

**Through the Fog of History:
The Nanjing Massacre through the Lens of Documentary Modes**

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Abstract

Focusing on the research question, "What do the processes of constructing history in Nanjing Massacre documentaries tell us about the shifting patterns shaping the event's collective memory?", this thesis explores two aspects of the Nanjing Massacre documentary films: the historical representation and the construction of the collective memory through these documentaries. By following documentary forms across time, my research engages three modes — compilation films, expository mode, and oral history mode — to classify the Nanjing Massacre documentaries, and this methodology builds the framework of analyzing each mode's historical reconstruction and shaping collective memory about this historical event.

Through textual analysis, I explore the three modes and find they establish a formal pattern of composition and narrative rhythm in which filmmakers manifest renderings of historical trauma. Specifically, the Nanjing Massacre compilation films feature the specific propagandistic aim of their presentation through the voice-of-God commentary combined with images of historical materials. The Nanjing Massacre expository documentaries center on robust historical information through narrative skills and show its profound cultural and educational function. This mode shows the voice-over explanation together with the voices of interviewees and skillful film languages, conveys abundant detailed historical information, and offers broader perspectives of seeing history, while also serving to the historical remembrance. In the Nanjing Massacre oral history documentary films, either Chinese survivors, former Japanese soldiers, or Westerners have been exemplars of communicating with the audience and transmitting historical details and war memories. Meanwhile, the three modes indicate three stages and shifting patterns of shaping the collective memory of the Nanjing Massacre logically: awakening the

traumatic memory by compiling clips and voice-of-God commentaries in compilation films; strengthening the memory through intensive historical facts and explanation; and finally transmitting the memory by individual oral testimonies.

This thesis fills a gap in the study of the Nanjing Massacre documentaries, especially in the English academic field. It also provides a new perspective on rethinking historical trauma and the way of transferring it into collective memory in different documentary forms that have not received much attention.

Introduction

The title of this thesis, *Through the Fog of History: The Nanjing Massacre through the Lens of Documentary Modes*, manifests how filmmakers review the Nanjing Massacre through different documentary forms. This title, 'The Fog of History' signifies the complexity of this memory heritage. In the immediate aftermath of the Second Sino-Japanese War (1931-1945), China was involved in a four-year civil war and a subsequent long-term political movement. For this reason, as a historical trauma, the Nanjing Massacre was shelved; it was not simply ignored but marginalised, especially under the context of the Cold War times until the 1980s. Since the first Nanjing Massacre compilation film *The Nanjing Massacre* emerged in 1982, documentary-making has contributed to rehabilitating the historical memory of this event. In Japan, the post-war government inherited war history from the wartime regulatory and propagandistic regime that aimed to hide or blur their war atrocities, particularly the Nanjing Massacre. This event has become a secretive issue in constructing wartime memories in Japan. Meanwhile, this negative attitude of the Japanese towards their war atrocities, particularly the Nanjing Massacre, prompts continual historical debates between China and Japan. Therefore, 'Through the Fog of History' in the title concerns the history of this event and public remembrance. This title also calls the reader's attention to the implication of documentary historical construction as filmmakers attempt to retrace history and navigate the historical memories of the public.

What is the Nanjing Massacre?

As the Japanese army moved to usurp control of Manchuria in 1931, Japan started its invasion of China, and its forces committed widespread war atrocities in China until

the end of the war in 1945. The Nanjing Massacre is one of the most notorious acts of the Japanese military. On December 12, 1937, the Japanese Imperial Army captured Nanjing, the capital city of the Chinese Nationalists, and terror events ensued over the next six weeks in and around Nanjing. Japanese troops committed a chain of atrocities against the Chinese civilian population and prisoners of war (POWs) including large-scale killings; civilians were tortured, shot, bayoneted, beheaded, and burned or buried alive. Under the verdict of the International Military Tribunal for the Far East (Abbreviate IMTFE) of 1946, the estimated number of Chinese slaughtered during the Nanjing Massacre was at least 200,000, and the death count did not involve those who were killed and thrown into the Yangtze River or burned or otherwise disposed of (Brook 1999, p. 261); moreover, no fewer than 20,000 women were raped within four weeks after Nanjing fell (Brook 1999, p.259). This large-scale atrocity is named the Rape of Nanking¹, or the Nanjing Massacre, or “Nanjing Atrocity” (Wakabayashi 2007; Fogel 2007; and Yoshida 2007). The divergent views or attitudes to this event have generated other accounts; for example, there are some conservatives, especially in Japan, who deny or downplay the existence of such historical violence, calling it the Nanking Incident (Feng 2017, p.5).

The research question

During the Nanjing Massacre, some Westerners remained and bore witness in Nanjing, and their writing records, photographs, and reports contributed to the publication of the massacre to the world. When Japanese soldiers wantonly killed local civilians and unarmed captives in Nanjing, the Japanese authorities carried out stringent policies to suppress news and censor information. As a result, few outside

¹ Nanking is the old English translation of Nanjing according to the Wade-Giles Romanization system. Chinese names and words in mainland China were rendered in the modified Wade-Giles system rather than the modern Pinyin until 1958, e.g., Nanking rather than Nanjing. In this thesis, I adopt the modern Pinyin system to refer to "Nanjing" except where "Nanking" is cited in the original version.

of Nanjing knew about what was happening and what happened in the occupied capital city. In this dark and challenging period, however, accounts by some foreigners exposed the atrocities of Japanese troops' conduct to the world. For example, the first news about the Nanjing Massacre reported by Archibald Trojan Steele appeared in *The Chicago Daily News* on December 15, 1937, and it said,

“The occupied Nanjing city encountered a reign of terror by the conquering army that cost thousands of lives, many of them innocent ones. ... It was like killing sheep. How many troops were trapped and killed is difficult to estimate, but it may be anywhere between 5,000 and 20,000”

(Lu 2019, p. 1).

This event remained little known to the public until the boom of Nanjing Massacre documentary-making in the 1980s promoted the communication of this historical event and the construction of its historical remembrance in public. In this thesis, I will explore and analyze documentaries on the Nanjing Massacre by raising the question: what do the processes of constructing history in Nanjing Massacre documentaries tell us about the shifting patterns of shaping the event's collective memory? This research concerns two aspects of Nanjing Massacre documentary films: the historical representation of the Nanjing Massacre and the construction of the event's collective memory through these documentary modes.

In the Nanjing Massacre documentaries, historical materials, as original evidence and first-hand data, constitute the foundation of both representing and memorizing what exactly transpired during the bloody weeks of the event, and they mainly derive from three parties: western helpers (with what they witnessed and heard in Nanjing in diaries, family letters, reports, photographs, and short films during the event),

Chinese victims (like survivors' oral history and physical evidence), and Japanese perpetrators (including formal soldiers' accounts, and war-time files like photographs, records and moving images of the massive killings).

Remarkably, John Magee's twelve rolls of moving pictures submitted as part of his testimony to the IMTFE as irrefutable evidence of the Japanese war crimes committed in Nanjing have proved to be indispensable in vividly representing some crucial historical scenes in the Nanjing Massacre documentary films, for example, the situation of the wounded inside the University of Nanking Hospital. Compared with the clips shot by a Japanese military correspondent, Magee's footage represents the only third party's inside view recording the Japanese atrocities on camera. The earliest documentary films, for example, the American documentary *The Battle of China* (1944) and the Chinese documentary *The Nanjing Massacre* (1982), both make full use of Magee's films to retrace some scenes of the atrocities. John Gillespie Magee (1884–1953) was an American missionary who stayed in Nanjing from 1912 to 1941 and filmed some of the Japanese army's terror campaign in the city with his 16-millimetre camera. As Magee's grandson Chris Magee noted in an interview for 'John Magee: the Film Recorder of the Nanjing Massacre' (the first episode of the television series *Foreign Witnesses to the Nanjing Massacre*, 2015), "he (John Magee) was a good man and did many good things." On the Eve of the Japanese army's invasion of the city, Magee stayed in Nanjing and worked as a member of the International Safety Zone Committee. As the Japanese soldiers committed atrocities in the city, he played a considerable role in helping and protecting many refugees. Meanwhile, given the strict Japanese information lockdown, he risked his own life to film and document the war crimes that were occurring. In 1938, with the help of Dr George A. Fitch, Magee's film was secretly taken out of China and sent to the West as the first available visual documentation of the Nanjing Massacre. After 28 years of

service in China, John Magee returned home in 1941 and made an extensive trip to speak about the Nanjing Massacre and occupation (Yale Divinity School Library 2011; Shao 1995; Smalley 1997).

In the 1980s, the history of the Nanjing Massacre came into public view as conflicting memories of this event in China and Japan surfaced due to the "Textbook Incident". At the end of June 1982, the Japanese media reported that Monbusho (the Japanese Ministry of Education, Culture, Sports, Science, and Technology) had issued instructions for whitewashing the historical record in government-approved textbooks by downplaying the extent of the massacre, for example by using the word "advance" to describe Japan's invasion of China (Buruma 2015; Gluck 1993; Rose 2005; and Suzuki 2013). This news elicited formal protests from China and South Korea, then launched a textbook dispute. In addition, the steadfast denial of the Nanjing Massacre by Japanese right-wing revisionists sprang up; in this way, Sino-Japanese historical narratives became no longer quasi-convergent but openly conflictual. The Chinese government believed that such a wrong view of history would lead to "the Japanese people, especially the younger generation, forgetting the history of Japan's aggression against China and other countries in the Asia-Pacific region" (Deng 2004, p.851). While Beijing negotiated with the Japanese government through diplomatic channels, many articles criticized Japan's falsification of the aggression against China and its war atrocities. Consequently, the issue of the Nanjing Massacre came into sharp focus in China, patriotism education received unprecedented attention, and harking back to national trauma was an essential part of it.

Corresponding to this trend of historical education, in 1982, the Central News Film

Studio produced a compilation film, *The Nanjing Massacre*, which was shown nationwide. It was the first time this traumatic memory was revived through film in China. Henceforth, filmmaking, especially documentary production, has played a crucial role in disseminating this historical memory. Also, some filmmakers in Japan and other countries have been involved in presenting the same historical subject matter. So far, despite their 13 works taking up a fraction of the total number of Nanjing Massacre documentary films (the total number is more than 50), their narratives provide different historical perspectives and impact people's understanding of this historical event.

The research structure

This thesis does not seek to provide comprehensive coverage of the history of the Nanjing Massacre documentaries but rather looks at how the documentaries have developed, for this is integral to the assessment of how collective memory has been shaped. I engage three documentary modes – compilation, exposition, and oral history – to classify the Nanjing Massacre documentary films that build the frame of my research. The historical representation of the three documentary modes indicates three stages of shaping the collective memory of the Nanjing Massacre: arousing the traumatic memory by compiling clips and voice-of-God commentaries; the reinforcement of memory from the intensive recounting of historical facts and explanation; and transmitting memory through oral history. In this thesis, the concrete analytic structure consists of three parts: the three documentary modes and their shaping of the event's collective memory respectively take up each part chronologically but with some inevitable overlapping in time.

Part I (from 1937 to the 1980s: the compilation era) comprises “Chapter 1 Three

Nanjing Massacre Compilation Films: The Three Earliest Versions' Memory of the Nanjing Massacre". Three compilation documentaries brought this historical tragedy to people's attention – *Nanking* (Japan 1938), *The Battle of China* (USA 1944), and *The Nanjing Massacre* (China 1982)² – presenting the Nanjing Massacre under the specific historical contexts of Japan, the USA, and China, respectively. Namely, the Japanese documentary *Nanking* made in 1937 and released in 1938 abode by the policies of cultural war-time propaganda in Japan; the screening of *The Battle of China* in America acted as a tool of war mobilization in 1944; and the production of *The Nanjing Massacre* was a response to the historical and political disputes about the Nanjing Massacre between China and Japan in 1982. My research explores how the three early documentaries were intended to support each state's articulation of the Nanjing Massacre, and their propagandistic signs can be confirmed through integrated elements such as the voice-of-God commentaries and narrative techniques that are the typical characteristics of compilation films.

The conflict of memories regarding the Nanjing Massacre between China and Japan in the 1980s is hinted at in the original memories formed by the Japanese documentary *Nanking* (1938) and the Chinese documentary *The Nanjing Massacre* (1982). In Japan, memorizing war atrocities, especially the Nanjing Massacre has been politically and socially complicated. *Nanking* (1938) was the first Japanese film to record the battle and occupation of Nanjing; its photographer and editor entirely avoided showing any signs of Japanese soldiers' violence in the fallen city. This tendency to cover up the atrocities committed by the Japanese army reverberated historically, prefiguring the intention of the Japanese government to conceal or play down the historical facts later. *The Nanjing Massacre* (1982), as the earliest film,

² In China, documentary production from 1949 to 1966 mainly centred on the subject matter of socialist construction rather than reviewing historical trauma; and during the Cultural Revolution (1966–1976), the creation of documentaries was suspended.

renders the dormant memory to the public through limited historical materials and voice-over interpretation, and it emphasizes the necessity to remember the Nanjing Massacre as a memory of national humiliation and trauma. As the mission of Chinese historical documentaries turned from transmitting political ideas to rebuilding the public's historical consciousness after the late 1990s, the Nanjing Massacre documentaries from China turned to presenting more historical materials and explaining their meanings.

Part II (the expository mode of the Nanjing Massacre documentary films since the 1990s) encompasses two chapters—Chapter 2, “The Nanjing Massacre Expository Documentaries: Forms and Characteristics of Historical Representation”, and Chapter 3, “The Power of Interpretation of the Nanjing Massacre Expository Documentaries: From Historical Facts to Collective Memory”. Specifically, Chapter 2 analyzes the formal features of the expository mode and explores its capability to transmit robust historical information through narrative skills, showing its profound cultural and educational function. Although a handful of expository films like *The Rape of Nanking* (1985) already emerged in the 1980s, till after the 1990s in China, expository mode then gradually became the primary choice for presenting this event. As can be seen from the examples *1937: The Truth of Nanjing* (2005); and *1937: Memory of Nanjing* (2014); the voice-over explanation together with the voices of interviewees and skillful film techniques conveys abundant detailed historical information, offers a broader angle of history, and also serves to form the public memory of the Nanjing Massacre.

The focus of Chapter 3 is mainly to discuss the role of Nanjing Massacre expository films in shaping the event's collective memory. When the expository documentaries

try to disseminate the historical facts of the Nanjing Massacre, they remind the audience of the importance and necessity of interpreting and memorizing this event. The three standpoints of articulation – government discourse (government-funded documentary producers as the agents), historical research (the voice of historians), and individual storytelling (the voice of witnesses) – are combined to impact the construction of the collective memory of the Nanjing Massacre. For example, the Memorial Hall of the Victims in the Nanjing Massacre by Japanese Invaders comes to the fore in many documentaries as it is endowed with cultural and historical meaning, and featuring this museum coheres with the historical trauma and links the victims' memory with the collective memory.

