiwan: An Analysis of Elementary School Textbooks,” *China Quarterly* 62 (June 1975): 242–262.

The concept of praising positive morals and transmitting them to students is embodied in the list of new characters listed at the end of the text. Although most Chinese characters have multiple meanings, the new ones introduced in this story all have positive connotations, such as *zhuan* and *xin*, which used together mean *concentrate* (*zhuanxin*), or *jie* and *shi* which combined mean *reliable* (*jieshi*).

Sometimes the words and phrases found in accompanying grammar drills at the end of each lesson, tell us as much about the intentions of the textbook compiler as the text itself. The “Five soldiers on Wolf Tooth Mountain” like the young hero in “A little Eighth Route Army soldier” are ordinary folk fighting the Japanese. They protect their own people first by ambushing the Japanese so that “enemy corpses litter the ground,” and then by “luring the invaders” up on to Wolf Tooth Peak itself. When the five are cornered on the mountain, they fling themselves off the summit to their heroic deaths rather than surrendering to the Japanese, shouting “Beat the Japanese imperialists!” and “Long live the Chinese Communist Party!”¹²³ After reading the text children are required to learn words which positively associate with the five soldiers, such as *hate* (*hen*), *revenge* (*baochou*) and *duty* (*zeren*). Here both revenge against the Japanese and hating the invaders are considered virtuous attributes by the textbook compilers. In this respect, righteous revenge against an enemy has long been seen as a morally justified attribute of an upstanding Chinese person.¹²⁴ Conversely, negative characters or words associated with the Japanese include *enemy* and *corpse* (*shiti*).

All editions of “Five soldiers on Wolf Tooth Mountain” require that students learn four character idioms (*chengyu*) that appear in the text.¹²⁵ For example, in the 1980 version the comprehension exercises following the passage list positive association idioms for Chinese deeds, such as *magnificent* (*qizhuangshanhe*); whilst using negative association idioms for actions relating to the Japanese, such as *smash their bodies and*

¹²³ This is a true story, and remarkably two of the five soldiers survived, as depicted in the 1958 film of the same name.

¹²⁴ For in-depth analysis of how revenge is treated in one of the four Chinese classics see: Luo Guanzhong, ed., *Shui hu zhuan* (Beijing: Huazhong shudian, 1997).

¹²⁵ There are approximately 43,000 such idioms, of which several hundred are used in everyday speech. An 18 year old upper middle school student might be expected to recite between 2,000–3,000 *chengyu*.

grind their bones to pieces (fenshensuigu) and *disorderly (hengqishuba)*. Binary opposition is constructed by contrasting efficient Communist volunteers with a disorganised Japanese enemy, and the 1980 comprehension exercises virtually put words into the students' mouths, by asking them to explain the meaning of longer phrases such as "lure the enemy to the mountain summit, and then heroically annihilate him."

Thirty years later in the 2010 edition, the way in which questions are asked is different, but the construct of Chinese superiority remains the same. Students are now asked to explain the meaning of italicised phrases drawn from the text, for example "suddenly *rocks rained down like hailstones* [on the enemy]...representing the hatred of the Chinese people." In short, this story represents Japan as an implacable enemy, who can only be beaten at the hands of CCP guerrillas who bravely sacrifice themselves for their motherland.¹²⁶ Under the guise of building vocabulary, textbook compilers are reinforcing the ideological position constructed in history textbooks, with the aim of influencing a whole generation of students. This position is that Japan is an ever-present threat and potential enemy, who committed unconscionable atrocities during the Anti-Japanese War. Offset against the enemy's deeds is the outstanding contribution by CCP forces, selflessly fighting the invaders in order to rid China of foreign troops.

Images of Yu Lai

"Little hero Yu Lai" (*xiao yingxiong yulai*) is a famous story that appeared in textbooks before the PRC was even founded. This wartime tale written by Guan Hua, is about a young hero who becomes famous for thwarting the Japanese invaders at every turn, and even telling them to their face, "I am Chinese, I love my motherland!"¹²⁷ In

¹²⁶ Price, "Chinese Textbooks, Fourteen Years On," 542. Price notes that self-sacrifice is required and encouraged by Marxism, as discussed in Marx's treatise *German Ideology*, implying that killing oneself is as much for the Marxist cause as for defence of one's motherland.

¹²⁷ See: Baidu Encyclopedia, "Xiao yingxiong yu lai," Baidu online, <http://baike.baidu.com/view/140296.htm> (accessed 11/1/11).

the language textbook (2010) edition, the accompanying picture tells us almost as much about the Japanese as the story itself (see fig. 8). Firstly, Yu Lai is at the centre of the picture, angrily rubbing his face after having received a beating from the Japanese surrounding him. Despite the fact that he is spattered in blood and unarmed, he appears unafraid, and refuses to respond to the Japanese officer interrogating him (referred to in the text as *flat-nose (bian bizi)*). Yu Lai appears as a healthy, upright and vigorous youth, even though his patched clothes and the state of the shed he is being questioned in suggest that he is very poor. In stark contrast to the way modern-day thriving China is portrayed, the dilapidated shed is a metaphor for the country during the war, fought over and looted by the invading Japanese. The picture also implies that Yu Lai is a conscientious student, as the blood-stained textbook on the floor and the overturned chair by the table hint that he was studying up to the moment when the Japanese ambushed his home.

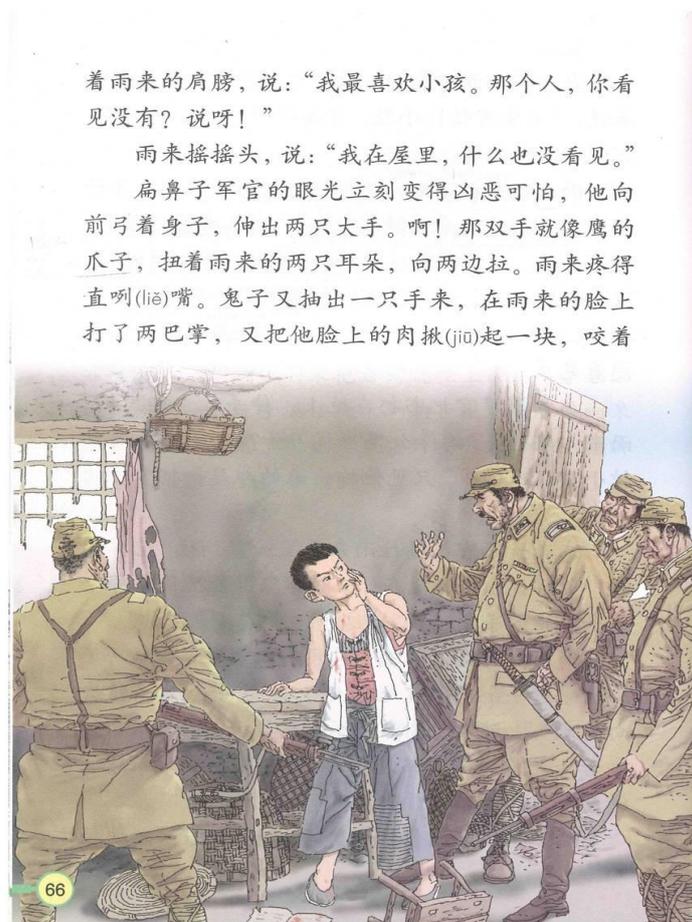


Figure 8. Yu Lai is interrogated by Japanese soldiers. *Elementary School Language Textbook*, 2010, vol. 4.2, p. 66.

The Kwantung Army soldiers (referred to as *devils* or the *enemy*) completely outnumber Yu Lai. They are brandishing weapons such as rifles and a sword, whereas Yu Lai has nothing with which to defend himself. The Japanese are all grotesquely ugly, unshaven, and have hands shaped like eagle talons. Their bodies are distorted to such an extent that their spindly legs can barely support their obese torsos, which are clad in crumpled, moth-eaten uniforms.

This picture seems to embody textbook compilers' thinking on Japan fully 65 years after the end of the war. The implication here is that Yu Lai is an innocent China, surrounded and attacked by inhumane torturing Japanese. Yet despite the overwhelming odds, China (Yu Lai) refuses to give in, submit, capitulate or confess to an enemy occupying the Chinese motherland. The picture does not show, however, that Yu Lai uses his intelligence to escape the Japanese and to keep fighting on until victory is finally won.

Conclusion

This chapter has argued that with respect to Japan content of Chinese textbooks has shown remarkably little change over the past 60 years. To be sure, some of the most egregious revolutionary rhetoric has been elided, but other than that classes taught to children in 2012 bear a marked similarity to those taught to their forbearers during the 1950s. As the Chinese Ministry of Education is part of the Propaganda Department empire, this suggests that the messages imparted by the state through its control of textbooks are broadly unchanged too.

The text schema (plots) in both history and language textbooks mostly relate to periods of Sino-Japanese discord, such as the Ming dynasty *wokou* piracy and the 1931–45 Anti-Japanese War. Lessons depicting the Japanese as peaceful, friendly or even normal are almost completely absent, since the ideological position that texts are constructing is that Japan is an incorrigible enemy. The idea of focusing exclusively on periods of conflict paints the Japanese side, and the so-called traitorous Chinese

who support them, as an ever-present threat.

Embedded within this overall narrative are a number of messages, which can be divided into three categories. First, the Chinese masses are good, strong, courageous and unite to repulse the Japanese invaders. Secondly, powerful leaders (e.g. Mao) are presented as vanquishing the Japanese, winning the right to rule China in the process. Thirdly, Chinese who fail to resist the Japanese (e.g. big business, Wang Jingwei) are traitors to China. Interwoven with these messages are social-political indicators, which by means of subtle use of lexicography bolster other claims, ranging from China is peaceful and the Qing dynasty is weak, to Jiang Jieshi is unfit to rule. A final point to note is that little change in Chinese textbooks should not be equated with no change. This chapter has explored some of the possible reasons as to why, for example, in recent decades the role played by the Nationalists in facing the Japanese enemy has gradually become more prominent. In the next chapter, we turn to a transmission medium which—unlike the textbook—has the potential to reach those who are illiterate and never attended school, namely film.

Chapter 4

Anti-Japanese War Films

Introduction

It is not an exaggeration to say that since the founding of the PRC, Anti-Japanese War films have remained an incredibly popular form of mass entertainment. To give an indication of the enduring fascination with this genre, the 1965 film *Underground War* (*Didao zhan*, 1965) is purportedly one of the most-watched movies ever, with over 1.8 billion viewings since it was made.¹ Similarly, the recently released blockbuster film about the Nanjing massacre *City of Life and Death* (*Nanjing! Nanjing!*, 2009), grossed a record 65 million RMB within five days of its release.²

Chinese people wanting to watch motion pictures about other (non-war related) aspects of Japan have been consistently disappointed. This is because the war is still, even today, virtually the only acceptable subject for a Chinese film about Japan, although there are rare exceptions such as *The Go Masters* (*Yi pan meiyou xiawande qi*, 1982).³ To be fair, during the 1980s and 90s a number of highly popular, long-running Japanese television series were shown on CCTV (such as *A Xin* (*A xin*) about the hard life of a prostitute). More recently, China has been awash with pirated Japanese DVDs; and during the past few years, those with broadband can now stream

¹ *Jiefang ribao*, 01/07/05, 6.

² Zhang Ming and Li Huixia, “Yuanzi dianying zhongde ‘jingtan’: jiedu ‘nanjing! nanjing!’ de ganguan zhenhan,” *Dianying wenxue* 16 (2009): 49. This film is sometimes referred to by its Chinese title *Nanjing! Nanjing!*

³ This film suggests how the game of Go could be used to effect reconciliation between China and Japan, and was made at a time of amicable bilateral relations following the signing of the Sino-Japanese Peace Treaty in 1978.

selected Japanese movies online, such as the blockbuster teen pulp movie *Confessions* (*Gaobai*, 2010). Notwithstanding this latter development, however, films made by Japanese studios are almost never shown in mainland cinemas. Moreover, PRC motion pictures about the war vastly outnumber those which focus on other areas of Japanese life. Analysing war movies is therefore an excellent means of critically examining evolving Chinese images of Japan, as generated by mainland film studios and then screened to domestic audiences.

The films discussed in this chapter are considered from a historical perspective, not just for their relentless focus on twentieth-century conflict with Japan, but also for how representations of that country inform Chinese ideology. The film scholar Marc Ferro explains this link between representations and ideology, by analysing history in Soviet film. His comments offer lessons for the Chinese case, because after 1949 the Chinese film industry emulated many aspects of Russian filmmaking:

It is easy to think that film is not suited to represent past reality and that at its best its testimony is valuable only for the present; or that, aside from documents and newsreels, the reality it offers is no more real than the novels....Paradoxically, the only films that do not manage to surpass film's testimony concerning the present are films about the past: historical reconstructions.⁴

Ferro's contention is that the authorities in the "here and now" bring the past back to life by constructing history, and then repackaging it to serve ideological ends. As that here and now becomes the past, the movie itself becomes history. The historian Pierre Sorlin comes to a similar conclusion, in that he sees film as a "document of social history that...aims primarily at illuminating the way in which individuals and groups of people understand their time."⁵

The core aim of this chapter therefore, is to show how history is constructed in order to justify the present, through the medium of post-1949 mainland Anti-Japanese War films. The research below focuses on imagery of wartime Japan (generals, officers, soldiers, tactics and strategy) as presented on celluloid, for what it can tell us about the

⁴ Marc Ferro, *Cinema and History*, ed. Naomi Greene (Detroit, MI: Wayne State University Press, 1988), 47–48.

⁵ Pierre Sorlin, *The Film in History: Restaging the Past* (Oxford: Blackwell, 1980), 3.

underlying ideology of Chinese movie makers. In order to achieve this I present thematic analysis of five different aspects of Japan, based on the categorisation used by the film scholar Richard Dyer in his book *Stars*, namely: 1) location, 2) clothing, 3) racism, 4) character and stereotypes, and 5) ideology.⁶ Dyer's classification is useful for analysing a particular trope (in this case the Japanese soldier) because of its efficacy in breaking down what the audience sees *on the screen* into conceptual components. I have also added a sixth category, reform era changes in film imagery of Japan, which allows us to chart the way in which cinematic Chinese representations of the Japanese enemy have evolved over the past three decades. First though, it is necessary to provide a brief overview of film-making in the PRC, in order to situate mainland war films within the historical context in which they were made.

The making of films in Communist China

After the founding of the PRC, propaganda bureaucrats considered film a choice mass communications channel because by the early 1950s film, in urban areas at least, had come to rival opera as a means of entertainment. Whereas the content of opera was fixed (emperors, corrupt officials, ghosts, etc.), film not only had the flexibility to make social and political commentary, it also had the ability to reach a mass audience.⁷

Moreover, unlike printed matter, film could be understood by the 80 percent of the population that was illiterate at this time, since comprehending the gist of a movie was not dependent on the ability to read and, in any case, subtitles were not commonplace until the 1970s.⁸ Furthermore, films were technically complex and celluloid was difficult to tamper with, making film a more reliable format for disseminating party doctrine than pamphlets or newspapers.⁹ This was an important consideration for a

⁶ Dyer and McDonald, *Stars*.

⁷ E. Perry Link, *The Uses of Literature: Life in the Socialist Chinese Literary System* (Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 2000), 199.

⁸ Interview with Xie Ye, China National Film Museum, Beijing, 1/12/10.

⁹ Paul Clark, *Chinese Cinema: Culture and Politics*, 2.

new government that was trying to exert authority over former Guomintang strongholds potentially full of Nationalist spies. Films also promoted Mandarin Chinese—the newly designated standard speech (*putonghua*)—as a means of helping to unify the war-torn country and promoting Communist ideals. In order to avoid “splittism” and regionalism it was forbidden for films to be made in either minority languages or regional dialects, with the result that wartime revolutionaries depicted on celluloid always spoke *putonghua*, even if in reality they frequently did not.¹⁰

The state was able to send political messages via films through its control of the movie industry, which was completely nationalised by 1953.¹¹ In 1950 a Film Bureau was established under the direction of the Ministry of Culture (MOC), followed in rapid succession by MOC provincial cultural affairs departments, each with their own film offices. It was to these offices that film studios made requests to make movies.¹² All filmmakers worked for the state, and all production, censorship and distribution was controlled by state organisations. Filmmakers were even required by law to submit scripts, completed productions and all rough cuts.¹³ Culture studies theorist Jerome Silbergeld provides one of the best accounts of how the censorship system worked in practice. He shows that state control over the film industry was largely “do-it-yourself” (i.e. self-enforced), because “the entire system [was] conceived as benign and couched in terms of education, helping artists to understand what [was] expected of them so that they might avoid anything that could cause...forcible intervention.”¹⁴

As in other spheres of society, film-making during the 1950s and 60s was subject to the whims of factional politics. For example, during the hundred flowers movement, movie directors were encouraged to offer critiques of the industry, which resulted in their subsequent persecution during the anti-rightist backlash. A rapid increase in the quantity of films accompanied the Great Leap Forward, but many of these productions

¹⁰ ZJN (1949–81), 687–88.

¹¹ Yingjin Zhang, “Industry and Ideology: A Centennial Review of Chinese Cinema,” *World Literature Today* 77, no. 3/4 (2003): 11.

¹² Leyda, *Dianying*, 181.

¹³ Pickowicz and Zhang, *From Underground to Independent*, 3–4.

¹⁴ Silbergeld, *China into Film*, 54.

were of appalling quality.¹⁵ In turn the mania of the Great Leap Forward led to a political thaw during the early 1960s, which lasted until the run up to the Cultural Revolution, during which time film-making almost ceased.

One of the first films to be released after the Cultural Revolution was *The Great River Flows On* (*Dahe benliu*, 1978). This film tells the story of floods which forced millions of peasants to abandon their homes, following Jiang Jieshi's blasting of the Yellow River's protective dykes in order to slow the Japanese advance. *The Great River Flows On* was made in very much the same style as Mao-era movies, and it was panned by cinema-goers who disliked the dull plot and exaggerated acting.¹⁶ This strong reaction suggested that post-Cultural Revolution films about the war would have to change with the times. However, reform era film-making was still subject to intense party scrutiny, as shown in December 1981 when Hu Yaobang personally lectured film workers for allowing "the political mood to become unhealthy...and thought to become ignoble...[Instead] novels, plays and films should be about improving one's spiritual health, by exhorting and encouraging [the people] to devote themselves to the cause of socialist modernisation."¹⁷ Hu was indirectly making the point that if politics was removed from war (and other) films, then the CCP would lose a key means of transmitting ideological messages to the masses.

The film industry's riposte to this thinking came in the form of fifth generation filmmakers, whose formative years had been shaped by the Cultural Revolution. Much has been written about the way that this group of individuals revolutionised the Chinese movie industry during the 1980s and 90s, so only a brief mention is necessary here.¹⁸ Important war films of this genre include *The One and the Eight* (*Yige he bage*, 1984) and *Red Sorghum* (*Hong gaoliang*, 1987). *Red Sorghum*, a romance set before and during the war, was wildly popular for its sexual innuendo, but the film director Zhang Yimou's real message was "inviting audiences to compare the independence of the

¹⁵ Clark, *Chinese Cinema: Culture and Politics*, 70.

¹⁶ Paul Clark, "Film-making in China: From the Cultural Revolution to 1981," *China Quarterly* 94 (June 1983): 313.

¹⁷ *Zhongguo dianying nianjian, 1981* (Beijing: Zhongguo dianying chubanshe, 1982), 37.

¹⁸ For example see: Xiaoming Chen, Kang Liu, and Anbin Shi, "The Mysterious Other: Postpolitics in Chinese Film," *Boundary 2* 24, no. 3 (1997): 123–141.

main characters with their own cautious and closely monitored existences.”¹⁹ Like other fifth generation filmmakers, Zhang was testing the limits of censorship by making films which commented on contemporary social and political issues, rather than just the Japanese enemy. Sometimes these limits were exceeded, with the result that the offending film was banned. For example *The Towering Kunlun Mountains II* (*Weiwei kunlun II*, 1988) was never released, because of its overly enthusiastic portrayal of the Nationalists in the immediate aftermath of World War Two.

The rapid and extensive social changes wrought by the reform era always meant that there was going to be a “wider political space” for comment on the Anti-Japanese War and, indeed, the way that Japanese forces were represented within that dynamic.²⁰ This changing movie commentary has taken many forms, ranging from a grudging acceptance of the role that the GMD played in repulsing the Japanese in *The Bloody Battle for Taierzhuang* (hereafter *Taierzhuang*) (*Xuezhuan taierzhuang*, 1985) to rehabilitation of warlords in *The Lu Gou Qiao Incident* (*Qiqi shibian*, 1995). Additionally, during the last 20 years Chinese cinema has been rapidly repositioning itself to meet the burgeoning demands of consumers, and there is now a small but growing body of secondary literature mapping out the shifting dynamics of the mainland film industry.²¹ Rather than hypothesising where these shifting dynamics might potentially lead, the main body of this chapter now turns to a study of location, the first of John Dyer’s categorisations for unpacking ideology in film.

¹⁹ Chris Berry, “‘Race’ (*minzu*) Chinese Film and the Politics of Nationalism,” *Cinema Journal* 31, no. 2 (1992): 45–58.

²⁰ Shiming Fan, “Chinese Public Perceptions of Japan and the United States in the Post-Cold War Era,” in *Getting the Triangle Straight: Managing China-Japan-US Relations*, ed. Gerald Curtis, Ryosei Kokubun, and Jisi Wang (New York, NY: Japan Center for International Exchange, 2010), 275.

²¹ For example, see: Michael Curtin, *Playing to the World’s Biggest Audience: The Globalization of Chinese Film and TV* (Berkeley, CA: University of California Press, 2007).

Location

The French film scholar Paul Virilio argues that battlefield location is crucial in war films, because it forms the key paradigm where the action of the movie takes place. He speaks of cinema as a continuation of war, which by using repeating images of the scene of conflict, turns “the battlefield [into]...the environment which is constantly targeted, intercepted by an optical arsenal going from the ‘line of sight’ of the firearm...to cameras...projecting an image.”²² The American film critic Leo Braudy agrees with Virilio on the importance of location, because like a painting, it expands our ability to interpret the world of visible things, for example by emphasising in a visually powerful way this or that place.²³ Chinese war films interpret “this or that place” from a privileged viewpoint, in that the genre explicitly focuses on our nation (China) versus theirs (Japan), our land versus their invasion of it, and our culture versus their superstition.²⁴ Put differently, Chinese war films only view the conflict as it is waged on Chinese soil, and by doing so they deny the Japanese invaders the ability to speak for themselves.

Like American westerns, PRC war films use special standards, traditions and conventions which enable audiences to quickly place the scene of the action. Whereas westerns are frequently located in empty desert, Chinese war movies are almost exclusively set in what is now the People’s Republic of China. Until relatively recently, most or all of the action in these motion pictures took place in Communist held areas. The simplest means of pinpointing location in Chinese war films is to divide it into three categories: 1) Communist held hills or mountains, 2) Communist held plains, and 3) all other areas.

A substantial number of war movies are set in Communist held hills and

²² Paul Virilio, *The Vision Machine* (London: British Film Institute, 1994), 13.

²³ Leo Braudy, *The World in a Frame: What we See in Films* (Garden City, NY: Anchor Press, 1976), 22–23.

²⁴ Robert Stam, *Film Theory: An Introduction* (Oxford: Blackwell, 2000), 269.

mountains (category one), because for the duration of the war the CCP leadership located their headquarters in Yanan, Shaanxi Province.²⁵ This was (and remains today) a mountainous region well protected from potential attack by its remoteness and lack of transport links. In such difficult terrain, movies such as *Letter with Feathers* (*Ji maoxin*, 1953) and *Two Young Eighth Route Army Soldiers* (*Liangge xiao ba lu*, 1977) show how Japanese forces can be easily outmanoeuvred in deep valleys, where they lay vulnerable to attack by Communist snipers.

Many war films are also set on the north China plains, stretching from Beijing in the north to the Yangtze River in the south (category two). This is because the plains were the scene of some of the Communists' greatest victories after the outbreak of full-scale war in 1937. Famous examples include *Underground War*, a movie about fighting the Japanese using networks of subterranean tunnels (see fig. 9), and *Guerrilla War on the Plains* (*Pingyuan youji zhan*, 1955), where CCP revolutionaries target Japanese blockhouse forts.

Fighting in large cities, coastal regions, and aerial combat (category three) do not feature prominently in films about the war. This is because these were theatres where the CCP conducted few military operations between the years 1931–45. Taking each of these three theatres in turn, it was only during the Chinese Civil War (immediately following World War Two) that Communist forces were able to capture and hold on to major urban centres such as Harbin.²⁶ Consequently, PRC war films largely ignored fighting in built-up areas so as to draw attention away from this fact. As a result, until the mid-1980s one of the few motion pictures about the war set wholly in an urban landscape was *The Eternal Wave* (*Yong bu xiaoshide dianbo*, 1958), about the Communist spy Li Jiashen's activities in Shanghai. Similarly, not a single film has been made about the war in the air, meaning that a whole dimension of the conflict (i.e. aerial combat) is missing from this genre of movie. At no point during World War

²⁵ To be precise, the CCP war effort was directed from Yanan only after October 1935, which is when the bulk of Communist forces arrived in the town at the close of the Long March, see: Gao Hua, *Hong taiyang shi zenyang shengqide—yan'an zhengfeng yundongde lailong qumai* (Hong Kong: Zhongwen daxue chubanshe, 2000).

²⁶ Steven I. Levine, *Anvil of Victory: The Communist Revolution in Manchuria, 1945–1948* (New York, NY: Columbia University Press, 1987), 104.

Two did the Communists possess significant air assets, and even the Nationalist air force had largely been neutralised by 1938, which placed much of Chinese territory dangerously open to bombardment from enemy planes.²⁷ This weakness is ignored in PRC war films by locating the conflict on terra firma.

As for the final theatre (coastal regions), as early as 1971 the China anthropologist John Weakland noted that in PRC war films “the actual onset of the invasion is conspicuous by its absence.”²⁸ Instead, the Japanese are generally shown “established and settled in Chinese territory.”²⁹ Although Weakland is unable to offer reasons for this omission, it is plausible that had directors depicted Japanese forces physically invading Chinese soil, then audiences would have asked why the CCP did not halt their advance. Put differently, if the Communists swear that they had the wherewithal to defeat the Japanese, then why did they not repel the enemy invasion in the first place?



Figure 9. A scene from the film *Underground War* (*Didao zhan*, 1965) showing Japanese troops cowering in the face of a Communist guerrilla.

²⁷ Arthur N. Young, *China and the Helping Hand: 1937–1945* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1963), 55.

²⁸ Weakland, “Chinese Film Images of Invasion and Resistance,” 443.

²⁹ *Ibid.*, 444.

In addition to describing the three main types of location in Anti-Japanese War films (Communist held mountains, Communist held plains and areas outside CCP control), it is also useful to quantify their relative proportions. As no comprehensive list of PRC motion pictures about the war exists, I have used the official collector's edition of 32 famous Anti-Japanese War films (1949–2000) as a sample, which provides a baseline from which a more authoritative study might be conducted at a later date.³⁰

Analysis of film location in the collector's edition (n=32) suggests that 88 percent of war movies were set either in Communist held areas or locales where CCP guerrillas were active. In reality, however, the total amount of territory held by the Communists fluctuated widely during the war and probably never exceeded 20 percent.³¹ If we assume that Japanese armies attacked or occupied areas controlled by the Communists with the same frequency, intensity and duration as those held by non-CCP Chinese forces, then post-1949 PRC films about the war overestimate CCP involvement by a factor of four to one. This was obviously part of an attempt to persuade audiences that most action against the Japanese took place in areas held by the CCP. In turn, if filmgoers were convinced, then this would reinforce the party's claim that they beat the Japanese and won the war, thus winning the right to rule, encapsulated in the slogan "the party is the mainstay of the people."

After 1978 the choice of film location gradually expanded to include areas formerly held by non-CCP forces. The corollary of this change was that it was no longer taboo to portray GMD and warlord forces fighting the Japanese on film. This formed part of a broader trend of reassessing the significant contribution that Jiang Jieshi and his Nationalist forces made to defeating Japan (as discussed in chaps. 1–3).

³⁰ Even curators at the China National Film Museum are unsure as to exactly how many war films exist, partly because not all completed films were released and partly because some early movies (made on poor quality celluloid) have degraded so badly that they have been lost to posterity. Interview with Xie Ye, China National Film Museum, Beijing, 1/12/10.

³¹ *The Chinese Communist Movement (McCarran Hearings, 7A)*, 2305–06, quoted in Robert Carver North, *Moscow and Chinese Communists*, 2nd ed. (Stanford, CA: Stanford University Press, 1963), 212.

Early examples of films which emphasised GMD resistance to the Japanese include *Taierzhuang* and *The Lu Gou Qiao Incident*.

If we further subdivide the collector's edition, by classifying its movies both by location and by date of release, we can compare where war films are set both before and during the reform era (1949–78 and 1979 onwards respectively). In turn this allows an approximate calculation of the extent to which non-Communist forces are rehabilitated in reform era war films, by depicting combat outside CCP controlled areas. During the Mao era 90 percent of PRC war movies released between the years 1949–78 (n=25) are set in Communist held areas (categories one and two above), whereas only 10 percent are located in other areas (category three above). After 1978 (n=7), this ratio is substantially altered with 29 percent of films set outside CCP wartime strongholds. So on the basis of location alone, there is a 20 percent increase in the number of reform era films set in areas nominally under the control of either GMD or warlord forces. To be sure, during the 1980s and 90s many films still highlighted Communist led resistance, such as *White Mountain Black Water* (*Baishan heishui*, 1997) which describes 1930s guerrilla warfare against the Japanese in Manchuria. However, the figures above suggest that during the reform era there has been a perceptible shift in the battleground site (as defined by Virilio) from Communist to Nationalist held positions.

A final point to consider with respect to the scene of the conflict is that although Chinese war films might be classed as action movies, the genre is not “action-packed” in terms of movement of Japanese forces. This is because a high proportion of films are geo-referenced on a very specific location, such as a particular village or mountain redoubt. For example in *Fate of the Southern Island* (*Naodao fengyun*, 1955), the Communist guerrillas never leave their Hainan jungle hideout until they are relieved by their own side at the close of the film. Similarly, films such as *Inextinguishable Flame* (*Pu bumie huoyan*, 1956) and *Rabe's Diary* (*Labei riji*, 2009) are set exclusively in one place, in this case a rural village and Nanjing respectively. This contrasts with many Hollywood motion pictures about World War Two, where allied forces frequently cover huge distances during the course of the film. For instance, in

Pearl Harbour (2001) American forces actively seek out the Japanese by taking the battle from Hawaii to Tokyo, and in *Patton* (1970) allied troops cover thousands of miles in pursuit of the German enemy.

In this respect while the plots of Chinese films about the war move inexorably forward, the location does not, with the implication that the Japanese are bogged down or stuck. In many ways this reflects the actual fate of the majority of Japanese forces in China during the war, where they are seemingly trapped in the very land that they have invaded.³² Conversely, the Chinese revel in their intricate knowledge of what is, after all, their home turf. The Communist guerrillas do not seek to transit their own territory, they merely aim to expel the Japanese and claim China for communism.

Clothing

Clothing, the second of Richard Dyer's categories for analysing film, is one of the most obvious means of differentiating Japanese and Chinese military forces. Whilst clothing can be defined as "anything applied to or put upon any portion of the body for any purpose," many scholars writing about apparel see it as having a communicative function as well.³³ They argue that like speech, clothing not only satisfies the practical needs and personal tastes of the wearer, but it also indicates the environment and satisfies the norms of that environment.³⁴

In early PRC war films, Japanese soldiers wear shoddy ill-fitting clothes and they frequently walk around half-dressed. To illustrate, the lone Japanese officer in *Three Trips to a Mountain Town* (*Sanjin shancheng*, 1965) wears scruffy unbuttoned clothes, he is pervaded by an aura of filth and dirtiness, and he even shoves his hands down his trousers when talking!

³² van de Ven, *War and Nationalism in China*, 233.

³³ Mary Ellen Roach and Joanne Bubolz Eicher, *Dress, Adornment, and the Social Order* (New York, NY: Wiley, 1965), 9.

³⁴ Petr Bogatyrev, "Costume as a Sign," in *Social Aspects of the Human Body: A Reader of Key Texts*, ed. Ted Polhemus (Harmondsworth: Penguin, 1978), 262.

Another layer of meaning can be uncovered by using the Soviet ethnographer Petr Bogatyrev's clear (if slightly odd) analogy of comparing clothing to stones. He posits that if a rock is painted with lime and then placed mid-way between two farms to form a boundary, it takes on a certain meaning, in that it is not just a stone, rather "it will refer to something that is *beyond* itself. It will become a *signal*, a *sign* of definite and constant meaning, i.e. of the boundary between two portions of land."³⁵ This deeper layer of meaning, beyond that implied by dishevelled clothing anywhere (signifying poverty or an inability to look after oneself), is that Japan is both an unworthy opponent and also a lesser foe which deserves to be beaten. In short, the way in which Japanese soldiers are clad seeks to naturalise them as a poorly led, badly disciplined, ineffectual fighting force. This subliminal message is one that ties in with the portrayal of Japan as an enemy, a running dog, or an American lackey in both textbooks and the media (as discussed in chaps. 3 and 5).

It is also worth considering for a moment the CCP dress code, for what it tells us about how film directors wished to compare the two sides. Communist forces dressed in a way that showed society had changed from the bottom-up and not the top-down. The peasant and the artisan were now putatively the most important actors in society and therefore everyone had to dress like them. This "sexless regimentation of style and shapelessness symbolised the liberation of a new national spirit."³⁶ In other words, Chinese guerrillas on celluloid were dressed in utilitarian, sexless battle fatigues, in order to demonstrate their commitment to communism.

Unfortunately, this explanation is rather too tidy as a means of differentiating Chinese and Japanese troops, in that it neglects films where mainland peasants are dressed in rags, such as the villagers in *Zhao Yiman* (*Zhao yiman*, 1950). There are three possible explanations for this type-casting. Firstly, the propaganda aim of war films was to site them in a socially specific setting, namely that of the proletariat or rural peasant, in order to achieve maximum political impact.³⁷ To achieve this, the

³⁵ Ibid., 258.

³⁶ Lawrence Langer, "Clothes and Government," in *Dress, Adornment and the Social Order*, ed. Mary Ellen Roach and Joanne Bubolz Eicher (New York, NY: Wiley, 1965), 125–26.

³⁷ Shuqin Cui, *Women Through the Lens: Gender and Nation in a Century of Chinese Cinema*

films constituted their images and narratives from the perspective of villagers and workers, so that film audiences (from the same social background) might better empathise with the cast and the messages they were trying to convey about Japan. A second possibility is that film directors wanted to emphasise the poverty of pre-liberation China. However, this explanation is unlikely, since there is considerable variation between films in how ordinary people are dressed. This leaves a third possibility, that farmers are depicted as being poorly dressed during the war because for the most part they were.

Most sociologists who theorise clothing pay scant attention to the performative function of military uniform, preferring instead to think of vestments in terms of either fashion, or the integral (postmodern) relationship with the bodies they clothe.³⁸ An alternative way of thinking about uniform is to argue that it embodies power (e.g. of the state), it establishes an *esprit de corps* amongst wearers of uniform, and it distinguishes friend from foe. From this perspective uniform in films such as *Mine Warfare* (*Dilei zhan*, 1962) is used to signify a disorganised opponent, by virtue of the fact that each and every Japanese soldier (and officer) is dressed differently.

As late as 1978, in films such as *Story of the Sword* (*Dadao ji*, 1978) Japanese battalions and their commanders were portrayed as shoddily dressed, with implications for their fighting prowess as described above. However, films released after 1985 seem to show a transformation in the way Japanese armies are clothed, in that they are seen to be wearing clean, well-fitting uniforms. In the movie *Escape from Death Camp* (*Chongchu siwang ying*, 1993) for example, Chinese prisoners are dressed in rags, whereas their Japanese guards are clad in smart, spotless, identical uniforms. In this film the jailors eat off starched white tablecloths, further emphasising the contrast between them and their Chinese captives.

A confluence of several factors explains this change in Japanese apparel. The poor reception to films such as *The Great River Flows On* discussed earlier implies

(Honolulu, HI: University of Hawaii Press, 2003), 53.

³⁸ See: Roland Barthes, *The Fashion System* (New York, NY: Hill and Wang, 1983); Llewellyn Negrin, *Appearance and Identity: Fashioning the Body in Postmodernity* (Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan, 2009).

that film-making was stuck in a time warp, and that highly-caricatured stereotypes of Japan needed to become more realistic and less stylised. This change occurred sooner than anyone expected, since in 1978 the Beijing Film Academy reopened, admitting a new class of cinematographers who came to be known as the fifth generation filmmakers.³⁹

Film directors Zhang Yimou, Chen Kaige and other members of this class helped to mould the reform era Chinese film industry, essentially by divorcing their films from previous political codes, such that “everything is political and nothing is political at one and the same time.”⁴⁰ It is therefore no coincidence that fifth generation films such as *The One and the Eight*, showed Japanese soldiers dressed in a way that conformed much more to historians’ perceptions of how the invading armies might have looked during the 1930s.

Another factor to consider is that during the early to mid-1980s relations with Japan (notwithstanding the first textbook crisis in 1982) were improving, as evinced by Hu Yaobang extending an invitation to Japanese Prime Minister Nakasone Yasuhiro in 1984.⁴¹ Improved bilateral relations cannot have been the sole driver of changing perceptions of Japan on celluloid, however, because even though the two sides normalised relations in 1972 and signed a Peace Treaty six years later, war films made during the 1970s continued to caricature the enemy by clothing him (it is always a “him”) in ill-fitting, dirty clothes. It is therefore necessary to consider alternative possibilities for these shifting views, such as racism, the third of our five categories for analysing Japan on film.

Racism

Racism is “a way of thinking that considers a group’s unchangeable physical

³⁹ Chris Berry and Mary Ann Farquhar, *China on Screen: Cinema and Nation* (New York, NY: Columbia University Press, 2006), 226.

⁴⁰ Chen, Liu, and Shi, “The Mysterious Other,” 123–24.

⁴¹ Xu Zhixian, *Zhongri guanxi sanshi nian*, 416–17.

characteristics to be linked in a direct causal way to psychological or intellectual characteristics, and which on this basis distinguishes between ‘superior’ and ‘inferior’ racial groups.”⁴² An alternative but related definition posits that race, and therefore racism, can be thought of as a “cultural construct with no relation to objective reality...[such that] races do not exist, they are imagined.”⁴³ Whichever definition is used, skin colour is a primary means of defining race, in a way which permits ready distinction between groups. The Chinese have long recognised distinctions between skin colour, for example in ancient times they often referred to themselves as having white skin.⁴⁴ However, as the Japanese have virtually identical skin colour to the Chinese, it is impractical for PRC film producers to “imagine” Japanese invaders as being different on this basis alone.