Part III (the oral history mode of the Nanjing Massacre documentary films in the 21st century) discusses Nanjing Massacre documentary films based on oral history and how these films shape the collective memory in Chapters 4 and 5. After entering the 21st century, oral history has become a popular technique in filmmaking, including in expository Nanjing Massacre documentary films; and some documentaries featuring witnesses and their oral testimonies have emerged. As Chapter 4 analyzes, compared with the expository films in which the recollection of witnesses is frequently nested in the voice-over explanation, the oral history model particularly highlights many iconic oral narrators who directly experienced the dark historical events, such as survivors and Japanese veterans, or those who are dedicated to relevant historical research and can be considered to convey historical information convincingly from the view of insiders.

Chapter 5 shows that in the oral history-based Nanjing Massacre documentary films, either Chinese survivors or former Japanese soldiers and the records of some

Westerners are exemplars of communicating with the audience and transmitting war memories. Two key advantages of these typified oral narrators who share their experiences of the Nanjing Massacre on screen are the sense of authority and persuasiveness. The story of the survivor Xia Shuqin is a good case. The oral account of Xia Shuqin is also corroborated in Rabe's diary and a short film by Magee, who shot the scenes after her family was slaughtered. Moreover, survivors' views on war are frequently inspired by their war sufferings and traumatic memory, so their appeals for learning from the past, such as expressing "history cannot be forgotten, and we look forward to peace in the future" (from the words of survivor Ge Daorong, *The Accounts of Survivors: Bloody 1937*, 2017), appear to trustworthy and persuasive.

The oral history documentaries show several patterns whereby individual memory transfers into collective memory: family memory, interaction of individual memories, and groups' arguments on this historical memory. For instance, the survivors Chang Zhiqiang, Zhang Xiuhong, and others tell their stories to their offspring; Shiko Fujiwara is dedicated to collecting her late husband Tsuno Fujiwara's oral testimonies and publishing his memoirs; and overseas Chinese communities hold exhibitions of individual memoirs, oral testimonies, diaries, and letters. These conversational phenomena bridging the present and the past reflect on the dynamic responses from multiple dimensions of historical memory, which is an influential part of forming the collective memory.

The value of this study lies in integrating and probing into the Nanjing Massacre documentaries by way of classification within the academic scope. It offers the most full-scale picture to date of documentaries that tell the story of the Nanjing Massacre – the number of Nanjing Massacre films collected for my research from China and

other countries is the greatest so far in the literature. As Hashimoto notes, catastrophic events can generate "a structure of discourse" (2011, p.67), which helps people understand more about themselves and their society. In practice, many filmmakers actively participate in constructing the discourse of traumatic memory for the Chinese or presenting the complexity of war memory in Japan. This thesis contributes to offering an insight into some significant trends in Nanjing Massacre documentary production, which fills a gap in the research on Nanjing Massacre documentary in the English academic community; and also provides a new landscape about how documentary forms help to construct collective memory and process collective trauma.

Literature Review

Before discussing the Nanjing Massacre documentaries in-depth, I want to touch on the previous scholarship on this topic and the situations of memorizing this historical event in China and Japan as the academic background of my research; I also give an overview of critical theories involving documentary forms and collective memory, which provide theoretical support, and the methodologies used in my thesis. Therefore, this part is to sketch the spectrum of relevant points from the literature and consists of three aspects.

Since the development of Nanjing Massacre films in the 1980s, a few scholars have engaged in the research on documentaries related to this historical theme from China and the English-speaking world, although in research written in English, there are only approximately 10 such studies. Chinese scholars have displayed some points on the documentary films presenting the Nanjing Massacre, for example, the employment of historical materials, historical values, and categories of

representation. In contrast, studies in English consider the documentaries on the Nanjing Massacre to be molded more by political and historical factors and diagnose the political intent of this kind of film through case studies.

The Nanjing Massacre is not only an individual trauma but also a national trauma for China and one part of the war memory for Japan. A body of scholarship encompasses wide historical knowledge and insight into the memory journey of the Nanjing Massacre and its current position as the national memory in China, helping to interpret the films in my research. Also, a considerable wealth of literature explores the Japanese war memory, especially the remembrance of the Nanjing Massacre in Japan. In a way, the historical memory controversy and the potential reconciliation both exist. Films, for example, reveal the narrative conflicts on the Nanjing Massacre between the two parties; on the other hand, they convey positive attitudes and thoughts to people.

At last, in the light of documentary classification theories, I identify the theoretical framework and methods of my research used to examine how documentary films reconstruct the history of the Nanjing Massacre and shape its collective remembrance. As mentioned in the introduction, the theories, for instance, Nichols' (2001) six modes, Beattie's (2004) eight sub-generic formations of documentary, and John Corner's (2010) four television documentary modes, lay the groundwork for me to define the modes of Nanjing Massacre documentary films into three: compilation, expository, and oral history. The conventions of each mode perform a function in the process of embedding history into memory.

1. Scholarship on the Nanjing Massacre documentary creation

Chinese scholarship on Nanjing Massacre documentary films presents various aspects, for example, methods of historical representation, handling of historical data, and categorization, mostly through a focus on case studies. Although researchers rarely pay attention to the emerging oral history of the Nanjing Massacre through documentary films, a few articles investigate and analyze oral accounts of some survivors. The work of English-language scholars on this topic stresses that documentaries presenting the Nanjing Massacre carry the political ideology of different periods in China in terms of narrative and function.

This knowledge, on the one hand, shows that little work systematically and integrally examines the Nanjing Massacre films, especially documentaries; on the other, it has some implications for my program of research, and my research pioneers to combine insights into English and Chinese scholarship on this topic and explores the Nanjing Massacre documentary films from the angle of presentation modes and their role in building the event's collective memory.

1.1 Chinese scholars' research on Nanjing Massacre documentary films

The primary function of Nanjing Massacre documentary films is to undertake an exploration and dissemination of historical facts. Here, some scholars are concerned with how historical sources of the Massacre are presented; and some consider the Nanjing Massacre documentary films as a source of historical documents.

The historical materials used by filmmakers, for one thing, aim to testify to what

happened in Nanjing in 1937 by providing precise details; for another, they reflect the creative ability and skills of the filmmakers in reconstructing the past. Cao Haibin (2016), who is the chief director of the documentary *Foreign Witnesses to the Nanjing Massacre* (2015), addresses his film's three aspects of international historical representation, covering humanistic, rational, and current situations, aiming to transmit inarguable historical evidence to the world. Wang Hui (2015) employs case studies to probe how filmmakers exploit and organize actual historical data to reflect the past atrocity in documentaries. By comparing the television documentaries *1937: The Truth of Nanjing* (also named *The Truth of the Nanjing Massacre*) (2005) and *1937: Memory of Nanjing* (2015), the author concludes that both of them represent the historical scenes and recall the past based on recorded materials, including original pictures and videos; in addition, the voice-over commentaries of the two documentaries play a crucial role in connecting characters and revealing the connotation of the images to direct the audience's thinking. The voice-over narrative is pervasive in Nanjing Massacre documentary films, in my research, I distinguish the role of the voice-over narrator in different documentary forms. Wang emphasizes that the documentary *1937: Memory of Nanjing* (2015) adopts narrative synchrony to tell the memory of 1937 from the dimension of race, individual, and state. This case study inspires to explore the memory of the Nanjing Massacre; for instance, I present the oral history of witnesses (individual memory) of the Nanjing Massacre in Chapters 4 and 5 from three parties: Chinese survivors, Japanese veterans, and western rescuers.

The interaction between filmmaking and historical materials, for example, the historical recording value of films draws attention. Li Xin (2017) views the Nanjing Massacre documentaries as historical documents that help form the collective memory. She illustrates two main arguments with cases in point. First, she regards

some Nanjing Massacre documentaries as the aggregation of historical materials, such as *1937: The Truth of the Nanjing* (2005), *1937: Memory of Nanjing* (2015), and *Foreign Witnesses to the Nanjing Massacre* (2015). She takes the use of archival materials of the Nanjing Massacre as an example to explore how the documentary comprehensively assembles the historical resources of the event, including old photos, records, oral history, documents of trials, and evidence from post-war investigations in China. This point involves the issue of the authenticity and reliability of the Nanjing Massacre documentaries, for example, one of the points I discuss in Chapter 4 at length is how filmmakers employ representation strategies like multiple-angle views of one event and narrative typification to generate an impression of historical authenticity. Compared to traditional historical files, Li's second point is that filmmaking can introduce a greater degree of visualization and vitality into historical representation. Specifically, documentary production can present historical details from multi-aspects to activate the information in written records, which can enhance the communication and impact of the historical event, further helping to construct the public memory. The strategies of presenting historical information, as the core point in reconstructing the past, move on to a broader discussion in subsequent Chapter 2 and Chapter 4 of my research.

Zhou Zhenhua in his article roughly divides the Nanjing Massacre documentaries into three modes: (1) data compilation documentaries, which take past images and data as the primary materials for integration and compilation and rely on commentary text to deliver opinions, for example, the compilation film *Rape of Nanjing* (Rhawn Joseph 2005); (2) oral history documentaries, including interviews with victims, perpetrators, third-party witnesses, or actors playing the parties facing the camera to tell history; for example, *Survivors: Witness to Nanjing 1937* (2016-2017) is a representative oral history work of recent years; (3) documentary drama. Some

documentaries such as *Nanking* (2007), *Iris Chang – The Rape of Nanjing* (2008) adopt re-enactment to a certain degree. Zhou's classification outline is a significant reference in identifying the forms of Nanjing Massacre documentaries but overlooks the expository form, which (as I will argue in Chapter 2 and Chapter 3) is the main mode used to reconstruct this historical event; moreover, the author fails to explore the unique components of each mode and their functioning on the construction of the collective memory. The classification of Nanjing Massacre documentary films in my research includes the compilation mode, expository mode, and oral history mode, and I explore both their specific characteristics and certain connections between them.

Individual memory or oral testimonies are crucial objects presented in historical documentaries, but, at present, the oral history in Nanjing Massacre documentaries is not getting enough attention from scholars. In terms of the oral history of the Nanjing Massacre, despite the extensive collection and collation of oral testimonies and survivors' recollections, there is not much popularity in discussing the text and transmission of oral history. A few articles pay attention to survivors, for instance, the profound and lasting effects of the trauma and traumatic memory on them (Zhang Lianhong 2006), and their accounts contributing to historical research (Zhu Chengshan and Yuan Zhixiu 2006). For instance, Wang (2018) discusses the survivor Li Xiuying as a case study to analyze her oral accounts that have a fixed structure and content familiar to the public; however, according to Wang (2018), Li's emotion and discourse become highly personal when interviews upset her memory, which challenges the framework of collective memory. Wang (2018) notes that some individual survivors can stubbornly preserve memories that they do not want to share with the group; some survivors' recollections vary in detail and are subject to change, for instance, featuring the incorporation of new information. Compared with

the article which notes the emotional and discourse change in survivors' narrative once in an interview as its case studies, my research is more focused on the text and narrative style of oral history and the way of communication shown by the Nanjing Massacre documentaries, which is one of the main points in Chapter 4 and 5.

1.2 English-language literature on Nanjing Massacre documentary films

Although Nanjing Massacre films have not received much attention from academic circles abroad, several pieces of literature involve documentary films relevant to this slaughter. In Japan, during wartime, in the interaction between the battlefield and home front, mass media like newspapers, magazines, radio, newsreels, and films were entangled in the war propaganda and played the decisive role of messenger and supporter. For example, *Nanking* (1938), the first documentary presenting the period during and after the Nanjing battle, was one of the outcomes of the film propaganda effort. Some scholars (including Cook 2000; High 2003; Kushner 2006; Nornes 2003; and Uchiyama 2019) speak of the filmmaking propaganda in Japan during the war and take *Nanking* (1938) as an example of propagandizing the stories of glorified battle and the human interest of Japanese soldiers.

Nornes' book *Japanese Documentary Film: The Meiji Era Through Hiroshima* (2003), for example, is a vital reference for understanding Japanese documentary films in the early 20th century. He analyses at considerable length nonfiction filmmaking in the 1930s in Japan, including the war documentary *Nanking* (1938). Nornes traces this film's production process and explores its content, for instance, he notices the film's elision of Massacre violence in Nanjing. First, Nornes explores the development of Japanese documentary films during wartime, for example, the influence of government propaganda policies and audience interest in wartime. Then, he verifies

the photographer Shirai Shigeru's intentional omission of violent shots through Shirai Shigeru's self-statement and details the metaphor of violence in *Nanking* (1938). According to the author, "the potentially upsetting reality of the war was disavowed through sacrificing violence" (Nornes 2003, p.113). *Nanking* (1938) presents funerals and soldiers carrying boxes of their comrades' ashes in battlefield cremation scenes, and Nornes considers that these ceremonies are a metaphor for war violence.

The Japanese film *Nanking* (1938) comprises the object of analysis in Chapter 1 of this thesis together with the other two compilation films, *Why We Fight* (USA, 1944) and *The Nanjing Massacre* (China, 1982) – the representation of the same event from the three standpoints forms a multifaceted narrative. Compared with the other two films, *Nanking* (1938) presents a different Nanjing battle and occupations, such as "the frail and emotionally sensitive soldier" (Uchiyama 2019, p.112), with no war violence. On this point, Nornes and other scholars provide specific background information and knowledge about the wartime filmmaking trends in Japan.

In addition, several articles touch upon contemporary Nanjing Massacre documentaries, and they commonly concern the broad issue of the complex relationship between the film discourse of filmmakers and environmental factors, including the reception (Mackinnon 1995), national identity (Kinney 2012; Weiss 2016), and political constraints (Berry 2006). For instance, Mackinnon (1995) argues that the Canadian documentary *In the Name of the Emperor* (1995) fails to put the historical event into a credible historical context because the Chinese population (and government) are portrayed as a passive victim, which is "a serious distortion of history" (1995, p.432). Iris Chang (1968–2004), a Chinese-American writer, plays an important role in promoting what happened in Nanjing to the world through her

book *The Rape of Nanking: The Forgotten Holocaust of World War II* (2015) and her subsequent series of lectures. Damien Kinney argues (2012) that Iris Chang's best-selling book and its film legacy reflect "the power of emotive storytelling" (Damien 2012, p.20) to tap into the store of shared or personal memories of historical events. Furthermore, he points out that Iris Chang's work and its cinematic adaptations, such as *Rape of Nanking* (2005) and *Iris Chang: The Rape of Nanking* (2007), with their emphasis on Chinese victimhood align with the theme of humiliation promulgated by nationalists in China.

In the scholarly realm, film production on the theme of the Nanjing Massacre is frequently understood as a political tool of propaganda, facilitating political agendas or ideological trends; however, the previous studies fail to give sufficient focus to the cinematic representation and contribution to historical remembrance of these documentary films. My research conducts a fundamental step to explore how the Nanjing Massacre is presented and spread based on a wide array of historical evidence through various documentary forms.