During the Mao era clothing (see above) and stereotypes (see below) were frequently used to exclude the Japanese in war films. Doctoring speech, by using Chinese actors who spoke Mandarin with a strong Japanese accent, was often used to belittle the invader as well. Denigrating the occupiers was only permeable in one direction though, in that whilst Chinese actors mimicked Japanese soldiers on celluloid, the reverse was never permitted. In this way CCP forces and the masses systematically privileged themselves over the Japanese enemy, by defining normality on Chinese terms. Had mainland film studios wanted to, they could have hired Japanese who stayed on in China after 1949 to play these roles.⁴⁵ However, they declined to do so, because using Chinese actors to mock the Japanese helped to establish rigid boundaries between defender and invader.

During the reform era the Japanese continue to be portrayed in racist derogatory terms, including: devils (*guizi*), little Japanese (*xiao riben*) and Japanese devils (*riben guizi*), even in recent movies such as *Flowers of War (Jinling shisan chai*, 2011) about the siege of Nanjing. The reform era trope of the Japanese soldier in mainland

⁴² Bill Ashcroft, Gareth Griffiths, and Helen Tiffin, *Key Concepts in Post-Colonial Studies* (London: Routledge, 1998), 46.

⁴³ Frank Dikötter, *The Discourse of Race in Modern China* (London: Hurst, 1994), viii.

⁴⁴ Henri Maspero, *La Chine Antique*, 2nd ed. (Paris: Impr. Nationale, 1955), 13. Maspero does not state in which dynasty ancient Chinese first considered themselves white.

⁴⁵ Evidence for this can be found in: MFA doc. #118-00086-02 (1).

Chinese cinema has never been totally fixed, however. On the contrary, since the early 1980s it has been gradually reworked so as to elide the most overtly racist stereotyping. For example, as already noted scruffily dressed Japanese soldiers make an abrupt exit from films made after 1985.

War movies released during the reform era increasingly show Japanese invaders as speaking outstanding Mandarin when negotiating with the Chinese, and conversing in flawless Japanese with their own troops. In *Black Skin, White Masks*, Frantz Fanon brilliantly unpacks racist sentiment in terms of the languages spoken by both colonised and coloniser, and his thinking can be used to understand why, after the 1980s, Japanese invaders trying to conquer China suddenly start speaking in their own language.

Fanon argues that “[T]he Negro of the Antilles will be proportionately whiter—that is, he will come closer to being a real human being—in direct ratio to his mastery of the French language...Mastery of the [coloniser’s] language affords remarkable power.”⁴⁶ In other words, by aping the French the Antilles’ Negro becomes more human and more European at the same time. However, in the case of Chinese war films, the analogy is not quite the exact reverse. This is because whilst the Japanese coloniser is becoming more human, as it were, by speaking better Mandarin, after the 1980s his persona is normalised by permitting him to converse in his native language as well.

Another way of looking at this problem is to consider racism in terms of the way it relates to the Hegelian dialectic, which posits that “self-consciousness exists in itself and for itself, in that by the fact that it exists for another self-consciousness; that is to say, it is only by being acknowledged or recognised.”⁴⁷ Fanon’s emphasising of Hegel in *Black Skin, White Masks* is to make the point that there is an absolute reciprocity in being, by apprehending the existence of the Other.

Some scholars see the reciprocity between the two sides (in our case the Chinese

⁴⁶ Frantz Fanon, “Black Skin, White Masks,” in *Contemporary Sociological Theory*, ed. Craig J. Calhoun, 2nd ed. (Oxford: Blackwell, 2007), 418.

⁴⁷ *Ibid.*, 421.

defenders and the Japanese occupiers) as a “game,” namely the universal fraternity of men.⁴⁸ On this reading of Fanon’s conceptualisation of racism, the Chinese film bureaucracy is playing the “game” as it sees fit, filtering war movies through the censorship and distribution apparatus. It is still not clear, however, that the war film genre is racist in itself. This is because, especially since 1980, motion pictures have gradually presented a less pejorative image of the Japanese imperial soldier, who can freely converse in both Chinese and Japanese. As racism does not allow us to build up a complete picture of how Japanese tropes are represented in PRC film, it is necessary to turn to the fourth of our five categories for examining Japan on film, character.

Character

All actors in motion pictures are produced images, by virtue of the fact that they are constructed personalities in the form of characters. This construction is necessary because films are not reality itself, but a representation of it.⁴⁹ Obviously an audience watching a film about the Anti-Japanese War is not transported back in time to the 1930s or 40s. On the contrary, they are viewing a filtered, manufactured interpretation of that conflict. Another reason why characters are “man-made” as opposed to naturally formed, is that a great deal of information has to be compressed into several hours, which almost forces film directors to present characters in a stylised manner. In real life, as opposed to life on film, it is hardly possible to get to know someone in several hours (the maximum normal length of a motion picture), with the result that directors need to restrict and shape the reality of characters.⁵⁰

With respect to how people are presented as images in motion pictures, the film theorist Richard Dyer has frequently set the tenor of the debate, and he powerfully argues that “there is no such thing as unmediated access to reality, instead there are

⁴⁸ Maxim Silverman, *Frantz Fanon’s Black Skin, White Masks: New Interdisciplinary Essays* (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 2005), 120.

⁴⁹ Peter Wollen, *Signs and Meaning in the Cinema* (London: Thames and Hudson, 1970), 122–23.

⁵⁰ For a discussion of this problem see: Dyer and McDonald, *Stars*, 99–100.

only representations of reality through text, images [etc.].”⁵¹ Dyer goes on to state that this does not mean one never sees reality at all, even if it is partial, selective or incomplete. From this follows three consequences for representations. First, reality sets limits to what humans can make it mean (i.e. to mistake a cow for a hat is not just an error in logic). Secondly, representations do not equal reality, which is why we try so hard to get authenticity. Thirdly, “representations...have real consequences for real people...in terms of the way [they] delimit and enable what people can be in any given society.”⁵²

Table 8. Character types in post-1949 Anti-Japanese War films

Role	Frequently characterised as:
Japanese officer	The enemy, isolated, inept, bumbling
Japanese soldier	Aggressive, inhumane
Nationalist leaders, officers and men	The enemy, spineless, unable to fight the Japanese
Spies	The GMD, fawning and toadying to the Japanese
Traitors	Cowardly, selfish, not “real” Chinese people
CCP cadres	Heroes, courageous, overcoming difficulties against all odds
CCP guerrillas	Indefatigable, trustworthy, implacable opponents of the Japanese and the GMD
Villagers	Loyal to the CCP, protecting Communist forces

Mainland films about the War of Resistance against Japan purposefully present a relatively small number of recurring character types, shown in table eight. In this section, analysis of the three consequences posited above concentrates on the first two tropes listed in the table (Japanese army officers and soldiers), because to deconstruct the implied meanings of all the main character types would require a much more extensive study.

The first thing to notice about these two tropes is that they are rarely rounded

⁵¹ Richard Dyer, *The Matter of Images: Essays on Representation*, 2nd ed. (London: Routledge, 2002), 3.

⁵² Ibid.

characters. Neither Japanese officers nor soldiers are given personalities of their own, in that their individual personas do not develop in any specific way (for example chronologically) throughout the course of the film. This is because rather than being rounded characters, they are “flat,” which means that they are constructed round a single idea or quality.⁵³ The novelist E.M. Forster explains:

One of the greatest advantages of flat characters is that they are easily recognised whenever they come in...It is a convenience for an author when he can strike with his full force at once, and flat characters are very useful...since they never need reintroducing, never run away, have not to be watched for development, and provide their own atmosphere—little luminous disks of a pre-arranged size, pushed hither and thither like counters across the void or between stars; most satisfactory.⁵⁴

For fully half a century, from 1949 through to the year 2000, almost all Japanese presented in war films fell into this “flat” category. For example, in *Depot No. 51* (*Wushiyi hao bingzhan*, 1962), about how to transport military supplies through enemy territory, the Japanese commander is never shown in the barracks with his men or out on the street in Shanghai. Instead, he appears trapped in a closely guarded headquarters, surrounded by toadying Shanghainese businessmen (who are denounced as capitalists for not resisting the enemy). Later in the film, when the same officer goes to the port to intercept weapons disguised as machine tools, he is reduced to watching the searching of vessels barricaded in a watch tower, instead of proceeding to the jetty himself, further emphasising his isolation from real life.

Japanese fighting men rarely have an independent existence outside Chinese war films, in that the audience is intentionally not privileged to their thoughts, ideas or strategy. Chinese movie goers are never privy to any stream of consciousness or inner thoughts of Japanese commanders or infantrymen.⁵⁵ The audience rarely hear anything of the enemy’s wives, sweethearts, families or children either, let alone

⁵³ E. M. Forster, *Aspects of the Novel* (Harmondsworth: Pelican Books, 1970), 75.

⁵⁴ *Ibid.*, 76. Many film scholars argue that the construction of characters in novels and movies is the same, see: Stam, *Film Theory: An Introduction*, chap. 1.

⁵⁵ To be fair, one of the first PRC war films to feature stream of consciousness by a Communist commander is *The Last Eight* (*Zuihuo bage*, 1980), about CCP guerrillas starving in the wilds of wintertime 1930s Manchuria.

where they came from in Japan, how rich (or poor) they were, and so on. They simply exist to perform the role of a stereotype.

Stereotypes

The American intellectual and public commentator Walter Lippmann once famously wrote that stereotypes are, “The projection upon the world of our own sense of our own value, our own position and our own rights...Stereotypes are therefore highly charged with...feeling[s]...attached to them.”⁵⁶ Highly charged these stereotypes certainly are, since they try to reduce character to a value laden norm, such as “dumb blonde,” “queer,” or in the case of Japanese in mainland war films “devils.” The culture theorist T. E. Perkins lists six assumptions relating to how stereotypes are ideologically constructed, namely that they are: 1) always erroneous, 2) pejorative concepts, 3) about groups with whom we have little or no social contact, 4) minority groups, 5) simple and 6) do not change.⁵⁷ Drilling down into each of these assumptions sheds light on the extent to which Chinese film directors have sought to stereotype the Japanese enemy.

Firstly, as shown above members of the Japanese armed forces are frequently erroneously shown on film as being shoddily turned out, so as to represent the very epitome of an undisciplined army destined to lose the war. In reality, first-hand accounts of the fighting described the invading imperial Japanese armies as exceptionally well-ordered and a highly-disciplined fighting force.⁵⁸ However, even in the 1950s, 60s and 70s, some films depicted Japanese soldiers in a manner which matched these eyewitness accounts of the war much more closely. To illustrate, in *Fate of a Southern Island* the Japanese soldiers patrolling the jungle are smartly

⁵⁶ Walter Lippmann, *Public Opinion* (1922; repr., New York, NY: Free Press Paperbacks, 1997), 64.

⁵⁷ T. E. Perkins, “Rethinking Stereotypes,” in *Ideology and Cultural Production*, ed. Michèle Barrett (London: Croom Helm, 1979), 138. Perkins’ paper unpacks the dumb blonde stereotype.

⁵⁸ For example see: H. J. Timperley, *What War Means: The Japanese Terror in China. A Documentary Record* (London: Victor Gallancz, 1938). This book publicises the Nanjing massacre, but it contains a wealth of information on perceptions of the invading Japanese.

dressed in tropical fatigues, they are well-drilled and they do not flee or dive for cover at the sound of gunfire. Whilst the Japanese still ultimately lose, in that their installations on Hainan Island are destroyed by CCP forces at the end of the film, it would be difficult to argue that they are depicted erroneously. Similarly, in both *Winter Korea Flower* (*Bingxue jindacai*, 1963) and *White Mountain Black Water*, movies about resisting Japan in Korea and north-east China respectively, imperial troops are presented as highly-effective combatants.

The second classic feature of a stereotype is that it is pejorative. Richard Dyer suggests that this trait is necessary, because “the role of stereotypes is to make the invisible the visible, so that there is no danger of it creeping up on us unawares; and to make fast, firm and separate what is in reality fluid and much closer to the norm than the dominant value system cares to admit.”⁵⁹

One of the quickest and most effective means of achieving this is to use insulting epithets when referring to the enemy, such as “Japanese bastards” (*riben wangbadan*). These terms are in fact extra textual signs, or direct authorial assertions “logically prior to anything the characters themselves say or do...[which form a] shorthand method of epitomising the character’s nature, function, or both.”⁶⁰ Even in war films which hardly feature shots of the enemy, such as *Battle for Leopard Bend* (*Baozi wan zhanzheng*, 1978), a rather dull motion picture about Communist agrarian policies, the Japanese are constantly recalled to mind through the use of pejorative terms. In this particular movie, whilst Japanese soldiers appear only once in a three second flashback (burying a Chinese family alive), the audience is constantly reminded of the enemy by the insistent repetition of oaths sworn against the invaders.

Another pejorative means of stereotyping the Japanese is to cast them as incorrigible villains. In *Battle for Poxi* (*Poxi zhan*, 1986), for instance, the audience recognises Japan as an enemy not just because of its military occupation of Chinese territory, but also because of the gratuitous violence its warriors inflict on defenceless Chinese people. The implicit message in this film is that the demonical nature of the

⁵⁹ Dyer, *The Matter of Images*, 16.

⁶⁰ Thomas F. Van Laan, *The Idiom of Drama* (Ithaca, NY: Cornell University Press, 1970), 76.

enemy is defined by its outrageous, indefensible conduct. A simple but rigid conceptual system is therefore produced through unconscionable Japanese actions such as soldiers seizing a teenage Chinese girl and throwing her screaming into a burning inferno (her own home which has just been torched by Kwantung Army troops), so that her house also becomes her tomb. In the same film Japanese troops rape attractive Chinese women in shops for something to do, and zero fighters even strafe unarmed peasants fleeing from their villages. Japanese aggression is structured in this way, with the aim that cinema-goers are left in no doubt as to the barbarity of the Japanese.

Of course, it is hardly unusual for wartime adversaries to be depicted as demons in film. During World War One Sir Norman Angell noted that British people seemingly went mad, suddenly depicting Germans in the media and on film as obscene animals who were not human beings at all.⁶¹ Also, for decades after the Korean War armistice the enemy, in films made on both sides of the thirty-eighth parallel, was depicted as a sub-human monster.⁶²

Thirdly, it would be reasonable to say that before reform and opening up commenced in 1978, there was little social contact between Chinese and Japanese citizens. Exact figures for the number of Japanese nationals remaining on Chinese territory after 1949 are difficult to come by, although it is known that there were at least 29,000 POWs and a further 1,000 war criminals, because this number were repatriated in stages during the 1950s.⁶³ Provincial archival records also attest that a number of Japanese technicians, engineers and former settlers remained in China after this period.⁶⁴ However, in a country whose population swelled from 540 million to 930 million between 1949 and Mao's death in 1976, most ordinary Chinese people never set eyes on a real Japanese person.⁶⁵ During the reform era, the numbers of Chinese visiting, working or studying abroad has risen sharply, from 1,600 students in

⁶¹ Norman Angell, *The Public Mind: Its Disorders: Its Exploitation* (London: Noel Douglas, 1926), 41.

⁶² For example see the South Korean film *Hand of Destiny* (1954).

⁶³ Tian, *Zhanhou zhongri guanxi*, 96.

⁶⁴ MFA doc. #118-00086-03.

⁶⁵ *Zhongguo renkou nianjian* (hereafter ZRN, short for *China Population Yearbook*) (2009), 290.

49 countries in 1976 to 39,000 students in 2000.⁶⁶ The above data suggests that a stereotype based on lack of bilateral social contact would be much harder to maintain after 1978, due to rapidly increasing Sino-Japanese interaction, which as we will see is broadly what happened.

Fourthly, it would be hard to classify the Japanese as an oppressed minority, since Anti-Japanese War movies are set during a period when Japanese forces occupied large tracts of Chinese territory. To be sure, when the films were made (i.e. post-1949) the Japanese remaining in China were, as just noted, few in number, but for the most part surviving records suggest that they were treated rather well.⁶⁷

The fifth and sixth features of the Perkin's stereotype are that they are simple and rigid. Here we are on much firmer ground, since numerous PRC film directors caricature the Japanese military in such a way that the audience "find[s] [them] wanting, hence inadequate, inferior, sick or grotesque and hence reinforcing the dominant group's own sense of the legitimacy of their domination."⁶⁸ This is operationalised by painting the Japanese as monsters or villains, as well as by mocking their accents, actions, appearance, mannerisms and clothing.

Taking appearance and mannerisms as examples, figure 10 shows a still from the film *Guerrilla War on the Plains*, showing an unnamed Japanese commander. He is perhaps 70 years old, hardly an ideal fighting age. He is shorter than almost everyone he talks to, he sports a slight stoop, and he speaks Chinese so poorly that he needs an interpreter. He is unshaven, contrary to regulations in most regular land armies which prohibit beards, so as to prevent hair follicles infecting combat face wounds.⁶⁹ Moreover, his unshaven appearance makes him look as if he has just woken up, a feature emphasised by his dishevelled clothing. Finally, his poor military bearing is emphasised by his tendency to panic whenever he receives news of a Communist assault or ambush, for example by accidentally knocking over plant pots or gratuitously smashing up tables.

⁶⁶ Hannum et al., "Education in the Reform Era," pp. 216, 233.

⁶⁷ See also p. 32 n34.

⁶⁸ Roger Brown, *Social Psychology*, 2nd ed. (New York, NY: Free Press, 1986), 533–34.

⁶⁹ This candidate has seen active service in two conflicts.



Figure 10. The Japanese commander in *Guerrilla War on the Plains* (*Pingyuan youji dui*, 1955).



Figure 11. The Japanese officer (left) and the Chinese Communist leader (right) in the movie *Letter with Feathers* (*Ji maixin*, 1953).

Many films of this genre cast Japanese officers as “flat” characters (to use E.M. Forster’s term) with demeaning traits, such that they are portrayed in a simple but rigid way. The Japanese commander in *Letter with Feathers* shown in figure 11 (left

hand still) is typical of this kind of film, in that he invariably glowers at the camera, he has false buck teeth and an over-exuberant moustache. The comparison is perhaps more obvious when compared to a CCP guerrilla leader (fig. 11 right hand still), who by comparison appears upright, alert and exudes confidence.

Like their superiors, in the majority of films released before the year 2000 Japanese soldiers are also “flat.” They hardly speak, except to either acknowledge orders from their superiors, or to harass the Chinese citizenry. The audience is never told of their specialisation (gunnery, engineering, logistics and so on), for the simple reason that Japanese soldiers hardly make a sound, except for the occasional grunt as they are shot dead, strafed or blown to smithereens by CCP militias. One of the first films to depict Japanese soldiers as human beings with their own thoughts was *Devils on the Doorstep* (*Guizi laile*, 2000), which was banned for doing so.

Up to this point the overall picture we have is a rather complex one. In some films the tropes of Japanese officers and soldiers are racist, yet in others it would be hard to argue this. Similarly, using Perkin’s six features of a classic stereotype, many early films caricature the enemy, but during the reform era this is not always the case. As the case for stereotyping Japan is not clear-cut, we now examine the fifth of Dyer’s categories for discussing film, ideology.

Ideology in film

Despite assertions to the contrary by Andre Bazin, Dziga Vertov and other early titans of the movie industry,⁷⁰ films rarely reflect real life.⁷¹ Motion pictures about war are even less accurate representations of reality, in that they are highly coded, and unpacking their meaning can tell us a great deal about the thinking of the directors,

⁷⁰ Bazin thought of a cine-camera as a photographic lens whilst Vertov saw it as a realistic “Kino-eye.” Andre Bazin, *What is cinema?*, ed. Hugh Gray (Berkeley, CA: California University Press, 1967), 14; Dziga Vertov, *Kino-eye: The Writings of Dziga Vertov*, ed. Annette Michelson, trans. Kevin O’Brien (London: Pluto, 1984), 17.

⁷¹ There are exceptions however, such as the eight hour long film *Empire* (1964) which consists of a single slow-motion shot of the Empire State Building in New York.

producers, studios and censors behind a film. In this section, analysis of how PRC films about the war inflect Chinese elite thinking, follows from Marx's famous dictum that "for any society, the ideas of the ruling class are the ruling ideas."⁷² Coding of these "ruling ideas" (i.e. ideology) in Chinese war films is a vast topic, so treatment here is limited mainly to tackling three problems: who are the real enemies in Anti-Japanese War films, what is omitted from these movies, and what implied messages are embedded within them?

Who are the real enemies?

In mainland Chinese films about the war there is not one enemy but five: the Japanese, the Nationalists under Jiang Jieshi, religion, traitors and landlords. Starting with the first enemy on the list (the Japanese), the cultural logic of almost all films made about the war is that they are wrong to invade China and therefore must be defeated. This is not to say that the Japanese lose every battle though. In *Daughters of China* (*Zhonghua nü'er*, 1949) for example, Japanese forces gradually close in on a platoon of female Chinese guerrillas in the wilds of north-eastern China. When faced with defeat, rather than surrendering to the enemy, the girls jointly march into a nearby lake instead, thereby sacrificing themselves for the party and the motherland. Here, of course, the propaganda aim of the film is not to dwell on Japanese victory, but rather to show that women were equal to men in defending "new" China. Sixty years later in *Death and Glory in Changde* (*Diexie gucheng*, 2010), Japanese success in crushing Chinese resistance is similarly not designed to highlight the enemy's prowess. On the contrary, the film's code is that the Nationalist garrison defending Changde is determined to fight to the very last man.

In most war films, however, the Japanese lose all military engagements with Chinese forces, even if in reality it was frequently the other way round. The idea here is to show that the Japanese fail in China and that they deserve to lose. Plots vary

⁷² Edgar and Sedgwick, *Cultural Theory*, 171.

considerably, but generally unfold in three stages. The movie opens with the Japanese military committing some heinous atrocity, and almost no crime is too repulsive to show on celluloid (stage one).⁷³ For example in *Winter Korea Flower*, the heroine's elderly mother is punched in the stomach by Japanese soldiers when she tries to intervene in their abduction of her daughter. The heavily pregnant daughter suffers an even worse fate, in that she miscarries her child following torture in prison at the hands of enemy.

In stage two peasants then coalesce around a party cadre, who exhorts them to join the CCP in fighting the enemy. This course of action is never easy, since there are invariably setbacks to contend with, such as betrayal by Nationalist spies. As an illustration of this second stage, in *The Flying Tigers* (*Feihu dui*, 1995) about the Japanese operated Tianjin to Shanghai railway, the CCP mount a series of increasingly daring attacks on a small unnamed railway station. In this movie the screen is gradually cleansed of Japanese troops and submerged with Chinese guerrillas under the wartime leadership of the party. Unfortunately for the CCP guerrillas (called *The Flying Tigers* hence the film's name), GMD turncoats spare no effort in attempting to infiltrate their number and betray them to the Japanese.

In stage three, the Communists ultimately prevail over the Japanese and drive them out. For instance in *Breaking through the Darkness before Dawn* (*Chongpo liming qiande hei'an*, 1956), the movie ends with Chinese peasants and soldiers charging towards Japanese blockhouses abandoned by an enemy retreating in disarray. In this motion picture, the closing shots show detonated blockhouses collapsing towards the camera in slow motion. Planted on top of these crumbling forts are battered Japanese flags riddled with bullet holes, signifying the ultimate failure of Japan's plan to colonise China.

Some films labelled as Anti-Japanese War movies, such as *Battle for Yellow Bridge* (*Huangqiao juezhan*, 1985) do not contain a single shot of the enemy. Instead, film directors rely on audience foreknowledge of the War of Resistance against Japan,

⁷³ Bar the use of Chinese prisoners for live CBW experiments, as I show in chapter two.

and the “expectations, values, beliefs, ideas, prejudices and emotions” which the genre generates (for example, by studying textbooks (see chap. 3) or by learning about the war through reading newspapers (see chap. 5)) in order to brand the Japanese as an enemy.⁷⁴ In other words, even in films where Japanese armies are largely absent, the audience knows that they are the main enemy. This effect is enhanced by frequent use of short documentary clips at the start of many war movies. These excerpts, lasting several minutes, consist of wartime footage accompanied by a voiceover, which reminds the audience that the Japanese invaded China and inflicted untold atrocities on the Chinese people.

The second real enemy in Chinese war films is the Guomindang. Both in real life and on celluloid, the CCP (even today) aver that the GMD is not fit to rule, because it failed to resist the Japanese.⁷⁵ As if to underscore this message, the documentary clips noted above hold Jiang Jieshi as personally culpable for the Japanese invasion, by not resisting it in the first place. For example, in *Daughters of China*, the narrator at the start of the film states that had Jiang properly resisted the Japanese, then 30 million Chinese would not have been lost to the enemy (i.e. killed).

In many early PRC war films the Nationalist enemy is portrayed as synonymous with the Japanese one. For example, in *Wild Spring Wind Sparks Battle for an Old City* (*Yehuo chunfeng dou gucheng*, 1963) CCP spies infiltrate a town on the northern plains, in order to try and prevent the GMD from cooperating with the Japanese. Inside the town walls not only do GMD commanders dine with their Japanese counterparts, but they also torture Communist agents together. To highlight the closeness of the two enemies (the GMD and the Japanese) the town’s streets are filled with big character posters showing two hands shaking, draped in a Nationalist ensign and the Japanese flag respectively, with the words “peaceful coexistence” (*gongrong gongcun*) underneath.

Another means of branding the GMD as an enemy is to portray them as being

⁷⁴ Van Laan, *The Idiom of Drama*, 73.

⁷⁵ One of the most bitter polemics against the GMD can be found in: Boda, *Renmin gongdi: jiang jieshi*.

physically indistinguishable from the Japanese. This is achieved either by cladding Nationalist officials in the same uniform as the Japanese, as in *Eternal Wave*, or by calling them “the enemy.” As an instance of the latter, in *Railway Guerrillas* (*Tiedao youji dui*, 1956) the word enemy is used interchangeably to describe the Nationalists and the Japanese, with the result that when Communist guerrillas warn that, “The enemy is coming!” the audience subconsciously conflates the two.

A third enemy is the traitor. Most PRC war movies, especially ones released before 1980, make little attempt to differentiate non-CCP forces (Nationalists, warlords, puppet forces, Japanese). Any Chinese person who does not wholeheartedly support the CCP is depicted as supporting the Japanese. In numerous films Communist cadres confront these so-called traitors with the comment, “How dare you call yourself Chinese!” Most repent, but the usual prescription for those who continue to support the Japanese after being warned is a bullet through the back of the head. This is code for the CCP giving non-Communists a single opportunity to “see the light” and convert to communism, or else suffer the consequences. To illustrate, in the film *Inextinguishable Flame* two Chinese brothers support different parties, in that one is a CCP cadre and the other is a GMD officer. The remaining family members predictably support the brother who is a Communist, to the extent that their mother calls her GMD officer son unfilial and spits in his face.

A fourth enemy in Chinese war movies is religion, with Buddhist temples and family shrines used as target practice by both sides. One film must be singled out for its virulently anti-religious sentiment, *The Bell Rings from an Old Temple* (*Gucha zhongsheng*, 1958). This motion picture was released during the midst of the anti-rightist campaign following the hundred flowers movement, and so it is perhaps not so surprising that religion was harshly criticised on screen at this time, as it was in real life.⁷⁶ In *The Bell Rings from an Old Temple* the monastery abbot turns out to be a Japanese spy, who pours acid down the throat of one of his monks to stop him talking! At the end of the film the temple is revealed as a Japanese hideout and

⁷⁶ See: Ren Jie, *Zhongguo gongchandangde zongjiao zhengce* (Beijing: Renmin chubanshe, 2007).

liberated by CCP forces. Here the aim is to portray religious institutions as opponents which need to be defeated and rooted out.

The fifth and final enemy is the landlord class, which represents old feudal China. The landed gentry are always shown as bowing and scraping to the Japanese, and giving them presents too. Worse, while villagers frequently worry about having enough food to eat, landlords either gloat over hoarded grain or donate it to Japanese commanders. In *Story of the Sword*, landowners burn alive villagers who refuse to hand over grain to the Japanese. In this film peasants extract revenge on one landlord by killing him with a sword forged during the Taiping Rebellion, whose use is highly symbolic in that Chairman Mao saw this nineteenth-century uprising as a precursor to the Communists rise to power.⁷⁷

These five “celluloid enemies” tell us much about how the Communist Party sees its role in the war. Three main points emerge. First and most obviously, the CCP won the fight against the Japanese and therefore has the right to rule the PRC. With obsessive regularity films depict the party as China’s sole saviour, and guerrilla leaders keep reminding audiences that they are the only military force that consistently resists the Japanese invasion. Furthermore, as many war films intentionally fail to distinguish between the Anti-Japanese War and the Chinese Civil War which immediately followed it, for example *Railway Guerrillas*, victory by the CCP in either is equated to victory in both.

The second point is that the party’s main base of power is the countryside, and peasants are shown on film as being at one with the thinking of the party. Communist guerrillas invariably hail from rural areas, rather than the more politically suspect towns and cities. When cadres return to the countryside they frequently help villagers to sow or harvest crops, mend clothes or repair buildings damaged by the Japanese, as in *The Battle for Leopard Bend*. The logic carried to the end of many war films is that the countryside is mother China, which is where CCP forces are logically based. As a result the overwhelming majority of war films are set in rural areas (see location

⁷⁷ Mao, *Mao zedong xuanji*, 1:174–76.

above).⁷⁸

The final point is that the GMD and its leadership are traitors to China, in that they fail to correctly resist the Japanese. By extension, anyone who cooperated with the Japanese in any way, such as puppet troops under the command of Wang Jingwei's government, are not real Chinese because they betrayed China and therefore deserve to be shot.⁷⁹ The logical corollary of this last point is that if instant death is the price to be paid for not joining the ranks of the Communist Party, then the party's way is the only true way. Therefore evicting foreign enemies from China is a duty which should be carried out at any price, even sacrificing one's own life. In films such as *Depot No. 51* and *The Last Eight (Zuihou bage, 1980)*, this link is made explicit by CCP fighters vowing to fight to the death in order to beat the Japanese.

Omissions

In attempting to construct a typology of mainland Chinese war films, omissions are important for what they can tell us about party ideology. The political scientist William Gamson argues that “frames which are present in social movement discourse but are invisible in mass media commentary rarely find their way into conversations. Systematic omissions make certain ways of framing issues extremely unlikely.”⁸⁰ Gamson's point, which is just as applicable to motion pictures as it is to mass media, is that omitting certain sensitive topics from war films enables the CCP to stifle debate on them. These topics are listed below.

Firstly, as noted by John Weakland, no mention is ever made of the Japanese invasion, in all films enemy forces are depicted as already well ensconced in Chinese territory. As discussed above, this is possibly because the CCP did not wish to draw attention to its inability to hold or defend territory along the coastal littoral. A second glaring omission is that no comment is ever made as to why the war happened in the

⁷⁸ This is perhaps unsurprising, since as late as 1980, 80.6 percent of Chinese people were classed as rural residents. ZRN (2009), 290.

⁷⁹ For more information on traitors see: van de Ven, “The Kuomintang's Secret Service in Action.”

⁸⁰ William A. Gamson, *Talking Politics* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1992), 6.

first place? Was the war a battle of ideals, such as those espoused by General Araki (a Japanese minister for war during the 1930s), who claimed that “the true mission” of Japan is “to spread and glorify the imperial way to the end of the Four Seas?”⁸¹ Or was the war purely a clash over territory instead? In fact, it is not just on film that contemplation of the causes of the war is missing, even in academia it is only relatively recently that mainland scholars have been permitted to ruminate at length as to why Japan invaded China in the first place.⁸²

Secondly, no comment is ever made as to why Japan is militarily superior to Chinese armies, even as films frequently admit that this is so. For instance in *The Battle for Leopard Bend* Communist troops are forced to train with wooden weapons because they can't procure real ones. In *Don't Cry, Nanking (Nanjing 1937, 1998)*, the Japanese use tanks and Armoured Personnel Carriers (APCs) to launch military assaults, yet the Chinese lack the military assets needed to repel such attacks. In this film, frequently the only way in which soldiers can halt the Japanese advance is to sacrifice themselves, commonly by strapping explosives to their bodies and then climbing onto a Japanese tank before pulling the detonation cord. In *Taiierzhuang* entire battalions of Guomindang troops are sacrificed in this way, in order to repulse the Japanese enemy. Depicting such heroism on celluloid might make audiences feel proud of their countrymen's valorous defence of the homeland, but it sidesteps the question of why the defending forces lacked guns, tanks and APCs in the first place.

Thirdly, unlike in neighbouring South Korea where movies such as *Frontline* (2010) increasingly emphasise the futility of civil war, Chinese motion pictures about the Anti-Japanese War are silent as to the morality of conflict. Of the most commonly watched 100 or so war films, only two ruminate on the rights and wrongs of battle. In *The Flying Tigers* during a rare unguarded moment, a Japanese officer tries to illicitly seduce a pregnant Chinese woman, by telling her that he personally dislikes war. However, before the conversation has an opportunity to develop further, the officer

⁸¹ Ruth Benedict, *The Chrysanthemum and the Sword: Patterns of Japanese Culture* (London: Secker & Warburg, 1947), 22–23.

⁸² Wang Xincheng, *Riben jianshi*, 151.

makes an advance on her and receives a slap in the face as a riposte, as if to say “we [the Chinese] have to fight an enemy that behaves like this.” The other movie to make an overtly political statement on the morality of war is *City of Life and Death* (see next section), where the Japanese narrator commits suicide at the end of the film because he is overwhelmed with guilt at having killed civilians in Nanjing.

Additionally, no analysis is made of the Japanese war effort or the imperial fighting machine, an absence which is also noticeably absent from Chinese textbooks discussed in the last chapter. A plausible reason for this is that little effort is made to show Japanese soldiers as normal people like Us, they are simply “the enemy” who are to be beaten and evicted from Chinese soil at all costs.

A fifth and final omission from PRC war films is the grief and mourning of those killed in combat. To be sure, many Chinese fighters are killed in the line of duty on film, nevertheless, the grief of their wives, sweethearts and parents is usually ignored or played down. In *Wild Spring Wind Sparks Battle for an Old City* two Communist agents, a mother and her dashing son, are apprehended by the GMD for questioning. In order to make the son confess, Nationalist soldiers threaten to torture the mother in his presence, but she outwits them by jumping out of a window (!) to her death. Yet her son hardly notices, which is especially surprising given the deep respect for parents in Chinese culture. Rather than grieving for his mother, instead the son adopts a “stiff upper lip” approach and carries on resisting the Japanese as if nothing had happened.

In the book *The Scars of War*, Diana Lary posits that both the GMD and the CCP found it difficult to deal with the sheer scale of the war; preferring instead to blame each other, feudalism and fascism—whilst at the same time shunning detailed analysis of the conflict.⁸³ This could explain why the whole subject of grief is glaringly absent from Chinese cinematic discourse. On this reading of World War Two, the actual grief felt by the Chinese populace was so intense and widespread, that movie directors either felt the need to, or were instructed to omit the subject from films.

⁸³ Lary and MacKinnon, *The Scars of War*, 4.

Up to this point we have considered the ideological implications of five enemies and five omissions. However, in order to tease out other more finely graded ideological messages in film, it is useful to briefly identify the most important of them and what they signify.

Implied messages in Chinese war films

One of the most important messages transmitted in war films is that party orders must be obeyed at all times. The dual implication here is that obedience is required in order to win the war against Japan, and that disobeying orders results in failure. Two films illustrate this point. In *Two Young Eighth Route Army Soldiers* the young heroes are severely reprimanded for taking the initiative to destroy Japanese grain stocks, even though the grain was stolen from Chinese peasants. The duo are told that, like in any military, they must obey orders from above, for no other reason than “the party knows best.” In *Railway Guerrillas*, countermanding orders is not even permitted when it results in the deaths of more Japanese.⁸⁴ Here a Communist militiaman is extremely reluctant to obey an order to retreat from the frontline during a Japanese assault, simply because he wants to kill as many enemy soldiers as possible. This delay results in a party political commissar (whose order to retreat he disobeyed) being hit by enemy snipers. The message for audiences here is that had the soldier followed orders to the letter, then the commissar would not have been injured in the first place.

A second implied message in war films is that all Chinese people, not just Han Chinese, resist the Japanese enemy. In numerous motion pictures, prominence is given to doughty minority fighters, from smiling, laughing, Korean nationality female guerrillas in *Daughters of China*, to plucky Miao soldiers in *Death and Glory in Changde*. Other movies such as *Hui Minority Detachment* (*Huimin zhidui*, 1959) are

⁸⁴ Mao Zedong, *Lun chijiu zhan* (Beijing: Renmin chubanshe, 1960), 32. A major tenet of Mao’s strategy was that in order to win the war, every opportunity should be taken to kill as many Japanese as possible.

set wholly in minority areas, in order to show that it is not just the Han majority that resisted the Japanese. This demonstration of all Chinese people vociferously resisting the enemy (regardless of their ethnicity), reinforces the myth that Chinese minorities are perfectly assimilated with the Han. It also allows the party to conveniently gloss over the fact that, during the war, large swathes of minority areas (such as Tibet) were nominally independent.

A third subliminal message is that many films about the war are obsessed with food, which is hardly surprising since during the war feeding armies was a prime concern for commanders on both sides.⁸⁵ In *Letter with Feathers* villagers outwit the Japanese by hiding their newly reaped grain in the mountains before it can be confiscated. In other movies though, such as *Story of the Sword*, it is landlords who are roundly criticised, because they force peasants to hand over grain to the Japanese.

Interestingly, cooked food (as opposed to grain) features prominently in films made during or immediately after the man-made famine caused by Mao's Great Leap Forward policies. This could even be perceived as an implicit rebuke by film directors to the party's agricultural agenda. In *Hui Minority Detachment* the Japanese officer abducts the mother of the hero (Ma Benzhai), and tries to extract a confession by offering her a groaning table of food. As the camera pans lovingly across this enormous spread of dishes laid on by the Japanese, the Hui minority guerrillas fighting for the CCP meanwhile, have absolutely nothing to eat. Ma's mother refuses to eat the epicurean delights offered by the enemy and instead starves to death in captivity.

Chinese film, like art, has always been heavily laden with symbolism, and it is highly likely that audiences would have drawn the parallel between Mrs Ma starving for her country, and the millions of Chinese who were hungry as a result of party policies at the time the film was released. This idea is reinforced by the fact that when the official media reviewed the film, no mention whatsoever was made of the fact that most of the Hui minority guerrillas were without food during the course of the

⁸⁵ John W. Garver, *Chinese-Soviet Relations, 1937–1945: The Diplomacy of Chinese Nationalism* (New York, NY: Oxford University Press, 1988), 144.

movie.⁸⁶

A final message implicit in many war movies is that they could double as basic military training films. This training component was of prime concern during periods where the PRC leadership perceived China to be under threat of attack, such as during the Korean War (1950–53) and the Taiwan Straits Crises (1954–55, 1958). To illustrate, one of the most popular Anti-Japanese War movies, *Underground War*, appears more like a basic military training film than a movie about the Japanese in World War Two, because it was a PLA training film! As a result, all humour, jokes, romance and “flavouring” had to be removed from the film, because they “diluted its educational message.”⁸⁷ In August 1964, the year before the film was released, the United States (with logistics support from Japan) launched aerial attacks on North Vietnam, right on China’s doorstep.⁸⁸ These actions opened up the possibility of China being invaded by American forces. This was therefore an ideal time to release a training film, “How to defend your village against American or Japanese attack,” in the guise of a war film entitled *Underground War*.

Reform era (1978-present) changes in film imagery of Japan

In the same way that Chinese society altered radically during the reform era, the film industry and its representations of Japan changed rapidly too.⁸⁹ In considering the diachronic changes in reform era Chinese war film, possibly the biggest development has been a movement towards realism. As discussed in chapter two, Michael Kammen posits that during the 1980s and 90s there was a growing tendency for many countries to produce “authoritative” war films, which stimulated memory of

⁸⁶ RMRB, 27/9/59, 10.

⁸⁷ *Jiefang ribao*, 20/1/66, 2.

⁸⁸ This logistics support was crucial to the Americans in prosecuting a military campaign on the other side of the Pacific Ocean. See: Michael Schaller, *Altered States: The United States and Japan Since the Occupation* (New York, NY: Palgrave Macmillan, 2001), chaps. 10–12.

⁸⁹ A magnum opus overview of the reform era has yet to be written. However, the recently published Deng biography is a very good place to start: Ezra F. Vogel, *Deng Xiaoping and the Transformation of China*.

former conflict because they “[told] it like it really was.”⁹⁰ As China was in a sense opening its doors to the world at this time, it is hardly surprising that global trends gradually drove Chinese film directors away from stilted acting and bland predictable plots, towards a more realistic portrayal of events during the Second World War.

Certainly, from the early 1980s onwards there was a major change in the way in which the body was portrayed. From the foundation of the PRC up until this time, death had been presented in a very formulaic fashion, in that Japanese soldiers were either mown down in swathes by heavy Communist fire, or shot dead instantly by guerrilla snipers. Japanese were rarely shown as wounded, suffering or grieving. Crudely put, Japanese imperial forces provided cannon fodder for Communist fighters to kill in as large numbers as possible, as quickly as possible. In many respects, this early approach reflected Mao Zedong’s thinking on war, which argued that the most effective way of wearing down the enemy was to keep killing Japanese soldiers.⁹¹ One of the first movies to develop a new-style fascination for ripping apart the body was the 1984 film *The One and the Eight*, directed by the fifth generation film director Zhang Junzhao.⁹²

This is not to say, however, that former stereotypes of Japan were instantly recalibrated according to this new “realist” paradigm. In some films, the stereotyped Japanese officer replete with short moustache, goofy teeth and poor command of Chinese remained (e.g. *The Last Eight*), whereas in other movies Japanese with funny accents and spectacles with lenses half-an-inch thick fought alongside tough, warlike imperial army officers (e.g. *The Flying Tigers*). On the one hand, this might indicate confusion by film directors as to how they ought to conceptualise Japanese military tropes on film. On the other hand, it might also show that film directors were now being given freer rein as to how to depict China’s former adversary.

The second major change in reform era war films was that from the mid-1980s onwards, film directors frequently used subtler, more indirect means to criticise Japan.

⁹⁰ Kammen, “Review of Frames of Remembrance,” 250. See also chap. 2.

⁹¹ See n84.

⁹² Chen, Liu, and Shi, “The Mysterious Other,” 126.

This can be illustrated using four types of a posteriori evidence.

One subtle means of criticising Japan has been the increasing use of big character posters to expose the “lie” of Japanese rule. At the start of *Battle for Poxi* for instance, the phrase “May Sino-Japanese relations be harmonious, good and successful” (*rizhong jianshan*) is painted calligraphy style on to a poster adorning the Japanese commandant’s wall. However, in this montage shot of the enemy leader, his head bobs up and down (we do not see his body), floating beneath this huge poster as he plots how to exterminate the Chinese Communists. So right at the start of the movie, the implication is that what the Japanese say and what they do are not one and the same. Put differently, the invaders cannot be trusted. This notion is given further credence in that whenever Japanese troops are stealing grain, burning and looting Chinese peasants’ homes, or chasing innocent Chinese girls in order to rape them, they always seem to charge past the same four characters painted on nearby walls *rizhong jianshan*. The message here is that bilateral relations cannot be harmonious if the Japanese commit such unconscionable crimes. Interestingly, this film was released just before the ousting of Hu Yaobang for being overly friendly with the Japanese, and the ubiquitous posters in the film might have been meant as a warning that China’s former enemy should not be trusted in the here and now.⁹³

Another means of criticising the Japanese in recent war films is by demonstrating that their actions are morally beyond the pale. Whilst Anti-Japanese War movies implicitly accept that fighting is a necessary form of political violence, they repudiate both the use of CBW and mass slaughter of civilians, which is amply demonstrated in a number of films.⁹⁴ For example, in *Death and Glory in Changde* Japanese use of mustard gas results in burns so severe that any exposed skin of defending garrison soldiers simply dissolves away. Yet the GMD officers commanding the defence of

⁹³ Hidenori Ijiri, “Sino-Japanese Controversy Since the 1972 Diplomatic Normalization,” *China Quarterly* 124 (Dec. 1990): 655.

⁹⁴ PRC war films make no mention of the fact that for the duration of the conflict China was a signatory to the Geneva Protocol on first use of CBW and Japan was not. The protocol came into force in 1928, and the Republics of China and Japan became signatories in 1929 and 1970 respectively. See: R. R. Baxter and Thomas Buergenthal, “Legal Aspects of the Geneva Protocol of 1925,” *American Journal of International Law* 64 (1970): 854.

Changde make great play of the fact that the Chinese never use CBW themselves, for to do so would be barbaric.

Thirdly, whilst crude stereotyping of Japanese roles is gradually phased out, small “put-downs” and barbs are threaded through the screenplay in reform era war films. In *The Flying Tigers*, the railway station manager (and Communist guerrilla) is introduced to a Japanese regimental commander whose predecessor was assassinated by the CCP. In Japanese culture, when people of different status are seated together, the one of higher rank (in this case the Japanese colonel) should be seated higher than the one of lower rank (the Chinese station manager).⁹⁵ However, here the roles are reversed, with the station manager placed higher than his putative superior, an implied rebuke to the Japanese, by seemingly saying, “No matter what uniform you wear, no matter what your status in your own society, you will never out-rank me, because you are an invader.”

A final example of subtle criticism of the Japanese comes from *Taierzhuang*, where the two sides fight for cultural supremacy as well as the obvious territorial gain. This is because by attacking Shandong Province in early 1938, the invading forces threaten the city of Qufu, the home town of Confucius, forcing an evacuation of the great sage’s descendants.⁹⁶ In the opening scenes of the film the Nationalist general Li Zongren is shown arriving for a press conference where he meets a senior representative of the Confucius clan, promising to protect him from the Japanese.⁹⁷ This is important because both China and Japan claim to be heirs of Confucian culture. However, in this motion picture at the very start of the film, the enemy are vilified as “little” Japanese (i.e. morally small or inferior), because they are attacking both the birthplace and the descendants of the very culture which they say they represent.

⁹⁵ In traditional Japanese culture, the seating plan, the tables provided and even the type of cushions that one sits on are used to signify status. Joy Hendry, *Wrapping Culture: Politeness, Presentation, and Power in Japan and Other Societies* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1993), 124.

⁹⁶ On Confucius see: David L. Hall and Roger T. Ames, *Thinking Through Confucius* (Albany, NY: State University of New York Press, 1987).

⁹⁷ Li was in fact a warlord general with nominal allegiance to the GMD. See: Graham Hutchings, “A Province at War: Guangxi during the Sino-Japanese Conflict, 1937–45,” *China Quarterly* 108 (Dec. 1986): 652–79.

Better relations, better films?

If the state of contemporary Sino-Japanese relations inflects the way in which wartime Japan is portrayed on film, then during periods of warm bilateral ties there ought to be either a toning down, or a complete cessation, of anti-Japanese rhetoric in PRC war films. However, as I hope the analysis above has shown, from 1949 right through to the present day Chinese audiences have been fed a continual diet of war movies which frequently portray Japan in a very harsh light. This unrelenting focus on the Japanese wartime invasion of China makes mainland Chinese cinema a social, political and historically specific project in the construction of Chinese national agency. The China film scholar Chris Berry argues that it is not so much China that makes movies but movies that help to make China.⁹⁸ The point that Berry is making (albeit in a different context), is that the endless Communist Party obsession with criticising wartime Japan on celluloid has helped to shape Chinese identity.

There is a solitary war film however, which is uncritical of Japan's conduct between the years 1931–45, *Far East Espionage War* (*Yuandong jianjie zhan*, 1992). This is the exception which proves the rule (of Chinese obsession with criticising wartime Japan on film) and it is therefore worth analysing in some detail. The movie is set in occupied Manchuria after the Soviet Union's entry into World War Two, and revolves around a fictitious Soviet general who defects to Japan. He is captured by Kwantung Army forces in northern Manchuria and then interrogated by senior Japanese officers throughout the film. At the end of *Far East Espionage War* the general is parachuted back into Soviet territory with instructions to assassinate Stalin, but this never happens because he is double-crossed, apprehended and shot by unknown assailants. Throughout the course of the film Chinese forces hardly appear, except for the odd Communist spy in Harbin. In short, this is a motion picture about the war rather than Japan's conduct in that conflict.

⁹⁸ Chris Berry, "If China Can Say No, Can China Make Movies? Or Do Movies Make China? Rethinking National Cinema and National Agency," *Boundary* 25, no. 3 (1998): 131.

The timing of the movie's release in 1992 is also significant, coming as it did in the wake of the 1989 Tiananmen incident, which resulted in many nations ostracising China. Japan was one of the first countries to rescind sanctions against the PRC after 1989, and this might account for the absence of anti-Japanese rhetoric in the film. Furthermore, the release of *Far East Espionage War* coincided with the first visit by a reigning Japanese emperor to the People's Republic.⁹⁹ It is therefore plausible that the release of the film was a form of what I term "cinema diplomacy," which was designed to play down former Chinese demands for a war apology, and to play up the idea of Sino-Japanese friendship.¹⁰⁰

This possibility is lent support by the fact that few other war films were released between the Tiananmen incident and the subsequent sharp downturn in bilateral relations six years later in 1995. However, it would be wrong to apply this notion of cinema diplomacy to all Anti-Japanese War films, simply because *Far Eastern Espionage War* is unique in its casting of wartime Japan a non-judgemental light. For a theory of "cinema-as-foreign-policy-tool" to hold water, then the tide of anti-Japanese rhetoric in PRC film would rise and fall with the state of Sino-Japanese relations, which is not the case. What is proven though, is that as bilateral ties started to rapidly deteriorate three years later in 1995, a slew of new mainland movies lambasted Japan for provoking all-out war (e.g. *The Lu Gou Qiao Incident*, *The Flying Tigers*). In other words, it was back to business as usual.

A major theme of this study is the idea that since 1949, the Anti-Japanese War has been used as a vehicle for transmitting official views on domestic political issues through institutions such as film, the education system and the media. This chapter concludes then, by analysing three popular reform era war films for the coded messages they are sending not just on foreign policy issues (i.e. Japan), but domestic ones too. These three movies have been chosen because they provide tantalising

⁹⁹ Feng Duanyun, Gao Xiuqing, and Wang Sheng, eds., *Zhongri guanxi shi* (Beijing: Shehui kexue wenxian chubanshe, 2006), 464.

¹⁰⁰ Other examples of cinema as foreign policy tool include: *Resist American Aggression and Aid Korea Parts I & II* (*Kangmei yuanchao*, 1951–52), and *Oppose Bacteriological Warfare* (*Kang xijun zhan*, 1953).

glimpses of the direction in which mainland cinema might develop in future.

The Bloody Battle for Taierzhuang (1985)

Taierzhuang is a film about the fierce clash between GMD and Japanese forces for control of Taierzhuang in early 1938.¹⁰¹ This movie is important for two related reasons; one, it was the first mainland production in nearly 40 years to focus on the Nationalists' contribution in defeating the Japanese. Two, *Taierzhuang* depicted the first major defeat that Chinese forces inflicted on Japan during the War of Resistance. Indeed it was arguably the first time during the entire century of humiliation that the Chinese had decisively beaten a foreign invader.¹⁰² Unfortunately for the CCP, the battle had no involvement of Communist forces whatsoever, which was highly problematic for a party that had always prided itself on its right to rule by defeating the Japanese.

Yang Guangyuan—who directed the motion picture—had decades of experience making movies for the PLA, and he argued that “we should not be afraid of the formidable power of film” to challenge cinema goers; after all, this is the reform era and “we should give audiences a new experience of war... accompanied by a script with modernised speech.”¹⁰³ He might have added that the censors did not exactly agree with him, since they revised the film script no less than 17 times!¹⁰⁴ In marked contrast to Mao era war films, *Taierzhuang* was to be historically accurate.

Despite this legitimisation of the Nationalist war effort—by filming it—the way in which the enemy was represented remained basically unaltered. In fact, Japanese forces hardly appear in the movie, except as the usual “enemy” or “devils” to be killed as quickly as possible. *Taierzhuang* was already highly controversial because of its

¹⁰¹ Chinese warlord armies fought the Japanese at Taierzhuang in the latter stages of the battle, but for a variety of complex reasons their contribution was omitted from the 1985 film. See: Xu Yiming, “Waihang ren shuo dian xinli hua: kan ‘xuezhuan taierzhuang’,” *Dianying pingjia* 3 (1987): 10.

¹⁰² Parks M. Coble, “Remembering China’s War with Japan: The Wartime Generation in Post-war China and East Asia and their Contemporary Uses,” *Modern Asian Studies* 45, no. 2 (2011): 382.

¹⁰³ Yang Guangyuan, “‘Xuezhuan taierzhuang’ shanhuilu,” *Dianying yishu* 6 (2003): 68.

¹⁰⁴ He Houzhen, “Yishu budengyu lishi,” *Dianying pingjia* 9, no. 12 (1987): 12.

focus on the GMD, and it would have simply been too contentious to consider the engagement from the Japanese side at the same time. Ultimately, whilst *Taierzhuang* was approved for release by party censors, the idea that whole battles might have won without CCP involvement proved so sensitive, that not a single film eulogising the Nationalist war effort was approved until *Death & Glory in Changde* 23 years later.

News of the sensation caused by the release of *Taierzhuang* soon spread to Taiwan. Film scenes such as Jiang Jieshi bravely ignoring a Japanese air raid in order to lead the funeral of a general (who had been killed during the fighting at Taierzhuang) made such a deep impression on Jiang's son, Jiang Jingguo, that the movie was made required viewing for the GMD leadership.¹⁰⁵ Jiang the younger averred:

From this film it can be seen that the mainland now admits that we resisted the Japanese [during the war]. This film does not blacken the name of my father. It appears that the mainland is adjusting its policy towards Taiwan. We ought to make some adjustments too.¹⁰⁶

The lesson we can draw from this is that although *Taierzhuang* sent powerful messages about rehabilitating the GMD, in 1985 there was seemingly still no place for a reassessment of the Japanese war effort. This reassessment did not come until *Devils on the Doorstep*, which was never authorised for release in Chinese cinemas. No formal explanation has ever been given as to why *Devils* was banned, likely reasons include the motion picture's overly sympathetic depiction of Japanese soldiers and the lack of a prominent role for the Chinese Communists.¹⁰⁷ Path-breaking in its thoughtful depiction of Kwantung Army conscripts the film might have been, but representative of a sea-change in official thinking on Japan it certainly was not, since *Devils* has never (legally) been shown in a Chinese movie theatre. Despite this brouhaha, mainland film directors are now, fully 60 years after the end of the war, gradually being allowed to experiment in how they represent Japan on film. The

¹⁰⁵ Meng Hong, "Dianying 'xuezhuan taierzhuang' de qite xiaoying," *Dangshi wenyuan* 12, no. 1 (2009): 51–52.

¹⁰⁶ *Ibid.*

¹⁰⁷ Jerome Silbergeld, *Body in Question: Image and Illusion in Two Chinese Films by Director Jiang Wen* (Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 2008), 128.

Beijing film scholar Xu Hailong explains the rationale for this change:

Firstly, during the reform era things have become much more open, so it is possible to say and do things that were not possible before. Secondly, it is not that film directors have all suddenly changed their attitudes towards Japan. They are a creative lot and they like to push the limits of what is permissible in order to give play to that creativity...So directors are thinking along the lines of “Japanese soldiers gain no benefit from the war, except pay and being shot at, all the benefits of fighting accrue to the government or the generals back home in Japan. So what is their psychology, what is driving them on? What are they thinking, why are they fighting us? Is it the Samurai, with its concept of no surrender?”¹⁰⁸

The war from a Japanese viewpoint: City of Life and Death (2009)

The film *City of Life and Death* has certainly sought to push the limits (adumbrated by Xu Hailong above) in its depiction of the Nanjing massacre, which took place in late 1937 and early 1938, after Jiang Jieshi abandoned the capital to advancing Japanese troops.¹⁰⁹ *City of Life and Death* views the Japanese occupation of the city and the subsequent massacre through the eyes of the Japanese soldier Kadokawa Masao. Kadokawa might have been the narrator, but he was not the star of the film in the conventional sense of the word. This is because there were no starring roles as such, the lead actor was history itself.¹¹⁰ Even survivors of the massacre thought that film’s portrayal of history was extremely realistic, because the director, Lu Chuan, paid meticulous attention to detail during filming. For example, Japanese troops were shown shooting people dead on the street “for fun,” as they are alleged to have done during the real massacre. Lu even visited a firing range before he started filming, in order to better gauge the sound that 1930s Japanese rifles would have made.¹¹¹

The most debated aspect of the film was the decision to narrate the massacre through the eyes of Kadokawa Masao. One critic praised this decision as creating an

¹⁰⁸ Interview with Xu Hailong, Capital Normal University, Beijing, 16/11/10.

¹⁰⁹ Other recent films featuring the massacre include: *The Nanjing Massacre (Nanjing datusha, 1995)*, and *Rabe’s Diary (Labei riji, 2009)*.

¹¹⁰ Zhang and Li, “Yuanzi dianying zhongde ‘jingtan,’” 49.

¹¹¹ Zhang Shu and Feng Yong, “Zhenshi de zhanzheng: nanjing! nanjing! yu guizi laile de bijiao fenzi,” *Dianying wenxue* 16 (2009): 47–48.

“amazing artistic effect,” because firstly, Kadokawa was testimony to the violence in that he witnessed the massacre from a non-Chinese viewpoint. Secondly, he committed violence himself, by killing innocent prisoners of war; thirdly, he showed himself to be human, by releasing prisoners in the closing stages of the film and then committing suicide. This final act of “self-sacrifice,” with Kadokawa unable to bear the mental pressure of the pogrom, demonstrated that during the war Japanese soldiers were victims too.



Figure 12. A scene from *City of Life and Death* (*Nanjing! Nanjing!*, 2009) where Nanjing residents are being buried alive by Japanese soldiers after the fall of the capital.

However, not everyone was convinced that *City of Life and Death* should be judged on its artistic merits alone, with some commentators so incensed by the film that they branded the director a “traitor to China” (*hanjian*) and his film as “traitorous.” One journal editor tried to make sense of this clash:

The hubbub over the film has died down but the problem still cuts across intellectual circles...between making films either from a “viewpoint” or based on “facts”...*City of Life and Death* has hit a raw nerve for the Chinese people, by reopening a historical wound...The key problem is that the director, Professor Lu Chuan, said that Kadokawa Masao’s viewpoint is also his viewpoint. By facing nature’s relationship with war and battle, here Lu means Japan as well as the Chinese people...This film has exposed China’s embarrassment and suffering towards “history.”¹¹²

¹¹² Hu Canran, “Nanjing! nanjing!,” *Zhongguo tushu pingjia* 11 (2009): 4.

The prominent Japan history scholar Liu Jianping was probably the most extreme in his views, arguing that “this fabrication of ‘pretend facts’ was merely to bewitch people at the box office, to beautify the massacre, and to romanticise the rape of innocent women.”¹¹³ Liu continued that it was “not only the Japanese mainstream media that was now trying grasp the opportunity to use the film for political purposes,” but that in Japanese eyes the film would also “teach all those Chinese people who see the Japanese as ‘devils,’ [by] devaluing Chinese propaganda and wrapping up the war beautifully.”¹¹⁴ Another Japan scholar, Zhang Huiyu, agreed with Liu, averring that narrating the film from the Japanese military point of view played into the hands of Japanese right-wing extremists, by allowing them to “beautify Japan” and to “repudiate responsibility for the war.”¹¹⁵

The fact that *City of Life and Death* was approved for release at all suggests that China might be gradually starting to come to terms with the war. Certainly, the film provoked a strong reaction in some quarters (such as from Liu Jianping), which was almost to be expected in a country that had spent much of the past 60 years making movies where Japan was simply “the enemy.” However, much of the comment on the motion picture was not critical at all, with many critics praising the film as we have seen. In this respect, perhaps the “hate”—a word that so frequently crops up when Chinese people of all ages discuss Japan—is starting to lessen, 65 years after the Japanese surrender in 1945. Yet many film critics interviewed for this research said that it will take 200 years for Chinese people to forget the war, not 65. When considered from this perspective, *City of Life and Death* appears less like the last word in the matter and more like a tentative first step towards reconciliation.

Flowers of War (2011)

¹¹³ Liu Jianping, “Nanjing! nanjing! yu zhanzheng jiyi chonggou—houzhimin wenhuade guoji chuanboxue fenxi,” *Zhongguo tushu pingjia* 11 (2009): 6. Liu has just completed an acclaimed study on Sino-Japanese relations prior to normalisation.

¹¹⁴ Ibid.

¹¹⁵ Zhang Huiyu, “Weihe xuanze jiaochuan shijiao?” *Zhongguo tushu pingjia* 11 (2009): 15.

Flowers of War is a high budget, blockbuster movie made by the fifth generation filmmaker, Zhang Yimou. The motion picture cost 600 million RMB to produce and was the highest grossing film of 2011, even though it was only released a few weeks before the end of that year.¹¹⁶ The film is based on a book of the same name written by Yan Geling in 2007, and is set in a school chapel blockaded by the Japanese after the fall of Nanjing.¹¹⁷ The plot revolves around an alcoholic American posing as a priest, who protects a group of schoolgirls from the predations of the Japanese, by persuading Nanjing prostitutes (who have also taken refuge in the church) to take the schoolchildren's place at a forthcoming concert for the Japanese.

The film was well received, not so much for its ultra-realistic portrayal of the Japanese assault on Nanjing, but for the prominence it gave to women. As a result, review after review highlighted the fact that the Chinese prostitutes in the movie gave their lives, so that innocent young girls could escape occupied Nanjing. In doing so the “whores” cleansed themselves of their former shame, whilst helping to defend their motherland at the same time.¹¹⁸ In contrast, film critics make almost no comment on the fight between Japanese and Nationalist forces screened in the first part of the movie. This is because, like so many of the motion pictures discussed in this chapter, the real message of *Flowers of War* concerns contemporary rather than wartime China.

One commentary on the film by the critic He Dao argues that had it not been for the special situation of the Nanjing massacre, then no one would have ever thought to make a film about the Japanese attacking a few girls stranded in a church.¹¹⁹ Professor He continues that it is no coincidence that the book of the film was released to coincide with the death of Lei Guiying (on April 25, 2007), one of the few local residents ever to admit serving as a Japanese comfort woman after the fall of Nanjing.

¹¹⁶ Yin Hong and Cheng Wen, “2011 nian zhongguo dianying chanye beiwang,” *Yishu pinglun* 2 (2012): 7.

¹¹⁷ Yan Geling, *Jinling shisan chai* (Beijing: Zhongguo gongren chubanshe, 2007).

¹¹⁸ Ye Yulou, “Shentide yixiang: dianying ‘jinling shisan chai’ zhong nüxing shenti fenxi,” *Dianying pingjia* 6 (2012): 48.

¹¹⁹ He Dao, “Shuyu 13 ge teshu nüxing de shishi: ping yan gelingde ‘jinling shisan chai,’” *Renmin gongan* 15 (2011): 62.

Therefore, the book (and the film of the book) actually form a commemoration to the departure of this rare “living specimen” [sic].¹²⁰ Put differently, the coded message contained in both the book and the film is that Lei Guiying’s death marked the close of an era, following which there is no shame in broaching the subject of comfort women. Interestingly, He Dao’s article was published in the high-profile journal *Public Security (Renmin gongan)* rather than in any film magazine, which suggests that He’s views were endorsed by party elites.



Figure 13. A scene from *Flowers of War (Jinling shisan chai, 2011)* showing both schoolgirls (left) and prostitutes (right) trapped in a Nanjing church.

Another revealing critique of *Flowers of War* comes from Chinese film scholar Yu Ji. Yu, writing by invitation in a special issue of the journal *Film Culture (Dianying yishu)* devoted to the movie, obliquely suggests that the motion picture’s real intention was to criticise the CCP, because the Nanjing prostitutes saved the

¹²⁰ Ibid., 63.

nation by practising “erotic patriotism,” whereas the Chinese Communists were nowhere to be seen.¹²¹ Actually, the film ridicules the party on other ways too, but Professor Yu might have been censured for stating so directly. For example, whilst the Communist Party is officially atheist, almost the entire film is set in or around a Christian church. The code here is that it is the chapel that physically protects the schoolgirls from the Japanese, because the CCP obviously lacks the capacity to do so. Another criticism of the party is that it is an alcoholic out-of-work American (played by the *Batman* star Christian Bale) rather than a Communist Party guerrilla who prevents Japanese troops from raping young children. If the CCP really beat the Japanese then why was the job left to American “white trash?” Finally, why was it left to a lone American rather than the Eighth Route Army or the Fourth New Army (or the Nationalists for that matter) to plan and execute a successful escape plan for the girls, by having the prostitutes take their place at a singing contest at a Japanese officers’ mess? In short, the film mocks contemporary Communist pillars of rule (such as the party won the war), by hinting that foreigners had a bigger role in defeating the Japanese than the CCP cares to admit.¹²²

Flowers of War is a highly-coded document which can be “read” in different ways depending on the audience. It can be viewed as a war film purely for entertainment, an exposition on comfort women, or even as a blistering attack on the CCP. The way in which this latest blockbuster about the war permits multiple interpretations, seems not so much like a commentary on Japan, its armies, or even the war, but rather the soul of a nation starting to talk to itself.

¹²¹ Yu Ji, “Dang ‘jinling shisan chai’ zaoyu ridannuofu,” *Dianying yishu* 343, no. 2 (2012): 31.

¹²² On how the party beat the Japanese, see: *Aiguozhuyi jiaoyu dacidian* (Beijing: Haiyang chubanshe, 1992), 1–23.

Conclusion

In the last chapter I offered evidence that the image of Japan presented in mainland Chinese textbooks is largely one of a wartime invader. In this chapter I have argued that the pattern is repeated in PRC film, in that almost the only acceptable theme for motion pictures about Japan is that country's occupation of China during the War of Resistance. Since 1949 most films about the war propound the myth that by beating the Japanese the CCP has a rightful claim to power. This is part of the ruling Communists' ideology. For much of the past 60 years, those representations in cinema have frequently misrepresented Japan in a way that could be conceived as stereotyping.

In order to assess the extent to which the Japanese are stereotyped in movies, this chapter has deconstructed Japanese tropes using categories devised by the film scholar Richard Dyer. The resulting analysis shows that whilst no strong case can be made that the Chinese depiction of the Japanese on celluloid is racist, the situation with respect to stereotyping is more clear-cut.

This is because in Mao era films (pre-1976), Japanese forces are caricatured in such a way that they epitomise a spent military force, in that they are shoddily dressed, incompetent and poorly led. This contrast is especially striking when compared to the brutal efficiency of Communist fighting forces. However, representations of Japan on film during the reform era are influenced by evolving notions of Chinese ideology and identity. As a result, during the 1980s and 90s gone are the buck teeth and Velcro moustaches of Japanese soldiers, instead they are replaced by a conceptual framework of "Japan" as a much more realistic wartime opponent.

In the overwhelming majority of films (regardless of the year they were released in) Japanese generals, officers, soldiers, strategy and tactics are secondary considerations to the plot. This is because PRC war movies are used as transmission vehicles for sending encoded messages on domestic issues, such as "who are the real enemies of the state?" (the GMD, landlords, traitors) and "party instructions must be

obeyed at all times.” During the reform era however, directors have increasingly appropriated war films for uses only indirectly related to Japan, such as broaching the subject of comfort women. In this sense, it appears that compared to war museums and textbooks, the state has less control over messages transmitted by movie makers, otherwise how could they allow recent blockbusters such as *Flowers of War* to mock the party itself?

Chapter 5

Media Representations of Japan¹

Introduction

Ever since newspapers were regularly published in European cities during the first half of the seventeenth century, politicians and thinkers across the world have grasped their ability to shape the views of ordinary people. Three centuries later in 1922 Walter Lippmann famously argued that “news and truth are not the same thing,” and 20 years after that the British writer George Orwell added that “no event is ever correctly reported in a newspaper.”² In China the importance of papers in shaping mass opinion was not lost on the CCP, as the 1943 editorial from the *Liberation Daily* (*Jiefang ribao*) below attests:

People want training, they want to understand the world...they want to know what to do now...otherwise a newspaper is just a mountain of news and adverts. Papers should sufficiently express current feeling and the will of the people...A good journalist is also a good propagandist, educator and organiser, and will become an asset to the party...We do not want newspapers to take the wrong road, therefore their independence is absolutely forbidden.³

This is not to suggest that newspapers were seen as seditious or problematic. On the contrary, the Chinese Communists have always seen newspapers as performing a vital

¹ Abbreviations for newspapers used in figures and tables throughout this chapter include: RMRB (*Renmin ribao/People's Daily*), HLJRB (*Heilongjiang ribao/Heilongjiang Daily*) and CQRB (*Chongqing ribao/Chongqing Daily*).

² Lippmann, *Public Opinion*, 226; George Orwell, *The Penguin Essays of George Orwell* (London: Penguin, 1994), 223.

³ HQM, 3:304–06.

role, with Hu Yaobang explaining in 1985, over 40 years after the above quote was made, that “the party’s news undertaking is [still] the party’s mouthpiece, naturally it is also the mouthpiece of the people’s government leaders, at the same time it is the people’s own mouthpiece.”⁴ It is in this light that Chinese news commentary on Japan should be viewed, as a system in which elite leaders openly admit that party newspapers only expound officially approved views.⁵

Tight control of “mental productive forces” in general, and the Chinese media in particular, has been evident ever since the party’s Yanan days during the late 1930s and 40s.⁶ This control was and remains vital for the CCP, “because [through its] control over material and mental processes, and [its] domination of the major institutions of society, [the ruling Communist elite’s] definition of the social world provides the basic rationale for those institutions which protect and reproduce their ‘way of life.’”⁷ In fact, “definitions of the social world” is really another way of saying ideology, which as noted in the introduction is a set of ideas and representations by which people collectively make sense of the world in which they live.⁸

This chapter continues the debate on the construction of Chinese identity and ideology. It is a case study of the Chinese media—which I take to include all Chinese newspapers and important party theoretical magazines, whilst excluding television and radio—analysing the manipulation of Chinese newspaper commentary on Japan.⁹ The argument pursued here is that the media has functioned as a major transmission system of state views on Japan since the earliest days of the PRC. Perhaps the most

⁴ XCGZ, 4:665. The quote implies that there is no discernible difference between party and government run newspapers. This chapter therefore uses the terms interchangeably.

⁵ For proof that the previous CCP General Secretary Hu Jintao expounds very similar views, see reportage on his 2008 visit to the *People’s Daily* offices in: RMRB, 21/6/08, 1.

⁶ By which I take to include journalists and editors responsible for newspaper content.

⁷ Stuart Hall et al., *Policing the Crisis: Mugging, the State, and Law and Order* (London: Macmillan, 1978), 59.

⁸ See intro., pp. 6–7.

⁹ Television broadcasts only started in 1958 and it was not until the 1980s that television was frequently watched by Chinese people in urban areas, let alone in the countryside. Compared to television, radio was a more common form of broadcasting especially during the Mao era, as retransmission of radio programmes linked listeners across China via means of loudspeaker networks (which were in common use until the early 1990s). Unfortunately, it is exceptionally difficult to source transcripts of individual radio programmes. For these varied reasons, the analysis in this chapter concentrates on print media, which was available on a daily basis from the earliest days of the PRC. See: Alan P. L. Liu, *Communications and National Integration in Communist China* (Berkeley, CA: University of California Press, 1971).

obvious difference between Chinese newspapers and other transmission mediums, however, is that they are published frequently (often daily), with the result that they are much more responsive to changes in political direction than, say, mainland textbooks (printed every six months) or films (which take up to several years to make). As the media scholar Marshall McLuhan argues, all transmission mediums have their own principles and differing lines of force. As a result, “any medium has the power of imposing its own assumptions on the unwary.”¹⁰

This chapter attempts to unpack those principles and lines of force as they relate to reportage on Japan, in order to tease out the assumptions imposed on unwary readers. Bearing in mind all these factors the chapter proceeds as follows. First, a discussion of the criteria for data selection is followed by a brief overview of the Soviet news media model. Without such an overview, it is impossible to explain many basic Chinese preferences for reporting on Japan, such as a continuing tendency to use formulaic language and a repetitive news style. The main body of the chapter then uses content analysis in order to map out the volume, subject and attitude of reportage on Japan, in both the national and regional party press. Substantial treatment of accompanying imagery is also provided, in order to paint a more rounded picture of the way in which the state-run Chinese media views Japan. Techniques from CDA are additionally used, in an attempt to tease out how the party press uses Japan as a vehicle for pursuing a variety of domestic policy objectives, ranging from waging internecine power struggles to enforcing party control over the PLA.

Data selection

The analysis in this chapter is mainly based on data from the *People's Daily* newspaper, complemented by commentary from selected regional newspapers and *Red Flag* magazine. The *People's Daily* has been selected because it is the official mouthpiece of the CCPCC, which “prints what the Chinese top leadership think the

¹⁰ Marshall McLuhan, *Understanding Media: The Extensions of Man* (1964; repr., London: Routledge Classics, 2001), 15.

masses think the top leadership should be thinking about Japan.”¹¹ The importance of the *People’s Daily* is underlined by the fact that, unlike other mainland newspapers, it enjoys special circulation rights such as reprints of its editorials on Japan in other newspapers. Additionally, CCTV news broadcasts frequently refer to articles published in the paper, and during the Mao era it was widely used for weekly political studies as well.¹² These weekly sessions were an excellent means of indoctrinating people who were either illiterate (they could have news read to them), or who lived in rural areas (and therefore lacked ready access to normal print news distribution networks), or both.

During the reform era weekly political studies for the masses using the *People’s Daily* have been discontinued, and as a result readership has declined, from an estimated 2.78 million to 1.80 million during the decade from 1993 to 2003.¹³ However, the newspaper is still required reading for top officials, PLA officers and the senior management of State Owned Enterprises.¹⁴ Whilst the paper now has to compete with several thousand daily newspapers and other published content for readers’ attention, the sheer fact that it is read by the nation’s decision makers means that its views on Japan have to be taken seriously.

A second source of articles examined in this chapter is the *Red Flag* magazine, which bears many similarities to the *People’s Daily*. It is a publication with a long pedigree, having an almost unbroken print run stretching back to 1958. *Red Flag* is available to all CCP members (currently 68 million in number), and it frequently contains articles on Japan penned by elite cadres and senior academics. For these reasons, the way in which *Red Flag* portrays Japan is important, even in an internet age where much comment on that country is available online. The third and final source of newsprint commentary on Japan is from regional newspapers. Because much copy on

¹¹ Interview with Michael O’Sullivan, former British Council Director (Beijing), at Cambridge University, 12/2/10.

¹² Wu, “Command Communication,” 195.

¹³ Gang Qian and David Bandurski, “China’s Emerging Public Sphere: The Impact of Media Commercialization, Professionalization, and the Internet in an Era of Transition,” in *Changing Media, Changing China*, ed. Susan L. Shirk (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2011), 42n11.

¹⁴ For example the municipal archives in Chongqing close at least once a fortnight for political study sessions using the RMRB.

that country relates to sensitive subjects such as the War of Resistance and bilateral disputes, regional papers are frequently required to print verbatim transcripts from the *People's Daily* and the Xinhua News Agency (hereafter XHS, short for *xinhuashe*). However, provincial newspapers are increasingly innovative in trying to circumnavigate such restrictions, for reasons which will be discussed below.

Soviet influence on the Chinese press

The Chinese Communists closely modelled their print media on the Soviet one, therefore comparing the two media systems offers insights into how and why Chinese newspapers portray Japan in a certain way. During the early years of the PRC there was almost an obsession with emulating the Russians, such that the first editor of the *People's Daily*, Deng Tuo, travelled to Moscow several times to “learn from *Pravda*.”¹⁵ In fact, the Soviets already had a 30 year head start over the Chinese in developing their print media, which Stalin saw as “the most powerful weapon of our party,” and Khrushchev viewed as “our chief ideological weapon.”¹⁶ Peter Kenez argues that this early Bolshevik obsession with ideology stemmed from their “[belief] that in Marxism they possessed an instrument that allowed them to analyse the process of history.”¹⁷ The Bolsheviks did not need to look for knowledge (i.e. to produce or propagate knowledge) because this had already been achieved through Marxism. Kenez continues that “the [Soviet Communist] Party was to lead the proletariat to a successful revolution on the basis of its superior understanding of the process of history.”¹⁸ Therefore, it was unwise to let the masses look after their own interests. This is the crux of Kenez’s argument, that the Russian media was designed to dictate to rather than to inform readers, because Lenin did not trust workers to correctly understand history unaided. For this reason nothing was left to local

¹⁵ Cheek, *Propaganda and Culture in Mao's China*, 124. *Pravda* was the Soviet equivalent of the RMRB.

¹⁶ McLuhan, *Understanding Media*, 214.

¹⁷ Kenez, *Birth of the Propaganda State*, 5.

¹⁸ *Ibid.*, 7.

initiative or spontaneity.¹⁹ The Chinese media inherited Marxist theoretical constructs which dwelt heavily on propagating the ruling party's interpretation of history, as a means of justifying rule. This was undergirded by a strong inclination to lecture to the masses, as opposed to informing or educating them, lest they come up with their own ideas.

Similarities between the Chinese and Soviet media also extended to content. After around 1925, Soviet newspapermen “present[ed] everyday labour as an epic battle to industrialise the USSR, a battle fought against shirkers and saboteurs within and imperialist enemies without. Party members were the vanguard in this imagined battle, heroic warriors responsible for leading and inspiring the foot soldiers, ‘the nonparty masses’ [sic].”²⁰ When the Chinese came to set up their own newspaper industry, they emulated the Soviets by depicting battles against the Japanese (and others) in order to rally the masses. Even today, use of battlefield terminology inflects many articles in the *People's Daily*, with liberal use of terms such as “frontline,” “enemy,” and “resist.”