2. Literature review on the memory of the Nanjing Massacre in China and Japan

After World War II, the development of the Nanjing Massacre as a Chinese and Japanese shared historical memory has experienced several stages in the two countries. According to a body of scholarly analysis, historical remembrance in China has shifted course from silence to national memory or collective memory (Eykholt 2000; Gries 2014; Liu 2009, Mitter 2003; Wang 2017; Zheng 2008). In tracing the traumatic memory, more and more individual witnesses of the atrocities in Nanjing have surfaced and spoken out about what they suffered and saw.

The war memory in Japan, especially the Nanjing Massacre, presents a mixed picture of constant contestation. Over the decades, although several competing schools of thought and their adherents, like progressives, conservatives, and revisionists, have emerged with their views on the war atrocities, there is no dominant discourse in Japan; according to Fogel, "this inability to reach consensus results from the different concerns motivating these groups" (2000, p.6). Many scholars look back to the Japanese war memory and explore the main views of these prevailing schools of thought. At the same time, many scholars, such as James J. Orr (2001), Kazuhiko Togo (2008), and Thomas U. Berger (1998), believe that the nuclear bomb experience and defeat in the war gave the Japanese a sense of victimization rather than perpetrators.

It is a longstanding fact that China and Japan have their own and very different memories of the Nanjing Massacre, and this narrative conflict exploded in 1982 due to the Japanese "Textbook Incident". However, there remains an attempt to seek the possibility of reconciliation, and many scholars discuss the possible ways and offer constructive suggestions on this point. For example, the media of reconciliation is viewed as the use of media as a communication method to influence the audience to confront historical problems.

2.1 The memory of the Nanjing Massacre in China

As a historical heritage, the fundamental historical reality and unforgettable painful memory of the Nanjing Massacre were inherited by the Chinese Communist Party in 1949. With the constant change in the political agenda and political hot spots in the new social framework, this historical memory has been re-integrated, interpreted,

and endowed with new connotations. The remembering and forgetting of the Nanjing Massacre has gone through several stages. For example, Liu (2009) examines the remembering and transmitting of the historical memory of the Nanjing Massacre from 1937 to 1985 in China. According to his views, in this period, the memory of the Massacre experienced three stages: enhancement through an understanding of the crimes committed by Japanese imperialism according to the verdict of the Tokyo Trial, suppression and distortion during the Cold War, and deepened and broadened through building the Memorial Hall of the Victims in Nanjing Massacre by Japanese Invaders (hereafter Memorial Hall). Wang Weixing (2017) gives a nearly point-by-point echo of Liu's arguments, extending the time range and defining the nature of the memory. In his article *The Memory of Nanjing Massacre in 80 Years* (2017), Wang Weixing reviews the evolution process of the Nanjing Massacre from oblivion in the context of national political competition to city memory and national memory. He identifies the three stages through core events closely relevant to the remembrance of the Nanjing Massacre; for example, before the 1980s, the national political climate that focused on social class struggle and confronted the complex international relationship suppressed the expression of traumatic memory. In 1985, the erection of the Memorial Hall marked the formation of the local memory, and the first national memorial ceremony of the Nanjing Massacre was held in 2014, in Wang's analysis, which means the Nanjing Massacre has been transformed from historical suffering into a national memory and also reflect a big step from individual memory to collective memory.

In one sense, the winding course of remembering the Nanjing Massacre provides the historical context for understanding the filmmaking themed on this atrocity. Scholarship places the historical sites in the course of history to demonstrate their specific connotations from different viewpoints. The analysis from Mitter, for

instance, is that the Memorial Hall embodies the part of China's self-image rooted in "victimhood in the political culture of the 1990s" (Mitter 2003, p.122). To fully illustrate the building's significance for China, he observes it from a particular era's historical consciousness and political culture, establishing a practical interpretation of the memory. In a way, the remembrance set in a historical frame is a reference for my analysis of the commemoration of this historical event. For example, the Memorial Hall and The National Memorial Ceremony for Victims of the Nanjing Massacre (short for The National Memorial Ceremony) occur in films not just as a physical way of memorizing the past but as the symbolization of national and collective traumatic memory.

Today, the Nanjing Massacre documentary production is undertaken to cultivate and reinforce the collective memory of young generations. The historical representation cannot be comprehended well without confronting the past trauma, especially the traumatic memory of individuals. With the accumulation and enrichment of oral history collection, the characteristics and categorization of the essential aspects of oral history have been one of the research topics of the Nanjing Massacre. For example, Zhang Lianhong summarizes three narrative trends among interviewed survivors: an avoidance of recall, active participation, and tolerance (2003, p.149–151); according to his observations, the common wish of most interviewees is the admission and self-examination of the war atrocities by the Japanese government and populace to prevent another tragedy. These three expressive tendencies of the survivors of the Massacre have been embodied in documentaries, for instance, *The Accounts of Survivors: Bloody 1937* (2017) and the four-part series *My 1937* (2017). For my research, these investigations and analyses of oral history help to better understand the narrators and their memory. In Chapters 4 and 5, I observe and study the oral history of the Nanjing massacre including their stability

and communication presented by documentaries.

The changes in the memory of the Nanjing Massacre, affected by social and cultural factors, have also drawn the attention of scholars. Li's research notices the development in recalling the Nanjing Massacre under postmodernism (2018, pp.17–25). Li (2018) considers that the influence of diversified post-modern thoughts has generated more forms of cultural memory such as textual memory, oral memory, ritual memory, and memory of sites. For example, the wave of textual memories focusing on individuality appeared in the 1990s as an abundance of diaries, and oral testimonies were collected and published, signifying a rise in public history, such as *Testimonies Collected from Survivors of the Nanjing Massacre by Japanese Invaders* (1994), *Labe Diaries* (1997), *Azuma Shiro Diaries* (1999), and *Minnie Vautrin Diaries* (2000). According to Li (2018), oral memory as a way of remembering and understanding the past became popular through emphasizing personal, especially witnesses' emotions and traumatic experiences; the National Memorial Ceremony and the series of memorial buildings embody the ritual memory and site memory, respectively. Given that the memory of the Nanjing Massacre has fluctuated over the past 80 years, Li alerts readers to the way of memory transformation. My research in Chapter 4 and Chapter 5 explores the individual memories of Chinese victims, Japanese perpetrators, and bystanders presented in the Nanjing Massacre documentaries, involving analyzing the oral history, national memorial ceremony, and historical sites at length, rather than discussing the stages in narrating memory.

2.2 The complexity of memorizing the Nanjing Massacre in Japan

The Japanese remembering and forgetting of the Nanjing Massacre is closely linked to the issues of war responsibility and historical cognition, reflecting a complicated

situation. The continued contestation over the war memory and war atrocities in Japan has ignited much interest among academics in China, Japan, and the West. A number of scholars – including Beatrice Trefalt (2003), Caroline Rose (1998; 2005), James Orr (2001), John Dower (1999; 2002), Laura Hein and Mark Selden (2000), Philip A. Seaton (2007), Sun Zhaiwei (2014) and Zhang Lianhong (2003) – have demonstrated the complexity of Japanese war memory, especially the remembrance of the Nanjing Massacre.

Through the holistic review, some scholarship has sifted through the stages of Japanese cognition on the Nanjing Massacre (Nozaki 2008; Tokushi 2002; Wu 2017; and Yoshida 2006). Among the comprehensive analyses on this topic, Takashi Yoshida's monograph *The Making of the "Rape of Nanking": History and Memory in Japan, China, and the United States* (2006) stands out as the most scholarly work. Yoshida (2006) takes a more global approach to the issue of the Nanjing Massacre and its evolution in China, Japan, and the United States, and identifies periods – the war years 1937–1945 and the post-Cold War period to the present. One of his conclusions is that the complexities of the history and memory of the Nanjing Massacre derive not only "from the enormity of the event itself, but from the political, social, and psychological forces that have molded the perceptions of a given commentator" (Yoshida 2006, p.6). This detailed review of the historiography of Japanese war memory clarifies the circumstances of the era for people to understand the historical memory shifting in Japan. The veteran's oral history is an element of the complexity of Japanese war memory, as I discuss in Chapter 4 and Chapter 5.

Seaton develops Yoshida's ideas by creating a Japanese war memory model. In his *Japan's Contested War Memories* (2007), Seaton subdivides the schools of "Japanese

judgment war memory" (2007, p.29) further into five groups: progressive (Japan was more of an aggressor than a victim); progressive-learning (both perpetrator and victim's position); do not know or care (young generations who do not see the relevance of war history in their current lives); conservative (narratives of victimhood, closest to the conservative politicians); and nationalists (also called revisionists, denying or downplaying Japan's war guilt). These schools, as the familiar voices of controversies on the Nanjing Massacre, run throughout the war memory in contemporary Japanese society. Seaton's memory spectrum indicates the contestation and complexity of narrating the Second World War in Japan. This scholarship, containing a wide range of memory discourses after the war, serves as the intellectual background support to identify the vague situation about the public memory of the Nanjing Massacre in contemporary Japan.

In addition, some scholars pinpoint the Japanese sense of victimization regarding the war memory and investigate how it came into being, and they – including Berger 1998, Dower 2000, Drea 2006, Orr 2001, and Seaton 2007, – contribute a wide diversity of views on this argument. For example, Seaton (2007) views victim consciousness as a pivotal issue in Japanese war memories. According to Dower, the three aspects – defeat in the war, the nuclear bomb experience, and "a great moral and psychological dilemma" (2000, p.493) caused by the entanglement of condemning the unjust war with honoring the dead Japanese soldiers – have grown a victim consciousness within Japanese memory. Finny (2011) shows agreement with Dower's analyses on the factors such as the trauma of defeat and suffering atomic bombardment; nevertheless, in terms of the third inducement, Finny emphasizes the external pressure from the complex situation during the American occupation, while Dower reveals the inherent dilemma of the Japanese. Moreover, Finny has an insight into the consequence of the victimization sentiments that "marginalized the

consciousness of the things which the Japanese had inflicted on others” (2011, p.265). It echoes Seaton’s previous opinion that it is “unrealistic” to expect Japanese people to “prioritize collective memories of Japanese atrocities over their personal experiences of the A-bombs” (2007, p.7). To some extent, their points provide an angle to revisit the reason why many Japanese refuse to regard the war violence that Japan perpetrated particularly the Nanjing Massacre as a part of the collective memory.

2.3 The conflict and reconciliation of the historical memory between China and Japan

After the war, the issue of Japanese war violence remained a “ghost of the past in East Asia” (Petrov 2013, p.49) and has not ceased to fuel historical and political conflicts, especially between China and Japan; for example, the Japanese “Textbook Incident” as mentioned in the introduction, epitomizes the conflicts over the war narrative, according to the other author He (2011), the bilateral debates result from the “Chinese sense of entitlement based on history and Japanese rejection of it” (2011, p.1182). This historical ghost has aroused concerns and research interest in the academic field.

The divergence and conflict in the narrative of the Second Sino-Japanese War (1931–1945) have expedited scholarship on war atrocities, especially the Nanjing Massacre. On the issue of war atrocities, there exist pessimistic voices. For example, Gilbert Rozman considers that there is no basis for optimism “advancing in the right direction of reconciliation” (2008, p.55) on the shared past, because of Japan’s “narrow and emotional thinking” (2008, p.55) its war actions and its indifference to reassuring the victimized nations. This gloomy tone explains the general

psychological state in Japan, which hints at the impediments to solving the historical issues between Japan and other victimized countries.

Although the reality is far more complicated than usually alleged, some hypotheses or proposals, even practices, seek to develop paths to reconciliation. In light of the controversies in the common historical research field, for instance, He (2011) proposes two solutions. First, historians should “not just criticize the biases of the other country’s historical narrative but also conduct serious self-criticism regarding the national myths in their own nation’s history writing” (2011, p.1189); second, “the findings of transnational historians’ dialogues should be incorporated into school curricula in each country to institutionalize a shared memory” (2011, p.1189). The Japanese historian Tokushi pins his hope on the Japanese new generations and expects they can take responsibility to “move the issue of Japanese war responsibility toward resolution” (Tokushi 2002, p.93). Anchoring the hope to young generations to solve the historical problems is an essential topic in Nanjing Massacre documentaries, for instance, appealing for the young to remember the historical lessons and maintain peace.

In practice, emerging attempts at reconciliation have been carried out in the cultural arena to confront the ghosts of the past since the 1980s. For example, Tessa Morris-Suzuki, in the edited book *East Asia Beyond the History Wars: Confronting the Ghosts of Violence* introduces “reconciliation as method” (Morris-Suzuki 2013, p.13) that embodies the means of communicating history using various cultural tools and strategies such as “history writing, popular culture, media, and grassroots social movements” (Morris-Suzuki 2013, p.14). In this compiled book, Petrov and Morris-Suzuki conduct case studies of “media of reconciliation” (2013, p.31) to look

at the possibility of debating past issues through shared media. According to Petrov, "media of reconciliation" involves written creation and live communication including lectures, performances, exhibitions, the mass media, and new media such as websites and social networks, combining in ever-increasing ways to influence participants.

In this visual age, filmmaking is a force to be reckoned with in historical narratives. For example, Timothy Tsu (2013) demonstrates a form of reconciliation onscreen – an ongoing reshaping of cinematic images of the Japanese – through detailed case studies of the Second Sino-Japanese War in Chinese films. Timothy Tsu further examines how these feature films try to create "amicable bilateral relations" (2013, p.53) between ordinary Chinese and Japanese by setting the Chinese–Japanese bi-national family in stories as a trope that identifies a lasting bond between the two despite the war. These films frequently deploy the stories of vicissitudes about a Chinese–Japanese family before or after the war to reflect expectations and inclinations between Sino-Japanese people; among the best examples are *Yipan Meiyou Xiawan de Qi* (Go, Masters, Duan Jishun and Junya Sato, 1982)³.

The discussion about the media of reconciliation especially on screen is very insightful to develop my argument on the Nanjing Massacre documentaries. Reconciliation is not a compromise but refers to both sides reaching an agreement on respect for historical facts through dynamic communication; this means the process of reconciling historical cognition and understanding on the issue of war

³ It is a sad story about a family tragedy caused by war. In 1924, Kuang Aming, a Chinese teenager with talent at Go, was taken to Japan for further training by a Japanese Go player named Sonborin, a friend of the Kuang family. When the Japanese went to war with China, Kuang tried to get back home but was killed by Japanese military police. After the war, in 1960, Sonborin, as one of the Japanese Go player delegate members, visited China and reunited with Kuang's father — his old friend, and rival.

violence is complex and challenging. Although, concerning the issue of the Nanjing Massacre between China and Japan, competing narratives, political agendas, and unresolved grievances may hinder efforts to build a shared and inclusive memory, information exchanges exist between some private individuals or organizations of the two countries, involving active interaction and mutual understanding, debates and even struggles to manage incompatible views as well. In my research, I note that the majority of documentaries focus on historical facts, which partly show possible paths of dialogue for both parties when returning to face the historical scenes; moreover, some filmmakers present a variety of communication among individuals or groups from China and Japan, for instance, positive interaction and conflicts caused by different opinions on the war memory, which comprises one vital point in Chapter 5.