Differences did exist, however, in the way in which the two powers presented their news. For our purposes though, it is sufficient to note that after the Second World War the CCP imported wholesale a Soviet system of news management. As a result, even today that early Soviet influence is still highly visible, in terms of the way in which Japan is presented in mainland Chinese newspapers. Though Marxist rhetoric has been toned down in recent decades, a 1950s reader of the *People's Daily* would today still instantly recognise much of its style and tone.

Content analysis of the *People's Daily*—number and frequency of articles

Despite the large number of empirical studies on Sino-Japanese relations, we still lack an overall framework for conceptualising *what* is said about Japan. One means of

¹⁹ Ibid.

²⁰ Matthew E. Lenoe, *Closer to the Masses: Stalinist Culture, Social Revolution, and Soviet Newspapers* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 2004), 1.

quantifying the problem is to conduct content analysis on complete runs of newspapers from 1949 through to the present.²¹ In this respect, the *People's Daily* is an ideal paper for teasing out long-term data trends, because it is one of only three daily newspapers with an unbroken print record from 1949 down to the present day.²² However, during the past decade, a number of scholars have questioned the efficacy of content analysis, positing that CDA is a more robust means of unpacking ideological meaning hidden within text.²³ All we need to bear in mind for now, is that content analysis is still widely regarded as an effective tool for identifying trends across large bodies of text, such as print media. For this reason, content analysis is used throughout this chapter, except where otherwise stated.

The aim below is to identify the size of the total data set (all *People's Daily* articles on Japan) followed by a more detailed examination of data subsets (such as *People's Daily* articles on the Anti-Japanese War). The former allows us to generate an overall picture of how the state media represents Japan, whilst the latter permits a more finely textured analysis of the way in which specific Japan-related topics are presented.

The total data set consists of all news published in the *People's Daily* between January 1, 1949 and December 31, 2005, a grand total of 1.52 million articles. Contained within this total are smaller subsets of articles relating to various aspects of Japan (such as the war, the Japanese economy, and so on), listed by category in the *People's Daily Indices (Renmin ribao suoyin)*.²⁴ The years 1949 and 2005 have been chosen as the start and end points for data collection, so as to include articles covering the founding of the PRC (1949) right up to the sixtieth-anniversary celebrations of the

²¹ Content analysis is defined by the communications scholar Bernard Berelson as “a research technique for the objective, systematic and quantitative description of the manifest content of communication.” Its central idea is for the words of a text to be classified into many fewer content categories, based on meaning, synonyms and so on. Its key assumption is that the study of manifest content is meaningful, which is another way of saying that meanings encoded within text are similarly understood by all parties. Bernard Berelson, *Content Analysis in Communication Research* (New York, NY: Hafner, 1971), 18–19; Robert Philip Weber, *Basic Content Analysis* (Beverly Hills, CA: Sage, 1985), 12.

²² Berton and Wu, *Contemporary China*, 89.

²³ John E. Richardson, *Analysing Newspapers: An Approach From Critical Discourse Analysis* (New York, NY: Palgrave Macmillan, 2007), 20. For methodology see chap. 3.

²⁴ For example, see: Renmin ribao guonei ziliao zu, ed., *Renmin ribao suoyin* (Beijing: Renmin ribao she, 1955).

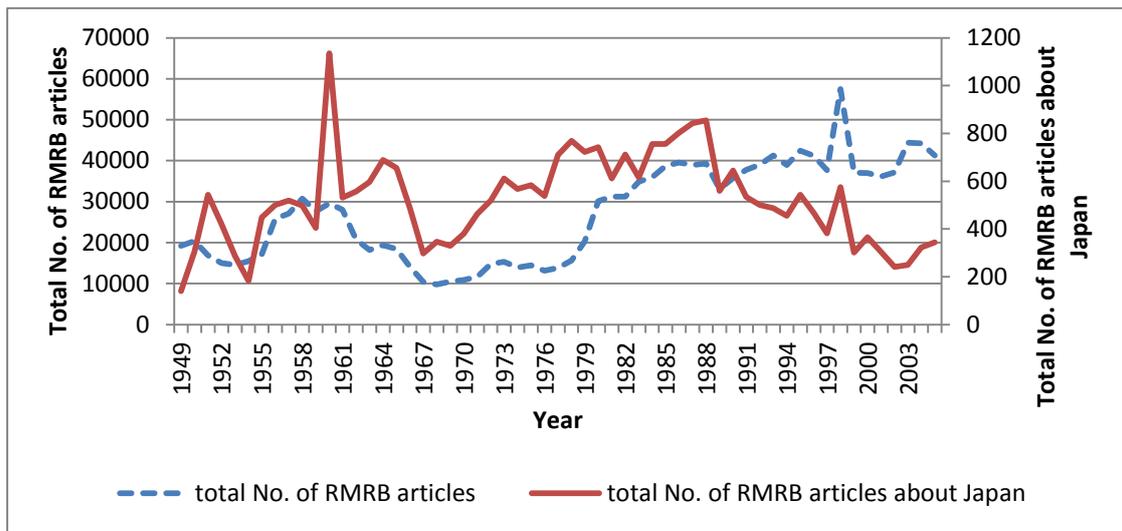


Figure 14. Comparison of the annual total of *People's Daily* articles relative to the annual total of articles on Japan (1949–2005).

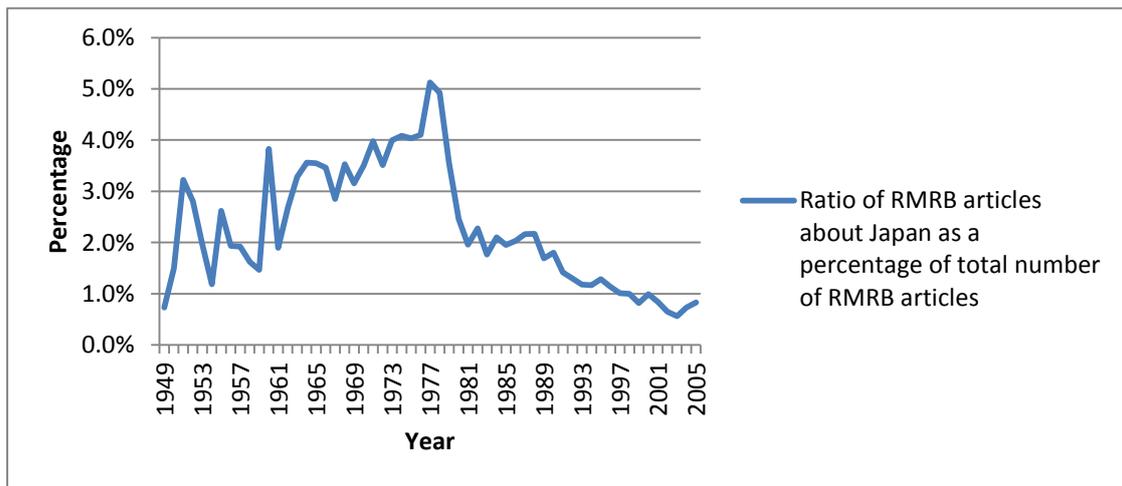


Figure 15. Relative frequency of *People's Daily* articles on Japan (1949–2005).

defeat of Japan in World War Two (2005).

Figure 14 (left hand axis) shows the total number of *People's Daily* articles printed annually between the years 1949–2005, as well as the total number of articles published on Japan during the same period (right hand axis). Figure 15 then expresses the ratio of these figures as a percentage (total number of articles/year versus the total number of articles on Japan/year). The lowest number of Japan-related articles in the *People's Daily* appeared in 1949 (140 pieces of news, or 0.7 percent of all articles printed in the *People's Daily*). This is perhaps unsurprising, as at this time newspapers

were frequently just two to four pages in length, which limited coverage on all subjects, not just for commentary on Japan. The highest number of Japan-related articles occurs in 1960 (1,135 articles, or 3.8 percent of all articles printed), reflecting the strength of Chinese disquiet over the United States-Japan Mutual Security Treaty signed that year. The highest and lowest ratios of Japan-related articles compared to the total number of *People's Daily* articles are in 1977 (710 articles, 5.1 percent of all articles printed) and 2003 (233 articles, 0.6 percent of all articles) respectively.

The data also shows that prior to normalisation of relations in 1972, an average of three percent of all articles published in the *People's Daily* were on subjects relating to Japan. This figure might not seem particularly significant, yet were the same frequency of published news accorded to each one of China's 14 neighbouring states (i.e. states with which the PRC shares a land border), then over 40 percent of *People's Daily* newsprint would be devoted to foreign affairs.²⁵ My point is that before 1972, even though state-to-state bilateral contact was minimal, there was extensive coverage of Japanese affairs.²⁶ To be sure, much of this attention was negative, in that it focused either on the War of Resistance against Japan or criticising the Japanese political establishment. But the fact remains that during the Mao era, the CCPCC's own newspaper (the *People's Daily*) printed hundreds of articles every year closely following Japanese political, military and foreign affairs.

After normalisation of relations in 1972 the total number of Japan-related articles peaks at 769 in 1978 (4.9 percent of the total number of *People's Daily* articles), gradually falling to a low of 242 articles (0.7 percent of the total) in 2002. This rather puzzling decline might reflect a lessening of interest in Japanese affairs, following the signing of the Peace Treaty in 1978, particularly since its provisions commit the Japanese side to eschew force, which was previously a continual worry for the Chinese side and therefore subject to much commentary in the *People's Daily*.²⁷

²⁵ Assuming that all articles were of equal length.

²⁶ For more information on the informal (or people's) diplomacy that did exist see: Li De'an, *Zhou enlai yu riben pengyou*.

²⁷ The full provisions of the treaty can be found in: Liu Jianguo, *Zhongguo yu riben: bianhua zhongde "zhengleng jingre" guanxi* (Beijing: Renmin chubanshe, 2007), 786–87.

Alternatively, the decline might counter-intuitively reflect the rapidly increasing contact between the two sides at all levels (elite, working, student, business, etc.), thus obviating the need to report on specific bilateral government meetings or trade deals. Another possible explanation, is that as the reform period progressed and Chinese state organs increasingly interacted with their foreign counterparts in countries all over the world, the relative importance of Japan diminished.²⁸ This final assertion is supported by the fact that, in recent years, a number of high-profile Chinese scholars of Japan have argued that PRC elites pay too much attention to the United States and not enough attention to Japan.²⁹

Even taking into account the relative decline in *People's Daily* reportage on Japan in recent years, the paper still prints articles about this neighbouring state almost every day. Taken together, the evidence presented above allows us to build a prima facie case that since the foundation of the People's Republic in 1949, elite Chinese leaders have been intensely interested in Japan. This proof comes in the form of the sheer volume of articles relating to Japan in the *People's Daily*, which after all is the mouthpiece of the CCPCC and is therefore assumed to be reflective of that committee's views. It is outside the scope of this study to prove a causal link between elite interest towards Japan and the number of articles on that country appearing in the paper.³⁰ However the data in figures 14 and 15 is, at the very least, highly suggestive of a keen continuing elite Chinese interest in matters relating to Japan.

Resisting Japan (*kangri*) and the War of Resistance (*kangzhan*)

In addressing the central question of how China views Japan, it is necessary to further drill down into the data, and fortunately the *People's Daily Indices* provide

²⁸ Harry Harding, *China's Second Revolution: Reform After Mao* (Washington, DC: Brookings Institution, 1987), 242.

²⁹ This point was made by Li Tingjiang, "Zhongguo riben yanjiude fanwei he fangfa" (paper presented at the second Qinghua University Japan Research Centre scholars' research colloquium, Beijing, 13/11/10).

³⁰ This might be achieved by comparative analysis of RMRB articles on various nations with respect to bilateral trade figures, visits, or speeches made by Chinese leaders.

detailed breakdowns of article content as well as their number. Based on data from these indices, figure 16 shows the frequency of articles appearing in the *People's Daily* from 1949–2005 (the same date ranges used above) with the words “resist Japan” (*kangri*) or “War of Resistance” (*kangzhan*) in the headline.³¹ As applied here, the former term generally refers to Chinese military opposition to the Japanese invasion and occupation of mainland China between 1931 and 1945, whereas the latter phrase is occasionally applied to other conflicts as well (e.g. the Korean War). Both expressions can be used to gauge the intensity of commentary in the *People's Daily* about Chinese (and particularly Communist) resistance to the Japanese during the Second World War, on the assumption that an article which contains *kangri* or *kangzhan* in the headline contains meaningful content on those subjects. The selection of these two terms relating to the war is obviously not exhaustive, in that it excludes articles about the 1931–45 conflict which contain the name of a particular battle, army or individual in the headline (instead of *kangri* or *kangzhan*).

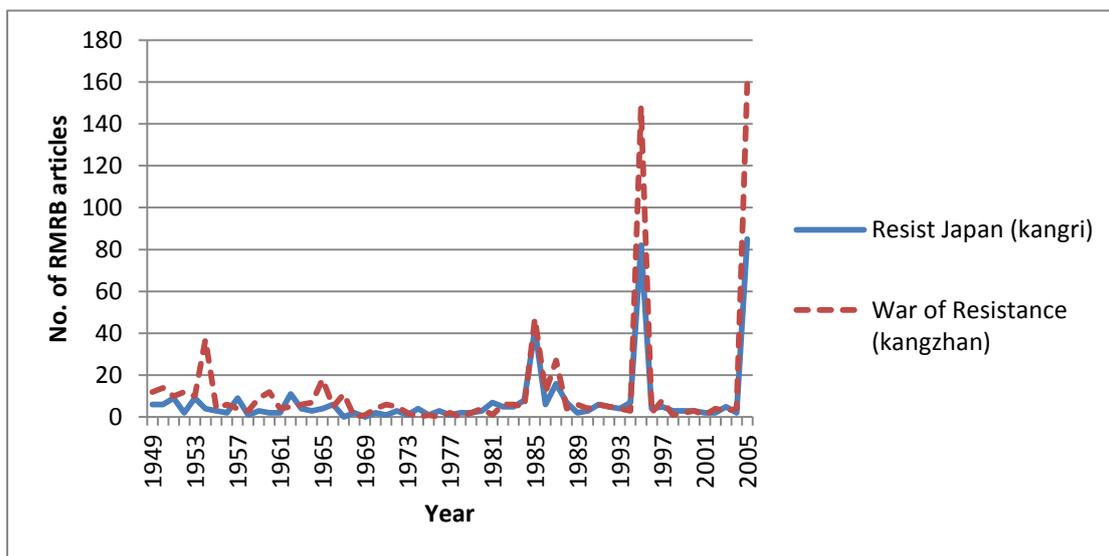


Figure 16. Annual total of *People's Daily* articles with headlines containing the words “resist Japan” or “War of Resistance” (1949–2005).

³¹ In modern day Chinese the character *kang* means severally “to resist” (n. & v.), “resistance” (n.) and “resisting” (present continuous tense). Therefore *kangri* can severally be translated as “resist Japan,” “resistance to Japan,” or “resisting Japan.” In the analysis below these terms are used interchangeably.

Notwithstanding this deficiency, the results in figure 16 provide a good first approximation, of the proportion of Japan-related content in the *People's Daily* which focuses on the Anti-Japanese War. The data indicates that prior to 1985, there was a dearth of articles specifically relating to *kangri* or *kangzhan*. Of those Mao era articles containing either of these two terms in the headline, praise is sometimes meted out to China's allies rather than to the Chinese themselves. In 1962, for example, nine out of eleven articles relating to *kangri* are actually praising North Korean wartime resistance to Japan. This statistic, coupled with evidence of a concurrent sharp rise in the construction of Chinese monuments to the aforesaid Korean wartime resistance (i.e. in 1962), provides our first demonstration of the use of this conflict as a political tool.³² The Chinese Communists' idea here was to buttress relations with a key Communist ally (North Korea) in the immediate aftermath of the Sino-Soviet split, by lavishing fulsome praise on the North Koreans' joint wartime resistance to Japan between the years 1931–45. This use of the Anti-Japanese War as a tool for achieving immediate CCP political objectives, forms an important part of the analysis in this chapter, to which we will return presently.

The data in figure 16 suggests that prior to 1985, the *People's Daily* published few articles commemorating the war in terms of “resisting Japan” or a “War of Resistance.” This however, is at variance with the findings in chapter one, which show that throughout the course of the Mao era (e.g. in 1951–52, 1960, 1965) the PRC did commemorate the defeat of Japan, and that the *People's Daily* published articles celebrating that fact. The reasons for the low prevalence of Mao era articles entitled “resisting Japan” or “War of Resistance against Japan” vary depending on the specific year. For example, in 1951–52 articles in the press commemorating the war were published only in the days immediately surrounding the Japanese defeat and formal surrender (i.e. August 15, September 2). In 1960, as shown in table one (see chap. 1, p. 37), celebrations focused on north-east China as opposed to the whole country and therefore coverage was again relatively limited. In 1965 however, the

³² For evidence that the Chinese praised North Korean wartime resistance to the Japanese for political reasons, see: MFA doc. #106-00763-03.

People's Daily was instructed to commemorate the War of Resistance against Japan throughout the month of August (see chap. 1, p. 41), yet the data in figure 16 fails to reflect this. One possible reason for this is simply that at this time (1965) the war was not presented in terms of *resistance* to the Japanese. A second more likely reason is that as discussed below, in 1965 World War Two was presented more in terms of bolstering support for Lin Biao and Mao Zedong, than in terms of resistance to a Japanese enemy. In short, the data in figure 16 is not intended to deny the existence of Mao era state media commemoration of the war, but rather to highlight the change in the way that the conflict was presented during the reform era.

In this respect, the year 1985 acts as something of a watershed, since from this year onwards, decennial anniversaries of Japan's defeat in World War Two are marked by a sharp rise in pieces about "resisting Japan" (*kangri*) climbing from 42 articles in 1985 to 82 and 85 articles in 1995 and 2005 respectively (see fig. 16). One reason for this accentuation of decennial anniversaries (starting in 1985) stems from the great emphasis which the Chinese place on commemorations involving multiples of 10.³³ Another reason is that written Mandarin frequently employs numerical symbolism using the number 10, or multiples of 10 (for example in the recent "10 wants, 10 not wants" (*shi yao shi buyao*) political campaign).

The rapid climb in the appearance of *People's Daily* articles about resisting Japan, is mirrored by a sharp increase in the number of news stories devoted to the War of Resistance in the same years. Whereas prior to 1985 over 90 percent of articles containing *kangzhan* in the headline discussed either the Korean or Vietnam conflicts, after 1985, the proportion was almost exactly reversed, with over 90 percent of such articles referring to the 1931–45 fighting against imperial Japan. Placing the data relating to occurrences of *kangri* and *kangzhan* together, indicates a renewed focus on the Anti-Japanese War after 1985, especially during the decennial anniversaries of the Japanese defeat. Rana Mitter contends that in response to reform era problems of rising inequality, inflation and unemployment, the CCP's "answer [was] to foster a

³³ Whiting, *Chinese Domestic Politics*, 16.

new nationalism, inclusive of all Chinese, regardless of party affiliation and, more controversially, nationality, by finding a common enemy to oppose.”³⁴ That enemy was “Japan,” hence the new focus on decennial anniversaries of the war. A final point to consider here is that for the three years showing a spike in the number of *People’s Daily* articles headlined *kangri* or *kangzhan* (i.e. 1985, 1995 and 2005), is that they are highly concentrated within a relatively short timeframe of several months.

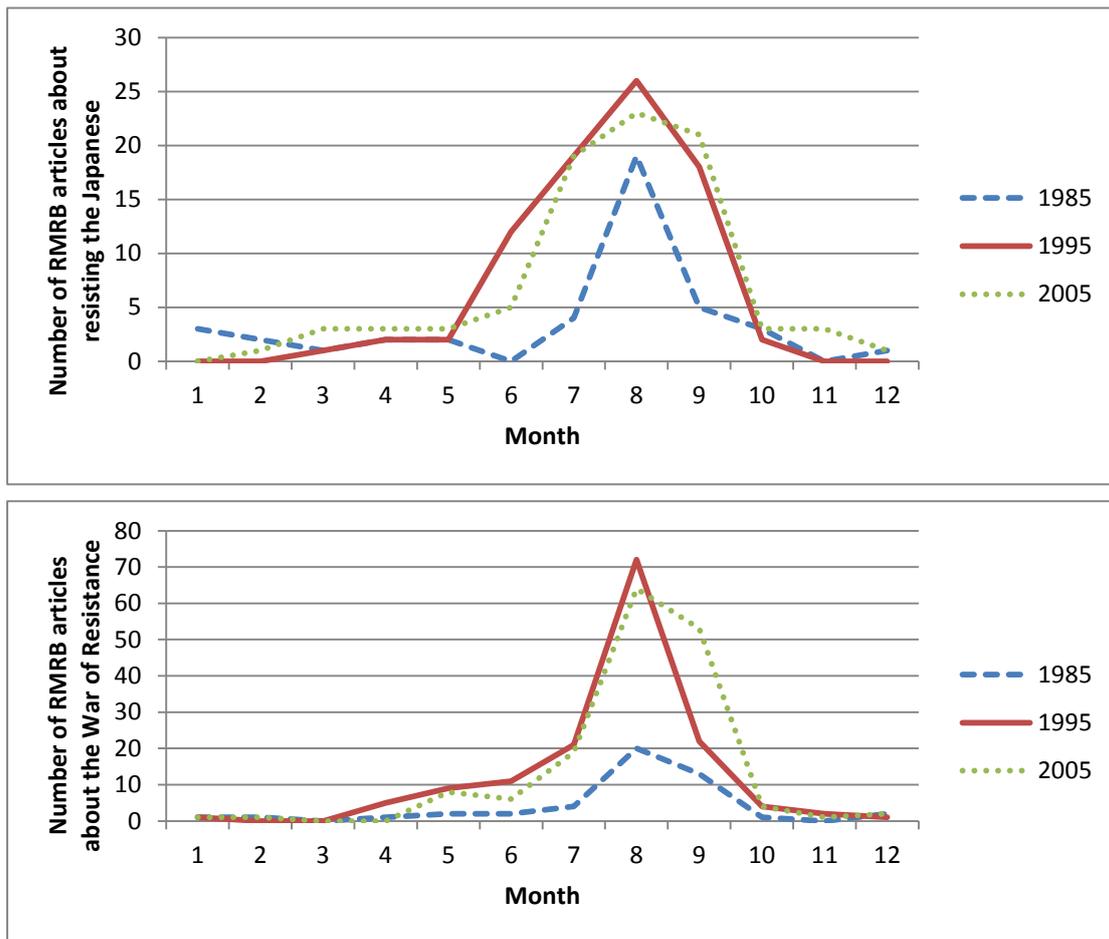


Figure 17. Monthly totals of *People’s Daily* articles entitled “resisting the Japanese” (top) or “War of Resistance” (bottom) (selected years).

Figure 17 graphically demonstrates this concentration of articles during the years selected (1985, 1995, 2005). The data shows that the number of articles criticising Japan and its wartime conduct rise sharply during June and July before peaking in August, the anniversary of the Japanese defeat on August 15, 1945. The total number

³⁴ Mitter, “Old Ghosts, New Memories,” 120.

of *kangri* and *kangzhan* articles remains high through September, the anniversary of the formal Japanese surrender on September 2, 1945 and then drops quickly with almost no articles about the war during the final months of the year.

Up to this point then, the picture we have is one of a widely varying amount of commentary on Japan in the *People's Daily*, both in absolute and relative terms. However, if we assume that the number of articles on Japan in this paper reflects the intensity of interest of elite CCP cadres in that country, then ever since the founding of the PRC there has been strong interest in matters relating to Japan. Overlaid on top of this keen interest in reporting on Japan is, after 1985, concentrated reportage on “resisting Japan” and the “War of Resistance,” mostly during the decennial anniversaries of the Anti-Japanese War.

Comparing *People's Daily* reportage on the war with other Japan-related news

Armed with this overview, it is now possible to examine in more detail how newscasting on Japan (the country, its politics, people and culture) relates to coverage of the war. In order to achieve this, content analysis was carried out using all August editions of the *People's Daily* in every tenth year following end of World War Two (August 1955, August 1965, etc.). Decennial anniversaries were chosen for reasons described above, and the month of August was selected for analysis because the mainland Chinese “celebrate” the 1945 Japanese defeat on the fifteenth day of that month.

Firstly, data for the total number of Japan-related *People's Daily* articles (see table 9) shows a broadly rising trend, increasing from 35 articles in August 1955 (shortly after the Bandung conference in Indonesia, when China was promoting a policy of peaceful co-existence), to 112 articles in 2005 (a period of great tension between the two countries, culminating in serious anti-Japanese rioting across parts of mainland China). There are three inter-relating factors that are responsible for the increases: greater PRC contact with Japan (e.g. following normalisation in 1972); continued

interest in Japan by the CCPCC (who sponsor the paper); and a gradual increase in the number of pages per edition, meaning that more column space is available for articles on Japan.³⁵

Table 9. Attitudes of *People's Daily* articles on Japan for the month of August (selected years)

Number of RMRB articles published in August adopting an attitude towards Japan which is...	1955	1965	1975	1985	1995	2005
Favourable	10	14	17	11	5	2
Neutral	10	2	27	11	8	9
Unfavourable	15	65	3	70	124	101
Monthly totals	35	81	47	92	137	112

Secondly, in terms of attitude of reportage, with the exception of August 1975, all other years show high levels of negative *People's Daily* reporting on Japan.³⁶ In four of the years selected, 1965 and 1985–2005 inclusive, over three-quarters of all *People's Daily* articles about Japan published in August are either negative or extremely negative. In 1955 and 1975 there exist relatively higher levels of positive reportage, but even here in 1955 the positive articles are on very narrowly defined subjects, such as the JCP or the activities of friendship associations.

Thirdly, table 10 provides an indication of how normative media content on Japan has changed with time. In all years except 1975, there are substantial numbers of articles dealing with **Japanese politics** (ranging from 15 articles in 1955 to 45 articles in 2005). Such articles concentrate exclusively on problematic areas of the bilateral

³⁵ As an illustration of articles penned by CCPCC members, see: Liu Shaoqi, "Shaoqi tongzhi zaihuaibei zhanhou," RMRB, 15/8/65, 5.

³⁶ The classification used here draws heavily on Whiting, *Chinese Domestic Politics*, 29–30. A favourable article about Japan is one which would: support China in some way; discuss Japanese political or security issues in a way which enhances China's international standing; portray a Japanese individual, the Japanese government or certain Japanese groups or factions in a favourable way. A neutral article about Japan is one which would: express no preference or viewpoint on Japan; is neutral in tone and content; supplies figures or facts on Japan with no commentary. A negative article on Japan is one which would: criticise China, does not support China or portrays China in a negative light; discuss Japanese political or security issues in a way which lowers China's international standing.

relationship, such as Japanese soil being used as a staging post for American “imperial” forces in the Vietnam War (1965) and Japan trying to “peddle the idea of a China threat” (2005). Articles on **PRC domestic politics** generally record elite Chinese leaders attending Anti-Japanese War commemorations at museums, cemeteries and memorials. Similarly, **culture** related articles about Japan focus on museum exhibitions about the war, or republishing Anti-Japanese War songs, such as “Head for the enemy’s rear” (*Dao diren houfang qu*) by Qi Hai on August 14, 1965. Positive representations of Japanese food, art, design or other cultural phenomena are almost completely absent. Articles on **trade** peak in 1975, a time when China had virtually shut itself off from the outside world and needed international trade so as to generate foreign exchange and encourage inward investment. Numerous trade-related articles from the 1980s onwards urge Chinese manufacturers to learn from the Japanese, and to close the technology gap between the two countries.

Table 10. Content of *People’s Daily* articles on Japan for the month of August (selected years)

Total number of Japan-related RMRB articles published in August on...	1955	1965	1975	1985	1995	2005
Japanese business and trade	...	1	12	6	3	6
PRC domestic politics	5	11	14	12	17	14
JCP and JSP	7	2	...	...	...	...
Japanese foreign politics	15	16	9	15	16	45
History	1	26	...	37	70	23
Military	4	2	...	3	5	12
Culture	2	13	...	6	21	6
Education	...	...	2	3	5	1
Sport	...	...	5	3	...	5
Friendship associations	1	10	5	7	...	...
Monthly totals	35	81	47	92	137	112

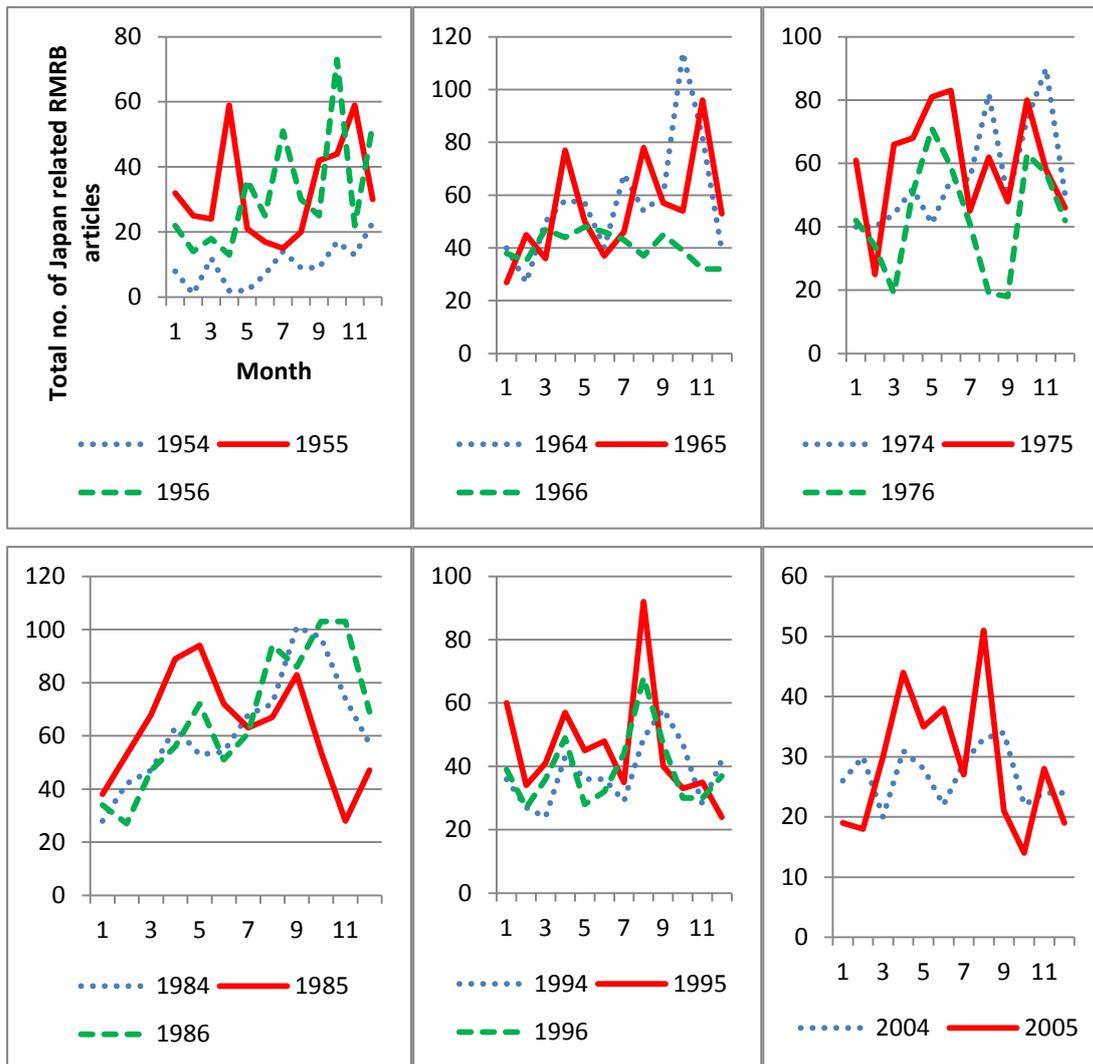


Figure 18. Monthly totals of Japan-related articles in the *People's Daily* 18 months prior to and 18 months following decennial anniversaries of the Japanese defeat. Data for 2006 is unavailable. In all six graphs the x-axis represents the month (1=January, 3=March, etc.), and the y-axis represents total number of Japan-related RMRB articles published during that month.

During the Mao era, the **JCP, the Japanese Socialist Party (JSP)** and assorted **friendship associations** acted as the main conduit for unofficial state-to-state ties between the PRC and Japan. Thus, these organisations were generally presented in a favourable light, with articles making frequent use of words such as *peace (heping)* and *friendly relations (youhao guanxi)*, indicating that the propaganda organs differentiated between the Japanese government, and those political parties which supported increased trade or normalisation of relations.³⁷ After normalisation, the need for these

³⁷ On Propaganda Department influence with respect to policymaking see: Anne-Marie Brady, 228

unofficial conduits lessened and they ceased to feature in *People's Daily* reportage. Finally, the number of articles on **military affairs** shows a steady increase in prominence in the years studied, reflecting PLA and governmental concern about the size of Japanese defence spending.

The main point to bring out from the data is that the picture painted of Japan is broadly negative, partly because of the attention paid to the war (even before 1985), and partly because of the relentless focus on Japanese politics. However, it might be argued that these August commemorations distort the way in which Japan is reported in the Chinese state-run press, by over-emphasising the attention paid to the 1931–45 conflict. There are two methods of controlling for this potential bias.

One, the total numbers of articles relating to Japan in the months and years falling either side of the decennial anniversaries, can be compared to the total number of articles relating to Japan during the anniversaries themselves, as shown in figure 18 above. Here *People's Daily Indices* are used to calculate the monthly totals of articles on Japan over a three year period, centring on each of the six decennial anniversaries after 1949 (1954–56, 1964–66, etc.). If Chinese news media commentary on Japan only focuses on the war, then reportage on Japan ought to significantly decline during the months and years where no such major anniversary of the war takes place. The six charts in figure 18 show data for both 18 months prior to and 18 months following the decennial anniversaries. The charts indicate that no such decline in coverage takes place, implying that overall reportage on Japan does not exclusively focus on that nation's defeat in World War Two. There is no need to explain the charts in detail, although it is worth mentioning that the sharp decline in the number of *People's Daily* articles on Japan in late summer 1976, for example, was caused by the need to increase space for blanket coverage of Chairman Mao's death.

Two, content analysis of the total number of articles relating to Japan in a specific month can be compared to the August data, in this case February—which is an ideal month for comparison because no major war commemoration takes place (see tables

“Regimenting the Public Mind: The Modernisation of Propaganda in the PRC,” in *Asian Futures, Asian Traditions*, ed. Edwina Palmer (Folkestone: Global Oriental, 2005), chap. 10.

11 and 12). The aim here is to compare February and August reportage on Japan, in order to test the extent to which data is skewed by the decennial anniversaries.

Table 11. Attitudes of *People's Daily* articles on Japan for the month of February (selected years)

Number of RMRB articles published						
in February adopting an attitude towards Japan which is...	1955	1965	1975	1985	1995	2005
Favourable	6	2	6	12	20	4
Neutral	13	10	14	16	14	8
Unfavourable	6	32	2	...	...	6
Monthly totals	25	44	22	28	34	18

Table 12. Content of *People's Daily* articles on Japan for the month of February (selected years)

Total number of Japan-related RMRB articles published in February on...						
	1955	1965	1975	1985	1995	2005
Japanese business and trade	3	2	4	16	18	7
PRC domestic politics	1	4	7	1	2	...
JCP and JSP	5	4	1	...	...	...
Japanese foreign politics	14	17	6	2	7	9
History	...	...	...	...	1	...
Military	...	14	...	1	...	1
Culture	2	3	...	3	3	1
Education	...	...	1	2	2	...
Sport	...	...	2	3	1	...
Friendship associations	...	...	1	1	...	...
Monthly totals	25	44	22	29	34	18

One obvious difference between the two sets of data (February and August) is that in February there appears to be a steadier flow of Japan-related reportage, with 25, 22 and 18 articles in 1955, 1975 and 2005 respectively. By comparison, in August

there appears to be a rising crescendo of commentary on Japan, which as noted above is mostly related to the war. Another major difference between coverage in the two months selected is that whereas in August the coverage is mostly negative, six months earlier it is mostly neutral. Table 11 shows that with the exception of 1965, where 32 out of 44 articles (73 percent) were negative, in other years the “undercurrent,” as it were, of negative articles was generally less than one-third of the total.³⁸ These figures imply that negative reportage on Japan is more concentrated during the months surrounding the decennial anniversaries of the Japanese defeat in World War Two (i.e. there is more negative reportage in August compared to February during the years selected).

Table 12 shows some similarities between the February and August reportage on Japan. In February of the years selected there was a growing interest in business and **trade** with time, rising from 3 articles in 1955 to 18 articles in 1995. This was accompanied by a strong and continuing interest in **Japanese foreign policy** (at least as reported in the *People’s Daily*). The data in table 12 also shows marked differences in emphasis, in that with the exception of 1965, February coverage of **history** (i.e. the war) and **Japanese military affairs** is largely absent.

In sum, the data strongly suggests that whilst the war and Chinese memory of that conflict frequently receive near blanket coverage during the run up to the anniversary of the August 15 defeat (especially after 1985), this trait does not extend to the whole year in which the anniversary falls. Put more simply, Chinese commentary on the war in the party press appears to be highly concentrated in the weeks and months immediately surrounding the main August 15 decennial anniversary.³⁹ A further important point to note is that the data also shows the existence of an undercurrent of negative reportage on Japan, which persists outside formal commemorations of that country’s wartime invasion of China, although further research is required to ascertain

³⁸ Numerous MFA documents attest to the deterioration in bilateral relations in 1965 after Sato Eisaku came to office on 9/11/64, for example see: MFA doc. #105-01409-01.

³⁹ The data showing frequency of occurrence of the terms *resist Japan* and *War of Resistance* in headlines (see figs. 16 and 17) reinforce this conclusion, in that the appearance of these two explicitly war related headlines is also concentrated in decennial (as opposed to quinquennial or annual) anniversaries of the Japanese defeat. See also n31.

the extent to which this is linked to contemporary events.

Contemporary political messages embedded within official media discourse on Japan

It is widely accepted that newspapers suppress or distort news such that “no newspaper can give the whole truth even if it wants to.”⁴⁰ The English (but not the Chinese) language scholarship on this subject is vast, and covers a wide range of views.⁴¹ At one end of the spectrum the function of newspapers is seen as being constrained within a wider set of social and political claims, which are themselves embedded within a dominant perspective (ideology) or historical context.⁴² At the other end of the spectrum “language is [seen as] an instrument of control as well as of communication...[such that newspaper readers are both] manipulated and informed, preferably manipulated while they suppose they are being informed.”⁴³

In avowed Communist states, the party press performs additional functions peculiar to these countries, such as conveying encrypted messages to unnamed political actors. It is therefore no surprise that Hu Qiaomu once averred that “news tools contain many layers of meaning, although superficially [all] news...can be thought of as education propaganda.”⁴⁴ So, on the one hand, all news contained in Chinese party newspapers can be seen as propaganda, educating the masses within a dominant ideological perspective. On the other hand, embedded within this news copy are deeper layers of meaning which transmit coded messages to high-ranking officials. As a result, senior cadres in China do not read the *People's Daily* in order to “find out what is going on in the world,” instead they read it precisely for these coded messages.⁴⁵

⁴⁰ Denys Thompson, *Between the Lines: Or, How to Read a Newspaper* (London: F. Muller, 1949), 22.

⁴¹ For an overview of this literature, see: Denis McQuail, *Media Performance: Mass Communication and the Public Interest* (London: Sage, 1992).

⁴² Martin Conboy, *The Language of Newspapers: Socio-Historical Perspectives* (London: Continuum, 2010), 7.

⁴³ Robert Hodge and Gunther R. Kress, *Language as Ideology* (London: Routledge, 1993), 6.

⁴⁴ HQM, 3:193. Hu's comment made in January 1955 still holds true today.

⁴⁵ Zagoria, *The Sino-Soviet Conflict*, pp. 24–33, 406n1; Ithiel de Sola Pool, *The Prestige Press: A*

Research on reading habits of Soviet newspapers—which as we have seen bear marked similarities to the contemporary Chinese press—shows that readers can be classified into two categories.⁴⁶ In the first group are “non-leaders” who read all passages, if they read an article at all. In the second group are “leaders” who skim most passages whilst reading others in detail. This latter group always omit the same parts of articles (suggesting that they know what they are omitting) and the decision to switch from skimming to close reading is based on content, not structure.⁴⁷

It is assumed that the examples of embedded messages below, drawn from decennial anniversaries of the war (1955, 1965, etc.), are intended for “leaders” rather than “non-leaders.” Whilst the content analysis described earlier in this chapter provides an overview of the number, attitude and content of commentary on Japan, the aim here is to drill down further into newspaper articles about the war using CDA. In the introduction to this chapter, I noted that there has been criticism of content analysis as a research tool in communications studies, because it is more effective at defining the limits of discourse (*what* is said) rather than *how* it is said. The analysis below uses CDA to unpack *how* implied meanings are inserted within selected news articles.

Table 13 shows that in both the *People’s Daily* and *Red Flag* editorials, commentaries and reportage about the war frequently weave other political messages into the text. In all of the articles studied there was a very deliberate attempt to link victory in the Anti-Japanese War with contemporary political issues. This plausibly suggests that, as with textbooks, Anti-Japanese War films and even war museums, over the past 60 years the war has proved a convenient vehicle for discussing politically contentious topics. An alternative interpretation is that a high proportion of articles in party newspapers and periodicals contain embedded messages. Three examples of policy objectives embedded into articles on the war are discussed below: bolstering Mao’s authority (1965), American bases in Vietnam (1965) and PLA support

Comparative Study of Political Symbols (Cambridge, MA: MIT Press, 1970).

⁴⁶ Rosmarie Rogers, *How Russians Read Their Press: Patterns of Selection in Pravda and Izvestia* (Cambridge, MA: Center for International Studies MIT, 1968), 2.

⁴⁷ *Ibid.*

for the CCP (1995).

Table 13. Embedded political messages in *People's Daily* and *Red Flag* articles on Japan

Date	Implied political message
August 1955	Oppose U.S. imperialism, oppose U.S. involvement in Korea, oppose U.S. bases in Japan, China is a legitimate state, China is a strong state
August 1965	Bolster Chairman Mao's authority within the CCP, oppose U.S. use of Japan as a logistics base for the Vietnam War, China is the leading socialist power
August 1975	Oppose Soviet Union imperialism, oppose Soviet hegemonic tendencies in the Kuril islands dispute with Japan
August 1985	Support the GMD, promote the history of joint CCP-GMD resistance to the Japanese in the war, China is both a victor and a victim of previous Japanese aggression
August 1995	Japan does not correctly interpret history, Japan should transfer more aid and technology to China, the PLA does not support the CCP strongly enough
August 2005	Japan is a resurgent militarist power, China is not a threat to the world or to Japan, it is Japan that is the threat

In the tenth edition of *Red Flag* (1965), the defence minister Lin Biao wrote an article entitled “May the people’s victory in the war last 10,000 years” (*Renmin zhanzheng shengli wansui*), arguing that the Chinese won the war against the Japanese only because of the party and Mao’s outstanding leadership.⁴⁸ Lin’s article compared the history of the Anti-Japanese War with contemporary American actions in Asia, by arguing that American imperialism was “repeating the scale of Japanese imperialism in China and Asia.” In other words, if the United States decided to invade the PRC from Vietnam (where American forces were embroiled in a war against the Vietnamese Communists), then history would repeat itself.

This article was useful to Lin Biao, not only as a smokescreen for pushing his own agenda but also for buttressing his political master Mao Zedong. The former was accomplished by Lin aligning himself to Mao politically, with the aim of increasing

⁴⁸ Lin Biao, *Hongqi* 10 (1965): 21.

the day-to-day influence of the PLA in affairs of state. The latter was achieved by emphasising the (true) myth that Mao's military strategy had withstood the test of time, because it could be put to use again in 1965 should the United States decide to invade China. Lin's article also hinted at future political campaigns, by asserting that "we are now making preparations for the next stage of the revolution," which was possibly an allusion to the forthcoming Cultural Revolution.⁴⁹

A second embedded political message linked to the Anti-Japanese War was that of American bases in Japan, a problem which riles the PRC leadership to this day. In the following quote made on August 15, 1965, a *People's Daily* editorial entitled "The great victory of the Chinese people in the War of Resistance against Japan" (*Zhongguo renmin kangri zhanzhengde weida shengli*) concentrates on the Anti-Japanese War, but concludes by noting:

Under the direction of the CCP and Chairman Mao, today 650 million Chinese people have grown and developed so as to build a socialist country...[which engages in] unremitting struggle against American imperialist invasion in order to secure peace for the world...American hegemony in Japan and Taiwan, and using [these states] as a base for the Vietnam War is the biggest threat to stability in the region.⁵⁰

In other words an article which was ostensibly about Japan, used its conclusion to appeal for the United States to stop encircling the PRC with bases (which at the time were being used as a launch pad from which to wage war in Vietnam). Thus whilst Chinese propagandists appeared to be stuck in a time warp criticising Japan about the war, Japan had in fact decided to move on, in order to help the so-called American imperialists engage in another conflict. This editorial suggests that Chinese foreign policy did not exist in a vacuum and that China was in fact very worried about the containment policy being put into practice on its periphery.⁵¹ These first two examples demonstrate that the state press was using memory of the war to concurrently promote multiple policy objectives (bolstering support for Mao and denigrating the role of the

⁴⁹ Ibid.

⁵⁰ RMRB, 15/8/65, 2.

⁵¹ On U.S. containment, see: John Lewis Gaddis, *Strategies of Containment: A Critical Appraisal of Postwar American National Security Policy* (New York, NY: Oxford University Press, 1982), 22–23.

United States in Vietnam).

A third issue embedded in Anti-Japanese War rhetoric was that of control over the army. This can be seen from the *People's Daily* editorial on Army Day, August 1, 1995, which noted that whilst the army and the party jointly won the war, the party comes *first*, suggesting that CCP Chairman Jiang Zemin was having problems asserting his authority over the PLA:

During the War of Resistance against Japan the CCP and its leaders were the mainstay of the people and the army...Patriotism is the essence and a source of strength for the Chinese people. [Conversely,] if you are backward you will be beaten. [There is a] need to strengthen the construction of party-army relations, and to support the absolute control of the army by the party. At all times, [the army] should resolutely protect the rights of the third generation leaders with Jiang Zemin at the core.⁵²

Mao and Deng both had problems in controlling the PLA despite the fact that they were both former military commanders.⁵³ So it should come as no surprise that Jiang Zemin, as a mere third generation leader with no personal combat experience, should experience difficulties in directing the armed forces. In the three short examples just discussed the embedded messages are written in national newspapers and periodicals. However, regional newspapers send coded messages just as clearly, and it is to these that we now turn.

Regional papers

Elite leaders are usually based in a nation's capital and it is not automatic that their views on a particular subject will be transmitted to people in the provinces. National politicians in Beijing face this very same problem. Indeed, after the founding of the PRC they foresaw a need for regional papers which would reach the masses, who mostly lived outside the capital and the big cities. As early as 1950, Hu Qiaomu

⁵² RMRB, 1/8/95, 3.

⁵³ Allen S. Whiting, "Chinese Nationalism and Foreign Policy After Deng," *China Quarterly* 142 (June 1995): 295–316.

lamented that far more local papers were needed in order to achieve this goal.⁵⁴ It is not necessary here to discuss the chronological development of the regional newspaper industry, suffice to say that there was rapid growth in the number of non-national newspapers, both during the 1950s and then again during the reform era.⁵⁵ This increase provided a robust platform from which to transmit the party's message on Japan. The sociologist Herbert Gans argues that in any country "if media has geographic diversity then it should have different content," and the analysis below confirms this.⁵⁶ However, there exists considerable debate between those who argue that the Chinese regional press has no independence and those who maintain the opposite. It is therefore necessary to expound these opposing viewpoints before moving on to compare and contrast, regional and national coverage of Japan.

Starting with those who contend that the regional party press does what it is told. One editor-in-chief of a national Chinese newspaper interviewed avers that, in China, senior media executives of both party and commercial papers have *always* been given precise instructions on what is permissible commentary on Japan. The propaganda bureau accomplishes this "by laying down 'red lines' on Japan-related issues, that is, boundaries which cannot be crossed under any circumstances."⁵⁷ The editor continued that in addition to these so-called red lines (which limit geographic diversity), there exist other more subtle forms of controlling the press, such as self-censorship by journalists and "higher-level guidance" from elite politicians. The former applies to all journalism, and not just in China, in that if journalists want to keep their jobs and be promoted, then they need to exercise some form of self-censorship.⁵⁸ The latter only applies to topics of extreme sensitivity, such as party corruption or Japanese politics. A

⁵⁴ HQM, 1:324.

⁵⁵ Cheek, *Propaganda and Culture in Mao's China*, 143. By 1954 there were 258 domestic newspapers at or above the prefecture level. See also: Deng Tuo, *Deng tuo wenji* (Beijing: Beijing chubanshe, 1986), 1:323-42; Shirk, *Changing Media, Changing China*, 9n24. By 2005 there were more than 2,000 domestic Chinese newspapers.

⁵⁶ Herbert J. Gans, *Deciding What's News: A Study of CBS Evening News, NBC Nightly News, "Newsweek" and "Time"* (London: Constable, 1980), 48-51.

⁵⁷ Interview with deputy editor-in-chief, Chinese national newspaper, Beijing, 11/1/11.

⁵⁸ David L. Paletz and Robert M. Entman, *Media, Power, Politics* (New York, NY: Free Press, 1981), 215. Paletz and Entman argue that similar forms of self-censorship by journalists, coupled with matching forms of editorial supervision across the western media, accounts for the herd mentality of the press which, regardless of the paper, tends to cover the same foreign events in a similar style.

second senior media source explains the current policy:

Natural disasters are now “open” unlike before, but the Diaoyu islands crisis would definitely fall into the sensitive category. Self-censorship by journalists is a completely different issue, which covers more how one should do one’s job and the morals of being a journalist. XHS reports until given higher-level guidance, as befits its role as the premier purveyor of news in China. All papers, even local ones, are required to use XHS copy if they choose to report on an issue for which higher-level guidance is sought. However, there is now no compulsion for any paper to use XHS copy, so a commercial newspaper could also choose not to report an event for which higher-level guidance has been sought. However, on these sensitive issues, if they decide to print, they are not permitted to change a single character of the XHS copy.⁵⁹

These two interviews seemingly contrast with secondary scholarship on regional newspapers, which argues that the provincial media has some latitude in reporting sensitive issues. For example, the Sinologist Daniel Lynch posits that party management of print media has always been decentralised, and therefore even during the Mao era oversight of regional papers was devolved to territorial party committees. Then, starting in the 1980s administrative decentralisation at all levels of government allowed local media a high degree of autonomy on all issues.⁶⁰ This assertion is supported by the political scientist Susan Shirk, who states that the regional commercial media are increasingly attempting to circumvent controls on using XHS content on “hot-button” topics such as Japan. They attempt to do this by either plagiarising foreign news or by relying on interviews.⁶¹ Guoguang Wu (himself a former deputy editor at the *People’s Daily*) concurs that whilst an article written by politburo members or their private staff cannot be changed before its release, if an editor vehemently disagrees with its style or content, he will occasionally express his disapproval by delaying publication.⁶²

On the one-hand, media figures in Beijing argue that there is little or no scope for regional creativity in reportage on Japan, especially with respect to news where higher-level guidance is required. On the other hand, scholars such as Susan Shirk

⁵⁹ Interview with the head of new media at XHS, Beijing, 30/11/10.

⁶⁰ Lynch, *After the Propaganda State*, 34. Lynch argues that inadequate oversight of the provincial print media also stems from the relative weakness of the organs tasked with monitoring the press.

⁶¹ Shirk, *Changing Media, Changing China*, 226.

⁶² Wu, “Command Communication,” 209.

contend that the overseas news output of party papers is increasingly at variance with their commercial competitors. One means of testing whether regional Chinese copy on Japan mirrors content in the *People's Daily* is to conduct content analysis. Unfortunately, many provincial papers (especially commercial ones) suffer from incomplete runs and almost none are available as electronically searchable databases. For this reason, the analysis below concentrates on official party newspapers, for which regional editions are much more widely available. Rather than examining named newspapers in detail, the idea here is to provide an empirically-based selection of different types of articles, which permits a more nuanced understanding of the way in which the regional party press presents news about Japan.

Mao era regional newspapers

During the Mao era most regional papers carried little news about events in Japan or Sino-Japanese relations. Reportage on Japanese elections or negotiations pertaining to bilateral fishing agreements, for instance, might receive extensive coverage in the *People's Daily* but often no space whatsoever in a provincial newspaper. One area of conformity between Mao era national and regional newspapers though, was that on occasion they were both instructed to reprint keynote policy speeches relating to Japan.⁶³ Classified (*neibu*) propaganda directives also gave precise instructions to *all* papers, detailing which articles they had to publish on certain dates, such as wartime commemorations of the Japanese defeat.⁶⁴

Figure 19 shows an example of an event where papers across the country all published the same article on the same date, in this case celebrating the twenty-fifth anniversary of the Japanese surrender in World War Two. Here a joint editorial on September 3, 1970 by the *People's Daily* and the *PLA Daily* entitled, “Smash the resurgence of Japanese militarism” (*Dadao fuohuode riben junguozhuyi*) is reprinted

⁶³ For example see: MFA doc. #117-00785-01, 3.

⁶⁴ XCGZ, 4:401.

word-for-word in all party newspapers.⁶⁵ The format of the article, the paragraph sub-headings and even the punctuation are identical in papers printed thousands of miles apart, including the *Beijing Daily*, the *Chongqing Daily* and the *Harbin Daily*. Even the formatting of the papers is similar, in that the editorial is placed below the same quotation from Mao Zedong, “Peoples of the world unite, smash the American invaders and all their running dogs,” where running dogs, of course, refers to the Japanese.

Another area of conformity between national and provincial newspapers in reporting on Japan relates to censorship. This might seem rather an odd assertion to make, but provincial archives contain countless examples of visits by Japanese delegations and important personages, which are reported neither in the national nor the local press. One reason visits by Japanese dignitaries went unreported is that they did not always run smoothly. For example, during visits to Chongqing in the 1950s there was local hostility towards Japanese guests, which manifested itself in the form of: children throwing rocks at passing cavalcades, concerns that visiting Japanese who asked too many questions were in fact intelligence agents, and embarrassment at poor organisation (when cadres forgot to meet an arriving Japanese delegation at Chongqing railway station, for instance).⁶⁶

A second plausible reason for failing to report the occurrence of Mao era Japanese visits to China—both nationally and locally—relates to sensitivities over the war. Again, using Chongqing as an example, on several visits to the city Japanese politicians formally apologised for their country’s wartime actions, which ought to have been front-page news all over China, especially (as in one case) the speaker was the leading LDP member Kuno Tadashi. During a September 1964 visit to the city he said, “Twenty years ago Japan invaded China and caused absolute havoc there. We are very sorry to China [sic].”⁶⁷ However, such contrition coming from a Japanese

⁶⁵ Only the papers shown in fig. 19 were checked for conformity with the RMRB/PLA *Daily* editorial. Therefore a much more extensive examination of regional newspapers would be required to prove this point. However, the fact that party papers in three different parts of the country (Beijing, Chongqing, Harbin) carry the editorial unchanged, strongly suggests that other party papers did likewise.

⁶⁶ See: Chongqing (hereafter CHQ) doc. #1056-1-103, 153.

⁶⁷ CHQ doc. # 1065-1-204, 110.



Figure 19. Identical coverage of the anniversary of the Japanese surrender on 3/9/70 (selected newspapers). Clockwise from top right: *People's Daily*, *Chongqing Daily*, *Harbin Daily*, *Beijing Daily*.

politician, did not accord with the official Chinese desire to paint the Japanese governing class as unrepentant militarists and a nascent threat. The apology was therefore suppressed and never printed in any Chinese newspaper.⁶⁸

Reform era coverage of Japan in the provinces

Provincial coverage of Japan-related news in the reform era (1978-present) shows much continuity with that of the Mao era. For example, most regional copy on Japan reprints national news without alteration, such as coverage of Emperor Akihito's visit in 1992 or the dispute over the Diaoyu islands in 2012. So in this respect, since the start of the reform era in 1978, most of the country has continued to read what national rather than local newspaper editors think about Japan.

However, post-1978 national and local reportage on Japan differs in three main respects. One, commercial newspapers (which reappeared for the first time since the early 1950s, after newspapers were permitted to sell advertisements in 1979) have continually sought to push the boundaries of what can and cannot be said on Japan, with increasing success.⁶⁹ Commercial Chinese papers sell news for profit, and so they have a vested interest in promoting their own viewpoint on issues such as Sino-Japanese relations, because this will help them to sell more papers and therefore increase revenue.⁷⁰ Two, increasing interaction between Japanese and Chinese people at the provincial level (party, government, trade, etc.), has been accompanied by a rise in the number of articles detailing bilateral trade visits in the regional press.⁷¹ These articles are often short, noting nothing more than the dates of the visit, the people

⁶⁸ Ibid., 98–110. This document explains the rationale of the municipal government's suppression of the apology.

⁶⁹ For a detailed study of the differences between party and commercial paper coverage see: Daniela Stockmann, "What Kind of Information does the Public Demand? Getting the News During the 2005 Anti-Japanese Protests," in *Changing Media, Changing China*, ed. Susan L. Shirk (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2011), chap. 8.

⁷⁰ Reilly, *Strong Society, Smart State*, 33.

⁷¹ Wang Xincheng, *Riben jianshi*, 2.

involved, the industry and the size of the potential deals discussed.⁷²

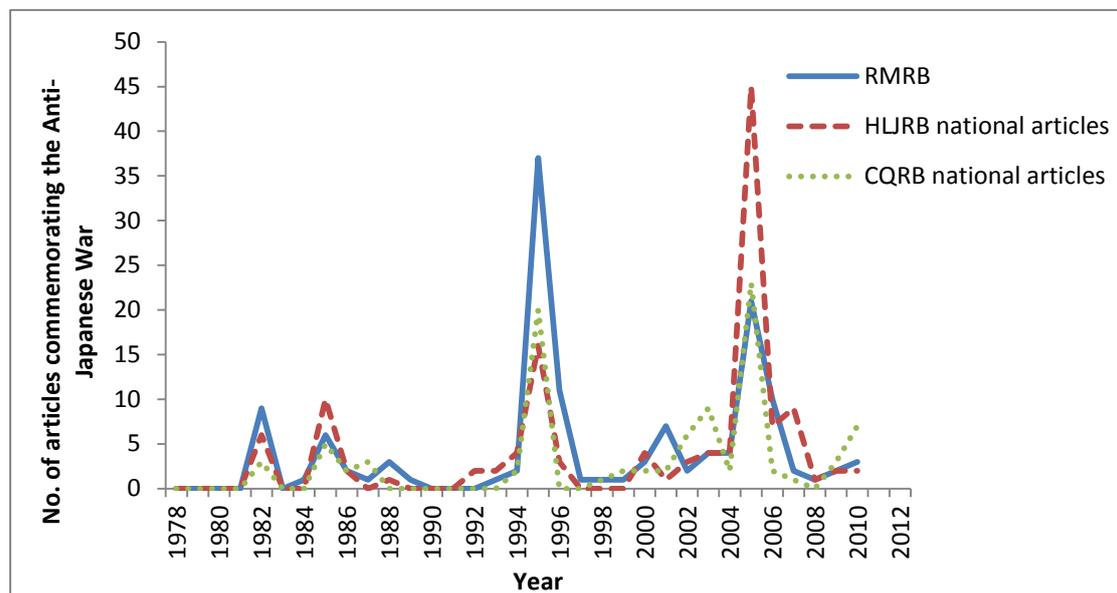


Figure 20. Reform era coverage of the Anti-Japanese War in selected newspapers (15–16 August, national events only).

Three, reform era commemoration of the Anti-Japanese War—a subject which my research argues plays a major part in defining the way in which the Chinese state has chosen to represent Japan since 1949—shows subtle regional variations. Figure 20 shows war reportage in three newspapers for every year of the reform era from the years 1978–2010 inclusive: the *People’s Daily*, the *Heilongjiang Daily* and the *Chongqing Daily*.⁷³ I selected the *Heilongjiang Daily* both because its geographical area of coverage (Heilongjiang Province) was a region where the CCP was active during the war, and also because during the reform era the Unit 731 museum near Harbin became a centre of national war memory (see chap. 2). The *Chongqing Daily* was selected for the opposite reason, namely that from 1938 onwards the city was the Nationalist capital, from which Jiang Jieshi directed much of the war effort until the Japanese defeat in 1945. Articles from regional newspapers published in areas where the CCP and the GMD were active in the war (the *Heilongjiang Daily* and the

⁷² On trade policy during the reform era, see: Lee, *China and Japan*.

⁷³ Articles dated after 2010 are not included in the analysis because the most recent print holdings of Chinese newspapers (2011–12) have been withdrawn from library stacks for binding.

Chongqing Daily), are then compared to those from a national paper (the *People's Daily*). Data in figure 20 is provided for two dates annually, the fifteenth and sixteenth of August. These dates have been selected, so as to capture both news articles relating to the anniversary of the Japanese defeat on August 15 itself (recounting details of battles fought against the Japanese invaders for example), as well as reportage of commemoration events that took place on August 15 published the following day (such as visits of national leaders to war museums).

The data in figure 20 shows that first, after 1978 coverage of the anniversary is frequently more extensive in Beijing than in either Heilongjiang or Chongqing. Assuming that the number of articles about the conflict and its commemoration accurately reflects the leadership's interest in the subject, the data suggests that the national leadership is generally more focused on remembering the war than party committees in either Harbin or Chongqing.

Secondly, the majority of articles published by regional papers relating to the war and the history problem, seem to fall into two distinct categories. One main category reprints news pieces from the XHS and the *People's Daily*. Major policy speeches by national Chinese leaders on Japan and condemnations of visits to the Yasukuni shrine all fall into this class. The other main category concerns articles originally published in the national press which merely commemorate the war, such as those writing about the Hiroshima and Nagasaki atomic bomb blasts. These appear to be used selectively by the regional press as "filler" articles. Use of these filler pieces varies considerably between regional papers, indicating that no specific instructions are issued from Beijing as to precisely which filler articles should be published outside the capital on which date.

Thirdly, in all papers examined the volume of coverage relating to the August 15 anniversary appears to reflect a complex range of contemporary, national, domestic political considerations. For the conjecture that the volume of post-1978 war memory reportage in the Chinese state press reflects the contemporary state of Sino-Japanese relations to be true, then during periods of bilateral amity Chinese media criticism of Japan's wartime actions ought to be relatively subdued. Conversely, during periods of

bilateral discord the volume of articles attacking Japan's war record ought to rise. This is in fact exactly what happens, and coverage of the war anniversary in both national and provincial newspapers can be used as a barometer for the state of Sino-Japanese relations, with the caveat that from 1985 onwards, commemoration of decennial anniversaries of the Japanese defeat is especially prominent in all party papers.⁷⁴

During periods of friendly bilateral relations—such as during the immediate aftermath of the signing of the Peace Treaty in 1978, and during the early 1990s when the PRC was largely ostracised by the international community as a result of the 1989 Tiananmen Square incident—criticism of Japan's war record was extremely muted. As a result, between the years 1978–81 and 1990–91 there were no articles published about the anniversary of the Japanese defeat in any of the three papers examined. Conversely, during periods of bilateral discord (such as the 2001–06 premiership of Koizumi Junichiro), the frequency with which articles criticising Japan's war record appear rises sharply. The evidence certainly allows the generation of a tentative hypothesis, that the frequency of criticisms of Japan's war record on major anniversaries (e.g. on August 15), in both provincial and national newspapers, provides an approximate gauge of the current state of Sino-Japanese relations. Chinese party newspapers are especially efficacious at providing such a gauge, because they have always been required to act quickly and sensitively, to even the slightest fluctuations in political direction on issues such as Japan.⁷⁵

Finally, the data can also be used in order to examine how the local party press presents the wartime fight against Japan in their locality. The data in figure 21 suggests that articles relating to the war from a local perspective are largely missing from normative discourse on the Anti-Japanese War. For instance, on anniversaries of the Japanese defeat the *Heilongjiang Daily* largely ignores the former Japanese CBW camp Unit 731, located near the provincial capital Harbin. This is despite the fact that

⁷⁴ Admittedly the warmth of bilateral relations is entirely subjective. Ming Wan, for example, circumnavigates this problem by producing her own charts of “better” and “worse” Sino-Japanese relations, based on the frequency of bilateral visits, the level of those visits and so on. See: Wan, *Sino-Japanese Relations*, 19–20.

⁷⁵ Redl and Simons, “One Channel, Two Systems,” 18.

Unit 731 was made a national patriotic education site in 1982 and was opened to the public in 1985.⁷⁶ During the reform era, the total number of *Heilongjiang Daily* articles published on August 15–16 relating to the Anti-Japanese War (128 articles), outnumbers the number of pieces published on the war as it was fought in north-east China (32 articles), by a ratio of four-to-one. Put differently, since 1978, on the anniversary of the Japanese defeat, there has been less than one article per year reflecting on the fighting in Heilongjiang Province, and less than one article every two years on Unit 731. This reinforces the findings in chapter two that the Heilongjiang CCP territorial committee (which publishes the *Heilongjiang Daily*) wishes to avoid drawing attention to Unit 731, preferring to promote the province as an investment and tourist destination instead.

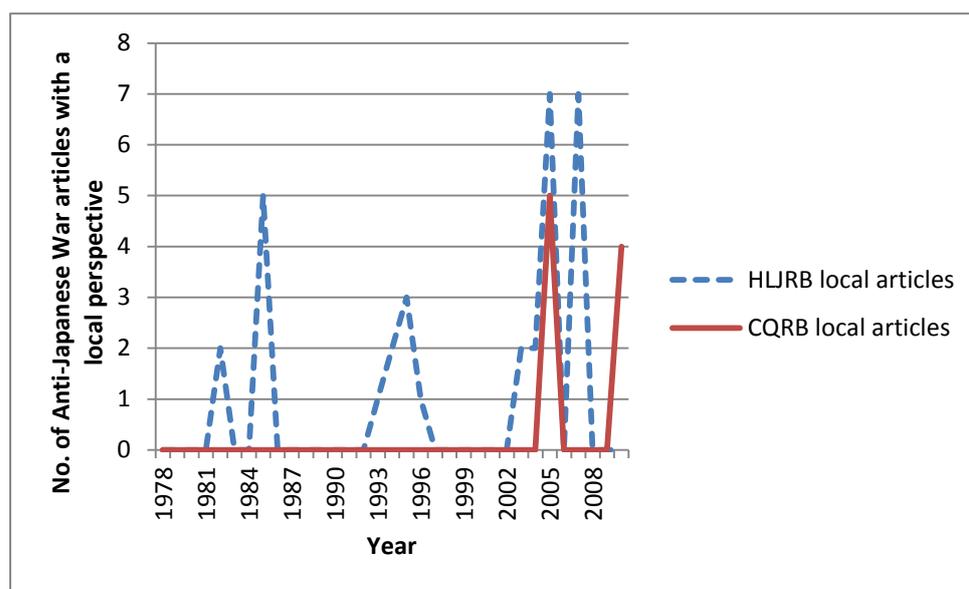


Figure 21. Reform era coverage of the Anti-Japanese War in the *Heilongjiang Daily* and the *Chongqing Daily* (15–16 August, local events only).

This pattern of downplaying the war as it was fought locally is repeated in the *Chongqing Daily*. Figure 20 shows that on the dates selected there is a strong correlation in the volume of state-wide reportage relating to the war in the *People's Daily* and the *Chongqing Daily*. This suggests that during the reform era, provincial

⁷⁶ See chap. 2.

party papers have tended to follow the lead of national papers in their reportage of remembering the war.

However, coverage of the city's role in fighting the Japanese is much more sporadic, in that not a single article on the subject appears in the *Chongqing Daily* until 2005 (see fig. 21).⁷⁷ Instead, the *Chongqing Daily* commemorates the anniversary of the war every year with articles highlighting the CCP's contribution to defeating the Japanese. This supports my argument in chapter one that the Chinese Communists have reluctantly and belatedly admitted the Nationalists' contribution to defeating the Japanese. Between the years 1978–2010, on August 15–16 the *Chongqing Daily* published ninety-five articles on Communist wartime resistance, of which only nine related to the war as seen from Chongqing, and only two of those nine news pieces even mention the GMD.⁷⁸ This means that articles highlighting the CCP's contribution to beating the Japanese outnumbered those on the GMD's contribution by a ratio of nearly fifty-to-one! These nine articles were all published to coincide with the sixtieth and sixty-fifth anniversaries of the Japanese defeat (in 2005 and 2010).

Examining just one of these nine articles about memory of the war provides insights on how the CCP views the GMD. Like so many of the textbooks, films and newspapers examined in this study, superficially the 2005 article described below is about Japan and the war, but surface and reality differ, in that the real intention of the article is to deliver a blistering attack on the Nationalists. The article in question is an editorial from the August 15, 2005 edition of the *Chongqing Daily* (see fig. 22). This was the very first article to be published in the Chongqing party's newspaper to admit that the city played a major role in fighting the Japanese, "The contribution of Chongqing in the history of the Chinese people's War of Resistance against the Japanese" (*Chongqing dui zhongguo renmin kangri zhanzhengde lishi gongxian*). The

⁷⁷ By which I take to mean the role of Jiang Jieshi and his Nationalist government, who for most of the war were based in Chongqing, as well as the city's residents.

⁷⁸ Chongqing was not actually occupied by the Japanese, but was subject to intense aerial bombardment by the enemy. On the changing historiography of the war in Chongqing, see: Rana Mitter, "Research Note Changed by War: The Changing Historiography Of Wartime China and New Interpretations Of Modern Chinese History," *Chinese Historical Review* 17, no. 1 (2010): 85–95.



Figure 22. *Chongqing Daily* editorial showing how the CCP's version of the war in Chongqing dominates the Nationalist one (15/8/05 edition, p. 3). Note how the article on the war as seen from Chongqing at the bottom of the page is completely dominated by the article above it, which vilifies the Nationalists and emphasises how the CCP won the war.

article never mentions Jiang Jieshi and only passingly refers to the Nationalists, in the context of joint CCP-GMD resistance. It highlights the fact that Chongqing was China's wartime capital as well as the point that its residents had to endure frequent Japanese air raids, yet it hardly acknowledges that the Nationalists were based there. Instead, the editorial devotes more space to the circumstances that led the CCP to locate its wartime southern headquarters (*zhonggong zhongyang nanfang ju*) in Chongqing, and how since the war, Chongqing has thrived under Communist tutelage. In short, 60 years after the Japanese defeat, the reluctant admission that the *city* of Chongqing played a role in World War Two, does not equate to lavishing praise on the leader who made his wartime capital there, namely Jiang Jieshi.

Imagery of Japan in Chinese newspapers

It is fitting that the final part of this chapter should focus on images of Japan in Chinese newspapers, because the power of images is such that they can be used for very tangible purposes, even “handling roles that society no longer [handles] by itself,” such as certain religious functions for instance.⁷⁹ Many scholars have noted the importance of imagery, including Roland Barthes, who posits that “pictures...are more imperative than writing, they impose meaning at a stroke, without analysing or diluting it.”⁸⁰ Before examining examples of images accompanying copy on Japan drawn from Chinese newspapers, two points of clarification are necessary. First, images can either be denotative or connotative. Stuart Hall argues that cultural “codes of denotation are precise, literal [and] unambiguous.”⁸¹ This means that a photograph of a Japanese flag, for example, is readily identified as such and cannot be confused with say a rifle or a tank. Conversely, “connotative codes are the configurations of

⁷⁹ Hans Belting, *Likeness and Presence: A History of the Image Before the Era of Art* (Chicago, IL: University of Chicago Press, 1994), 44.

⁸⁰ Roland Barthes, “Myth Today,” in *Cultural Theory and Popular Culture: A Reader*, ed. John Storey, 3rd ed. (Harlow: Pearson Education, 2006), 294.

⁸¹ Stuart Hall, “The Determinations of Photographs,” in *The Manufacture of News: Social Problems, Deviance and the Mass Media*, ed. Stanley Cohen and Jock Young, 2nd ed. (London: Constable, 1982), 226.

meaning which permit a sign to signify, in addition to its denotative reference, *other, additional implied meanings.*”⁸² Secondly, Hall continues that unlike real life, photographs lack the movement, gestures, interaction and speech needed to tease out these additional implied meanings (i.e. forms of knowledge derived from social practices which order dominant meaning patterns). A photograph therefore represents a truncated version of reality, as perceived through the cultural codes just described.⁸³ The analysis below therefore concentrates on connotative rather than denotative codes of meaning found in *People’s Daily* newspaper imagery, because their additional implied meanings assist in answering our central question of how China views Japan.

During the Mao era the *People’s Daily* was frequently only four and occasionally a mere two pages in length. This fact, accompanied by the relatively long length of commentary pieces and editorials, left little room for photographs, pictures and cartoons to accompany articles about Japan.⁸⁴ Even still, it is noteworthy that despite the large volume of *People’s Daily* reportage on Japan between the years 1949–76 (see above), visual representations of Japanese leaders, delegations or people were largely absent, in a very similar way to school textbooks. Through much of the Mao era, many key events in the history of Sino-Japanese relations were reported verbally rather than visually.⁸⁵ Furthermore, press photographs of other foreign delegations to the PRC frequently featured in preference to Japanese ones.

Even when elite leaders such as Zhou Enlai met with visiting Japanese delegations, pictures of the visit were rarely printed in the national press. We know that photos of these visits were taken, because top PRC leaders’ memoirs include them as plates.⁸⁶ My point here is that during the 1950s and 60s, omission of photographs taken during visits by Japanese delegations was used to downplay their significance, by not drawing attention to them in a visually stimulating way.

⁸² Ibid.

⁸³ Ibid., 226–27.

⁸⁴ Cheek, *Propaganda and Culture in Mao’s China*, 132.

⁸⁵ For example, few if any photographs accompany RMRB reportage of key events such as the million strong Chinese demonstrations against the signing of the United States-Japan Security Treaty (23–24/1/60), or the repatriation of the first tranche of Japanese POWs from China to Japan (20–22/3/53).

⁸⁶ For example see: Li De’an, *Zhou enlai yu riben pengyou*.

兵民是胜利之本

纪念抗日战争胜利二十周年美术作品专页



地速战

李德民



给敌人准备干粮

李少言



切断敌人的运输线

徐匡



敌后武工队

吴佩平



奇袭

范克君



夺炮

牛立



小岗哨

傅文秋



胜利归来

宋广洲



胜利属于人民

吴凡

为纪念伟大的抗日战争胜利二十周年，中国美术家协会四月间在天津创作了一幅巨画。这幅巨画以生动的形象反映了中国人民在共产党和毛主席领导下坚持抗战，反对日本帝国主义的高压政策斗争的艰苦。

毛主席在《论持久战》中提出：“动员了全国的老百姓，就造成了陷敌于灭顶之灾的汪洋大海，造成了对付武器等等的封锁的封锁，造成了包围的包围，造成了最后胜利的必然。”毛主席说：“抗日战争的胜利，是依靠了全国人民的大团结，是依靠了全国人民的大团结，是依靠了全国人民的大团结，是依靠了全国人民的大团结。”

Figure 23. People's Daily montage showing Anti-Japanese War cartoons (17/8/65 edition, p. 6).

August 1965 seems to mark a sea change in the way visual representations of Japan are presented in the *People's Daily*. As part of the celebrations held that month to celebrate the twentieth anniversary of victory over Japan, full-page photo montages, maps and cartoons depicting Chinese resistance to the Japanese invaders were printed in the paper (see fig. 23). The economist Kenneth Boulding offers a model for comparing groups of images, such as those contained in the August 1965 war montages. He contends that as a medium, visual “messages can cause no change, very limited change or revolutionary change” in perception by the target audience, whilst at the same time “adding to, reorganising or clarifying [the response].”⁸⁷ These images also have a rating “according to some scale of betterness or worseness [sic]...and that the hierarchy of [these different] scales is very important in determining the effect of the messages on the scales themselves.”⁸⁸

Taking the montage on page six of the August 17, 1965 edition of the *People's Daily* as an example (fig. 23), the Chinese masses are presented as united in their opposition to the Japanese enemy, an enemy rated as “extremely low” on a scale of betterness or worseness. These visual messages are not intended to cause any basis change in the readers’ perception of Japan (i.e. a highly-negative perception), in line with pejorative visual tropes of Japan found in contemporary history textbooks (see chap. 3) and Anti-Japanese War films (see chap. 4).

Stuart Hall provides a slightly different means of classifying images, by focusing on the compelling theme of difference in mass media imagery, “a secret fascination [with] otherness,” represented by differences in opposites (such as enemy/ally, attack/defeat) and extremes too.⁸⁹ Hall traces this fascination back to Saussure, who argues that we can “only construct meaning through the dialogue with the other.”⁹⁰ Figure 23 suggests that *People's Daily* editors clearly understood power relations between opposites. On the one hand, the defending Chinese are portrayed as vigorous

⁸⁷ Kenneth Ewart Boulding, *The Image; Knowledge in Life and Society* (Ann Arbor, MI: University of Michigan Press, 1956), 8–10.

⁸⁸ *Ibid.*, 12.

⁸⁹ Hall, *Representation: Cultural Representations and Signifying Practices*, 35.