3. Research methods and methodology

The archival research method provides “a basis for defining key questions, establishing a base of evidence” (Ventresca and Mohr 2017, p.806). Specifically, this method includes investigating documents and textual materials and is applied to the analysis of digital texts, such as electronic databases and web pages. Archive research is the fundamental method used to access relevant original historical materials for my research topic, the Nanjing Massacre, and its presentation in documentaries. Archives and repositories do not always hold sources of related historical data; in this media era, to some extent, the internet is a vast archive, which stores and publishes information at scale to serve researchers. For instance, many networks, including academic websites with updated archival collections (such as Archives Research Hub and Z-library), and online video-sharing platforms such as YouTube, can offer essential research support, which users can easily access to search for data relevant to their research.

For this research, YouTube is a useful and productive channel that I can use to access documentary films related to the Nanjing Massacre. When I was unable to find information in the physical archives in China, I searched on YouTube and unexpectedly found the first Chinese Nanjing Massacre documentary *The Nanjing Massacre* (1982). The other crucial archival material I gained from this platform is the old Japanese film *Nanking* (1938) (the first Japanese compilation film about the Nanjing Massacre) which I was unaware of. The documentary resources used in this research can be found on YouTube, apart from those dispersed through other media, like television and video websites.

Internet archival research, somewhat, makes up for the deficiency of resources caused by cultural, commercial, or ideological barriers. For example, YouTube does not currently operate in the Chinese mainland without a license since it does not conform to the Chinese internet censorship mechanism; therefore, historical data from international internet archives, for instance, the two indispensable films of my research from YouTube, improves my research limitations in collecting historical data; more importantly, as a UK-based scholar using international network archives, I am able to place these archival images of the event into my research to satisfy my desire to comprehensively explore the Nanjing Massacre films and this period of history, which is part of constructing the collective or cultural memory about Chinese history. Meanwhile, this method directs my attention to the role of multimedia interaction in shaping collective memory, as I discuss future research on this issue in the conclusion of this thesis.

In addition, textual analysis, as McKee defines it, "a data-gathering process" (McKee 2003, p.1), is used in my research to gather information on the Nanjing Massacre

documentaries and interpret their representation to obtain the sense the filmmakers intend to express—they aim to produce the texts that not only fit in with the sense-making practices about the historical event but also help to push particular ideological goals like transforming the historical trauma into national trauma and collective memory. According to Fairclough, textual analysis contributes to identifying the themes and perspectives used to represent a particular part of the world (Fairclough 2003, p.92), and he considers that texts/discourses reflect the relation between the speaker and the world, for instance, his/her position, social and personal identities. In my research, the text analysis consists of interpreting audio-visual elements, including characters' narration and camera language, purposing to know how they link the past with the present and future; furthermore, to analyze how they affect the viewers, for example, the formation of historical consciousness, and the construction of collective memory.

Nanjing Massacre documentary films are produced in two different ways. Most are produced and distributed by state-owned institutions or major film studio systems, typical examples are television documentaries; but a small number are created by individuals or small groups, for instance, *The Rape of Nanjing* (1985) and *Japanese Devils* (2001). These films address the history of the Nanjing Massacre through the three modes that I am classifying and elaborating on. To keep the discussion consistent, I adopt the classification theory of documentary film as the methodology of my research, and it constitutes the fundamental framework of my analysis – three modes of documentaries that present the Nanjing Massacre and aim to shape the event's collective memory, though the heterogeneous and overlapping attributes of documentary forms make any rigid division fairly unstable.

In documentary research, scholars have identified a few modes to distinguish different kinds of documentary production. As Kilborn views it, each mode has its “own distinctive form” (Kilborn 1997, p.57) and delivers information to the target viewers in a way different from the others. Nichols’s (2001) six modes, Beattie’s (2004) eight sub-generic formations of documentary, or John Corner’s (2010) four television documentary modes, as popular categorizations, represent the particular forms of documentaries that express reality and history over decades. Although this scholarship does not extend the discussion on the specific relevance of the documentary modes and the historical narrative or the construction of collective memory, they form the methodological bedrock for this research, and they lend an approach for me to draw the features of the three modes of Nanjing Massacre documentaries.

As Nichols views, the filmmakers “set up conventions that a given film may adopt, and they provide specific expectations viewers anticipate having fulfilled” (2010,158). The desire of filmmakers to represent the world in different ways contributes to the choice of modes, and each mode arises in response to the reinforced part of the world. For historical documentary films, every mode or form signals a unique visual angle on our relation to the past and focuses on presenting a set of historical issues and memories to preoccupy the viewers. The Nanjing Massacre documentary modes I probe into involve the combination of two functional layers — historical representation and their efforts to build the collective memory.

3.1 The classification of documentary films

In Chapter 6 of his work *Introduction to Documentary*, Nichols raises the question, “What categories help us characterize different types of documentary films?”

(Nichols 2001, p.148); as an answer, he discusses six modes of documentary film: expository, poetic, observational, participatory, reflexive, and performative, and points out that “each mode emphasizes different cinematic resources or techniques” (Nichols 2001, p.30). The expository mode gives “priority to spoken word to convey the film’s perspective from a single, unifying source” (Nichols 2001, p.154), in a way, the voice-over commentary is the most distinctive quality of this mode; and it is used by most filmmakers of the Nanjing Massacre documentaries as a dominant narrative technique and structural tool. I will discuss this further in Chapter 2 “The Nanjing Massacre Expository Mode”.

Keith Beattie expresses that in the presence of multiple media contexts, the different forms of documentaries more or less have the marks from each medium such as television and new media. According to the rule of “works sharing orientations and conventions” (Beattie 2004, p.1), he reassesses the subgenres of documentaries as ethnographic film, direct cinema and *cinéma vérité*, autobiographical documentary, drama-documentary and documentary drama, Indigenous documentary productions, compilation films, and television documentary journalism (Beattie 2004, p.2). Among them, the conventions of “compilation films” are particularly appropriate for the exploration of early Nanjing Massacre documentaries. According to Beattie, the compilation film is featured in a context of determined topics to treat the materials (such as selecting and editing the footage) and it heavily relies on a voice-over narrator (the voice of God) to inform the point of view, moreover, both the footage and the narration contain obvious political ideological dispositions. In this research, Chapter 1 focuses on the formal characteristics and propaganda functions of the Nanjing Massacre compilation films with case studies.

John Corner proposes four basic modes of documentary television, aiming to explore how the narrative of a documentary establishes the link with the past through “particularly visual design” (Corner 2010, p.13). The four modes are identified as commentary mode, presenter mode, testimony mode, and interviews, as well as re-enactment mode. The voice-over narration in commentary mode plays a central role, just as it works in Nichols’ expository mode, and it can create greater scope for combining different sources of visual materials logically. Given the angle of visual expression to categorize documentaries, Corner emphasizes the commentary’s cooperation and combination with images on screen; however, Nichols (2001) pays more attention to exploring and identifying the value or function of the voice-over itself in addition to its relationship with images. For example, he explains that the form of voice generally known as the “voice of God” or “voice-of-authority” (Nichols 2001, p.74) represents the viewpoint of the film through spoken or written words, and also conveys “mood” and “values on a multitude of levels apart from what is said” (Nichols 2001, p.68). As we shall see in Chapter 2 and Chapter 3, the voice-over narrative is the most popular and well-developed mode of Nanjing Massacre documentaries. As a strategy and a form, the narrator of voice-over-oriented documentary films plays a particular and indispensable role in explaining the visual materials and leading or organizing historical representation. The soothing voice-over of the commentator in documentaries such as *1937: Memory of Nanjing* (2014) and *1937: The Truth of Nanking* (2005) guides the audience to feel the past by stating facts and explaining memorable scenes, details of violence, and sufferings in the Massacre. That is the reason why I prefer to follow Nichols’ expository mode to discuss this Nanjing Massacre documentary that has similar formal features.

It can be noticed that Corner’s classification is founded on the visual expression of documentary television, which suggests it is not a comprehensive exploration of

documentaries. However, the historical documentary television modes defined by Corner are also a crucial reference and inspiration for me to classify Nanjing Massacre documentary films. For example, the presenter mode features the “cogency of the spoken account” and creates a more general historical feeling in the audience” (Corner 2010, p.15). It is not uncommon for a Nanjing Massacre expository documentary to be presented in a specific television program in which the presenter introduces the information of the documentary and invites experts and historians to give opinions – the hybrid subtype of expository mode, as I define it in Chapter 2.

Moreover, Corner observes that oral testimony has a speedy development on documentary television and defines this type as the “testimony mode and interviews” that establish “more experiential and subjectively deep viewing alignments with the past” (Corner 2010, p.16). In some Nanjing Massacre documentary films, the witnesses speak out their stories and memories in front of the camera, I categorize these films into the oral history mode and further expound on their nature and functions in Chapter 4 and Chapter 5.

The attributions of a documentary with formal structure and representation determine the existing part of overlap and intersection between various modes. Nichols notices that the documentary form has a “variable, open-ended and dynamic quality” (2001, p.20); this means that filmmakers have an extensive range of formal choices in addressing viewers what they intend to show; on the other hand, many documentary productions reflect standard conventions, as Nichols (2001) enumerates, such as voice-over commentary, interviews, and location sound recording. Corner illustrates that commentary is frequently used in other modes rather than as “the sole approach” (2010, p.14). Commonly, a voice-over narrator

acts as a connection tool in oral history documentaries. For example, in “Li Daokui: The Special Family Letters” (the seventh episode of *Survivors: Witness to Nanjing 1937*, 2007), Li Daokui, a survivor of the Nanjing Massacre living in New Zealand, recounts his traumatic memories to his family. The voice-over narrative bridges the gaps in the space-time span and stresses several critical timelines like past sufferings, the current situation, and the influence of his oral testimonies. However, using voice-over narration does not affect the distinctiveness of the oral history mode.

3.2 The three modes in the historical representation and construction of collective memory

The three modes I just described identify the different conventions in which the documentary manifests its most distinctive qualities of presentation, for instance, the propagandistic nature of compilation films, the voice-over commentaries of expository, and oral accounts. Moreover, modes indicate regularity of use, methods, and techniques through which particular values and effects are produced, and the point of their impact on public understanding and remembering calls for elaboration.

3.2.1 Compilation films: the propagandistic version of the historical memory

In *Films Beget Films: A Study of the Compilation Film* (1971), Leyda first used “compilation” to describe a film produced from footage sources. Leyda (1971) explains that filmmaking begins on the cutting table with pre-existing film shots, for example, past newsreels are primary compilation film material. McLane concludes that historical compilation is featured with presenting history “by editing together shots taken from earlier newsreels, home movies, and other sorts of visual material” (McLane 2012, p.49). Esther Shub, the pioneer of compilation films, had a major influence on later experimental documentaries, for example, her speed montage

technique was used in the *Why We Fight* (1942 - 1945) series made during World War II. Aufderheide notes the expansive range of archival footage such as “deep archives of newsreels, documentary, training, and other actuality footage” (2007, p.76), which became a resource for later compilation films and TV series. According to these interpretations of the compilation, I classify the early three documentaries about the Nanjing Massacre – *Nanking* (1938), *The Battle of China* (1944), and *The Nanjing Massacre* (1982) – as compilation films.

Beattie (2004) agrees that compilation films are edited from pre-existing footage, but he emphasises that the context of the availability and access to footage determines the film's fundamental topic and how it will be processed. Leyda (1971) considers that compilation manipulating actuality meets the producer's purpose and “ideas and propaganda” (Leyda, 1971, p.20). According to Aufderheide (2007), compilation functions as a tool for individual political intention or government propaganda organisations.

In *Nanking* (1938), *The Battle of China* (1944), and *The Nanjing Massacre* (1982), propaganda becomes the key concern. Propaganda films of wartime, such as *Nanking* (1938) and *The Battle of China* (1944), are intended to instill “a hatred of the enemy and desire for victory” in military personnel and civilians alike (McLane 2012, p.12). For example, the construction of the Nanjing Massacre memory in Japan is made even more intricate and complex by the involvement of the original war propaganda of the Japanese government. *Nanking* (1938), one of the achievements of propaganda films, gives domestic viewers the first memory of the Nanjing battle in which Japanese soldiers were involved. However, the massive killings in Nanjing are left off intentionally by film photographers and editors. *The Nanjing Massacre* (1982)

is devoted to recreating aspects of the traumatic memory of the historical atrocities using archival resources – documents, shot material, and photographs – and an emotional omniscient narrator. The theme of this compilation film focuses on “national trauma”. Neal declares that national traumas play a central role “in forging the collective identity of any given group of people” (Neal 2005, p.22). This historical event, a national trauma for the Chinese, has become a powerful impetus for the construction of collective identity and collective memory, as presented by *The Nanjing Massacre* (1982).

As the significance of *Nanking* (1938) and *The Nanjing Massacre* (1982), the first compilation about the Nanjing Massacre was created, by the two governments in divergent ways, implying the memory conflicts over this historical event. According to Berger (2008), when states manipulate the past, the historical versions or official narratives that clash on important points can lead to conflicts domestically or internationally. Smelser also confirms that the establishment of collective responses to trauma frequently involves many disputes among groups over long periods and often continues “without definitive settlement” (Smelser 2004, p.50). Therefore, the process of selecting which events are presented or remembered, and how they are framed, is a crucial aspect of compilation filmmaking. The historical compilation and its role in collective memory are closely linked with factors like political agendas, cultural values, and power dynamics.

3.2.2 Expository mode: interpreting history and reinforcing its memory

Innovation in technology and media, as well as the shift in film aesthetics, has influenced approaches to presenting the world. For example, Beattie (2004) notices the evolution of compilation from editing archival footage without interviews and

off-screen narrative into the contemporary form on television featuring the “interweaving of archival footage with interview footage and voice-over” (Beattie 2004, p.125). As for expository documentaries, both Nichols (2010) and Beattie (2004) consent that the voice-over narration reverses the traditional emphasis on the image, since images “serve a supporting role” (Nichols, 2010, p.169) and function to “complement, reinforce, or elaborate the impressions, opinions, and reactions” (Beattie 2004, p.21). Meanwhile, voice-over commentaries, as Nichols says, interpret documents and facts expressively and engagingly from “a particular perspective about some aspect of the historical world” (Nichols, 2010, p.147). Many filmmakers use expository forms to make their argument as accurate and convincing as possible by combining commentaries with rich images to represent historical facts about the Nanjing Massacre.