⁹⁰ *Ibid.*, 245.

healthy men and women, who are numerous, well trained and properly equipped. On the other hand, the Japanese enemy are shown as cowering, crouching or lying on the ground, wearing shabby uniforms and supplied with inferior weapons.

These illustrations compare interestingly with representations of Japan in other formats. For example, there are strong similarities between the right hand cartoon on the second row of figure 23 and the still from the film *Underground War* (see chap. 4, fig. 9). In both pictures, a fearless Communist guerrilla is shown towering over “little Japanese” soldiers scattered in front of him, emphasising his superiority. Note also how the top left and bottom right cartoons in figure 23, show the Japanese invaders as having abnormally shaped bodies with scruffy, unkempt uniforms, in marked contrast to the healthy Communist fighters. This juxtaposition of opposites is also found in Chinese school textbooks, such as in the pictures accompanying the story of Yu Lai (chap. 3, fig. 8).

In the same way that news in the *People's Daily* conveys multiple layers of meaning intended for various audiences, images (and montages) printed in the paper are also designed to send differing signals to a range of readers. To see how this works in practice, an examination of the photographic montage shown in figure 24 (*People's Daily*, August 29, 1965, p. 6) transmits a variety of messages about the war in pursuit of contemporary domestic policy objectives.⁹¹

At the top of the montage are two photos, one of Mao Zedong at the Communist headquarters in Yanan penning his strategy on resisting Japan, the other a copy of the resulting book—*On Protracted War (Lun chijiu zhan)*. These two images dominate the top half of the montage, suggesting that not only was Yanan the nerve centre of the war (because that was where Mao's treatise on beating the Japanese was formulated), but also that it was Mao Zedong rather than Jiang Jieshi who was the chief architect of the Chinese wartime resistance. It is striking that other than Mao no other Chinese leader is shown in the montage, not even a Communist one, with the implication that during the war Mao dominated the CCP to the exclusion of all other leaders. Whilst

⁹¹ See: Burke, *Eyewitnessing*. This book provides an assessment of the reliability of photographic evidence, including analysis of whether the events depicted actually took place.

人民战争的伟大胜利

—纪念抗日战争胜利二十周年—



中国人民伟大的领袖毛主席，在抗日战争时期发表了《论持久战》、《新民主主义论》和《论联合政府》等重要著作，以极其光辉的论断坚定了中国人民，在抗日战争的胜利得到了保证，保证了中国人民建设新中国的正确道路。图为毛主席在延安窑洞里写诗作书。

今年九月三日，是伟大的抗日战争胜利二十周年。

从一九三七年的七月到一九四五年的八月，中国人民在中国共产党的领导下，经过六年艰苦卓绝的抗战，打败了当时世界上最凶恶的侵略者，取得了反对外来帝国主义侵略的伟大胜利。

中国人民的伟大抗日战争，是世界反法西斯战争的一个极其重要的组成部分。在这场反侵略的正义战争中，中国人民以自己的英勇斗争和伟大胜利，为人类反侵略斗争写下了光辉灿烂的一章。

伟大的反侵略战争的胜利，总是要在政治上的胜利，是中国共产党和毛主席关于人民战争的思想的胜利，是党的马列主义、毛泽东思想的政治路线和军事路线的胜利。

抗日战争的完全胜利，伟大的中国人民是不可战胜的。有了中国共产党和毛主席的正确领导，依靠人民群众的团结奋斗，无论进行多么艰苦的斗争，任何强大的帝国主义的侵略，都只能被中国人民所彻底粉碎。



陈列在中国人民革命军事博物馆“抗日战争馆”的毛主席手书。



抗日战争胜利时的群众游行盛况。



抗日战争爆发后，中国工农红军主力五万人，根据国共合作的原则，在一九三七年八月正式编入国军，在统一指挥下，浴血奋战，取得最后胜利。



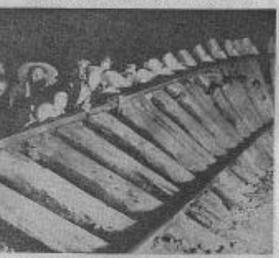
八路军战士在战斗中，不畏牺牲，英勇杀敌，为民族解放事业流下了宝贵鲜血。



八路军战士在战斗中，不畏牺牲，英勇杀敌，为民族解放事业流下了宝贵鲜血。



八路军战士在战斗中，不畏牺牲，英勇杀敌，为民族解放事业流下了宝贵鲜血。



八路军战士在战斗中，不畏牺牲，英勇杀敌，为民族解放事业流下了宝贵鲜血。



八路军战士在战斗中，不畏牺牲，英勇杀敌，为民族解放事业流下了宝贵鲜血。



八路军战士在战斗中，不畏牺牲，英勇杀敌，为民族解放事业流下了宝贵鲜血。



八路军战士在战斗中，不畏牺牲，英勇杀敌，为民族解放事业流下了宝贵鲜血。

本報地址：北京王府井大街21號 電話：2388 總機：35661、35151 編輯部：35174 廣告部：35584 發行部：35238 定價：每月一元八角 零售：每份六分

Figure 24. People's Daily war montage emphasising Chairman Mao's contribution to defeating Japan on the top row (29/8/65 edition, p. 6).

Mao was in the ascendancy at Yenan, he was still vying with Wang Ming for supremacy at this time.⁹² It is therefore no coincidence that on the eve of the Cultural Revolution, when Mao was again struggling to gain political ascendancy (this time over moderates such as Liu Shaoqi), that he should be portrayed as the architect of the Chinese wartime victory over Japan.⁹³ The clear message here is that because Mao was the author of the Chinese victory in World War Two, he indubitably still had the right to rule in 1965, 20 years after the Japanese defeat.

The second row of figure 24 shows ordinary people flocking to enlist in the Eighth Route Army and the Fourth New Army, both of which were commanded by CCP generals.⁹⁴ These pictures severally attempt to deny any role to non-Communist forces in fighting the Japanese, to reinforce contemporary CCP doctrine that it was the Chinese Communists who beat the Japanese, and that the people love the army (otherwise why would they flock to join the Communist guerrillas?). On the third line there is “proof” that the CCP acting in concert with peasants did in fact beat the Japanese, by showing captured enemy positions and ammunition dumps on the left, and peasants uprooting railway tracks laid by the invaders on the right. Again, the interpretation of the war as presented in this montage is very economical with the truth, because it was the GMD and not the CCP that bore the brunt of the resistance to Japan.

As noted above, at this time (1965) the commander-in-chief of the PLA Lin Biao, politically aligned himself to Mao Zedong by writing articles praising the chairman’s eternal contribution to winning the war.⁹⁵ It is therefore plausible that this montage was a means of showing the army’s (i.e. Lin Biao’s) support for Mao in 1965. This possibility exists because it is laid out with a framework that shows the Communist armed forces faithfully implementing Mao’s strategy.

⁹² Gregor Benton, “The ‘Second Wang Ming Line’, 1935–38,” in *Mao Zedong and the Chinese Revolution*, ed. Gregor Benton (Abingdon: Routledge, 2008), 1:287.

⁹³ Stuart R. Schram, “Mao Tse-Tung and Liu Shao-Ch’i, 1939–1969,” *Asian Survey* 12, no. 4 (1972): 292; on the political infighting taking place at this time, see: FRUS (1964–68), 30:361–64.

⁹⁴ See: Anna Louise Strong, “Eighth Route Regions in North China,” *Pacific Affairs* 14, no. 2 (1941): 154–65.

⁹⁵ For analysis of how this support led to the outbreak of the Cultural Revolution, see: Robert A. Scalapino, “The Cultural Revolution and Chinese Foreign Policy,” esp. pp. 80–89.

It is ironic that although the subject of this montage is ostensibly beating the Japanese, imperial soldiers only appear in one out of the eleven pictures (fig. 24 bottom right). As with other mediums (e.g. war films), the war here was used as a means of pursuing domestic policy aims in the here-and-now, in this instance, building a case for unopposed rule by Mao Zedong supported by the PLA. This interpretation is vindicated by the events of the following year (1966), where two of the main agents influencing the onset of the Cultural Revolution were Mao Zedong and Lin's PLA.

An alternative means of unpacking the meaning of the images in figure 24, is to use the theory espoused by the political scientist W. E. Griffiths. Writing about totalitarian societies in general, he posits that they normally have sacred texts, which are authoritative because they are prophetic. Within these texts history is constantly revised for ostensibly rational (i.e. ideological) purposes, in combination with ritual and protocol (Mao's poetry, Stalin's uniform and so on).⁹⁶

Applying Griffiths' insight to the imagery in figure 24, it could be argued that Mao's *On Protracted War* is presented here as a sacred authoritative text in the country's premier newspaper, the *People's Daily*. History for the CCP, at least as shown in this montage, focuses only on the 1937–45 war. In fact it might be dangerous for party propagandists to focus on previous conflict with Japan (for example, the First Sino-Japanese War (1894–95)), because to do so would potentially give legitimacy to others who fought the Japanese, such as Manchu military commanders during the late Qing. In a sense history, or at least history as the CCP chooses to portray it, only starts after the founding of the CCP in 1921, which is why this montage shows resistance during the Second rather than the First Sino-Japanese War. "History" has been revised to airbrush out the GMD and warlords who, problematically for the CCP, resisted the Japanese outside the Communist command structure. Eulogising *On Protracted War* as a sacred text not only bolsters the Communists' claim to power, but also Mao Zedong's pre-eminent role within the

⁹⁶ W. E. Griffiths, "Communist Esoteric Communications: Explication De Texte," in *Handbook of Communication*, ed. Ithiel de Sola Pool (Chicago, IL: Rand McNally College Publishing, 1973), 513.

party.

After 1965 these montages and images of the war appear time and time again, continually bombarding the masses until they internalise them. One of the reasons for this was that Mao, like Lenin, never ever disagreed with Marx. Mao therefore believed that “teaching is repeating is teaching.”⁹⁷ The laborious redundancy of writing “suggest[ed] a belief by Mao that great danger [would] ensue from the slightest misunderstanding of his words,” and this equally applied to the endless recycling of the images accompanying those words.⁹⁸

Media images of Japan during the reform era

In the immediate aftermath of the first textbook crisis in 1982, Chinese territory was visually mapped in new ways which helped to redefine the war *geographically*. This was done by combining wartime images in such a way as to emphasise the 1931–45 humiliation of all Chinese people by Japanese invaders, regardless of where that humiliation took place. As an example of this, figure 25 shows a montage of wartime atrocities allegedly committed by the Japanese in Nanjing, Shanghai and Guangzhou (*People's Daily* August 4, 1982). These photographs, and others like them, published in the weeks following the outbreak of the textbook crisis,⁹⁹ highlight a subtle shift away from China as “victor” in the war, to China as “victim” in the war.¹⁰⁰ The new perceived victimhood was geo-referenced, in that it was increasingly identified with specific locations, such as Nanjing and Harbin.

⁹⁷ H. C. Chuang, *Studies in Chinese Communist Terminology No. 13: The Little Red Book and Current Chinese Language* (Berkeley, CA: University of California Press, 1968), 30.

⁹⁸ *Ibid.*, 32.

⁹⁹ For example, see pictures of alleged atrocities committed in Nanjing (RMRB 2/8/82, 4) and at Unit 731 near Harbin (RMRB 15/8/82, 7).

¹⁰⁰ Gries, *China's New Nationalism*, 70.

老戏剧家马彦祥以《日寇暴行实录》 谴责日本文部省掩盖侵华罪行

袁庚平
美金凤
兄嘉和
利应三
和凌代

由国秀
主持。
院参事
力，率
德吉。
的参事

五

： 每次
： 们于公
： 报被出
： 除。今
： 报国
： 立新，
： 越德，
： 企望祖
： 国的福
： 道会依
： 报国先
： 慈恩叮
： 辱承不
： 性对于
： 处台湾
： 且不同
： 报国。
： 谴责国
： 台湾所
： 作共图
： 修正

本报讯 昨天(8月9日)上午，七十六岁的老戏剧家马彦祥同志，访问本报编辑部。他以抗日战争参加者的身份，对日本文部省修改教科书，掩盖侵华罪行的行为，表示愤慨。马老随身带来一本1938年6月15日出版的《日寇暴行实录》捐赠本报。马老说，这本书的文字和照片，真实地纪录了三十年代到四十年代日本侵略军在中国犯下的滔天罪行。这是任何人掩盖不了，改变不了的。现在，我们从《日寇暴行实录》中选出照片三张，刊登如下：



左上图：《日寇暴行实录》以《我们应怎样来批判这种耻辱》为题，刊登此照，揭露日军在上海市府前侮辱孙中山先生铜像的情景。



上图：凶残的日军用军刀劈杀我同胞。

左图：惨遭日本飞机轰炸的广州市一角。

香港一些报纸继续发表文章谴责日本文部省 篡改侵华史具有军国主义复活的阴影

五
： 益排
： 人。上
： 和王雷
： 陆阿参
： 公刊。

新华社香港8月1日电 香港一些《星报》在题为《历史军国主义复活阴影今天继续谴责日本文部省在教科书印刷》的评论中说，历史事实不容篡改，由军国主义复活，篡改历史教科书，复活军国主义复活阴影，日本除了士

Figure 25. Images from the *People's Daily* showing wartime atrocities allegedly committed by the Japanese in Nanjing, Shanghai and Guangzhou (4/8/82 edition, p. 4).

The historian Aled Jones offers clues as to the importance of location, in his work on how the nineteenth-century Welsh print media played a pivotal role in defining what it meant to be Welsh. Journalism in Wales during this period generated a powerful sense of place, by fixing the variation of Welsh knowledge and defining Welsh perceptions of reality.¹⁰¹ Jones contends that the ritual repetition of leeks, dragons, harps and other images of Wales “signif[ied] to the reader an unmistakable

¹⁰¹ Aled Jones, “The Nineteenth-Century Media and Welsh Identity,” in *Nineteenth-Century Media and the Construction of Identities*, ed. Laurel Brake, Bill Bell, and David Finkelstein (Basingstoke: Palgrave, 2000), 317.

identification with a concept of nationality.”¹⁰² If we assume that the same processes are at work here in both Welsh newspapers and the Chinese party press, then from 1982 onwards images of the war are used to enhance Chinese identity for all PRC citizens, rather than just the CCP’s wartime supporters. It is therefore no coincidence that the images shown in figure 25 are all from areas outside CCP control during the war. By rooting the war in multiple locations, China’s own media was (rather like nineteenth-century Wales) being used to generate a powerful sense of place, that is, “China,” or more precisely, “China, including areas which were under the command of non-Communist forces during the Anti-Japanese War.” To understand this definition more clearly, it is necessary to consider competing definitions of nationality before and after 1982.

Before August 1982, one “working definition of China as a nation” was that the Chinese people were united in their resistance to the Japanese enemy, under the leadership of the CCP.¹⁰³ Furthermore the Nationalists’ traitorous inability to resist the Japanese in World War Two, led to their ultimate downfall in the ensuing 1946–49 civil war. After August 1982, images (and news stories) about the Anti-Japanese War in specific locations, many of them never held by Communists, added new complexities to this working definition in two ways. Firstly, from this time onwards the media increasingly focused on China as victim rather than China as victor.¹⁰⁴ Secondly, China was now conceived as a territorial space where atrocities were committed by the invading Japanese against all Chinese, regardless of their political affiliation. In other words, after 1982 it was now politically acceptable for the war against Japan to be “imagined” in locations such as Nanjing, Shanghai and Guangzhou (as shown in fig. 25) which were outside Communist control.¹⁰⁵

¹⁰² Ibid., 319.

¹⁰³ The term in quotation marks is adapted from Jones.

¹⁰⁴ On Chinese perceptions of victimhood, see: Callahan, *The Pessimist Nation*.

¹⁰⁵ Benedict Richard O’Gorman Anderson, *Imagined Communities: Reflections on the Origin and Spread of Nationalism*, 2nd ed. (London: Verso, 1991), 7.



先进照相机

请您选用佳能单镜头反光相机！
它将会无限地扩大您的映像表现能力。

最新单反相机的最大优点，是在取景器内立即映出所摄对象的实际影像，因此取景器内所映出的影像和实际景物完全一致。广角镜头可以摄取更广阔的景物，望远镜头可以摄取更远的景物。变焦镜头可以一个镜头就能实现广角和望远，非常方便。佳能AE-1 PROGRAM单反相机，采用最新AE-1 PROGRAM单反相机，采用最新AE-1 PROGRAM单反相机，采用最新AE-1 PROGRAM单反相机。

AE-1 PROGRAM单反相机的特点有：
1. 采用最新AE-1 PROGRAM单反相机，采用最新AE-1 PROGRAM单反相机，采用最新AE-1 PROGRAM单反相机。

NISSAN VANETTE (巴宁)

乘坐舒适，操作灵巧，行车安全

巴宁车厢内宽敞，乘坐舒适，可容纳十二个人。驾驶室采用最新材料，可调节座椅，视野开阔。车门采用最新材料，操作方便。巴宁VANETTE-ED17的性价比最高，是您出行的最佳选择。

Figure 26. A *People's Daily* war montage which gives prominent place to Nationalist resistance to the Japanese at Taierzhuang (bottom left painting) (30/8/85 edition, p. 8).

In chapters one and two we saw that the 1981 historical questions resolution formally rehabilitated the Nationalists and their role in resisting the Japanese. In subsequent chapters it was then demonstrated how this rehabilitation gradually filtered down through textbooks (chap. 3) and films (chap. 4). Similarly, in newspapers rehabilitation of the GMD gradually gathers momentum after 1982, visually as well as in print.

As an exemplar of this, figure 26 from the August 30, 1985 edition of the

People's Daily shows a montage of the Anti-Japanese War. In many ways the montage seems typical of the genre, replete with pictures of Communists repelling the Japanese. Yet on closer inspection, it can be seen that a prominent role in the fighting exists for the GMD, because the bottom left portrait shows a scene from the battle for Taierzhuang. The painting here depicts the fierce action for Taierzhuang railway station, which changed hands several times during the assault at immense human cost.¹⁰⁶ As discussed in the last chapter, this battle, directed by General Li Zongren, was fought by Nationalist troops (with warlord reinforcements) with no contribution from CCP forces. The message embedded within this montage is that although the war still plays a vital part in imagining how the Communists came to power, it is now accepted that the GMD played a role in the war. However, this visual rehabilitation was slow and grudging.¹⁰⁷ For example just four days after the montage shown in figure 26 was printed, on September 3, 1985 another war montage showed pictures of CCP, Soviet and American soldiers resisting the Japanese on Chinese soil, neglecting to mention that the GMD did the same.

It would be misleading, however, to assume that the only images of Japan appearing in the Chinese party press are historical images of the war. Photographs of contemporary Sino-Japanese summits and bilateral talks now inflect the *People's Daily* and other party newspapers, but not in a way that draws attention to Japan or gives it face. Using Kenneth Boulding's model of coding images described above, these photos seem to be designed in such a way as to cause no basis change in readers' assumed negative perceptions of Japan. Two examples demonstrate how this works.

One, following the visit to Beijing by Japanese Prime Minister Tanaka Kakuei in September 1972, a Japanese diplomatic mission was opened in Beijing on January 11, 1973.¹⁰⁸ This landmark event in post-war Sino-Japanese diplomatic relations was reported with a news item precisely one sentence in length—and no photo. It might be

¹⁰⁶ van de Ven, *War and Nationalism in China*, 217–25. See also: Lance Olsen, *Taierzhuang 1938—Stalingrad 1942: An Insight Into the Blind Spot in the History of World War 2* (Leiden: Clear Mind Publishing, 2010).

¹⁰⁷ On the reasons for this new remembering, see: Coble, "China's 'New Remembering' of the Anti-Japanese War," 402–03.

¹⁰⁸ *Zhongguo waijiao gailan, 1987*, 49–50.

argued that as the opening of the embassy took place during the Cultural Revolution, the editors of the *People's Daily* preferred to concentrate solely on domestic rather than international issues. After all, in the early stages of the Cultural Revolution China closed most of its diplomatic missions abroad.¹⁰⁹ Yet this is emphatically not the case because on January 11–12, 1973 the *People's Daily* provided almost blanket coverage for the visit by President Mobutu of Zaire, accompanied by numerous photos. A similar pattern is repeated for the arrival of the first post-war Japanese ambassador to China on March 28, 1973. A terse, factual article commemorating the event with no accompanying photograph, is buried on page six of the following day's edition of the *People's Daily*.

Two, throughout the early 2000s, a period when Sino-Japanese relations were harmed by Japanese Prime Minister Koizumi Junichiro's attitude towards the history problem, Chinese party papers ignored or downplayed meetings with Japanese leaders at ASEAN+3 summits (Association of Southeast Asian Nations, "+3" refers to the participation of China, Japan and South Korea). For example, at the close of the November 2002 ASEAN+3 conference the Chinese premier, Zhu Rongji was photographed with other leaders attending the summit, a photo which was then published in the November 4, 2002 edition of the *People's Daily* (not shown).¹¹⁰ Yet almost the only leader missing from the photo call is the Japanese prime minister. This omission in itself may not seem significant, until one considers the fact that in subsequent years Japanese leaders and diplomats are cut from most pictures taken at other ASEAN+3 meetings. At the 2004 summit, for instance, Chinese premier Wen Jiabao is photographed seated next to his Japanese counterpart, Koizumi Junichiro, yet the photo printed on page three of the November 30, 2004 edition of the *People's Daily* only shows Wen (see fig. 27).¹¹¹

¹⁰⁹ Van Ness, *Revolution and Chinese Foreign Policy*, 247.

¹¹⁰ For details of the communique published at the close of the 2002 ASEAN+3 summit: ASEAN, "Summit Documents," ASEAN Secretariat, <http://www.aseansec.org/4918.htm> (accessed 12/8/12).

¹¹¹ Ibid.



Figure 27. Photograph printed in the *People's Daily* showing Premier Wen Jiabao at the 2004 ASEAN summit seated next to Prime Minister Koizumi Junichiro who has been cut from the picture (30/11/04 edition, p. 6).



Figure 28. *People's Daily* image showing Prime Minister Abe Shinzo seated at President Hu Jintao's right hand (8/10/06 edition, p. 1).

In the same way that the readout on pressure barometers fluctuates with the weather, photographs of noteworthy events in Sino-Japanese relations appear to reflect changes in bilateral ties. In other words, images can be used to move Chinese party press representations of Japan up as well as down Boulding's scale of betterness or worseness. To illustrate, after the January 17, 1995 Kobe earthquake, the *People's Daily* ran a series of images lauding Japanese technological innovation, such as clean

toilets (not shown), public telephone booths that actually worked and so on.¹¹² As another example, this time related to international politics, as soon as Prime Minister Koizumi was replaced by Abe Shinzo, the *People's Daily* ran articles accompanied by large colour photos of the new Japanese prime minister, attending talks in Beijing with President Hu Jintao on October 8, 2006 (see fig. 28). Unlike the examples discussed above, figure 28 implies equality, because instead of cutting Abe Shinzo out of the photo, he is shown as a worthy interlocutor to President Hu, seated right beside him.

Conclusion

This chapter has argued that since 1949 the party press has formed an important conduit for expressing views on Japan. During the Mao era the *People's Daily* and other state newspapers were read by CCP elites and the masses alike. As a result of policy changes during the reform era, however, party newspapers have had to compete with a vibrant commercial press, which has resulted in a declining readership. In spite of this, the output of media organs such as the *People's Daily* retain their importance, both because they transmit views of party elites on Japan and also because they are read by the nation's decision-makers.

Four aspects of state media commentary on Japan were examined: overall output, embedded messages, regional variations on news copy and news photos. Taking each of these aspects in turn. First, content analysis of Japan-related news copy in the *People's Daily* demonstrates continued intense official interest in Japan since 1949, with hundreds of articles published annually about that country. In some years as much as five percent of all *People's Daily* copy is related to Japan. This compares interestingly with the analysis in chapter one, which also argues for the existence of strong interest in Japan by Chinese elites from 1949 right through to the present day.

¹¹² Only by comparison to Beijing's public conveniences can photographs of Tokyo's clean, working toilets be seen in a positive light.

A significant proportion of *People's Daily* reportage on Japan relates to the war, and is often highly concentrated in the weeks and months surrounding the decennial anniversaries of the Japanese defeat. Moreover, news copy on the war at this time is predominantly negative (often more than two-thirds of articles), although news at other times is often less critical of Japan (with an “undercurrent” of approximately one-third of negative articles).

Secondly, different audiences read newspaper articles on Japan in different ways. For example, a general reader might read all of a page-long editorial on the role of the PLA in fighting Japan in World War Two, whilst a high-ranking cadre might closely scan only small sections of it for clues on, say, contemporary party control over the army. This fits in with the broad claim made at the start of this study, that “Japan” is frequently used as a means of pursuing diverse policy objectives, such as intensifying links with North Korea in the aftermath of the Sino-Soviet split.

Thirdly, during the Mao era the regional party press faithfully reprinted national copy on Japan, although usually only for important visits, policy statements and so on. During the reform era provincial party papers have continued to reprint pieces sent from Beijing, together with a generous helping of articles on local bilateral trade cooperation. However, reform era local media commentary on the war now differs from its national counterparts in one important respect—how they remember the conflict as it was fought locally. For instance, the *Heilongjiang Daily* declines to draw attention to the Unit 731 museum right on its doorstep (on the outskirts of Harbin), whereas the *Chongqing Daily* now uses memory of the war to utterly repudiate the GMD’s role in resisting the Japanese.

Finally, imagery on Japan contained in newspapers can tell us much about how elite politicians and party newspaper editors see that country. Images (photographs, montages, cartoons) are also used, like other transmission mediums discussed in this thesis, in pursuit of domestic policy objectives. For example, during the lead-up to the Cultural Revolution, when Mao was fighting party moderates such as Liu Shaoqi for supremacy, war montages emphasising Mao Zedong’s wartime strategy implied that Mao was still indubitably China’s paramount ruler. As another example, almost 20

years later in 1982, in the aftermath of the first textbook crisis, photos of Japanese atrocities committed outside of CCP base areas were published, as a means of subtly admitting that non-Communist forces also made contributions to defeating the enemy.

As an afterword, it seems that all, or nearly all, of the articles published in the party press (about contemporary Japan, its wartime record and memory of the war) contain embedded messages. For those with knowledge of how to decode them, there is a wealth of untapped information waiting to be analysed, not just on how the CCP sees Japan, but on how it sees China too.

Conclusion

Despite the large number of empirical studies on Sino-Japanese relations, we still lack an overall framework for conceptualising what is said about Japan. This study has attempted to provide one, in order to identify the normative character of Chinese imagery of Japan. I have done this by analysing five mainland Chinese “institutions,” namely elite views, war museums, the education system, Anti-Japanese War films and newspapers. In the introduction, I noted that the conceptual framework for this study could be likened to a cinema, screening a film entitled *Angry States*. Much of the analysis in this thesis has concentrated on the activities of our imaginary cinema projection room, examining what is screened to Chinese audiences and why.

This study has made four sets of broad claims. The first is that since the foundation of the People’s Republic in 1949, elite Chinese politicians have been intensely curious about Japan, its political affairs, people, territory, economy, recent history (especially the war) and the potential for a resurrection of Japanese militarism. This finding contradicts the opinion of those scholars outside China, who posit that prior to the reform era, Japan was largely ignored by both Chinese people and their elites. I have presented evidence showing that CCP leaders have continually paid great attention to the way in which Japan is presented to ordinary Chinese people. For example, in the CCPCC’s own newspaper, the *People’s Daily*, even prior to normalisation of relations in 1972, articles were published about Japan almost every day, despite the fact that the paper was frequently only two to four pages in length at this time. Elite party views of Japan are important, because in all the institutions examined, Chinese leaders have sought to shape and influence the direction of debate on China’s former enemy, whether Deng Xiaoping calling for monuments to Japan’s invasion (1982) or Jiang Zemin complaining that school textbooks do not contain enough history about the war (2000).

However, intense interest in Japan should not be equated with a monolithic view of that country across all party and government structures. During the late 1950s for example, the State Council in Beijing and the Heilongjiang territorial CCP committee clashed over whether to preserve the ruins of Unit 731. Even after officials in the capital “won” this argument, by insisting that evidence of the enemy’s (i.e. Japanese) crimes must be preserved, the local party committee blithely ignored the edict from Beijing. In doing so they permitted local residents to cart off bricks, steel cables and other debris from the site, thus ensuring its almost total destruction by the mid-1970s. As another example, throughout the Mao era, teaching was subject to almost continuous political interference, which severely affected the ability of schoolchildren to absorb instruction on Japan as presented in history and language textbooks. In regional party newspapers too, recent memory of the war has been severally used to play down awareness of Japan’s former biological warfare activities (Harbin), and to attack the contribution of the Nationalists to fighting the Japanese (Chongqing).

So should we take this as evidence of politics as usual, whereby the development of views on Japan is chaotic and cyclical (from enemy to friend and back to enemy again) rather than linear (from enemy to friend to trading partner)? In one important respect the answer is no, because my second claim is that one CCP politician stands out as having an overarching influence on fashioning mainland Chinese views of Japan since 1949—Mao Zedong’s former secretary Hu Qiaomu. From the 1940s right up until his death in 1992, the influence of Hu’s work on propaganda, newspapers, the oversight of culture and many other aspects of everyday Chinese life cannot be underestimated. It is therefore remarkable that no major English biography of the man even exists. Hu Qiaomu’s influence stems not just from his position as Mao’s amanuensis. As my research has shown, Hu Qiaomu has been at the heart of many debates informing how China views Japan, ranging from shaping the patriotic education campaign, to drafting the CCPCC historical questions resolution which rehabilitated the GMD’s wartime role in facing the Japanese.

This relentless emphasis on the war is crucial, because in the five institutions examined, history of the War of Resistance against Japan has frequently been used as

a political weapon. PRC representations of China's erstwhile foe are framed within a dominant ideology, in which the Chinese people collectively make sense of the world in which they live. Throughout this study, that "making sense of the world," the way the world needs to be if one-party Communist rule is to be maintained, is encapsulated in the phrase "the party is the mainstay of the people" (*zhongliudizhu*). This is code for the CCP beat the Japanese and therefore has the right to rule. This explains why the war or, more precisely, the war as the Communists fought it, has featured so prominently in commentary about Japan over the past six decades. The contribution of other contenders for power who also fought the Japanese (for example Qing forces in the First Sino-Japanese War (1894–95), and the Guomindang between the years 1931–45), is often criticised or downplayed.

Within this dominant ideological position of CCP rule constructed through museums, textbooks, films and newspapers, there is a perceptible evolution in views of Japan. My third claim is that the speed of this evolution varies considerably between institutions. The slowest rate of change is found in textbooks. Here the state education system transmits largely pejorative representations of Japan via classroom teaching materials and, after 1981, the patriotic education campaign. These images of Japan change slowly, such that 1950s history lessons on that country bear an uncanny resemblance to today's classes. This largely unchanging view of previous conflict with Japan is what I term *sticky*, binding together negative views of successive generations of Chinese schoolchildren.

Wartime commemorative structures also exhibit slow rates of change, in that the sites on which war museums now rest were largely ignored until the aftermath of the first textbook crisis in 1982, after which time Hu Qiaomu argued for the rapid construction of commemoration halls. The state-led narratives of hate, despair and loss communicated in these museums, have only very recently been joined by other histories, such as messages of hope conveyed by the "atonement for Japanese crimes" monument unveiled at Unit 731 in 2010.

In contrast to war museums, newspapers are required to respond much more rapidly to changes in political direction. My research demonstrates that newspapers

have always acted as a barometer of contemporary sentiment towards Japan, framed within a loose overall structure of commemoration of the Anti-Japanese War.

War films, to this day one of the very few accepted themes for mainland Chinese motion pictures about Japan, have exhibited relatively rapid rates of change in their representations of China's erstwhile foe. This incredibly popular genre has not been subject to the same stringent oversight as textbooks and newspapers however, in that since the mid-1980s film directors have been permitted greater latitude in the way they present Japan. In doing so, films such as *The Bloody Battle for Taierzhuang* (1985) and *Flowers of War* (2011) have explored the limits of the party's resistance to the Japanese, on which it predicates its right to rule.

My fourth and final claim, is that Chinese views of Japan have frequently been used by political actors for pursuing a range of policy objectives unrelated—or only tangentially related—to Japan. These range from using newspaper editorials about the war to criticise the PLA for not supporting the party leadership (1995), and advocating equal rights for women in the film *Daughters of China* (1949), to using memory of the war to bolster relations with North Korea (1962). Perhaps the most blatant use of history (i.e. the war) as a political weapon discussed in this thesis though is the patriotic education campaign, masterminded by Hu Qiaomu during the early 1980s. This campaign, with its emphasis on Japanese aggression and the century of humiliation, was originally conceived as a means of indoctrinating cadres so as to prevent a recurrence of the Cultural Revolution (1966–76). It then rapidly morphed into a platform for inculcating China's youth on the benefits of socialism and continued CCP rule. After the 1989 Tiananmen Square incident, the campaign became increasingly anti-Japanese and virulently nationalistic.

The overall image we have then, is an increasingly nationalistic anti-Japanese one based mainly, but not exclusively, on the twin pillars of denigrating Japan's wartime conduct and criticising contemporary Japanese leaders. Viewed in this light, it is therefore not such a surprise that the CCTV presenter Bai Yansong in the television series *Yansong Looks at Japan* (discussed in the introduction to this thesis) famously said “[we] Chinese people often admit that we don't understand Japan, we just hate it.”

Portraying Japan in such a negative light means that newspaper articles, school textbooks and war films collectively act rather like tinder, which the slightest spark can set ablaze. No wonder then, that many Chinese people I talk to all over the People's Republic freely admit that they hate Japan. In this respect, almost 70 years after the close of World War Two, China is still very much an *Angry State*.