Expository mode establishes a spatial-temporal connection between the past and present and between historical memory and the meaning provided by commentaries. Scheibler views that the narrator in expository films not only makes propositions and constative statements but also “positions the spectator in a relationship of expectancy” (Scheibler, 1991, p.140). They take cues from spoken words and understand the images as evidence or illustrations for what is said. In the Nanjing Massacre expository documentaries, the commentary contains two layers, sometimes accompanied by the voices of witnesses or professionals. One is a sense of historical credibility from supportive materials and narrative qualities such as detachment, neutrality, and disinterestedness. For example, the narrator of the documentary *Witness to History* (1995) leads viewers to find historical evidence and know its relevant stories by interviewing witnesses or historical researchers in the long course of a field trip. The other is crucial to fostering a sense of collective identity and national solidarity among society members by revealing the significance

of the historical trauma.

Smelser believes that society is responsible for sustaining and reproducing an event's "status as trauma" (Smelser, 2004, p.38), once a historical event is defined as a national trauma, the collective trauma requires interpretation. In particular, Neal (2017) stresses that the creation of traumatic symbols, such as memorials, monuments, and tombs, is broadly used in shaping "the national identity of the public" (Neal 2017, p.22). According to Alexander (2004), the collective identity is rooted in sacred places and structured in ritual routines, and the lesson of the past trauma "becomes objectified" (Alexander, 2004, p.23) in monuments, museums, and various historical artifacts. In China, for example, the creation of the Memorial Hall, sculptures, mass graves, and the annual national memorial ceremony symbolise the Nanjing Massacre as a national trauma providing a historical lesson for new generations. Many filmmakers focus on this point and attempt to spread the significance and spiritual value of the historical sites in constructing collective memory. In Chapter 2 and Chapter 3, I discuss how the Nanjing Massacre expository documentaries present and interpret these traumatic symbols; the formation of the event's collective memory involves communication, education, and commemoration, which are based on understanding the national trauma.

3.2.3 Oral history films: individual accounts contributing to forming the collective memory

The popularity of oral history reflects the emphasis on a personal perspective of war trauma. As Thompson (2017) defines, oral history involves taking and preserving first-hand data from individuals through interviews, testimonials, and personal narratives; he values the subjective nature of personal accounts and the diverse

perspectives of oral history. For historical documentaries, McLane views oral testimonies as a way of remaining fresh with first-hand accounts. Filmmakers make individual memories especially valuable as “documents’ and narrated historical facts can ‘be rediscovered by succeeding generations” (McLane 2012, p.311). The oral history of the Nanjing Massacre collects the testimonies of witnesses, including Chinese survivors, Japanese perpetrators, and documents of Western helpers, which provide the audience with a style of approach to the past; Chapters 4 and 5 of this research focus on the three relevant parties' remembrance of this historical tragedy; meanwhile, I probe into how the filmmakers process personal narratives contributing to the collective understanding and remembering. In my view, the oral history of the Nanjing Massacre documentaries involves two main issues: the reliability of oral history and the transformation of individual memory into collective memory.

The historian Thomson (1999) reviews the debate on the value and reliability of oral history during the last three decades of the 20th century and considers that subjective aspects of memory, such as selectivity, bias, and fabrication, have become central points of contention. Grele (1985) emphasises that interviews are constructed by the active intervention of the interviewer, carrying a pre-existent historical ordering, selection, and interpretation. Although the use of memories as a historical source has been severely criticised, for instance, O'Farrell (1979) states that verbal expression, compared with written words, lacks consideration, precision, and reflection. Many historians such as Portelli (1990), Abrams (2010), and Thompson (2017) have positive opinions on the subjectivity of oral sources. Portelli affirms that an oral narrator's subjectivity is “unique and precious” (1990, p.50); Abrams insists that “the emotional responses” (2010, p.22) of oral history are of the same value as historical facts; Thompson stresses the special value of oral histories because spoken testimonies can establish “communications between people” (2017, p.188). Guided

by these ideas, I illustrate in Chapters 4 and 5 how the filmmakers meet the reliability challenge of oral history. For example, to verify the accuracy of oral history accounts, the Nanjing Massacre documentaries cross-reference oral history sources with other archival materials or reference multiple interviews to validate the information.

Some of the theoretical approaches are essential for elucidating and interrogating the transmission of oral history to group or collective memory. Hirsch (2012) introduces the concept of post-memory, which refers to the transmission of traumatic memories of events from one generation to the next. Through case studies, Isurin confirms that the individual memory of the past can be shared with “a bigger group” (such as friends and family) or “the entire nation” (Isurin 2017, p.236), and he demonstrates that individual narratives frequently “complement or differ” (Isurin 2017, p.267) from the collective memory constructed by official discourse. Isurin (2017) concludes that oral history contributes to the improved understanding of new generations of how collective memory is constructed. As the oral history of Nanjing Massacre documentaries shows, individual memories of the event are spread across generations through various mechanisms, including familial narratives, memorial activities, and media. Chapter 5 examines the transmission path of oral history in detail.

Part I

The Compilation Era of the Nanjing Massacre Documentary Films (1937-1980s)

Chapter 1 Three Nanjing Massacre Compilation Films: The Three Earliest Versions' Memory of the Nanjing Massacre

Introduction

Today, Magee's short films, with the precise instructions he wrote for his each film clip, have become one of the central historical sources about the mass killings in Nanjing and have been extensively borrowed from by later filmmakers. Leyda (1971) was the first to use "compilation" to describe a film produced from footage sources in his monograph, *Films Beget Films: A Study of the Compilation Film* (1971). He explains that compilation filmmaking begins on the cutting table with already existing film shots; for example, past newsreel is the primary material of the compilation film. Similarly, Aufderheide notes that the expansive range of archival footage, such as "archives of newsreels, documentary, training, and other actuality footage" (Aufderheide 2007, p.76), became a resource for compilation films and TV series. According to this definition, both *The Battle of China* (1944) and *The Nanjing Massacre* (1982) belong to the category of compilation film. The former is one of the seven-part American propaganda documentary series *Why We Fight* (Capra, 1942–1945), which borrows some readily accessible shots from Magee's films when presenting the sufferings of Chinese people in 1937. The majority of the first Chinese Nanjing Massacre documentary, the 9-minute compilation titled *The Nanjing Massacre* (1982), is derived from Magee's footage. Beattie (2004) also agrees that compilation films are edited from preexisting footage. However, he focuses more on exploring how materials are deployed in constructing historical arguments, and he emphasizes that the context of the availability and access to footage determine the film's fundamental topic and the way it is processed. The photographic and editing process of the Japanese film *Nanking* (1938), for example, demonstrates the point, when presenting the state of Japanese soldiers after occupying Nanjing.

According to Leyda (1971), the compilation film is not content to be a mere record or document; it manipulates actuality by hiding its propaganda and instructional motives, and attempts to provide spectators with the only reality; moreover, this reality is specially selected to suit the producer's intention, and hints at "ideas and propaganda" (Leyda 1971, p.20). Similarly, after tracing the development of compilation films, Aufderheide (2007) concludes that compilation can function as a tool for individual political intentions or government propaganda organizations. In this chapter, the three Nanjing Massacre compilation films to be discussed clearly embody their political propaganda intentions; for instance, *Nanking* (1938) and *The Battle of China* (1944) were both made as components of government propaganda agendas during the war; and the creation of *The Nanjing Massacre* (1982) played a role in historical and patriotic education in the context of memory conflict between China and Japan.

In addition to the common intensive omniscient narration, the three compilation films are crammed with many historical pictures, data, figures, and background music, aiming to let the viewers learn presented fragments of the Nanjing Massacre and its significant meaning in a limited-time screening. It is important to point out that *The Nanjing Massacre* (1982) bears many of the hallmarks of the presentation principle of Chinese traditional compilation documentaries; for example, the "political essay pattern", a dominant narrative style of traditional Chinese newsreels and compilation films from 1949 to 1980s made compilation documentaries almost like "editorials in Party newspapers, and spokespeople of the regime" (Fang, 2003, p.178). This pattern is characterized by a format framework akin to the outline of political essay writing; usually, this kind of documentary making prepares themes (most of them related to

political elements) first and then illustrates them with persuasive materials, including images, an omniscient narrator, and sound effects. The production of compilation documentaries had some popular outputs such as *Heroic People of Xinyang* (Beijing Television Station, 1958), *To Celebrate the 10th Anniversary of the People's Republic of China* (1959) and *Rent Collection Courtyard* (1966). In the 1980s, the production of Nanjing Massacre documentaries was in its infancy and the Nanjing Massacre was a crucial political subject matter in filmmaking; therefore, the presentation of *The Nanjing Massacre* (1982) maintains the conventions of the political essay pattern.

This chapter focuses on three aspects of *Nanking* (1938), *The Battle of China* (1944), and *The Nanjing Massacre* (1982): narrative points, propaganda and narrative strategies, and impact on historical memory. Section 1 introduces the focus of each of the three films. The Japanese film *Nanking* (1938) centres on the activities of Japanese soldiers after they occupied the city of Nanjing, and its selected shots are combined with voice-over narration to present these victors' outstanding qualities but obscure historical facts. *The Battle of China* (1944) and *The Nanjing Massacre* (1982) adopt historical images matching the narrator's commentary to illustrate the main topics of the Nanjing Massacre to inform the target audience of what happened in Nanjing in 1937.

The second section discusses the ways the three films present the Nanjing Massacre. The production of historical compilation films is heavily weighted towards indoctrination and persuasion in service of the nation-state. The three films assume their own propaganda in a political framework. *Nanking* (1938), *The Battle of China* (1944), and *The Nanjing Massacre* (1982) confirm their main historical arguments or political purposes by using available footage and narrative strategies such as the

presentation of war violence and depictions of the characters of Japanese soldiers and Chinese people.

Section 3 focuses closely on *Nanking* (1938) and *The Nanjing Massacre* (1982) to investigate how they construct historical memory in more detail. The three propaganda films constitute the earliest primary accounts and original memory of the Nanjing Massacre. Aufderheide says, “one generation’s propaganda is the other’s treasure trove” (2007, p.93), which perceives the propaganda’s far-reaching impact. It is notable that *Nanking* (1938) and *The Nanjing Massacre* (1982) more or less, respectively, link to the future evolution of either presenting or remembering this period of history in Japan and China, including historical cognition in society and the historical narrative of later documentary creation in terms of the Nanjing Massacre. The American film *The Battle of China* (1944) involves this tragedy, which is a case study of how an outsider of this event influenced on building its historical memory; however, my study mainly focuses on examining the situation of the event’s collective memory in China and Japan through documentaries, thus, this section centres on the effects of the two films, *Nanking* (1938) and *The Nanjing Massacre* (1982).

Section 1 What happened after the fall of Nanjing? – presented by three compilation films

After the fall of Nanjing in December 1937, in Japan, “the world of commerce was quick to participate in the commotion, feeding on the iconography of war to push a wide range of products” (High, 2003, p.93). For example, the film *Nanking* (1938), shot by Shirai Shigeru who was sent by the TOHO studio and edited by Akimoto Takeshi, shows the occupied Nanjing and the Japanese soldiers’ daily activities in the

city. In the one-hour *The Battle of China* (1944), the compilation concentrating on the battle for Nanjing and the Nanjing Massacre accounts for around 5 minutes, and the director's thoughtful portrayal of the complex historical event and skilful shots editing represent the situations before and after Nanjing fell. The Chinese short film *The Nanjing Massacre* (1982) focuses on the Japanese soldiers' atrocities and Nanjing citizens' sufferings in the fallen city.

1.1 *Nanking* (1938)

Nanking (1938) can be described as the first and most extended recording of Japanese soldiers during the battle for Nanjing and the Nanjing Massacre, despite its strategy to ignore shots of Japanese soldiers' indiscriminate killings. It has been a valuable archive resource because it provides the invaders' angle on the mass violence in the war.

Nanking (1938) displays what the producer intended to tell the domestic Japanese as the target audience and what he attempted to conceal. For example, the film starts with subtitles bearing a propaganda slogan: "The entrance of Nanjing Castle will be recorded in a spectacular page of the world history which our compatriots achieved. This movie is dedicated to our coming generations." The following low-angle shot (Figure 1.1) shows a scene from December 14, 1937 – a team of Japanese horsemen appear from the thick mist and then pass in front of the camera; next, a large military truck on the move emerges, followed by infantry teams. Meanwhile, the voice-over narrates, "The camera staff followed the rapid troop advance from Shanghai to Nanjing to record the battle by our loyal and brave soldiers". This explanation suggests a guarantee of the film's intention to preserve authenticity and also points out the film's subject.



Figure 1.1 A low-angle shot at the beginning of *Nanking* (1938). It shows the Japanese troops advancing in the thick mist from Shanghai to Nanjing and implies the mystery and power of the Japanese army.

Nanking (1938) is not compiled according to the battle timeline for Nanjing. The warfare scenes on the 12th and 13th of December are scattered in two places in the documentary: one is followed by the images of marching forces on the 14th; the other is after the memorial ceremony on the 18th. As a result, the disruption of time creates an effect of a calm war atmosphere, as well as showing the winners in a leisurely and sometimes energetic state in a brief interlude of peace after the fights, which conveys to the Japanese audience a war without worries. The battle footage concerns brave Japanese pioneer soldiers without Japanese casualties or Chinese defenders. For example, even the “honorably injured soldiers” (narrator’s terms) and “dead heroes” (narrator’s terms) are looked after very well by their fellow soldiers, as the narrator describes, “The quiet heroes, they were the men who were killed on the way to Nanjing, who were held in the breasts of their soldier friends.” The image of Japanese soldiers holding the funerary urns of comrades on their breasts resembles an expression of great comradeship rather than the brutality of war (Figure 1.2).



Figure 1.2 A shot of *Nanking* (1938) shows a cremation ceremony where a group of Japanese soldiers hold the funerary urns of their killed comrades in their hands. The commentary, “the quiet heroes..... were held on the breasts of their soldier friends” stresses the strong fellowship between Japanese soldiers.

This film uses the tactic of ambiguity to deal with the ongoing historical events in terms of compilation; in this regard, a shot or a scene may convey several meanings simultaneously, even two opposite meanings, while the narrator confers a precise meaning far from the historical facts on these ambiguous shots. For example, the editor builds a peaceful start with the march of the Japanese army before presenting burning and damaged houses along the streets. A group of shots pan slowly from left to right on smoking houses, and the narrator explains, “...remains of the fierce battle were still smoking around the Castle.” This section invents an illusion that the city had been ruined before the Japanese troops entered. As the images of the ruined city continue assembling on the screen, the compassionate voice guides the audience, “What is the result of abandoned Nanjing? What did the people get? Look at this ruined town. The people are exhausted in the rubble.” Therefore, who should be

responsible for the remains of the city? Japanese troops or Chinese defenders? Some interpretations about the destroyed city have emerged; for example, Fujioka and some of his colleagues argue that the chaotic situation that occurred in Nanjing was not the fault of the Japanese army but resulted from the fact that Chinese leaders deserted the city, leaving chaos in their wake (Yoshida 2006, p.4). Consequently, the equivocal narration of this film artfully blurs what Japanese soldiers did when they took the city and destroyed it, which leads to a gap between historical facts and memory for the audience.

This film's editing renders scenes ambiguous and gives them meaning, which is conducive to shaping Japanese civilians' sense of identity in the face of uncertain matters such as war killings or mitigating and eliminating potential controversy over mass killing. For example, when Nanjing fell, Japanese newspapers swamped Nanjing and announced this victory on the home front. The film *Nanking* (1938) includes a section in which a small group of Japanese soldiers is reading a poster of a Japanese newspaper, and there is the voice-over narration which intones, "It is reported Nanjing people welcomed the fall of Nanjing", matching a close-up of a Japanese soldier holding a bunch of flowers under his arm (Figure 1.3). The film editing associates the flowers with the welcome though the flowers are of unknown origin. As I will explore later, the scenes frequently link with propaganda that is farther from the truth; the "war service of our soldiers" (voice of the narrator) is one of "the formats" (Nornes 2003, p.76) of Japanese war documentaries. Nornes analyses the format of the front-line Japanese soldiers' performances in front of the camera.

As an epilogue, the Japanese soldiers offer food and first aid to the conquered city's grateful populace. This pattern is repeated ad infinitum in the Japanese documentary films of the 1930s and 1940s, becoming something like a running

joke from a contemporary perspective cognizant of what happened.

(Nornes 2003, p.76)



Figure 1.3 A shot from *Nanking* (1938). When the narrator informs the audience that a Japanese newspaper has reported that Nanjing citizens welcomed the Japanese army, the camera moves to a Japanese soldier who holds a bunch of flowers.

There is an excellent example to illustrate the above practice in *Nanking* (1938). The camera stops for a second on a Japanese soldier who is lighting a cigarette for a Chinese prisoner (Figure 1.4), and the commentator explains it as “warm service of our soldiers offered prisoners smoking” (the commentary of the film’s voice-over). To a certain degree, these “warm” images that show the so-called humanitarianism of Japanese soldiers provide a special perspective on viewing the Nanjing massacre publicized by Japanese media at that time.



Figure 1.4 A Japanese soldier helps a Chinese prisoner light up a cigarette in *Nanking* (1938). It is one of the staged performances of Japanese soldiers frequently presented in Japanese wartime propaganda films.

1.2 *The Battle of China* (1944)

In *The Battle of China* (1944), viewers can see much archival footage that presents Japanese soldiers brutally slaughtering civilians and unarmed Chinese soldiers in various ways, like burying them alive and shooting them in the head. Some film clips come from Magee's short films, such as the sequence of the wounded in the hospital. Due to the strict blockade by Japanese troops, "he (Magee) could never have been present at the actual executions" (Nornes 2003, p.115) to film the carnage through the close-up lens; therefore, those bloody scenes of scattered corpses and mass killing, according to Nornes, "must surely have been shot by Japanese army cameramen" (2003, p.115). Consequently, *The Battle of China* (1944) "presents a vast and coherent panorama" (McLane 2012, p.140) using materials widely, including existing newsreels, allied and captured enemy records of battle, propaganda, and even drawing on images of fictional war films.

Frank Capra, the chief director of the *Why We Fight* series (1942-1945), is well known for his Hollywood film productions such as *It Happened One Night* (1934) and *Meet John Doe* (1941). Renov calls him “one of Hollywood’s premier storytellers” (2004, p.50) and admires his directorial talent of exploiting “the malleability of the image and even more about editing, the power of association” (2004, p.51). In *The Battle of China* (1944), the segment on the Nanjing Massacre used to present allied China in suffering forms a forceful narrative logic through integration with the stories of fighting in China. For example, in the wake of showing the atrocities in Nanjing, 25 anti-Japanese campaign shots – most of them with synchronous sound – indicate the changing situation in China, as the voice of God says, “It (the massacre) united China, it aroused China.” In this way, the second half of the film concentrates on narrating the Chinese force bravely fighting against Japanese invaders, as Dower concludes, “the Capra touch was displayed in striking scenes of Chinese dignity and heroism amidst an orgy of Japanese destruction and atrocity” (Dower 1986, p.18). Strategically, the editor sets the Nanjing Massacre as a turning point in China's retreat and regrouping, so the significance of this event in awakening the whole nation is highlighted. It should be noted, however, that before the fall of Nanjing, China had launched the anti-Japanese national campaign nationwide after the loss of the Northeast of China in 1935, and the anti-Japanese National United Front based on the cooperation between the Kuomintang and the Communist Party was formally established on September 23, 1937. Undeniably though, the bloody Massacre indeed “hurt Chinese people once and forever” (narrator) and became the most painful page in China's Anti-Japanese War history.

Archival moving images are frequently embedded in narrative segments to provide crucial information about the battlefield in China. For example, a group of short shots

of armed ferocious Japanese soldiers advancing creates a sequence of montages, and at the end, they gather on the top of a wall cheering their victory; the narrator summarizes,

“but again Japanese power was too great and after a battle lasting but a few days the city fell to the invaders. In their occupation of Nanjing, the Japs again outdid themselves in barbarousness, and the city walls trapped the helpless populace who could not flee”

(voice-over narration of *The Battle of China*, 1944).

These concise clips presenting the battle in Nanjing convey the overwhelming forces of the Japanese army and the challenging situation for the Chinese, and the narrative discourse adds a flavour of emotion to the scenes, sorrowful and indignant to some extent.

1.3 *The Nanjing Massacre* (1982)

The main visual content of *The Nanjing Massacre* (1982) is drawn from some archives of Magee’s moving images and several Japanese battlefield photographers’ shots; moreover, this film gives the audience an intensive presentation of the historical trauma by offering an emotional voice-over. The first half of the documentary (about 4–5 minutes) recounts the Japanese army attacking the city and shows scenes of slaughter, and the last half (about 4 minutes) focuses on injured people in Gulou Hospital in the Safety Zone. It is obvious that a few clips are shared by the three compilation films, such as the Japanese army’s celebration held on the rampart and the ceremony of generals entering the city; in addition, part of the footage in *The Nanjing Massacre* (1982) comes from Magee’s films, for instance, scattered corpses and wounded victims in hospital, which emerge in *The Battle of China* (1944) as well.

The historical representation of *The Nanjing Massacre* (1982) lacks historical materials, especially original film clips (except for Magee's), which embodies the apparent weakness of the narrative capacity of the images. For example, most of the film is supported by similar shots, including showing several dead victims' bodies and the wounded one by one. One reason lies in the weakness of the historical collection and research on the Nanjing Massacre in China at that time. Furthermore, this compilation film was made urgently for political reasons to counter Japanese provocation. By 1982, the Nanjing Massacre had been out of people's sight for 45 years, and the collation of relevant historical materials and the collection of video materials had not been put on the agenda until the Japanese "Textbook Incident" stimulated China. China made a diplomatic representation to Japan on the issue of history textbooks on August 6, 1982, and the short documentary *The Nanjing Massacre* was produced in the same month.

Revealing the nature or meanings of the object on the screen using voice-of-God narration is a typical feature of Chinese traditional newsreels or compilation films. The voice-of-God narrator of *The Nanjing Massacre* (1982) plays a primary role in the explanation to deepen and extend the meaning of the film's theme. In particular, rhetorical parallelism featuring the assembly of similar structural sentences or phrases to enhance the power of expression is highlighted in the film combined with the sound of grief and anger. For example, the compelling voice of the male narrator says,

"The grinning devil shot through the body of the Chinese youth, each wound was an indictment of cruelty; the body of the Chinese youth was burned in the

devil's grin, and the Japanese aggressors, even crueler than the beast, brought the Chinese people great disaster”

(voice-over narration in *The Nanjing Massacre*, 1982).

This message shows that the filmmaker significantly intensifies the content of the images to agitate viewers, which is dissimilar to compilation propaganda as analysed by Leyda because instead of “leaving the audience groping for the sequence and the idea of the whole” (Leyda, 1971, p.27), the narrator explains them directly.

That the narrator’s interpretation is inefficient in preciseness inevitably risks the potential for leading viewers to misunderstand the historical details of the Nanjing Massacre. Moreover, given the sensitivity of the Nanjing Massacre between China and Japan, particularly in light of Japanese conservative forces’ attempt to tamper with historical facts, it is required that the representation of the Nanjing Massacre in documentaries should maintain a rigorous adherence to history and an abundance of historical materials. As a result of its weakness, this original nine-minute compilation film is no longer in circulation in China.

Section 2 How to narrate the Nanjing massacre? – Propaganda and narrative strategies in the three compilation films

The producers of the three compilation documentary films all actively take the initiative to use compilation filmmaking as a means of propaganda. However, in the case of the two wartime governments of the US and Japan, the intention was to stimulate people’s hearts and thoughts during the war. In China in the 1980s, the intention was to arouse the memory of the historical trauma in public.

Leyda (1971) emphasizes the artistry of compilation film; he contends that compilation involves more abstract concepts than fiction films and presents more complex propaganda arguments than radio or newspapers; therefore, “only artistic imagination and skill bring these bare newsreel actualities” (Leyda 1971, p.10) to the audience and influence them. The pursuit of film aesthetics in the three films reflects their propaganda framework and narrative strategies, such as the stylized narrative, displaying scenes of war violence, and portraying the images of Japanese soldiers and their Chinese victims.

2.1 *Nanking* (1938), *The Battle of China* (1944), and *The Nanjing Massacre* (1982) as propaganda films

Renov asserts that wartime documentary films “can rally mass support and inspire joint action” (2004, p.54). *Nanking* (1938) and *The Battle of China* (1944) were both made in wartime and embody the motivation of constructing propaganda to incite domestic civilians. The production of *The Nanjing Massacre* (1982) arose from the clash of the political and historical issues of this event between China and Japan, and it was designed to perform patriotic education. All of these films deploy the specific mission or power of filmmaking to convey certain information related to the war or war violence.

As Nichols says, documentaries present historical documents and facts, as well as interpreting them expressively and engagingly through a voice addressing us from “a particular perspective about some aspect of the historical world” (2001, p.147). *Nanking* (1938), *The Battle of China* (1944), and *The Nanjing Massacre* (1982) perfectly illustrate how voice-of-God narration constitutes the power of propaganda.

2.1.1 The purpose of propaganda

In the 1930s, while escalating the invasion of China, the Japanese government needed to influence both domestic and foreign opinion to take control; therefore, the authority “commandeered several agencies concerned with propaganda” (Cull et al., 2003, p.203) and sent newspaper reporters and cinematographers over to China. For example, Toho’s camera crews accompanied troops as the war extended to the whole of China. In 1938, this studio released three documentaries⁴ “on an ambitious scale never before seen in the Japanese film industry” (Nornes 2003, p.59); *Nanking* (1938) is one of them and was completed with coaching and support from the Department of War, the Navy and officers of the local headquarters in Japan. These war propaganda films drew on organized footage to carry out the vital purpose of showing “our” soldiers’ bravery in fighting and loyalty to the Japanese Empire.

Furthermore, *Nanking* (1938) allows the Japanese masses to see their heroes’ war life without any evidence of horrible violence in China, and in turn conveys to soldiers the domestic voice saying, “Thank you, soldier-man” (see Figure 1.2). The essence of war is violence and death; the film avoids presenting any violent war scenes but takes over one minute to elaborate on the cremation ceremony for dead Japanese soldiers (the narrator calls them “the war victims”). The scenes create a particularly ethereal and pathos-laden atmosphere through diegetic and sombre music, and the emotional voice-over commentaries stand out as motivating emotion, for example, by mentioning “their matchless spirits and passions” and claiming that “they dedicated their flesh and blood to the country till the last drop.” A Japanese spectator praises one footage of the cremation as “instilling in us deep solemnity and

⁴ In 1938, the Japanese TOHO studio produced a trilogy of films presenting the war relevant to three major Chinese cities: Shanghai, Nanjing, and Beijing.

even deeper respect; no true Japanese could see this scene without being moved to tears” (High 2003, p.115), which reflects the efforts and goals filmmaker made to gain the public’s enthusiastic response and active support for the war in Japan; in this way, the film serves a two-way propaganda function, aiming at the domestic audience and the Japanese troops at the front.

Leyda argues that *Why We Fight* (1942-1945) is “the most instructive” (1971, p. 58) compilation of experience from the war, and McLane views that its massive effort was “directed toward converting more than nine million Americans from civilians into military personnel” (McLane 2012, p.139). In fact, besides making the enlisted men “know why they are in uniform” (Dower 1986, p.16), the director Capra had high and profound hope for his compilation film’s political influence. As Dower records, Capra intended to build up a better world without conquest, exploitation, and economic evils but with prevailing peace and democracy by “carrying the torch of freedom” (Dower 1986, p.16). Therefore, *Why We Fight* (1942-1945) aims to show Americans that they were not only fighting for their own country but planning for the postwar world.

The Battle of China (1944), *Why We Fight* (1942-1945), is remarkable in presenting rich war information, especially about Japanese military strength and the Chinese people’s situation, including the suffering and resistance that constitute the film’s core story. For example, *Why We Fight* (1942-1945) at the beginning states how militaristic Japan purposefully invaded China and finally moved eastwards to crush the United States step by step and argues that “China was to be the giant back on which Japan would ride to world conquest”. This information indicates that the Japanese troops conquering China were threatening the United States and even the

world. After showing the power of Chinese resistance, the film indicates the means of resolving the expanding crisis, “good against evil, upon their victory depends on the future of mankind”, to encourage people to fight against the Japanese invaders.

Documentary filmmaking is one of China's most vibrant areas of media activity, and it is playing an irreplaceable educational function. As the Japanese “Textbook Incident” greatly aroused public attention to the historical atrocity, *The Nanjing Massacre* (1982) aims to evoke viewers’ memory and strengthen patriotic education among young people. Compared to the limited message of archival images, the film’s text and the narrator play a dominant role in disseminating the main points. In the presentation of victims’ pain, for example, there are several shots showing casualties and injured people, and the commentary accelerates the intensity of these scenes by saying, “People fell in blood pools. This is the ironclad proof of Japanese imperialist aggression against our sacred territory...The Japanese devils scorched the bodies of the young Chinese.” Suitable narration can breathe life into the screen and achieve its aim of propaganda, and, here, the narrator tries to inspire the audience via evocation of grief, historical humiliation, and patriotism.

2.1.2 Voice of God as the vehicle of propaganda

The voice of God is the most popular and worked-out method of propaganda films in fulfilling their didactic aims. Kilborn explains the technical reason for the emergence of the voice of God in the 1930s was that the less developed sound-recording technology made it easier “to dub in an unseen speaker” (Kilborn 1997, p.58), and this kind of narration is known as the voice of God. Paul Rotha designates the voice of God as a “detached” (Rotha 1952, p.116) voice that some filmmakers favoured in their documentaries in the 1930s. Later, as a result of Nichols' efforts, this term

became more widely known. Nichols (2010) emphasizes that the commentator's point of view is generally withheld and conveys a voice of omniscient authority; that is, a voice of God narrator addresses the audience about some aspects of the world "in an impersonal but authoritative manner" (Nichols 2010, p.64). In the three films, the off-screen narrator acts as an exporter of meanings and an all-knowing commentator. There is a standard formula: the off-screen voice interprets what the compiled images mean and tells the audience what they could learn from the screen and what they should do. In short, the voice of God contributes to instilling thoughts or cognition in audiences.