Reference Matter

Glossary

<i>731 budui</i>	731 部队
<i>9.18 lishi bowuguan</i>	“九·一八”历史博物馆
<i>aiguo</i>	爱国
<i>aiguozhuyi</i>	爱国主义
<i>aiguozhuyi jiaoyu</i>	爱国主义教育
<i>aiguozhuyi jiaoyu jidi</i>	爱国主义教育基地
<i>aiguozhuyi jiaoyu yundong</i>	爱国主义教育运动
<i>bainian guochi</i>	百年国耻
Bai Yansong	白岩松
<i>ba lu jun</i>	八路军
<i>bantu'erfei</i>	半途而废
<i>bao xi bu bao you</i>	报喜不报忧
Beijing	北京
<i>biaolibuyi</i>	表里不一
Changchun	长春
Chen Boda	陈伯达
Chen Chu	陈楚
Chen Yi	陈毅

<i>chengyu</i>	成语
Chongqing	重庆
<i>dayuejin</i>	大跃进
<i>dang'an guan</i>	档案馆
<i>dazhong</i>	大众
Deng Liqun	邓力群
Deng Shichang	邓世昌
Deng Tuo	邓拓
Deng Xiaoping	邓小平
Diaoyu dao	钓鱼岛
<i>diguozhuyi(zhe)</i>	帝国主义（者）
<i>diren</i>	敌人
<i>dongbei</i>	东北
<i>fang</i>	放
<i>fenshensuigu</i>	粉身碎骨
Fu Hao	符浩
Fujian sheng	福建省
<i>gong'an ju (PSB)</i>	公安局
<i>gongrong gongcun</i>	共荣共存
Gou Lanzhi	苟兰芝
Guan Hua	管桦

<i>guanyu jianguo yilai dangde ruogan lishi</i>	关于建国以来党的若干历史
<i>wentide jueyi</i>	问题的决议
Guangzhou	广州
Guo Moruo	郭沫若
<i>guomindang</i> (GMD or Guomindang)	国民党
Ha'erbin (Harbin)	哈尔滨
<i>hanjian</i>	汉奸
Heilongjiang sheng	黑龙江省
<i>hengqishuba</i>	横七竖八
<i>heping</i>	和平
Hubei sheng	湖北省
Hu Jintao	胡锦涛
Hu Qiaomu	胡乔木
Hu Sheng	胡绳
Hu Tsung-hsien (Hu Zongxian)	胡宗宪
Hu Yaobang	胡耀邦
Ji Pengfei	姬鹏飞
Jiang Jieshi	蒋介石
Jiang Jingguo	蒋经国
Jiang Qing	江青
Jiang Zemin	江泽民
Jiangsu sheng	江苏省

<i>jianshang</i>	奸商
<i>jiefang jun</i> (short for PLA)	解放军
<i>jiefang ribao</i>	解放日报
<i>jieshi</i>	结实
Jilin sheng	吉林省
<i>jilü yanming</i>	纪律严明
<i>jinxing</i>	进行
<i>junfa</i>	军阀
<i>kangri</i>	抗日
<i>kangri zhanzheng</i>	抗日战争
<i>kangzhan</i>	抗战
<i>langya shan wu zhuangshi</i>	狼牙山五壮士
<i>laobaixing</i>	老百姓
Lei Guiying	雷桂英
Li Hongzhang	李鸿章
Li Lanqing	李岚清
Li Peng	李鹏
Li Zongren	李宗仁
Liang Xiaotao	梁晓涛
Liaoning sheng	辽宁省
Lin Biao	林彪
Liu Changchun	刘长春

Liu Shaoqi	刘少奇
Liu Xiyao	刘西尧
Lu Chuan	陆川
<i>luohou jiu ai da</i>	落后就挨打
Ma Benzhai	马本斋
Ma Xulun	马叙伦
<i>mafan</i>	麻烦
Manzhou	满洲
Mao Zedong	毛泽东
<i>meiguo diguozhuyi</i>	美国帝国主义
Mei Lanfang	梅兰芳
<i>minbing</i>	民兵
Mudanjiang	牡丹江
Nanjing	南京
<i>nanjing datusha jinian guan</i>	南京大屠杀纪念馆
<i>nanjing kangri hangkong lieshi jinian guan</i>	南京抗日航空烈士纪念馆
<i>neibu</i>	内部
<i>pilin pikong yundong</i>	批林批孔运动
Pingfang	平方
Pu Tongxiu	浦通修
<i>putonghua</i>	普通话
Qi Benyu	戚本禹

Qi Jiguang	戚继光
Qiqiha'er	齐齐哈尔
qizhuangshanhe	气壮山河
qinhua rijun guandongjun 731 budui zuizheng	侵华日军关东军 731 部队罪
chenlie guan	证陈列馆
qinl ie	侵略
Qufu	曲阜
rang lishi jinggao weilai	让历史警告未来
renmin ribao (RMRB)	人民日报
riben gongchandang (JCP)	日本共产党
riben gui (riben guizi)	日本鬼 (日本鬼子)
riben junshizhuyi	日本军事主义
riben shehuidang (JSP)	日本社会党
riben zougou	日本走狗
rizhong jianshan	日中见善
Shaanxi sheng	陕西省
Shandong sheng	山东省
Shenyang	沈阳
shiyao shibuyao	十要十不要
shou	手
sige diren	四个敌人
Songhua jiang	松花江

Tai'erzhuang	台儿庄
Taiyuan	太原
Tianjin	天津
<i>tingzhibuqian</i>	停滞不前
<i>waijiao bu</i> (MFA)	外交部
Wang Jiaxiang	王稼祥
Wang Jingwei	汪精卫
Wang Ming	王明
Wang Zhen	王震
<i>wei Manzhou</i>	伪满洲
Weihaiwei	威海卫
Wen Jiabao	温家宝
<i>wenhua bu</i> (MOC)	文化部
<i>wenhua da geming</i>	文化大革命
<i>wokou</i>	倭寇
<i>wo shi yige bing</i>	我是一个兵
Xi'an	西安
<i>xiao ba lu</i>	小八路
<i>xiao yingxiong yulai</i>	小英雄雨来
<i>xihua</i>	新华
<i>xinhuashe</i>	新华社
Xinjiang	新疆

Xinjing	新京
<i>xin si jun</i>	新四军
<i>xuanchuan</i>	宣传
Yan'an (Yenan)	延安
Yang Guangyuan	杨光远
Yang Hucheng	杨虎城
<i>yange xunlian</i>	严格训练
<i>yishiweijian</i>	以史为鉴
<i>youhao guanxi</i>	友好关系
<i>yuwen</i>	语文
<i>zai dangde lingdao xia</i>	在党的领导下
Zhang Junzhao	张军钊
Zhang Xiangshan	张香山
Zhang Xueliang	张学良
Zhang Yimou	张艺谋
Zhang Zizhong	张自忠
Zhao Guanxing	赵官型
Zhao Yiman	赵一曼
Zheng He	郑和
<i>zhisangmahuai</i>	指桑骂槐
<i>zhiyuan hao</i>	致远号
<i>zhongfa</i>	中发

<i>zhonggong zhongyang dang xiao</i>	中共中央党校
<i>zhonggong zhongyang nanfang ju</i>	中共中央南方局
<i>zhongguo gongchandang (CCP)</i>	中国共产党
<i>zhongguo gongchandang zhongyang weiyuanhui (CCPCC or CC)</i>	中国共产党中央委员会
<i>zhongguo jiaoyu chubanshe</i>	中国教育出版社
<i>zhongguo jun</i>	中国军
<i>zhongguo lishi</i>	中国历史
<i>zhongguo ren</i>	中国人
<i>zhongguo renmin jiefang jun (PLA)</i>	中国人民解放军
<i>zhongguo renmin kangri zhanzheng jinian guan</i>	中国人民抗日战争纪念馆
<i>zhongguo shehui kexue yuan (CASS)</i>	中国社会科学院
<i>zhonghua renmin gonghe guo (PRC)</i>	中华人民共和国
<i>zhonghua renmin gongheguo he ribenguo</i>	中华人民共和国和日本国和
<i>heping youhao tiaoyue</i>	平友好条约
<i>zhongliudizhu</i>	中流砥柱
<i>zhongri guanxi</i>	中日关系
<i>zhongyang dianshi tai (CCTV)</i>	中央电视台
Zhou Enlai	周恩来
Zhu Wan	朱纨
Zhu Zhiying	朱之盈
<i>zhuanxin</i>	专心

zilihangan

字里行间

zuozhan yonggan

作战勇敢

Select Bibliography

Abbreviations

- ASEAN:** Association of Southeast Asian Nations
- BJRB:** *Beijing ribao* ('Beijing Daily'). Newspaper
- CASS:** Chinese Academy of Social Sciences
- CBW:** Chemical and Biological Warfare
- CCP:** *zhongguo gongchandang* ('Chinese Communist Party')
- CCPCC:** *zhongguo gongchandang zhongyang weiyuanhui* ('CCP Central Committee')
- CCTV:** China Central Television
- CDA:** Critical Discourse Analysis
- CHOC:** *Cambridge History of China*
- CHOJ:** *Cambridge History of Japan*
- CHQ:** Chongqing Municipal Archive, Chongqing, followed by file and page number
- CQ:** *China Quarterly*. Periodical
- CQRB:** *Chongqing ribao* ('Chongqing Daily'). Newspaper
- DPP:** Democratic Progressive Party
- FRUS:** *Foreign Relations of the United States*, followed by file and page number
- GMD:** *guomindang* ('Guomindang, Kuomintang or Chinese Nationalist Party')

- HLJRB:** *Heilongjiang ribao* ('Heilongjiang Daily'). Newspaper
- HQM:** *Hu qiaomu wenji* ('The Selected Works of Hu Qiaomu')
- HRB:** *Ha'erbin ribao* ('Harbin Daily'). Newspaper
- [J]:** Japanese author or title
- JCP:** Japanese Communist Party
- JS:** Jiangsu Provincial Archive, Nanjing, followed by file and page number
- JSDF:** Japan Self-Defence Forces
- JSP:** Japanese Socialist Party
- LDP:** Liberal Democratic Party
- LSG:** Leading Small Group
- MFA:** Ministry of Foreign Affairs, Beijing; in footnotes MFA refers to the Ministry of Foreign Affairs Archive, Beijing, followed by file and page number
- MOC:** Ministry of Culture
- NIE:** National Intelligence Estimate
- NPC:** National People's Congress
- NXHB:** *Nanjing xinhua ribao* ('Nanjing Xinhua Daily'). Newspaper
- ODA:** Overseas Development Aid
- PLA:** *zhongguo renmin jiefang jun* ('People's Liberation Army')
- PRC:** *zhonghua renmin gonghe guo* ('People's Republic of China')
- PSB:** Public Security Bureau
- RMRB:** *Renmin ribao* ('People's Daily'). Newspaper
- RW:** *Riben wenti wenjian* ('Documents on the Japan Problem')

- UNSC:** United Nations Security Council
- XCGZ:** *Zhongguo gongchandang xuanchuan gongzuo wenxian xuanbian* ('A Literary Selection of CCP Propaganda Work'). 4 vols.
- XHS:** *xinhuashe* (Xinhua News Agency)
- YW (C):** *Yuwen chuxue ban* ('Language [Textbook] Lower Middle School Edition'). Textbook
- YW (X):** *Yuwen xiaoxue ban* ('Language [Textbook] Elementary School Edition'). Textbook
- ZJN:** *Zhongguo jiaoyu nianjian* ('China Education Yearbook')
- ZL:** *Zhongguo lishi chuzhong ban* ('Chinese History Lower Middle School Edition'). Textbook
- ZL (C):** *Zhongguo lishi cankao ziliao chuzhong ban* ('Chinese History Reference Material Lower Middle School Edition'). Textbook
- ZL (J):** *Zhongguo lishi jiaoshi jiaoxue yongshu chuzhong ban* ('Chinese History Classroom Teaching Guide Lower Middle School Edition'). Textbook
- ZRN:** *Zhongguo renkou nianjian* ('China Population Yearbook')

Primary Sources

Archives

The following files from Chinese government archives have been used. The file number is followed by its archive catalogue title and date of document within file.

Ministry of Foreign Affairs, Beijing (MFA)

105-00076-01: *Guanyu rikou tewu shangcun yilai cailiao* ('Materials regarding Japanese devil special agents and the Shangcun Xilai [J] incident'), 11/9/50.

105-00076-03: *Rikou qisanyi budui xijun zhanfande zuixing ziliao* ('Material on the biological war crimes committed by the Japanese invaders at Unit 731'), 1/2/50.

105-00092-02(1): *Guanyu pingfang xijun gongchang jishi* ('On records from the Pingfang biological warfare factory'), 19/3/50.

105-00217-01: *Riben "huiifu rizhong, risu bangjiao guomin huiyi" zhuxi jiuyuan fangzhizhu yaoqiu fanghua shi de laiwang dian* ('Telegram correspondence concerning the request to visit China by the Japanese "Normalisation of Sino-Japanese and Japanese-Soviet diplomatic relations citizens conference" chairman Jiuyuan Fangzhizhu [J]'), 25/11/55.

105-00239-03: *Waijiao bu yazhousi biandui ri heyue yu riben zai wuzhuang* ('MFA Asia Director General with respect to a peace treaty with and re-arming of Japan'), 22/12/50.

105-00548-09: *Guanyu chuli ha'erbin pingfangqu rikou 731 budui xijun gongchang feixude yijian* ('Concerning some suggestions on dealing with the ruins of the Japanese devils Unit 731 biological warfare factory in the Pingfang district of Harbin'), 16/2/57.

105-00737-05: *Guanyu jinian kangri zhanzheng shengli shiwu zhounian shi* ('With

respect to events commemorating the fifteenth anniversary of the victory in the War of Resistance against Japan'), 30/8/60.

105-00737-09: *Shoudu gejie renmin fandui meiri junshi tongmeng dahui jihua* ('Plans for a rally by people of the [Chinese] capital to oppose the U.S.-Japan Security Alliance'), 16/1/60.

105-00899-04: *Wo jixu pengji riben zhengfu dishi wo shi* ('I continue to attack the Japanese government's hostility towards me'), 10/5/58.

105-00954-04: *Ha'erbin pingfangqu qinhua riben jun xijun gongchang yizhi chuli wenti* ('Concerning the problem of the Japanese invading China army biological warfare factory ruins at Pingfang district in Harbin'), 29/3/59.

105-01214-04: *Waijiao bu guanyu wo zhuwai shilingguan tong rifang renyuan jiechu wentide qingshi baogao ji zhishi* ('Report on an MFA request for instructions and directives concerning the problem of our foreign consulates and contact with the Japanese side'), 16/9/63.

105-01216-05: *Chen yi fuzongli jiejian riben jizhe tanhua zhaiyao* ('An abstract of talks between Deputy Prime Minister Chen Yi and Japanese journalists'), 28/11/63.

105-01409-01: *Zhou enlai zongli tong riben chuandao huitan qingkuang* ('Report of talks between Premier Zhou Enlai and Chuan Dao [J] from Japan'), 21/4/65.

105-01759-17: *Guowuyuan waiban: riben ziyouminzhudang he longduan zibende yixie dongxiang ("riben qingkuang" (dishiqi qi))* ('State Council Foreign Affairs Office: Some trends concerning the LDP and the monopoly capitalists ("The Situation in Japan" (Issue No. 17))'), 24/4/65.

106-00763-03: *Guanyu zai heilongjiang he jilinsheng xiujian kangri zhongchao lieshi jinianbei shi* ('Concerning the construction of monuments in Heilongjiang and Jilin Province to Chinese and Korean heroes who resisted the Japanese during the war'), 5/12/63.

106-01481-03: *Shoudu gejie renmin fandui "rihan tiaoyue" dahui fangan* ('Suggestions concerning a rally by the people of the capital to oppose the "Japan-Korea Treaty"'), 17/11/65.

117-00785-01: *Beijing gejie renmin zhichi riben renmin fandui rimei junshi tongmeng tiaoyue dahui wenjian* ('Documents relating to a rally by the people of Beijing in support of Japanese people opposing the U.S.-Japan Security Alliance'), 2/5/60.

118-00086-02(1): *Guanyu dongbei ribenrende qingkuang bao* ('Report concerning the

situation of Japanese people in north-eastern China'), 1/6/50.

118-00086-03: *Shenyang riben qiaomin dongtai, ji dongbei waishi ju xinhan* ('Developments concerning Japanese nationals in Shenyang, and letters from the North-Eastern China Foreign Affairs Bureau'), 1/6/50.

118-00086-05: *Shenyang shi riben qiaomin cailiao ji chuli yijian* ('Material on and suggestions for handling Japanese nationals in Shenyang'), 10/12/50.

118-01211-04: *Laodongbu guanyu ribenji jishi "shicheng ai zhi zhu" tuiti wenti dao chongqing waishi bangongshide fuhan* ('A reply to the Chongqing Foreign Affairs Bureau from the Ministry of Labour concerning the retirement of the "ardently love Chongqing" group of Japanese technicians'), 2/1/63.

Jiangsu Province Archive, Nanjing (**JS**)

4019-003-0087: *Guanyu dierci quanguo waishi gongzuo huiyi wenjian* ('Documents relating to the second national foreign affairs conference'), 7/1/59.

4019-003-0204: *Zhongyang guanyu xiang quandang quanmin jinxing jiaqiang tong geguo renmin youhaode xuanquan gongzuode tongzhi* ('Announcement from the CCPCC to all party cadres and all citizens concerning friendly propaganda work towards foreigners from all countries'), 8/5/64.

4019-003-0207: *Zuohao riqiao huiguo tanqin gongzuo wenti* ('How to resolve the problem of repatriation of Japanese nationals and their returning home to visit relatives'), 3/5/64.

4019-003-0249/0250: *Jiedai zhongri qingnian dalianhuan cailiao* ('Material relating to the hosting of a large-scale Sino-Japanese youth delegation'), ?/8/65.

Chongqing Municipal Archive, Chongqing (**CHQ**)

1056-1-103: *Jiedai a'man, yidali, xibanya, yindu, yingguo, riben dangzheng daibiao tujihua, jianbao, zongjie* ('Plans, report and summary of hosting governmental and political party visits from Oman, Italy, Spain, India, England and Japan'), 1/11/57.

1065-1-204: *Guan yu jiedai riben (dongjingdu gejie youhao daibiaotuan, songcun qiansan, bensan wuxiong, jiuye zhongzhi, deng) waibinde jihua, jianbao (er)*

(‘Plan and second report concerning Japanese foreign guests (various friendly delegations from Tokyo, including Songcai Qiansan, Bensan Wuxiong, Jiuye Zhongzhi [J])’), ?/8/65.

Other Primary Sources

731 budui zuixing tiezheng (‘Unit 731 Cast Iron Criminal Proof’). Ha’erbin: Heilongjiang renmin chubanshe, 2001.

731 budui zuixing tiezheng (‘Unit 731 Cast Iron Criminal Proof’). Changchun: Jilin sheng dang’an guan chubanshe, 2003.

Aiguozhuyi jiaoyu dacidian (‘A Patriotic Education Dictionary’). Beijing: Haiyang chubanshe, 1992.

Beijing ribao (‘Beijing Daily’) (**BJRB**).

Chongqing ribao (‘Chongqing Daily’) (**CQRB**).

Communist China Yearbook, 1962. Hong Kong: China Research Associates, 1963.

Economist, The.

Foreign Relations of the United States, 1955–57 (vol. 3); *1964–68* (vol. 30) (**FRUS**).

Gaige kaifang yilai sixiang zhengzhi gongzuo dashi ji (‘Major Political Thought Work Events of the Reform and Opening-up Period’). Beijing: Renmin daxue chubanshe, 2007.

Guangming ribao (‘Guangming Daily’).

Ha’erbin ribao (‘Harbin Daily’) (**HRB**).

Heilongjiang ribao (‘Heilongjiang Daily’) (**HLJRB**).

Hongqi (‘Red Flag’). Party theoretical journal 1928–34 and 1958–88. In 1988 replaced by *Qishi* (‘[Seeking] Truth’) magazine.

Hubei sheng xuanchuan nianjian, 2005 (‘Hubei Province Propaganda Yearbook, 2005’) (Wuhan, 2006).

Jiangsu sheng xuanchuan nianjian, 2005 (‘Jiangsu Province Propaganda Yearbook,

2005'). (Nanjing, 2005).

Jiangsu sheng xuanchuan zhishi (2005) No. 9 ('Jiangsu Province propaganda directive (2005), No. 9'), 14/4/05. Quoted in *Jiangsu sheng xuanchuan nianjian*, 2005.

Jiefang ribao ('Liberation Daily', also known as 'PLA Daily').

Materials on the Trials of Former Servicemen of the Japanese Army Charged with Manufacturing and Employing Bacteriological Weapons. Moscow: Foreign Languages Publishing House, 1950.

Ming shi ('The Ming Histories'). Shanghai: Zhonghua shuju, 1936.

Nanjing xinhua bao ('Nanjing Xinhua Daily') (**NXHB**).

Qinhua rijun xijun zhan ziliao xuanbian ('A Selection of Material Relating to the Invading Japanese Militarist's Biological Warfare'). Hulunbei'er: Neimenggu wenhua chubanshe, 2010.

Renmin jiaoyu chunbanshe tongxun ('People's Education Press Newsletter').

Renmin ribao ('People's Daily') (**RMRB**).

Renmin ribao suoyin ('People's Daily Indices'). Beijing: Renmin ribao she, 1949–2010.

Riben wenti wenjian ('Documents on the Japan Problem'). 5 vols. Beijing: Shijie zhishi chubanshe, 1965. (**RW**).

Yuwen chuxue ban ('Language [Textbook] Lower Middle School Edition') (**YW (C)**).

Yuwen xiaoxue ban ('Language [Textbook] Elementary School Edition') (**YW (X)**).

Zhongguo dang'an bao ('China Archive News').

Zhongguo dianying nianjian, 1981 ('China Film Yearbook, 1981'). (Beijing, 1982).

Zhongguo gongchandang xuanchuan gongzuo wenxian xuanbian ('A Literary Selection of CCP Propaganda Work'). 4 vols. Beijing: Xuexi chubanshe, 1996. (**XCGZ**).

Zhongguo jiaoyu bao ('China Education News').

Zhongguo jiaoyu nianjian ('China Education Yearbook'). (Beijing, 1949–81, 1984,

2001, 2009) (**ZJN**).

Zhongguo lishi cankao ziliao chuzhong ban ('Chinese History Reference Material Lower Middle School Edition') (**ZL (C)**).

Zhongguo lishi chuzhong ban ('Chinese History Lower Middle School Edition') (**ZL**).

Zhongguo lishi jiaoshi jiaoxue yongshu chuzhong ban ('Chinese History Classroom Teaching Guide Lower Middle School Edition') (**ZL (J)**).

Zhongguo renkou nianjian, 2009 ('China Population Yearbook, 2009'). (Beijing, 2009) (**ZRN**).

Zhongguo waijiao gailan, 1987 ('Overview of Chinese Diplomacy, 1987'). Beijing: Shijie zhishi chubanshe, 1987.

Secondary Sources

- 731 budui rijun qinhua zuizheng bowuguan, ed. *Qinhua rijun guandongjun qisanyi xijun budui* ('Unit 731: Japanese Germ Warfare Unit in China'). Beijing: Wuzhou chuanbo chubanshe, 2005.
- Allison, Graham T. *Essence of Decision: Explaining the Cuban Missile Crisis*. Boston, MA: Little, Brown, 1971.
- Anderson, Benedict Richard O'Gorman. *Imagined Communities: Reflections on the Origin and Spread of Nationalism*. 2nd ed. London: Verso, 1991.
- Angell, Norman. *The Public Mind: Its Disorders: Its Exploitation*. London: Noel Douglas, 1926.
- Apple, Michael W. *Cultural Politics and Education*. New York, NY: Teachers College Press, 1996.
- . "The Text and Cultural Politics." *Educational Researcher* 21, no. 7 (October 1992): 4–11+19.
- Apple, Michael W., and Linda K. Christian-Smith. *The Politics of the Textbook*. New York, NY: Routledge, 1991.
- Ashcroft, Bill, Gareth Griffiths, and Helen Tiffin. *Key Concepts in Post-Colonial Studies*. London: Routledge, 1998.
- Bachman, David M. *Bureaucracy, Economy, and Leadership in China: The Institutional Origins of the Great Leap Forward*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1991.
- Bai Yansong. *Yansong kan riben* ('Yansong Looks at Japan'). Beijing: Zhongguo wenxue chubanshe, 2007.
- Bao Haichun, ed. *Qinhua rijun xijun zhan ziliao xuanbian* ('A Selection of Material Relating to the Invading Japanese Militarists' Biological Warfare'). Hulunbei'er: Neimenggu wenhua chubanshe, 2010.
- Bartelson, Jens. "We Could Remember it for you Wholesale: Myths, Monuments and the Constitution of National Memories." In *Memory, Trauma and World Politics*:

- Reflections on the Relationship Between Past and Present*, edited by Duncan Bell, 33–53. Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan, 2010.
- Barthes, Roland. “Myth Today.” In *Cultural Theory and Popular Culture: A Reader*, edited by John Storey, 93–139. 3rd ed. Harlow: Pearson Education, 2006.
- . *The Fashion System*. New York, NY: Hill and Wang, 1983.
- Barthes, Roland, and Susan Sontag. *A Barthes Reader*. London: Cape, 1982.
- Baum, Richard. *Burying Mao: Chinese Politics in the Age of Deng Xiaoping*. Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 1996.
- Baxter, R. R., and Thomas Buergenthal. “Legal Aspects of the Geneva Protocol of 1925.” *American Journal of International Law* 64 (1970): 853–79.
- Bazin, Andre. *What Is Cinema?* Edited by Hugh Gray. Berkeley, CA: California University Press, 1967.
- Beasley, W. G., and Edwin G. Pulleyblank. *Historians of China and Japan*. London: Oxford University Press, 1961.
- Bell, Duncan. *Memory, Trauma and World Politics: Reflections on the Relationship Between Past and Present*. Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan, 2010.
- Belting, Hans. *Likeness and Presence: A History of the Image Before the Era of Art*. Chicago, IL: University of Chicago Press, 1994.
- Benedict, Ruth. *The Chrysanthemum and the Sword: Patterns of Japanese Culture*. London: Secker & Warburg, 1947.
- Bennett, Tony. *The Birth of the Museum: History, Theory, Politics*. London: Routledge, 1995.
- Benton, Gregor. “The ‘Second Wang Ming Line’, 1935–38.” In vol. 1 of *Mao Zedong and the Chinese Revolution*, edited by Gregor Benton, 287–320. Abingdon: Routledge, 2008.
- Berelson, Bernard. *Content Analysis in Communication Research*. 1952. Reprint, New York, NY: Hafner, 1971.
- Berry, Chris. “If China Can Say No, Can China Make Movies? Or do Movies Make China? Rethinking National Cinema and National Agency.” *Boundary* 25, no. 3 (1998): 129–150.

- . “‘Race’ (*minzu*) Chinese Film and the Politics of Nationalism.” *Cinema Journal* 31, no. 2 (1992): 45–58.
- Berry, Chris, and Mary Ann Farquhar. *China on Screen: Cinema and Nation*. New York, NY: Columbia University Press, 2006.
- Berton, Peter, and Eugene Wu. *Contemporary China; a Research Guide*. Stanford, CA: Hoover Institution Press, 1967.
- Bhabha, Homi K. *Nation and Narration*. London: Routledge, 1990.
- Bogatyrev, Petr. “Costume as a Sign.” In *Social Aspects of the Human Body: a Reader of Key Texts*, edited by Ted Polhemus, 257–62. Harmondsworth: Penguin, 1978.
- Borg, Alan. *War Memorials: From Antiquity to the Present*. London: Leo Cooper, 1991.
- Boulding, Kenneth Ewart. *The Image; Knowledge in Life and Society*. Ann Arbor, MI: University of Michigan Press, 1956.
- Brady, Anne-Marie. *Marketing Dictatorship: Propaganda and Thought Work in Contemporary China*. Lanham, MD: Rowman & Littlefield, 2008.
- . “Guiding Hand: The Role of the CCP Central Propaganda Department in the Current Era.” *Westminster Papers in Communication and Culture* 3, no. 1 (2006): 58–77.
- . “Regimenting the Public Mind: The Modernisation of Propaganda in the PRC.” In *Asian Futures, Asian Traditions*, edited by Edwina Palmer, 157–69. Folkestone: Global Oriental, 2005.
- Braudy, Leo. *The World in a Frame: What We See in Films*. Garden City, NY: Anchor Press, 1976.
- Brown, Roger. *Social Psychology*. 2nd ed. New York, NY: Free Press, 1986.
- Burke, Peter. *Eyewitnessing: The Uses of Images as Historical Evidence*. London: Reaktion Books, 2001.
- Calder, Kent E. “China and Japan’s Simmering Rivalry.” *Foreign Affairs* 85, no. 2 (1985): 129–139.
- Callahan, William A. *China: The Pessoptimist Nation*. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2010.

- Carr, Edward Hallett. *What Is History? (40th anniversary edition)*. Basingstoke: Palgrave, 2001.
- Cathcart, Adam, and Patricia Nash. "War Criminals and the Road to Sino-Japanese Normalization: Zhou Enlai and the Shenyang Trials, 1954–1956." *Twentieth-Century China* 34, no. 2 (2009): 89–111.
- Center for International Affairs Harvard University. *Communist China, 1955–1959: Policy Documents with Analysis*. Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1962.
- Certeau, Michel de. *The Writing of History*. New York, NY: Columbia University Press, 1988.
- Chang, Julian. "The Mechanics of State Propaganda: The People's Republic of China and the Soviet Union in the 1950s." In *New Perspectives on State Socialism in China*, edited by Timothy Cheek and Tony Saich, 76–124. London: M.E. Sharpe, 1997.
- Cheek, Timothy. *Propaganda and Culture in Mao's China: Deng Tuo and the Intelligentsia*. Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1997.
- Chen Boda. *Ping "zhongguo zhi mingyun" ('A Critique of "China's Fate"')*. Beijing: Zhongyuan xinhua shudian, 1949.
- . *Renmin gongdi: jiang jieshi* ('Public Enemy Number One: Jiang Jieshi'). Beijing: Zhonghua xinhua shudian, 1948.
- Chen Chuan-sheng, Shin-ying Lee, and Harold W. Stevenson. "Academic Achievement and Motivation of Chinese Students: A Cross-National Perspective." In *Growing up the Chinese Way: Chinese Child and Adolescent Development*, edited by Sing Lau, 69–92. Hong Kong: Chinese University Press, 1996.
- Chen, Jack. *Inside the Cultural Revolution*. London: Sheldon Press, 1976.
- Chen Jian. *Mao's China and the Cold War*. Chapel Hill, NC: University of North Carolina Press, 2001.
- Chen Xiaoming, Liu Kang, and Shi Anbin. "The Mysterious Other: Postpolitics in Chinese Film." *Boundary 2* 24, no. 3 (1997): 123–141.
- Cheng Linsheng. *Aiguozhuyi zongheng tan* ('A Talk About Patriotism'). Lanzhou: Gansu renmin chubanshe, 1983.

- Cheng Yongming, and Shi Qibao. *Zhongri jingmao guanxi liushi nian* ('Sixty Years of Sino-Japanese Economic and Trade Relations'). Tianjin: Tianjin shehui kexue chubanshe, 2006.
- Cheng Zhaoqi. *Nanjing datusha yanjiu: riben xugou pai pipan* ('Nanjing Massacre Research: Japanese Imaginary Criticisms' Clique'). Shanghai: Shanghai cishu chubanshe, 2002.
- Chuang, H. C. *Studies in Chinese Communist Terminology No. 13: The Little Red Book and Current Chinese Language*. Berkeley, CA: University of California Press, 1968.
- Clark, Paul. *Chinese Cinema: Culture and Politics Since 1949*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1987.
- . "Film-making in China: From the Cultural Revolution to 1981." *China Quarterly* 94 (June 1983): 304–22.
- Coble, Parks M. "China's 'New Remembering' of the Anti-Japanese War of Resistance, 1937–45." *China Quarterly* 190 (June 2007): 394–410.
- . "Remembering China's War with Japan: The Wartime Generation in Post-war China and East Asia and their Contemporary Uses." *Modern Asian Studies* 45, no. 2 (2011): 379–98.
- Cohen, Paul A. *China Unbound: Evolving Perspectives on the Chinese Past*. London: Routledge, 2003.
- . *Discovering History in China: American Historical Writing on the Recent Chinese Past*. Guildford: Columbia University Press, 1984.
- Conboy, Martin. *The Language of Newspapers: Socio-Historical Perspectives*. London: Continuum, 2010.
- Cui Shuqin. *Women Through the Lens: Gender and Nation in a Century of Chinese Cinema*. Honolulu, HI: University of Hawaii Press, 2003.
- Cullen, L. M. *A History of Japan, 1582–1941: Internal and External Worlds*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2003.
- Culp, Robert. "Rethinking Governmentality: Training, Cultivation and Cultural Citizenship in Nationalist China." *Journal of Asian Studies* 65, no. 3 (August 2006): 529–554.
- Curtin, Michael. *Playing to the World's Biggest Audience: The Globalization of Chinese Film and TV*. Berkeley, CA: University of California Press, 2007.

- Deng Tuo. *Deng tuo wenji* ('The Selected Works of Deng Tuo'). Beijing: Beijing chubanshe, 1986.
- Deng Xiaoping. *Deng xiaoping wenxuan, 1938–1965* ('A Literary Selection of Deng Xiaoping's Works, 1938–1965'). Beijing: Renmin chubanshe, 1989.
- . *Deng xiaoping tongzhi lun jiaoyu* ('Comrade Deng Xiaoping Discusses Education'). Beijing: Renmin jiaoyu chubanshe, 1990.
- Denton, Kirk A. "Heroic Resistance and Victims of Atrocity: Negotiating the Memory of Japanese Imperialism in Chinese Museums." *Japan Focus*, 2007. <http://japanfocus.org/-Kirk A.-Denton/2547>.
- . "Museums, Memorial Sites and Exhibition Culture in the People's Republic of China." *China Quarterly* 183 (September 2005): 565–86.
- van Dijk, Teun A. "Principles of Critical Discourse Analysis." *Discourse & Society* 4, no. 2 (1993): 249–83.
- Dik ötter, Frank. *The Discourse of Race in Modern China*. London: Hurst, 1994.
- Dobrenko, Evgeny. *Stalinist Cinema and the Production of History: Museum of the Revolution*. Edited by Sarah Young. Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press, 2008.
- Donald, Stephanie, Michael Keane, and Hong Yin. *Media in China: Consumption, Content and Crisis*. Abingdon: RoutledgeCurzon, 2002.
- Duara, Prasenjit. *Rescuing History from the Nation: Questioning Narratives of Modern China*. Chicago, IL: University of Chicago Press, 1995.
- Duncombe, Brenda. "Communism and Religion." *Irish Jesuit Province* 65, no. 765 (March 1937): 155–160.
- Durkheim, Émile. *The Elementary Forms of the Religious Life*. Translated by Joseph Ward Swain. 1912. Reprint, London: Allen and Unwin, 1976.
- Dyer, Richard. *The Matter of Images: Essays on Representation*. 2nd ed. London: Routledge, 2002.
- Dyer, Richard, and Paul McDonald. *Stars*. 2nd ed. London: BFI Publishing, 1998.
- Eastlake, Frederick Warrington, and Yoshiaki Yamada. *Heroic Japan: A History of the War Between China & Japan*. 1897.

- Edgar, Andrew, and Peter R. Sedgwick. *Cultural Theory: The Key Concepts*. 2nd ed. London: Routledge, 2007.
- Evans, Harold. *Newspaper Design*. London: Heinemann, 1973.
- Evans, Richard J. *Lying About Hitler: History, Holocaust, and the David Irving Trial*. London: Verso, 2002.
- Fairbank, John King, and Merle Goldman. *China: A New History*. Cambridge, MA: Belknap Press, 1998.
- Fairbank, John King, and Ta-tuan Ch'en. *The Chinese World Order; Traditional China's Foreign Relations*. Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1968.
- Fairclough, Norman. *Critical Discourse Analysis: The Critical Study of Language*. 2nd ed. Harlow: Longman, 2010.
- Fan Shiming. "Chinese Public Perceptions of Japan and the United States in the Post-Cold War Era." In *Getting the Triangle Straight: Managing China-Japan-US Relations*, edited by Gerald Curtis, Ryosei Kokubun, and Wang Jisi, 270–96. New York, NY: Japan Center for International Exchange, 2010.
- Fanon, Frantz. "Black Skin, White Masks." In *Contemporary Sociological Theory*, edited by Craig J. Calhoun, 417–25. 2nd ed. Oxford: Blackwell, 2007.
- Feng Duanyun. *Duihua: Beijing he dongjing* ('Dialogue: Beijing and Toyko'). Beijing: Xinhua chubanshe, 1999.
- Feng Duanyun, Gao Xiuqing, and Wang Sheng, eds. *Zhongri guanxi shi* ('A History of Sino-Japanese Relations'). Beijing: Shehui kexue wenxian chubanshe, 2006.
- Feng Zhaokui, and Lin Chang. *Zhongri guanxi baogao*. Beijing: Shishi chubanshe, 2007.
- Ferro, Marc. *Cinema and History*. Edited by Naomi Greene. Detroit, MI: Wayne State University Press, 1988.
- Feuerwerker, Albert, and S. Cheng. *Chinese Communist Studies of Modern Chinese History*. Cambridge, MA: East Asian Research Center, Harvard University, 1961.
- Fewsmith, Joseph. *Dilemmas of Reform in China: Political Conflict and Economic Debate*. Armonk, NY: M.E. Sharpe, 1994.
- Finkelstein, Norman G. *The Holocaust Industry: Reflection on the Exploitation of Jewish Suffering*. London: Verso, 2000.

- Fogel, Joshua A. *The Nanjing Massacre in History and Historiography*. Berkeley, CA: University of California Press, 2000.
- Fong, Vanessa L. *Only Hope: Coming of Age Under China's One-Child Policy*. Stanford, CA: Stanford University Press, 2004.
- Fong, Vanessa L., and Rachel Murphy. *Chinese Citizenship: Views from the Margins*. London: Routledge, 2006.
- Foot, Rosemary. "The Study of China's International Behaviour: International Relations Approaches." In *Explaining International Relations Since 1945*, edited by Ngaire Woods, 259–79. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1996.
- Forster, E. M. *Aspects of the Novel*. Harmondsworth: Pelican Books, 1970.
- Fu Hao. *Tiannan dibei ji* ('Poles Apart: An Anthology'). Beijing: Shijie zhishi chubanshe, 2006.
- Fu Yuangen. "Putong gaozhong lishi xinde kecheng jiaoxue shejide xin tansuo" ('A New Probe into the Latest Standard Upper Middle School History Teaching Timetable Plan'). *Lishi jiaoyu* 5, no. 498 (2005): 50–52.
- Fujitani, Takashi, Geoffrey M. White, and Lisa Yoneyama. *Perilous Memories: The Asia-Pacific War(s)*. Durham, NC: Duke University Press, 2001.
- Gaddis, John Lewis. *Strategies of Containment: A Critical Appraisal of Postwar American National Security Policy*. New York, NY: Oxford University Press, 1982.
- . *The Landscape of History: How Historians Map the Past*. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2004.
- . *The Long Peace: Inquiries into the History of the Cold War*. New York, NY: Oxford University Press, 1987.
- Gamson, William A. *Talking Politics*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1992.
- Gans, Herbert J. *Deciding What's News: A Study of CBS Evening News, NBC Nightly News, "Newsweek" and "Time."* London: Constable, 1980.
- Gao Hua. *Hong taiyang shi zenyang shengqide—yan'an zhengfeng yundongde lailong qumai* ('How Did the Red Sun Rise—The Yan'an Rectification Movement in Context?'). Hong Kong: Zhongwen daxue chubanshe, 2000.
- Garver, John W. *Chinese-Soviet Relations, 1937–1945: The Diplomacy of Chinese Nationalism*. New York, NY: Oxford University Press, 1988.

- Gee, James Paul. *Social Linguistics and Literacies: Ideology in Discourses*. 3rd ed. London: Routledge, 2008.
- Gellner, Ernest. *Nations and Nationalism*. 2nd ed. Oxford: Blackwell Publishing, 2006.
- Giebelhausen, Michaela, ed. *The Architecture of the Museum: Symbolic Structures, Urban Contexts*. Manchester: Manchester University Press, 2003.
- Gold, Hal. *Unit 731: Testimony*. Tokyo: Yenbooks, 1996.
- Gries, Peter Hays. *China's New Nationalism: Pride, Politics, and Diplomacy*. Berkeley, CA: University of California Press, 2004.
- . "Nationalism, Indignation and China's Japan Policy." *SAIS Review* 25, no. 2 (2005): 105–14.
- Griffiths, W. E. "Communist Esoteric Communications: Explication De Texte." In *Handbook of Communication*, edited by Ithiel de Sola Pool, 512–19. Chicago, IL: Rand McNally College Publishing, 1973.
- Guo Rugui. *Zhongguo kangri zhanzheng: zhengmian zhanchang zuo zhanji* ('The Chinese War of Resistance against the Japanese: Records from the Battlefield'). Nanjing: Jiangsu renmin chubanshe, 2005.
- Hall, David L., and Roger T. Ames. *Thinking Through Confucius*. Albany, NY: State University of New York Press, 1987.
- Hall, John Whitney, ed. *The Cambridge History of Japan*. 6 vols. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1988–99. (CHOJ).
- Hall, Stuart. "The Determinations of Photographs." In *The Manufacture of News: Social Problems, Deviance and the Mass Media*, edited by Stanley Cohen and Jock Young, 226–41. 2nd ed. London: Constable, 1982.
- . "Encoding, Decoding." In *Culture, Media, Language: Working Papers in Cultural Studies, 1972–79*, edited by Stuart Hall, Dorothy Hobson, Andrew Lowe and Paul Willis, 128–38. London: Routledge, 1980.
- . *Representation: Cultural Representations and Signifying Practices*. London: Sage, 1997.
- Hall, S., C. Critcher, T. Jefferson, J. Clarke and B. Roberts. *Policing the Crisis: Mugging, the State, and Law and Order*. London: Macmillan, 1978.

- Hamilton, Peter. "Representing the Social: France and Frenchness in Post-war Humanist Photography." In *Representation: Cultural Representations and Signifying Practices*, edited by Stuart Hall, 75–151. London: Sage, 1997.
- Hannum, Emily. "Political Change and the Urban-Rural Gap in Basic Education in China, 1949–1990." *Comparative Education Review* 43, no. 2 (1999): 193–211.
- Hannum, Emily, Hyunjoon Park, and Yuko Goto Butler. "Editor's Introduction: Emerging Issues for Educational Research in East Asia." *Research in Sociology of Education* 17 (2010): 1–14.
- Hannum, Emily, Jere Behrman, Wang Meiyan and Liu Jihong. "Education in the Reform Era." In *China's Great Economic Transformation*, edited by Loren Brandt and Thomas G. Rawski, 215–49. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2008.
- Harding, Harry. *China's Second Revolution: Reform After Mao*. Washington, DC: Brookings Institution, 1987.
- Harris, Sheldon H. *Factories of Death: Japanese Biological Warfare, 1932–45 and the American Cover-Up*. London: Routledge, 1994.
- Hasan, R. "Semantic Variation and Sociolinguistics." *Australian Journal of Linguistics* 9, no. 2 (1989): 221–75.
- He Dao. "Shuyu shisan ge teshu nüxing de shishi: ping yan gelingde 'jinling shisan chai' ('Concerning the Epic Story of Thirteen Ladies: A Review of Yan Geling's 'The Flowers of War')." *Renmin gongan* 15 (2011): 62–63.
- He Houzhen. "Yishu budengyu lishi ('Art Does Not Equal History')." *Dianying pingjia* 9, no. 12 (1987): 12.
- He Li. *Kangri zhanzheng shi* ('A History of the Anti-Japanese War'). Shanghai: Shanghai renmin chubanshe, 1985.
- He, Yinan. "History, Chinese Nationalism and the Emerging Sino-Japanese Conflict." *Journal of Contemporary China* 16, no. 50 (2007): 1–24.
- . "Ripe for Cooperation or Rivalry? Commerce, Realpolitik, and War Memory in Contemporary Sino-Japanese Relations." *Asian Security* 4, no. 2 (April 2008): 162–97.
- . *The Search for Reconciliation: Sino-Japanese and German-Polish Relations Since World War II*. New York, NY: Cambridge University Press, 2009.