The narration in *The Battle of China* (1944) is remarkably personalized and passionate in presenting the two opposing sides: China and Japan. For example, three short and rhythmic sentences characterize the horrible scenes and summarize the evil behaviour of the Japanese, "the Japanese soldiers went berserk, they raped and tortured, they killed and butchered", and the following comparison stresses the degree of suffering – "but those who lived might better have died for the horror of their twisted and torn bodies was worse than death" referring to those Chinese who were seriously hurt, including both physically and spiritually. Consequently, this kind of explanation attempts to make the viewers, especially enlisted service members, learn the cruelty of the atrocity and its real urgency in a time-limited screening. Similarly, the voice of God approach in the other two films, *Nanking* (1938) and *The Nanjing Massacre* (1982), embodies an evenly-matched passionate preaching.

In *Nanking* (1938), while observing Japanese soldiers' life at the front, emotional off-screen commentaries and diegetic sound alternate. The narrator plays the role of summarizing the information of the images shown and investing them with meaning

from the quiet beginning to the triumphant and cathartic end. It follows the principle of introducing diegetic sound first, such as troops shouting the slogan "banzai" and the terrifying sound of marching boots; the function of diegetic sound, according to Leyda, is that "the sound-track alone announces the direct, unrhetorical intent of the film" (Leyda 1971, p.71); moreover, the original sound of the scenes manifests the authenticity of the live-action scenes. In *Nanking* (1938), the voice-over commentary works as a significant ornament to the subject matter of the film, and it directly conveys core points of propaganda through the commentary text. For example, the film ends with an inspiring army chorus of Japanese soldiers and nurses, which the narrator interprets in a powerful voice:

"For heaven, fight against the unrighteous, the most courageous and loyal soldiers of us give a cheer of encouragement. Now we leave our parents' land; if we do not win, we do not come back alive; that was determined bravely"
(the commentary of the voice-of-God in *Nanking*, 1938).

Therefore, as the war propaganda of Japanese militarism, the narration infuses new meanings into the pictures instead of describing them. It serves the purpose of inciting domestic viewers' enthusiasm and loyalty in wartime; meanwhile, the voice of God, standing in the position of imperialism, uses discourse to mask and distort the historical truth; for instance, the expression "fight against the unrighteous" turns historical facts on their head to whitewash Japan's war of aggression against China.

The Nanjing Massacre (1982) adopts a very traditional documentary form like the political essay pattern mentioned in the introduction of this chapter. The film creator concentrates in a series of scenes on evidentiary compilation to serve the theme "the irrefutable facts of the Nanjing Massacre" and employs voice of God narration to

interpret images. The narrator's interpretation or explanation is bound to imply a particular attitude towards the subjects presented in the film; for example, the condemnation of the atrocity and great sympathy for the victims can remind and educate the audience. The booming, sometimes indignant tones of "God" are responsible for expressing and conveying what the historical images mean. There is no doubt that the use of the voice of God is conducive to highlighting the subject matter, but on the other hand, it fails to advance the narrative due to the limitation of the historical materials on screen, even though the passion of the narrator invests the compiled images with intimacy and vividness. For instance, there is a sequence of crowded people, most of them Japanese soldiers, standing beside the road and waving flags at the entry ceremony (Figure 1.5); the voice-over comments, "tanks, war-craft, cannon, soldiers flooded into Nanjing, they waved flags welcoming themselves." This satire of the invaders builds up emotional communication with the audience.



Figure 1.5 A scene from *The Nanjing Massacre* (1982). In the entry ceremony, Japanese soldiers greeted their commander Matsui Ishigen along the road. The narrator of film *The Nanjing Massacre* satirizes this as "they waved flags welcoming themselves."

2.2 Narrative techniques of *Nanking* (1938), *The Battle of China* (1944) and *The Nanjing Massacre* (1982)

Apart from differing propaganda aims, the diversity of the narration and editing of the same historical event presented in the three compilation films involves narrative choices, including audio-visual style, attitudes to war violence, and the presentation of Chinese victims and Japanese soldiers.

2.2.1 Audio-visual style

Here, audio-visual style refers to the techniques and patterns editors use to create particular meanings in the three compilation documentaries to produce discernible features and aesthetics. Nichols (2008) considers style, form, and voice as the heart and soul of persuasive engagement that is at the core of political discourses and social practices, whatever their ideological consequences. Despite the fact that the films cover the same historical event, the deployment of sound, colour, shots, and narrator ultimately reflects their own narrative style: poetized daily life in *Nanking* (1938), the dramatic story of *The Battle of China* (1944), and historical teaching in *The Nanjing Massacre* (1982).

The Japanese film *Nanking* (1938) takes a slow and poetic narrative tone to recount the daily activities of Japanese soldiers in Nanjing. First, the progression of the film features an idle rhythm. The camera seems to follow these soldiers and mainly records their collective activities such as preparing for the spring festival, ceremonies, and assemblies, besides occasionally interspersing and reviewing intense battlefield sequences. Panoramic and middle-distance shots (Figure 1.6) present the scenes showing New Year preparation to depict the soldiers' group behaviours, individual activities, and interactions, which create a delightful atmosphere. This footage tends

to be lyrical, showing the soldiers at ease in their leisure time and emotionally touching the audience to generate admiration and affection for them. In this way, *Nanking* (1938) attempts to glorify the war and death through a compassionate and sublime presentation.



Figure 1.6 A scene from *Nanking* (1938) shows a group of Japanese soldiers in Nanjing preparing food to celebrate the New Year. This picture aims to show the domestic audience their soldiers' peaceful daily life after they captured the city on 12th December 1937.

Second, the background music of *Nanking* (1938) is exceptionally personalized and stylized. According to Nichols, the sounds of documentary making are “spoken commentary, synchronous speech, acoustic effects, and music” (Nichols 2010, p.26) and can produce strong persuasiveness, indicating that the soundtrack in documentary films plays a significant role in the narrative. The editor of *Nanking* (1938) draws on diegetic music and background music to create the required atmosphere. In some segments, the music takes over any narrative, including the images and voice-over narration. For example, on December 17, the ceremony of entering Nanjing and worship towards the Imperial Palace at the Nanjing Zhonghua Gate are presented with long shots and synchronous sounds. Mournful music plays

at the memorial ceremony and the high-pitched sound of military officers delivering ceremonial speeches alternate with stuttering in the cold wind, which succeeds in conveying an atmosphere of gloom and depression. The voice-over infuses death with a kind of sublimity and devotion in real-time,

“They dedicated their flesh and blood to the country till the last drop...the strong wind shook the spirit of the deceased that deepened our awe-inspiring determination”

(*Nanking*, 1938).

In this way, the combination of sombre synchronized sound with black-and-white shots produces a *mise-en-scene*⁵ look of pathos; though this arrangement seemingly makes this section bizarre and mysterious, it is the highlight of the film's poetic style. In other ceremonies such as the New Year celebrations and marching out, the editor selects the original sounds of the figures on screen to support and promote the narrative. For example, prior to the Japanese troops' marching off, there is a diegetic chorus of soldiers and nurses, which expresses the devoted state of combatants at the war front; and in the next segment, the voice of God, accompanied by bugles sounding up, addresses good wishes to the marching procession. Consequently, the alternate use of eclectic music not only embroiders the narrative rhythm of the film but also enriches the film's audio-visual effects, which helps to earn viewers' emotional resonance.

⁵ *Mise-en-scene*, originating from French, means “putting into the scene” (Bordwell 2017, p.113). It was first applied to the practice of directing plays, then extended to film direction by film scholars. According to Bordwell, *mise-en-scene* signifies the “director's control over what appears in the film frame” (Bordwell 2017, p.113), and it contains four general areas of directorial arrangement: “setting, costumes and makeup, lighting, and staging” (Bordwell 2017, p.115).

If the soothing narrative technique of *Nanking* (1938) brings in a peaceful atmosphere, Capra builds up a dramatic framework in *The Battle of China* (1944) to grab viewers' attention. The story of this documentary can be graphically sketched as an absorbing story of good people getting bullied by evil neighbours. As critics have suggested, Capra uses a distinct contrast between "good and evil" (Dancyger 2011, p.56) or "pure good versus pure evil" (Dower 1986, p.18). Aufderheide criticizes the style of this film as "jaunty, confident, even brash" (2007, p.70), relying too much on the popular culture young Americans love. The narrative context of causality can be summarized as follows: in the beginning, China is described as akin to a wise and respectable older man who "preserves a long history and culture" (voice-over); however, the older man is cruelly beaten down heavily by his neighbour, Japan, and the Japanese invader crucially slaughters more and more families of China; finally, in the circumstances, the only choice for China is to fight when he and his entire family risk being conquered. Obviously, this documentary appears to be a storytelling routine of suffering people calling for heroes by speaking out about the miserable fate of the "old man" (China) to arouse the viewers' sympathy and motivate their heroic spirit.

Capra tells the story by taking full advantage of archival image resources; at the same time, his narrative skills in making Hollywood films bring life to the archival images; for example, the intensive compilation of the scenes of killings constructs a poignantly dramatic conflict with skilled manipulation of abundant visual and audio sources by using fast montage; as Capra says, "The montage was governed more by passion than by method" (Leyda 1971, p.71). The way in which the section on the Nanjing Massacre is narrated stems from the creator's passion for the event's inner conflictual tension. When the number of images accumulates to some degree, it implies that the mass killing forms the climax and turning point of the whole

narrative; that is, the plight of China has reached an unprecedented extreme. Next, the sequences of public speeches follow the tense shots of the massacre, which indicates urgent anti-Japanese campaigns happening all over China. More importantly, in practice, these narrative techniques contribute to transmitting the passion to the viewers, and attract their feelings or empathy about the slaughter taking place in a faraway place.

The formal framework of *The Nanjing Massacre* (1982) does not deviate from the political essay style. With relatively limited archival image material, *The Nanjing Massacre* (1982) does not provide further insight into the bilateral contest of historical memory but accuses the Japanese troops of horrific violence on the Chinese people through the propagandistic discourses, aiming to construct a sense of national trauma. The presentation of *The Nanjing Massacre* (1982) can be seen as having two sections: the first half focuses on accounts of Japanese soldiers' slaughters through images of messy bombing and streets strewn with dead bodies; the other part presents the situation of injured people in a hospital. The voice of God commentary stands out as an informational supplement or historical enlightenment. For instance, the clips of wounded people in hospital are derived from Magee's films, and one part of the footage is about a victimized little girl the doctor was checking. The narrator supplies the following information about the girl: "This girl is 11, her father was stabbed, her mother was beaten to death, she herself was badly injured in her elbow." The narrator does not provide more details about the girl, even her name; in fact, the film fails to give any individuals in the images a name; obviously, individual trauma is not adequately expressed as well.

2.2.2 The presentation of war violence

The photographer of *Nanking* (1938) followed and recorded the Japanese troop activities in the fallen Nanjing city, while according to the cameramen Shirai Shigeru, “We did not shoot everything we saw. Also, there were things that we took which were cut later” (Nornes 2003, p.111); As High (2003) explains, the cameramen Shirai witnessed terrible things happening but did not film the massacre scenes because these were “off-limits” (High 2003, p.43), and he aimed to cover “patriotically satisfying scenes” (High 2003, p.115). Actually, Shirai’s self-restrictions on filming were directly related to the authorities’ wartime censorship. During the war, in Japan, mass media and artistic production such as newspapers, magazines, radio, films, novels, and graphic creations served the war effort under strict censorship (Cook 2000, High 2003, Baskett 2008). Consequently, as Nornes concludes, “the brutal violence of the occupation is completely elided. The only other evidence of warfare in *Nanking* (1938) is the rubble and ephemera of battle” (Nornes 2003, p.152). Indeed, this film presents the battle for Nanjing in a few clips with the camera following the Japanese soldiers to the root of the city wall and focusing on the heroic actions of three suicide squad members: crossing a river, climbing on the wall, and setting flags; however, there are no shots of violence in the significant scenes of battlefield fighting.

The Japanese filmmakers’ prudent attitude made them look the other way as they saw the Japanese soldiers’ atrocities. Nevertheless, this does not mean no brutal massacre happened during the fall of Nanjing. The written records of some Western witnesses concerning the Japanese soldiers’ violence described how some Japanese filmmakers were selective in their shooting. For example, American James H. McCallum provided testimonies to IMTFE in Tokyo, and one passage from this testimony is as follows:

“January 8: Some newspapermen came to the entrance of a concentration camp, distributed cakes and apples, and handed out a few coins to the refugees, and moving pictures were taken of this kind of act. At the same time, a bunch of soldiers climbed over the back wall of the compound and raped a dozen or so of the women. There were no pictures taken out back”

(Pritchard and Zaide, *The Tokyo War Crimes Trial*, 4477; quoted by Nornes 2003, p.111).

In court, the bystander McCallum’s testimonies revealed the side of the history deliberately hidden by some Japanese cinematographers, and today, a vast array of testimonies, material evidence, and historical research can testify to this notorious mass killing committed by Japanese invaders. Although the camera operators of *Nanking* (1938) intentionally ignored the Japanese soldiers’ brutality, Nornes (2003) taps into a few specific scenes of *Nanking* (1938) and reviews them, implying the actual violence through the indirect strategies of visual representation: metonymy and metaphor. He gives the scenes of battlefield cremation and soldiers holding containers of their comrades’ ashes as examples.

Dower (1986) and High (2003) both consider that *The Battle of China* (1944), besides making full use of John Magee’s film clips, extensively uses confiscated or captured Japanese newsreels because John Magee was never permitted to approach and film actual executions such as Japanese service members shooting captives in the back of the head or the process of live burial – for example, a long shot and a close-up take show a scene of people being buried alive. A group of Chinese people tied up is pushed into a hollow surrounded by Japanese armed soldiers, the camera pushes forward from the group to the digging shovel and then stops on the twisted

expression of one victim (Figure 1.7). In the next segment, two pinioned Chinese soldiers kneel down, two Japanese soldiers standing behind them shoot them in the head, and then the two victims fall to the ground. These two shots of disturbing slaughter from the “enemy’s graphics” (Dower 1986, p.16) not only demonstrate the incontrovertible authenticity of the massacre in Nanjing but also deliver a solid emotional shock to viewers.



Figure 1.7 A shot of a twisted face as people are buried alive by Japanese soldiers in *The Battle of China* (1944). It is one example of the extreme horror and violence committed by Japanese invaders in this documentary.