- Heazle, Michael, and Nick Knight. *China-Japan Relations in the Twenty-First Century: Creating a Future Past?* Cheltenham: Edward Elgar, 2007.
- Hendry, Joy. *Wrapping Culture: Politeness, Presentation, and Power in Japan and Other Societies*. Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1993.
- Hinton, Harold C. *China's Turbulent Quest; an Analysis of China's Foreign Relations Since 1949*. New York, NY: Macmillan, 1972.
- . *Communist China in World Politics*. London: Macmillan, 1966.
- Hobsbawm, Eric J. *The Invention of Tradition*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1992.
- Hodge, Robert, and Gunther R. Kress. *Language as Ideology*. 2nd ed. London: Routledge, 1993.
- Holmes, Su, and Sean Redmond. *Stardom and Celebrity: A Reader*. London: Sage, 2007.
- Hu Canran. "Nanjing! Nanjing! ('City of Life and Death')"
Zhongguo tushu pingjia 11 (2009): 4.
- Hu Qiaomu. *Anzhao jingji guilü banshi, jiakuai shixian sige xiandaihua* ('In Accordance with Economic Laws; Accelerate the Four Modernisations'). Beijing: Renmin chubanshe, 1978.
- . *Hu qiaomu wenji* ('The Selected Works of Hu Qiaomu'). 3 vols. Beijing: Renmin chubanshe, 1993. (HQM).
- Hu Sheng. *Cong yapian zhanzheng dao wusi yundong* ('From the Opium Wars to the May the Fourth Movement'). Shanghai: Shanghai renmin chubanshe, 1982.
- Hu Yaobang. *Zhongri mulin youhao guanxide xin fazhan* ('New Developments in Good Neighbourliness and Friendly Sino-Japanese Relations'). Beijing: Renmin chubanshe, 1984.
- Huang Weiwen, Jia Lanpo, and An Zhimin. *Zhongguo lishide tongnian* ('A History of China's Early Years'). Beijing: Zhonghua shuju, 1982.
- Hughes, Christopher R. "Nationalism in Chinese Cyberspace." *Cambridge Review of International Affairs* 13, no. 2 (2000): 195–209.
- Hunt, Michael H., and Odd Arne Westad. "The Chinese Communist Party and International Affairs: A Field Report on New Historical Sources and Old Research Problems." *China Quarterly* 122 (June 1990): 258–72.

- Hutchings, Graham. "A Province at War: Guangxi During the Sino-Japanese Conflict, 1937–45." *China Quarterly* 108 (December 1986): 652–679.
- Ienaga Saburo. "The Glorification of War in Japanese Education." *International Security* 18, no. 3 (Winter 1993): 113–33.
- Ijiri Hidenori. "Sino-Japanese Controversy Since the 1972 Diplomatic Normalization." *China Quarterly* 124 (December 1990): 639–61.
- Jager, Sheila Miyoshi, and Rana Mitter. *Ruptured Histories: War, Memory, and the Post-Cold War in Asia*. Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 2007.
- Jilin sheng dang'an guan. "731 buduide you yi zuizheng ('More Criminal Proof from Unit 731')." *Zhongguo dang'an* 10 (2001): 55–56.
- Jin Chengmin. *Riben jun xijun zhan* ('The Japanese Army's Biological Warfare'). Ha'erbin: Heilongjiang renmin chubanshe, 2008.
- Jin Xide. *Rimei jizhou yu jingji waijiao* ('The U.S.-Japan Axis and Economic Foreign Relations'). Beijing: Zhongguo shehui kexue chubanshe, 1998.
- Johnson, Chalmers A. "How China and Japan See Each Other." *Foreign Affairs* 50, no. 4 (1972): 711–21.
- Jones, Aled. "The Nineteenth-Century Media and Welsh Identity." In *Nineteenth-Century Media and the Construction of Identities*, edited by Laurel Brake, Bill Bell, and David Finkelstein, 310–25. Basingstoke: Palgrave, 2000.
- Jowett, Garth, and Victoria O'Donnell. *Propaganda and Persuasion*. 4th ed. Thousand Oaks, CA: Sage, 2006.
- Kahn, Harold, and Albert Feuerwerker. "The Ideology of Scholarship: China's New Historiography." *China Quarterly* 22 (April–June 1965): 1–13.
- Kammen, Michael. "Review of Frames of Remembrance: The Dynamics of Collective Memory by Iwona Irwin-Zarecka." *History and Theory* 34, no. 3 (1995): 245–261.
- Karp, Ivan, Christine Mullen Kreamer, and Steven D. Lavine. *Museums and Communities: The Politics of Public Culture*. Washington, DC: Smithsonian Institution Press, 1992.
- Karp, Ivan, and Steven D. Lavine. *Exhibiting Cultures: The Poetics and Politics of Museum Display*. Washington, DC: Smithsonian Institution Press, 1991.

- Kenez, Peter. *The Birth of the Propaganda State: Soviet Methods of Mass Mobilization, 1917–1929*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1985.
- Kissinger, Henry. *On China*. London: Penguin, 2011.
- Kitto, H. D. F. *The Greeks*. Harmondsworth: Pelican, 1976.
- Kushner, Barak. *The Thought War: Japanese Imperial Propaganda*. Honolulu, HI: University of Hawaii Press, 2006.
- Van Laan, Thomas F. *The Idiom of Drama*. Ithaca, NY: Cornell University Press, 1970.
- Lampton, David M. *The Making of Chinese Foreign and Security Policy in the Era of Reform, 1978–2000*. Stanford, CA: Stanford University Press, 2001.
- . *The Three Faces of Chinese Power: Might, Money, and Minds*. London: University of California Press, 2008.
- Lane, Christel. *The Rites of Rulers: Ritual in Industrial Society—the Soviet Case*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1981.
- Langer, Lawrence. “Clothes and Government.” In *Dress, Adornment and the Social Order*, edited by Mary Ellen Roach and Joanne Bubolz Eicher, 124–26. New York, NY: John Wiley & Sons, 1965.
- Lary, Diana, and Stephen R. MacKinnon. *The Scars of War: The Impact of Warfare on Modern China*. Vancouver: UBC Press, 2001.
- Lebow, Richard Ned, and Thomas Risse-Kappen. *International Relations Theory and the End of the Cold War*. New York, NY: Columbia University Press, 1995.
- Lee Chae-Jin. *China and Japan: New Economic Diplomacy*. Stanford, CA: Hoover Institution Press, 1984.
- Lemert, James B. *Criticizing the Media: Empirical Approaches*. Newbury Park, CA: Sage, 1989.
- Lemke, J. L. *Textual Politics: Discourse and Social Dynamics*. London: Taylor & Francis, 1995.
- Lenoe, Matthew E. *Closer to the Masses: Stalinist Culture, Social Revolution, and Soviet Newspapers*. Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 2004.
- Levine, Steven I. *Anvil of Victory: The Communist Revolution in Manchuria, 1945–1948*. New York, NY: Columbia University Press, 1987.

- Lewin, Keith. *Educational Innovation in China: Tracing the Impact of the 1985 Reforms*. Harlow: Longman, 1994, p. 78. Quoted in Emily Hannum. "Political Change and the Urban-Rural Gap in Basic Education in China, 1949–1990." *Comparative Education Review* 43, no. 2 (1999).
- Leyda, Jay. *Dianying; an Account of Films and the Film Audience in China*. Cambridge, MA: MIT Press, 1972.
- Li De'an, ed. *Zhou enlai yu riben pengyou* ('Zhou Enlai and his Japanese Friends'). Beijing: Zhongyang wenxian chubanshe, 1992.
- Li Jianmin. *Lengzhan houde zhongri guanxi shi (1989–2006)* ('A History of Post-Cold War Sino-Japanese Relations (1989–2006)'). Beijing: Zhongguo jingji chubanshe, 2007.
- Li, Wai-Yee. "The Idea of Authority in the Shih Chi (Records of the Historian)." *Harvard Journal of Asiatic Studies* 54, no. 2 (1994): 345–405.
- Lian Degui. *Meiguo yu zhongri guanxi yanbian* ('The U.S. and the Evolution of Sino-Japanese Relations'). Beijing: Shijie zhishi chubanshe, 2005.
- Liao Xuanli. *Chinese Foreign Policy Think Tanks and China's Policy Towards Japan*. Hong Kong: Chinese University Press, 2006.
- Lieberthal, Kenneth. *Governing China: From Revolution Through Reform*. New York, NY: W. W. Norton, 1995.
- Lim, Ivy Maria. *Lineage Society on the Southeastern Coast of China: The Impact of Japanese Piracy in the 16th Century*. Amherst, NY: Cambria Press, 2010.
- Lind, Jennifer M. *Sorry States: Apologies in International Politics*. Ithaca, NY: Cornell University Press, 2008.
- Link, E. Perry. *The Uses of Literature: Life in the Socialist Chinese Literary System*. Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 2000.
- Lippmann, Walter. *Public Opinion*. 1922. Reprint, New York, NY: Free Press Paperbacks, 1997.
- Liu, Alan P. L., and the University of Michigan. *Communications and National Integration in Communist China*. Berkeley, CA: University of California Press, 1971.
- Liu Jiangyong. *Zhongguo yu riben: bianhua zhongde "zhengleng jingre guanxi"* ('China and Japan: Changing "Cold Political and Hot Economic" Relations'). Beijing: Renmin chubanshe, 2007.

- Liu Jianping. “Nanjing! nanjing! yu zhanzheng jiyi chonggou—houzhimin wenhuade guoji chuanboxue fenxi (“City of Life and Death” and the Construction of War Memory—Analysis from a Post-Colonial International Dissemination Perspective’).” *Zhongguo tushu pingjia* 11 (2009): 5–14.
- . *Zhanhou zhongri guanxi zhuanzhu: bu zhengchang lishi de guocheng yu jieyou* (‘Sino-Japanese Relations After the War Monograph: An Abnormal History Process and Construction’). Beijing: Shehui kexue wenxian chubanshe, 2010.
- Liu Yongbin. “Construction of Cultural Knowledge in Chinese Language Textbooks: A Critical Discourse Analysis.” In *Struggles Over Difference: Curriculum, Texts and Pedagogy in Asia Pacific*, edited by Yoshiko Nozaki, 99–116. Albany, NY: State University of New York Press, 2005.
- Lone, Stewart. *Japan’s First Modern War: Army and Society in the Conflict with China, 1894–95*. London: Macmillan Press, 1994.
- Lowenthal, David. *The Past is a Foreign Country*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1985.
- Luke, Allan. “Text and Discourse in Education: An Introduction to Critical Discourse Analysis.” *Review of Research in Education* 21 (1995): 3–48.
- Luo Guanzhong, ed. *Shui hu zhuan* (‘The Marsh Pirates’). Beijing: Huazhong shudian, 1997.
- Lynch, Daniel C. *After the Propaganda State: Media, Politics, and “Thought Work” in Reformed China*. Stanford, CA: Stanford University Press, 1999.
- Ma Licheng. “Zaitan duiri xin siwei (‘Let’s Talk Again About the New Thinking Towards Japan’).” In *Qianliu* (‘Undercurrents’), edited by Le Shan, 66–71. Shanghai: Donghua shifan daxue chubanshe, 2004.
- Ma Xiaohua. “Constructing a National Memory of War: War Museums in China, Japan and the United States.” In *The Unpredictability of the Past: Memories of the Asia-Pacific War in U.S./East Asian Relations*, edited by Marc S. Gallicchio, 155–200. Durham, NC: Duke University Press, 2007.
- Ma Zhendu. *Cansheng: kangzhan zhengmian zhanchang daxieyi* (‘Bitter Victory: Impressionistic Accounts of Battle’). Guilin: Guangxi shifan daxue chubanshe, 1993.
- Mao Zedong. *Lun chijiu zhan* (‘On Protracted War’). Beijing: Renmin chubanshe, 1960.

- . *Mao zedong wenji* ('A Selection of Mao Zedong's Literary Works') 8 vols. Beijing: Renmin chubanshe, 1993–99.
- . *Mao zedong xuanji* ('The Selected Works of Mao Zedong') 6 vols. Beijing: Renmin chubanshe, 1991.
- Martin, Dorothea A. L. *The Making of a Sino-Marxist World View: Perceptions and Interpretations of World History in the People's Republic of China*. Armonk, NY: M.E. Sharpe, 1990.
- Martin, Roberta. "The Socialization of Children in China and on Taiwan: An Analysis of Elementary School Textbooks." *China Quarterly* 62 (June 1975): 242–262.
- Maspero, Henri. *La Chine Antique* ('Ancient China'). 2nd ed. Paris: Impr. nationale, 1955.
- McLuhan, Marshall. *Understanding Media: The Extensions of Man*. 1964. Reprint, London: Routledge Classics, 2001.
- McQuail, Denis. *Media Performance: Mass Communication and the Public Interest*. London: Sage, 1992.
- Mead, George Herbert. *The Philosophy of the Present*. 1932. Reprint, La Salle, IL: Open court Pub. Co, 1959.
- Meisner, Maurice J. *Mao's China and After: A History of the People's Republic*. 3rd ed. New York, NY: Free Press, 1999.
- Meng Hong. "Dianying 'xuezhao taierzhuang' de qite xiaoying ('The Strange Effect of the Film "The Bloody Battle for Taierzhuang")." *Dangshi wenyuan* 12, no. 1 (2009): 50–52.
- Meron, Theodor. "War Crimes Law Comes of Age." *The American Journal of International Law* 92, no. 3 (1998): 462–68.
- Middlestadt, Susan, E., and Kevin G. Barnhurst. "The Influence of Layout on the Perceived Tone of News Articles." *Journalism and Mass Communication Quarterly* 76, no. 2 (1999): 264–76.
- Minear, Richard H. *Victors' Justice; the Tokyo War Crimes Trial*. Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 1971.
- Misztal, Barbara A. *Theories of Social Remembering*. Maidenhead: Open University Press, 2003.

- Mitter, Rana. "Behind the Scenes at the Museum: Nationalism, History and Memory in the Beijing War of Resistance Museum, 1987–1997." *China Quarterly* 161 (March 2000): 279–93.
- . *The Manchurian Myth: Nationalism, Resistance, and Collaboration in Modern China*. London: University of California Press, 2000.
- . *Modern China: A Very Short Introduction*. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2008.
- . "Old Ghosts, New Memories: China's Changing War History in the Era of Post-Mao Politics." *Journal of Contemporary History* 38, no. 1 (January 2003): 117–31.
- . "Research Note Changed by War: The Changing Historiography Of Wartime China and New Interpretations Of Modern Chinese History." *Chinese Historical Review* 17, no. 1 (2010): 85–95.
- Morimura Seiichi [J]. *E'mo de baoshi: riben xijun zhan budui jiemi* ('Devil's Gluttony: The Secrets of Japan's Biological Warfare'). Translated by Luo Weilong and Chen Naixuan. Beijing: Xueyuan chubanshe, 1983.
- Morris, I. I. "Foreign Policy Issues in Japan's 1958 Elections." *Pacific Affairs* 3, no. 3 (September 1958): 219–40.
- Morris-Suzuki, Tessa. "Defining the Boundaries of the Cold War Nation: 1950s Japan and the Other Within." *Japanese Studies* 26, no. 3 (2006): 303–16.
- Mukae Ryuji. "Japan's Diet Resolution on World War Two: Keeping History at Bay." *Asian Survey* 36, no. 10 (October 1996): 1011–30.
- Mutsu Munemitsu. *Kenkenroku: A Diplomatic Record of the Sino-Japanese War, 1894–95*. Edited and translated by Gordon Mark Berger. Tokyo: Japan Foundation: University of Tokyo Press, 1982.
- Nathan, Andrew J. *Modern China, 1840–1972: An Introduction to Sources and Research Aids*. Ann Arbor, MI: University of Michigan, Center for Chinese Studies, 1973.
- . "Policy Oscillations in the People's Republic of China: A Critique." *China Quarterly* 68 (December 1976): 720–33.
- Negrin, Llewellyn. *Appearance and Identity: Fashioning the Body in Postmodernity*. Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan, 2009.

- Nelson, John. "Social Memory as Ritual Practice: Commemorating Spirits of the Military Dead at Yasukuni Shinto Shrine." *The Journal of Asian Studies* 62, no. 2 (May 2003): 443–67.
- Van Ness, Peter. *Revolution and Chinese Foreign Policy; Peking's Support for Wars of National Liberation*. Berkeley, CA: University of California Press, 1970.
- Nichols, Bill. *Ideology and the Image: Social Representation in the Cinema and Other Media*. Bloomington, IN: Indiana University Press, 1981.
- Nora, Pierre. *Realms of Memory: Rethinking the French Past*. New York, NY: Columbia University Press, 1996.
- North, Douglass Cecil. *Institutions, Institutional Change and Economic Performance*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1990.
- North, Robert Carver. *Moscow and Chinese Communists*. 2nd ed. Stanford, CA: Stanford University Press, 1963.
- Novick, Peter. *The Holocaust and Collective Memory: The American Experience*. London: Bloomsbury, 2000.
- Oksenberg, Michel. "Policy Making Under Mao Tse-Tung, 1949–1968." *Comparative Politics* 3, no. 3 (1971): 323–60.
- Olsen, Lance. *Taiierzhuang 1938—Stalingrad 1942: An Insight Into the Blind Spot in the History of WW2*. Leiden: Clear Mind Publishing, 2010.
- Orwell, George. *The Penguin Essays of George Orwell*. London: Penguin in association with Martin Secker & Warburg, 1994.
- Oswell, David. *Cultural Theory*. Los Angeles, CA: Sage, 2010.
- Paine S. C. M. *The Sino-Japanese War of 1894–1895: Perceptions, Power, and Primacy*. New York, NY: Cambridge University Press, 2003.
- Paletz, David L., and Robert M. Entman. *Media, Power, Politics*. New York, NY: Free Press, 1981.
- Pempel, T. J. "Bureaucracy in Japan." *Political Science and Politics* 25, no. 1 (1992): 19–24.
- Pepper, Suzanne. *Radicalism and Education Reform in 20th-Century China: The Search for an Ideal Development Model*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2000.

- Perkins, T. E. "Rethinking Stereotypes." In *Ideology and Cultural Production*, edited by Michèle Barrett, 135–59. London: Croom Helm, 1979.
- Perry, Elizabeth J. "Challenging the Mandate of Heaven: Popular Protest in Modern China." *Critical Asian Studies* 33, no. 2 (2001): 163–80.
- Peterson, Glen, Ruth Hayhoe, and Lu Yongling. *Education, Culture, and Identity in Twentieth-Century China*. Ann Arbor, MI: University of Michigan Press, 2001.
- Pickowicz, Paul G., and Zhang Yingjin. *From Underground to Independent: Alternative Film Culture in Contemporary China*. Lanham, MD: Rowman & Littlefield, 2006.
- Pieke, Frank N. *The Good Communist: Elite Training and State Building in Today's China*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2009.
- Pool, Ithiel de Sola. *The Prestige Press: A Comparative Study of Political Symbols*. Cambridge, MA: MIT Press, 1970.
- Postiglione, Gerard A., and Jason Tan. *Going to School in East Asia*. Westport, CT: Greenwood Press, 2007.
- Price, Ronald F. "Chinese Textbooks, Fourteen Years On." *China Quarterly* 83 (September 1980): 535–550.
- . *Education in Communist China*. London: Routledge & K. Paul, 1970.
- . "Moral Political Education and Modernization." In *Education and Modernization: The Chinese Experience*, edited by Ruth Hayhoe, 211–37. Oxford: Pergamon, 1992.
- Qian Gang, and David Bandurski. "China's Emerging Public Sphere: The Impact of Media Commercialization, Professionalization, and the Internet in an Era of Transition." In *Changing Media, Changing China*, edited by Susan L. Shirk, 38–76. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2011.
- Redl, Anke, and Rowan Simons. "Chinese Media—One Channel, Two Systems." In *Media in China: Consumption, Content and Crisis*, edited by Stephanie H. Donald, Michael Keane, and Hong Yin, 18–27. London: RoutledgeCurzon, 2002.
- Reilly, James. "China's History Activists and the War of Resistance Against Japan: History in the Making." *Asian Survey* 44, no. 2 (2004): 276–294.
- . *Strong Society, Smart State: The Rise of Public Opinion in China's Japan Policy*. New York, NY: Columbia University Press, 2012.

- Ren Jie. *Zhongguo gongchandangde zongjiao zhengce* ('The Chinese Communist Party's Religious Policies'). Beijing: Renmin chubanshe, 2007.
- Richardson, John E. *Analysing Newspapers: An Approach From Critical Discourse Analysis*. New York, NY: Palgrave Macmillan, 2007.
- Roach, Mary Ellen, and Joanne Bubolz Eicher. *Dress, Adornment, and the Social Order*. New York, NY: Wiley, 1965.
- Robins, Kevin, Frank Webster, and Michael Pickering. "Propaganda, Information and Social Control." In *Propaganda, Persuasion and Polemic*, edited by Jeremy Hawthorn, 1–17. London: Edward Arnold, 1987.
- Robinson, Thomas W., and David L. Shambaugh. *Chinese Foreign Policy: Theory and Practice*. Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1994.
- Rogaski, Ruth. "Nature, Annihilation, and Modernity: China's Korean War Germ-Warfare Experience Reconsidered." *Journal of Asian Studies* 61, no. 2 (May 2002): 381–415.
- Rogers, Rosmarie. *How Russians Read Their Press: Patterns of Selection in Pravda and Izvestia*. Cambridge, MA: Center for International Studies MIT, 1968.
- Rogin, Michael. *Blackface, White Noise: Jewish Immigrants in the Hollywood Melting Pot*. Berkeley, CA: University of California Press, 1996.
- Rose, Caroline. *Interpreting History in Sino-Japanese Relations: A Case Study in Political Decision-Making*. London: Routledge, 1998.
- . *Sino-Japanese Relations: Facing the Past, Looking to the Future?* London: RoutledgeCurzon, 2005.
- . "The Textbook Issue: Domestic Sources of Japan's Foreign Policy." *Japan Forum* 11, no. 2 (1999): 205–16.
- Rossignol, Jacqueline, and LuAnn Wandsnider, eds. *Space, Time, and Archaeological Landscapes*. New York, NY: Plenum Press, 1992.
- Roy, Denny. *China's Foreign Relations*. Basingstoke: Macmillan, 1998.
- Saich, Tony. "Discos and Dictatorship." In *Popular Protest and Political Culture in Modern China: Learning from 1989*, edited by Jeffrey N. Wasserstrom and Elizabeth J. Perry, 248–63. Boulder, CO: Westview Press, 1992.
- Said, Edward W. "Orientalism Reconsidered." In vol. 1 of *Cultural Theory*, edited by David Oswell, 31–45. London: Sage, 2010.

- Samuels, Richard J. *Machiavelli's Children: Leaders and Their Legacies in Italy and Japan*. Ithaca, NY: Cornell University Press, 2003.
- Scalapino, Robert A. "The Cultural Revolution and Chinese Foreign Policy." In *The Cultural Revolution: 1967 in Review: Four Essays*, edited by Michel Oksenberg, 72–96. Ann Arbor, MI: University of Michigan, 1968.
- Schaller, Michael. *Altered States: The United States and Japan Since the Occupation*. New York, NY: Palgrave Macmillan, 2001.
- Schlesinger, Philip, Graham Murdock, and Philip Elliott. *Televising "Terrorism": Political Violence in Popular Culture*. London: Comedia, 1983.
- Schram, Stuart R. "Mao Tse-Tung and Liu Shao-Ch'i, 1939–1969." *Asian Survey* 12, no. 4 (1972): 275–93.
- Schulz, Peter. *Communication Theory*. London: Sage, 2010.
- Seaton, Philip A. *Japan's Contested War Memories: The "Memory Rifts" in Historical Consciousness of World War II*. London: Routledge, 2007.
- Seraphim, Franziska. *War Memory and Social Politics in Japan, 1945–2005*. Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Asia Center, 2006.
- Shen Xuhui, and Shaun Breslin, eds. *Online Chinese Nationalism and China's Bilateral Relations*. Lanham, MD: Lexington Books, 2010.
- Shibuichi Daiki. "The Yasukuni Shrine Dispute and the Politics of Identity in Japan." *Asian Survey* 45, no. 2 (2005): 197–215.
- Shirk, Susan L., ed. *Changing Media, Changing China*. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2011.
- Shirk, Susan L. *China: Fragile Superpower*. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2008.
- Si Maguang. *Zizhi tongjian ershi jiang* ("Twenty Talks on "A Comprehensive Mirror as an Aid to Government"). Edited by Liu Houbin, Li Xiaoju, and Han Shufeng. Beijing: Zhongguo renmin daxue chubanshe, 2010.
- Silbergeld, Jerome. *Body in Question: Image and Illusion in Two Chinese Films by Director Jiang Wen*. Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 2008.
- . *China into Film: Frames of Reference in Contemporary Chinese Cinema*. London: Reaktion Books, 1999.

- Silverman, Maxim. *Frantz Fanon's Black Skin, White Masks: New Interdisciplinary Essays*. Manchester: Manchester University Press, 2005.
- So Kwan Wai. *Japanese Piracy in Ming China During the 16th Century*. East Lansing, MI: Michigan State University Press, 1975.
- Soeya Yoshihide. *Japan's Economic Diplomacy with China, 1945–1978*. Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1998.
- Sorlin, Pierre. *The Film in History: Restaging the Past*. Oxford: Blackwell, 1980.
- Spence, Jonathan D. *The Search for Modern China*. 2nd ed. New York, NY: Norton, 1999.
- Stam, Robert. *Film Theory: An Introduction*. Oxford: Blackwell, 2000.
- Stockmann, Daniela. "What Kind of Information Does the Public Demand? Getting the News During the 2005 Anti-Japanese Protests." In *Changing Media, Changing China*, edited by Susan L. Shirk, 175–201. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2011.
- Strong, Anna Louise. "Eighth Route Regions in North China." *Pacific Affairs* 14, no. 2 (1941): 154–65.
- Swaine, Michael D. *China: Domestic Change and Foreign Policy*. Santa Monica, CA: RAND, 1995.
- Swenson-Wright, John. *Unequal Allies?: United States Security and Alliance Policy Toward Japan, 1945–1960*. Stanford, CA: Stanford University Press, 2005.
- Tanaka Toshiyuki. *Hidden Horrors: Japanese War Crimes in World War II*. Oxford: Westview, 1996.
- Thompson, Denys. *Between the Lines: Or, How to Read a Newspaper*. 3rd impres. London: F. Muller, 1949.
- Thrower, James. *Marxism-Leninism as the Civil Religion of Soviet Society: God's Commissar*. Lewiston, NY: E. Mellen Press, 1992.
- Thøgersen, Stig. *Secondary Education in China After Mao: Reform and Social Conflict*. Aarhus: Aarhus University Press, 1990.
- Tian Huan. *Zhanhou zhongri guanxi wenxianji, 1945–70* ('A Selection of Documents on Post-War Sino-Japanese Relations, 1945–70'). Beijing: Zhongguo shehui kexue chubanshe, 1996.

- Timperley, H. J. *What War Means: The Japanese Terror in China. A Documentary Record*. London: Victor Gallancz, 1938.
- Tosh, John. *The Pursuit of History*. 5th ed. Harlow: Longman, 2010.
- Tsin, Michael Tsang-Woon. *Nation, Governance and Modernity in China: Canton, 1900–1927*. Stanford, CA: Stanford University Press, 2000.
- Tsuneishi Keiichi [J]. “Unit 731 and the Japanese Imperial Army’s Biological Warfare Program.” *Japan Focus* (2005). <http://www.japanfocus.org/-Tsuneishi-Keiichi/2194>.
- Tuchman, Barbara W. “If Mao Had Come to Washington: An Essay in Alternatives.” *Foreign Affairs* 51, no. 1 (1972): 44–64.
- Tuwu Gongxian [J]. “Guanyu 731 budui xijun zhan susong shenpanjuede pipan tantao (‘Analysis of the Criticism Concerning the Judgement on the Unit 731 Biological Warfare Lawsuits’).” *Changde shifan xueyuan xuebao* 6 (2002): 12–14.
- Twitchett, Denis, and John K. Fairbank, eds. *The Cambridge History of China*. 15 vols. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1978–2009. (CHOC).
- Tyson-Bernstein, H. *A Conspiracy of Good Intentions: America’s Textbook Fiasco*. Washington, DC: The Council on Basic Education, 1988.
- van de Ven, Hans J. “The Kuomintang’s Secret Service in Action: Operational and Political Aspects of the Arrest of Liao Chengzhi.” *Intelligence and National Security* XVI, no. 4 (2001): 205–37.
- . *War and Nationalism in China, 1925–1945*. London: RoutledgeCurzon, 2003.
- Vertov, Dziga. *Kino-eye: The Writings of Dziga Vertov*. Edited by Annette Michelson and Kevin O’Brien. London: Pluto, 1984.
- Virilio, Paul. *The Vision Machine*. London: British Film Institute, 1994.
- Vogel, Ezra F. *Deng Xiaoping and the Transformation of China*. London: Belknap Press, 2011.
- Waldron, Arthur. “China’s New Remembering of World War II: The Case of Zhang Zizhong.” *Modern China* 30, no. 4 (1996): 945–978.
- Wan, Ming. *Sino-Japanese Relations: Interaction, Logic, and Transformation*. Washington, DC: Woodrow Wilson Center Press, 2006.

- Wang Dongxing. *Wang dongxing riji* ('The Diary of Wang Dongxing'). Beijing: Zhongguo shehui kexue chubanshe, 1993.
- Wang Xinsheng. *Riben jianshi* ('A Brief History of Japan'). Beijing: Beijing daxue chubanshe, 2005.
- Weakland, John H. "Chinese Film Images of Invasion and Resistance." *The China Quarterly* 47 (February 1971): 439–70.
- Weatherley, Robert. *Mao's Forgotten Successor: The Political Career of Hua Guofeng*. Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan, 2010.
- Weber, Robert Philip. *Basic Content Analysis*. Beverly Hills: Sage, 1985.
- Weiss, Gilbert, and Ruth Wodak. *Critical Discourse Analysis: Theory and Interdisciplinarity*. Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan, 2007.
- Wen Tinghua. "Guanyu zhongxue keben kangri zhanzheng neirong bianxiede jidian xiangfa ('Some Ideas on the Editing of the Content of Middle School Textbooks on the War of Resistance against the Japanese')." *Lishi jiaoxue* 3, no. 472 (2003): 45–46.
- Wendt, Alexander. *Social Theory of International Politics*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1999.
- Whiting, Allen Sues. *China Eyes Japan*. Berkeley, CA: University of California Press, 1989.
- . *Chinese Domestic Politics and Foreign Policy in the 1970s*. Ann Arbor, MI: University of Michigan Press, 1979.
- . "Chinese Nationalism and Foreign Policy After Deng." *The China Quarterly* 142 (February 1995): 295–316.
- Whyte, Martin King. *One Country, Two Societies: Rural-Urban Inequality in Contemporary China*. London: Harvard University Press, 2010.
- Williams, Peter, and David Wallace. *Unit 731: The Japanese Army's Secret of Secrets*. London: Hodder & Stoughton, 1989.
- Williams, Raymond. "Base and Superstructure in Marxist Cultural Theory." In vol. 1 of *Cultural Theory*, edited by David Oswell, 15–30. London: Sage, 2010.
- Winter, J. M. *Sites of Memory, Sites of Mourning: The Great War in European Cultural History*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1995.

- Wollen, Peter. *Signs and Meaning in the Cinema*. London: Thames and Hudson, 1970.
- Wray, Alison. *Formulaic Language and the Lexicon*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2002.
- Wu Guoguang. “Command Communication: The Politics of Editorial Formulation in the People’s Daily.” *China Quarterly* 137 (March 1994): 194–211.
- Xu Yiming. “Waihang ren shuo dian xinli hua: kan ‘xuezhhan taierzhuang’ (‘A Non-expert Gives Some Advice—Watching “The Bloody Battle for Taierzhuang”’).” *Dianying pingjia* 3 (1987): 10–11.
- Xu Zehao. *Wang jiaxiang nianpu, 1906–74* (‘Wang Jiaxiang Chronicle, 1906–74’). Beijing: Zhongyang wenxian chubanshe, 2001.
- Xu Zhixian. *Zhongri guanxi sanshi nian* (‘Thirty Years of Sino-Japanese Relations’). Beijing: Shishi chubanshe, 2002.
- Yahuda, Michael B. *The International Politics of Asia-Pacific, 1945–1995*. London: Routledge, 1996.
- Yan Geling. *Jinling shisan chai* (‘Flowers of War’). Beijing: Zhongguo gongren chubanshe, 2007.
- Yang Guangyuan. “‘Xuezhhan taierzhuang’ shanhuilu (‘Flashbacks to “The Bloody Battle for Taierzhuang”’).” *Dianying yishu* 6 (2003): 67–69+53.
- Yang Yongxun. “Pipan lishi jiaoxue zhong hou diwang jiang xiangbo laodong renminde weixin guandian (‘Criticism of History Teaching’s Thick-skinned Approach to Imperial Idealism Towards the Working People’).” *Lishi jiaoxue* 8 (1958): 46–47.
- Ye Wa, and Joseph W. Esherick. *Chinese Archives: An Introductory Guide*. Berkeley, CA: Institute of East Asian Studies, University of California, 1996.
- Ye Yulou. “Shentide yixiang: dianying ‘jinling shisan chai’ zhong nüxing shenti fenxi (‘Construction of the Body: An Analysis of the Female Body in the Film “Flowers of War”’).” *Dianying pingjia* 6 (2012): 48–49+57.
- Yeban Cansan [J]. *Yeban cansan xuanji* (‘The Collected Works of Nosaka Sanzo’). Dongjing: Riben gongchandang chubanshe, 1962.
- Yin Hong, and Cheng Wen. “2011 nian zhongguo dianying changye beiwang (‘Memo Concerning the Chinese Film Industry in 2011’).” *Yishu pinglun* 2 (2012): 5–19.

- Young, Arthur N. *China and the Helping Hand: 1937–1945*. Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1963.
- Young, Susan. “The Chinese Private Sector in Two Decades of Reform.” *Journal of the Asia Pacific Economy* 3, no. 1 (1998): 80–103.
- Yu Ji. “Dang ‘jinling shisan chai’ zaoyu ridannuofu (‘When “Flowers of War” Meets Zhdanov’).” *Dianying yishu* 343, no. 2 (2012): 30–31.
- Yu Weimin. *Lishi jiaoyu zhanwang* (‘Prospects for History Education’). Shanghai: Huadong shifan daxue chubanshe, 2002.
- Zagoria, Donald S. *The Sino-Soviet Conflict, 1956–1961*. Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 1962.
- Zhang Huiyu. “Weihe xuanze jiaochuan shijiao? (‘Why Did You Choose Jiaochuan’s Viewpoint?’)” *Zhongguo tushu pinglun* 11 (2009): 15–23.
- Zhang Liang. *The Tiananmen Papers*. Edited by Andrew J. Nathan and E. Perry Link. New York, NY: Public Affairs, 2001.
- Zhang Ming, and Li Huixia. “Yuanzi dianying zhongde ‘jingtan’: jiedu ‘nanjing! nanjing!’ de gangan zhenhan (‘The “Thrill” of the Movie: Decoding the Sense of Shock Caused by the Film “City of Life and Death”’).” *Dianying wenxue* 16 (2009): 49–50.
- Zhang Shu, and Feng Yong. “Zhenshi de zhanzheng: nanjing! nanjing! yu guizi laile de bijiao fenzi (‘Real War: A Comparative Analysis of “City of Life and Death” and “Devils on the Doorstep”’).” *Dianying wenxue* 16 (2009): 47–48.
- Zhang Tingyu, ed. *Ming shi* (‘The Ming Histories’). Shanghai: Zhonghua shuju, 1936.
- Zhang Xiangshan. *Zhongri guanxi: guankui yu jianzheng* (‘Sino-Japanese Relations: Glimpse and Testimony’). Beijing: Dangdai shijie chubanshe, 1998.
- Zhang Xishun. *Aiguozhuyi zongheng tan* (‘A Talk About Patriotism’). Taiyuan: Shanxi renmin chubanshe, 1987.
- Zhang Yingjin. “Industry and Ideology: A Centennial Review of Chinese Cinema.” *World Literature Today* 77, no. 3/4 (2003): 8–13.
- Zhao Henglie. *Zhongguo lishi ziliao xuan* (‘A Selection of Historical Teaching Materials’). Shijiazhuang: Hebei sheng chubanshe, 1987.
- . *Lishi jiaoxue xuanji* (‘A Selection of History Education Documents’). Beijing: Renmin jiaoyu chubanshe, 2005.

Zhao Suisheng. "A State-led Nationalism: The Patriotic Education Campaign in Post-Tiananmen China." *Communist and Post-Communist Studies* 31, no. 3 (September 1998): 287–302.

Zhao Yafu. *Lishi jiaoyu jiazhi lun* ('A Discussion of the Value of History Education'). Beijing: Gaodeng jiaoyu chubanshe, 2003.

Zhongguo riben xue nianjian, 1949–90 ('Almanac of Japanese Study in China, 1949–90'). Beijing: Kexue jishu wenxian chubanshe, 1991.

Zhou Liping, and Zhong Hao, eds. *Deng xiaoping jiaoyu sixiang gaishu* ('An Overview of Deng Xiaoping's Thinking on Education'). Beijing: Renmin jiaoyu chubanshe, 1992.

Online Material

ASEAN. "Summit Documents." ASEAN Secretariat. <http://www.aseansec.org/4918.htm> (accessed 12/8/12).

Baidu Encyclopedia. "Xiao yingxiong yu lai" ('Little Hero Yu Lai'). Baidu online. <http://baike.baidu.com/view/140296.htm> (accessed 11/1/11).

Harbin city government website. "Ha'erbin shi huanying nin" ('Welcome to Harbin'). Harbin city government. <http://www.harbin.gov.cn> (accessed 10/11/11).

Ma Licheng. "Deng xiaoping yu hu yaobangde dui ri guan" ('Deng Xiaoping and Hu Yaobang's Views on Japan'). The Ma Licheng Blog, entry posted 26/4/07. http://blog.sina.com.cn/s/blog_49fb8c78010009wx.html (accessed 16/6/11).

Ministry of Culture (PRC) website. "Wenhua bu gonggao tongzhi" ('Ministry of Culture directives and announcements'). Ministry of Culture. <http://www.ccnt.gov.cn> (accessed 14/11/11).

Ministry of Defence (United Kingdom). "Second World War Commemorative Booklets." Ministry of Defence. <http://www.mod.uk/DefenceInternet/AboutDefence/History/WW260thBooklets/SecondWorldWar60thAnniversary.htm> (accessed 5/9/12).