With respect to the distinctive features of the film's (*Why We Fight*, 1942-1945) representation of excessive violence, some critics give different views. For example, Leyda (1971) argues that using the Japanese journalist materials in this film may “run the risk of overpowering the audience with a compiled juggernaut of Japan's strength” (Leyda 1971, p.92), so Leyda (1971) suggests these materials should be chosen carefully. Dower stresses the role of Capra's motto – “let the enemy prove to

our soldiers the enormity of his cause and the justness of ours" (Dower 1986, p.16) – in decisively shaping the film's configuration and style. Dower further explains that the presentation of bloody killings forms a striking comparison between "the devastation of China's cities and the mutilated corpses of its men, women, and children" and "Japan's war slogan of 'co-existence and co-prosperity'" (Dower 1986, p.18). To some extent, the producer's propaganda aims affect the style and degree of representation. Though the section on this atrocities only occupies one-twelfth of the entire film, its images of carnage put the conflict of evil and kindness in sharp focus and show the desperation of victims; hence, the violence itself explains to American the reason why they have to be involved in the fight.

In the Chinese compilation film *The Nanjing Massacre* (1982), most of the images of war violence are the same as those in *The Battle of China* (1944), excluding three sequences: actual burial, soldiers being shot in the head, and young children's bodies. This does not mean the violence of the Japanese was deliberately abnegated in this film, but the voice of God, in place of directly violent pictures, describes the Japanese invaders as "ferocious", "evil", "unscrupulous", and "beasts" to present their villainy. In this regard, this restraint stirs up patriotism rather than inciting hatred. Erwin Leiser says, "a film about the past can be a film for the future" (Leyda 1971, p.93), manifesting that the historical representation of films has a long-acting influence on people, as the voice of God observes at the end of *The Nanjing Massacre* (1982),

"As history, it has become the past, but history should not be forgotten, let alone tampered with. For the sake of the friendship between the Chinese and Japanese people for generations to come, everyone should remember this painful page of history and let a similar history never repeat itself"
(the voice-over commentary of *The Nanjing Massacre*, 1982).

The narrator conveys two layers of implication: history should be remembered as a painful historical lesson, maintaining the friendship between Chinese and Japanese people is important as well. The historical situation of China as the victim and Japan as the perpetrator essentially forms a conflictual relationship, so, creating a balance in narrating the historical issues between the two countries is the foundation of building friendship. According to Aufderheide, propaganda is “public diplomacy and strategic communication” (2007, p.75). As mentioned previously, *The Nanjing Massacre* (1982) serves the propaganda mission of both disseminating historical knowledge and evoking the public’s traumatic memory; nevertheless, the political climate determined its range of propaganda. In the early 1980s, Sino-Japanese relations were generally positive, though the Nanjing Massacre as an acute historical problem between both sides came to light at the time. To handle the delicate national relation needed wisdom and determined the moderate representation in the film; therefore, the voice-over narration plays a dominant role in presenting the historical trauma instead of showing direct visual violence.

2.2.3 Presenting the image of Japanese soldiers and Chinese people

Each of the three films approaches and interprets Japanese soldiers and Chinese victims with its own characteristics. Their methods of describing the Japanese and the Chinese show similarities while sometimes contradicting each other.

The Japanese soldiers who occupied Nanjing city are the absolute protagonists of the film *Nanking* (1938), so the cameraman focuses alternately on them as a group and as individuals. The film pays more attention to the war propaganda, tightly linking the individual soldiers’ actions to the spirit of Japanese militarism. For example, in the memorial scene for dead soldiers, the narrator says, "their matchless spirits and

passions were all cremated to the ashes. They dedicated their flesh and blood to the country till the last drop.” In this way, these soldiers, whether alive or dead, are given a sense of spiritual devotion; that is, they are fearless and loyal soldiers, ready to die for imperial Japan.

In addition, *Nanking* (1938) shows its focus on human interest by presenting the peaceful and relaxed state of Japanese soldiers. Some scholars use “humanistic soldiers” (High 2003, p.217; Ushiyama 2019, p.112) to describe Japanese servicemen presented in wartime films, and these films emphasize they possess “an intense, familial comradeship in their unit” on the front line (Ushiyama 2019, p.112). Ushiyama (2019) considers that it is an ambition to earn the sympathy and support of Japanese audiences. In *Nanking* (1938), the last half shows some situations in the Japanese soldiers’ daily life after capturing the city. For example, in the scene of the Spring Festival celebration, Japanese soldiers on camera embody their gentle side, showing gentleness and zeal for life. As soldiers decorate the party site and make delicious kinds of food for the New Year festival with hearty laughs and jokes, the cameraman grabs the expression on a very young soldier who is smiling innocently like a child when talking to his comrades pleasantly. At the same time, the cutting pace is mild with skillful editing; the light and playful percussion mixed with a piece of orchestral music as background music intensifies the easy atmosphere. Linking this segment with footage of the film ending (after the commanding officer’s mobilization speech, Japanese soldiers rearm and set off, and the film ends with the camera watching the back of marching soldiers), it is noteworthy that the trait of these soldiers is purity: pure ordinary young men in peace and pure service members fighting for the Empire in battle; however, if comparing with their activities presented in *The Battle of China* (1944) and *The Nanjing Massacre* (1982), the complexity of the representation of Japanese soldiers emerges.

Nanking (1938) presents the Chinese refugees with a meaningful simile. After the fall of the capital city, on the road, a lone donkey is driven off by a Japanese tank in the chaotic street (Figure 1.8), and this scene is given further layers of meaning as the narrator explains, "it looked like its owner's fate". This commentary and potent imagery rhetorically depict the humiliating situation of Chinese refugees. In terms of the Nanjing citizens' situation, the film's editor Akimoto Takeshi recalled something that he saw in the fallen city,

"Chinese civilians had been forced to line up along a high fence...many began calling out to me...Their faces were imploring and grief-stricken. Since all of them were on the way to being shot,...Although I understood their forlorn entreaties, I could do nothing, which made me very sad"

(Tanaka, *Nihon Kydiku Eiga Hattatsushi*, 1979, p.108, quoted in High 2003, p.115).



Figure 1.8 A Japanese tank following a donkey in *Nanking* (1938). The narrator of the film interprets this scene figuratively to show that the fate of the Chinese was akin to this lone donkey being driven off by Japanese forces.

Similarly, in the ceremony of Matsui entering the city, some Chinese residents were there waving their hands to welcome the Japanese forces. Shirai Shigeru, the photographer of *Nanking* (1938), knew from these residents that "they didn't want to do this, but there was nothing they could do" (Nornes 2003, p.111). Therefore, in the light of history, it is now evident that the way *Nanking* (1938) presents Chinese people is to filter or hide their actual situation. The same narrative tool as the previously discussed non-violence strategy is a direct way that distorts the truth, with commentary such as "our soldiers have never thought to fight against these people", "these people work together with Japanese soldiers", and "laughing voices here and there again". However, if viewers watch the film with a small quantity of attention, some unnatural traces such as worried or scared faces can be detected in some shots of Chinese refugees. There is a good example: when a little smiling boy inadvertently looks at the camera, suddenly, the smile is frozen and vanishes, replaced by a mouth

gaping in horror (Figure 1.9-10).



Figure 1.9-10 *Nanking* (1938) shows a Chinese child playing happily. When the boy looks at the camera, his smile is frozen at a loss. This scene belongs to the segment of *Nanking* (1938) presenting how the Chinese were very happy about the Japanese soldiers' arrival.

Despite the compilation of *Nanking* (1938) excluding Chinese soldiers from the screen, hints or images of the city defenders faintly loom up in the narration and a few shots. For example, the voice-over interprets the slogan "Fight Against Japan"

written on a board, saying, “Did this slogan expect to see the result like this?” and the latter “this” introduces the viewer to the following shots in which a group of surrendering Chinese soldiers emerge. In contrast to presenting Japanese soldiers’ bravery and self-sacrifice in the battle, *Nanjing* (1938) shows that the nature of Chinese soldiers is cowardly and selfish, as “they used anything available to escape” and “sneaked into the Safety Zone” (voice-over narration).

In terms of portraying Japanese soldiers and Chinese people, *The Battle of China* (1944) and *The Nanjing Massacre* (1982) classify them as perpetrators and victims. There is a difference in that the American film takes an observer’s perspective, and the narrative of the Chinese film stands in the victim's position. However, both of them convey the aggression and brutality of the Japanese Imperial Army, the misery and despair of the Chinese people as well. For instance, they describe Japanese perpetrators as “devil”, “beast”, “inhuman”, “Japanese bandits”, and “the blood-crazed Japanese.” Furthermore, the two films’ editors show viewers some evil doings these Japanese soldiers committed in Nanjing, such as rushing into houses, shooting, mass killing, and cheering for their victory in front of the camera. With quite different from the heroic and friendly images of Japanese soldiers praised by *Nanking* (1938), the American film and the Chinese film reveal their brutal and aggressive blood-crazed faces

The Chinese soldiers in *The Battle of China* (1944) symbolize resistance and justice, proving the existence of a glimmer of light and hope, and re-contextualizing shots of Chinese soldiers as active defenders aims to “cast the Chinese and Japanese as an instant hero and villains” (Renov 2004, p.52). Therefore, archival resources are used to present Chinese soldiers, where, for example, some are fighting in the fields and

some are on the walls. In *The Battle of China* (1944), over ten shots of civilians fleeing as Japanese invaders approach Nanjing are arranged in a rapid montage. Scared people swarm in the same direction in alleys or crowd on congested streets (Figure 1.11). Two close-up scenes represent panic-stricken children, women, and the elderly inside a wood fence and a huge iron fence or gate (Figure 1.12). These clips of fleeing comprise innocent and scared Chinese sufferers, which can call forth viewers to sympathize with them.



Figure 1.11 One scene of *The Battle of China* (1944) presents Chinese civilians fleeing when Japanese invaders were approaching Nanjing. This street scene is one of the sections that gathers images of fleeing Chinese refugees in the film.



Figure 1.12 A shot from *The Battle of China* (1944). Child Refugees crowd outside the Shanghai international safety zone during the Japanese bombing and invading Shanghai.

Section 3 *Nanking* (1938) and *The Nanjing Massacre* (1982): Influence on cognition and narrative of the Nanjing Massacre

With the production of *Nanking* (1938) and *The Nanjing Massacre* (1982), the war and war atrocities emerged into the public view through vivid sound and pictures in Japan and China, respectively. To some extent, the two films reflect some aspects of establishing the primary memory of the Nanjing Massacre, whose influence later shaped the collective memory of the Nanjing Massacre in the two countries. The film *Nanking* (1938) works like an exquisite screen to glorify the Japanese soldiers on the battlefield and cover up the massacre in Nanjing by deliberate selection. In Japan, according to Erna (2001), the postwar generations knew little about their country's war record because that part of the past had been shut out by propaganda and historical misrepresentation by mass media such as newspapers and films.

In China, the memory of the Nanjing Massacre reached the public from what happened in the 1980s; the first short compilation film *The Nanjing Massacre* (1982), undertakes the crucial role of reviving the forgotten memory and revealing the atrocities of the past. Its emphasis on national trauma excavates the educational value of the Nanjing Massacre and works as a reference for the later documentary narration, because, with the emergence of new historical materials such as the collection of oral history and the publication of Rabe's diary, the renewal of the historical memory never stops in documentary productions.

3.1 The distorted presentation of *Nanking* (1938) and the war memory of the Japanese

As the preceding discussion on the images of Japanese soldiers notes, *Nanking* (1938) includes much apparent propaganda footage such as a soldier's friendly treatment of Chinese prisoners and Nanjing refugees welcoming the Japanese army. However, this propaganda message encountered challenges as new historical evidence emerged or the list of witnesses was updated; as a result, multiple facets and the complexity of Japanese soldiers' actions arose, including the Japanese soldiers activities in *Nanking* (1938), the news of Japanese officers devoted to a killing contest, and Japanese veterans confessing war killing.

The memory of the 14-year Japan-China war and the Nanjing Massacre in Japan is entangled with multiple factors, including social, political, cultural, and psychological forces. In trying to backtrack to the formation of the initial memory of the Nanjing Massacre, one ineluctably discovers that the comprehension of the nature of the

14-year Japan-China war is crucial to figure out the divergence of war memory in Japan. During wartime, the representation of *Nanking* (1938), together with other outputs such as newsreels, pictures, and newspapers, constituted a powerful web of propaganda that decided Japanese viewers' awareness of the war, and as a legacy of history, this historical cognition consistently resonates until today.

3.1.1 Personas of Japanese soldiers: Heroes or killers?

In war stories, Japanese soldiers on the front line were definitely the focus of attention. As I discussed in the preceding section, *Nanking* (1938) shows a group of Japanese soldiers with good qualities: loyalty, braveness, and friendliness. In the intense interaction of mass media and war in 1937, the representation of positive images of Japanese troops certainly had a pragmatic intention in grounding war propaganda. For instance, Kamei Fumio says of filming in wartime,

“I knew my audience would be looking at the film intently. This was because, in those days, the audience at newsreel showing was always searching the screen for a glimpse of a loved one, a brother or a father or a friend”

(High 2003, p.105).

It is no exception that the film *Nanking* (1938) meets what the Japanese viewers wanted to see, and it stands concurrently with the government and other media to convey similar war information. For example, a summary in the magazine *Rikugun Gahō* noted that “soldier’s humanity in the battlefield” (Ushiyama 2019, p.119) was more resonant with the audience than speeches about holy war or the army itself; hence, some publishers paid more attention to humanistic works and films.

Within this scope, *Nanking* (1938) narrates a victorious occupation story and portrays heroic Japanese soldiers as brothers, friends, and sons who fit with expectations at home, which entail Japanese soldiers being remembered as good boys and war heroes. So, this kind of filtered information about the war and Japanese soldiers was transmitted among the Japanese populace, and it provided them with message satisfaction through mutually reinforcing war messages from newspapers, films, newsreels, and official speeches (Cook 1992, Takashi Yoshida 2006). For example, the natural and harmonious settings of last half in *Nanking* (1938) are similar to the images published in *Photographic Weekly* in 1938, such as Japanese soldiers resting in camp and carrying out mundane tasks on the front (Ushiyama 2019, p.111). This intensified the mass media propaganda that the Japanese soldiers played a just role in the war, without fierce fighting and remaining moderate.

Nanking (1938) trumpets the Japanese soldiers' human kindness and victories on the battlefield without violence. Its effect, on the one hand, is to motivate Japanese audiences, striking a chord with soldiers and offering a sympathetic view of war; on the other hand, it deludes the domestic public by concealing the facts of war atrocities. In Cook's interview, a high school teacher Lenaga Saburo recalls,

"Even though I'd reached the age of maturity in 1931, I knew neither the truth of Chang's assassination nor that the Kwantung Army itself had set off that explosion outside Mukden — not at least until after 1945 when it was testified to in court at the Military Tribunal Far East. We were left that ignorant of the circumstances! We knew nothing of the Nanking massacre or that the Japanese had committed cruel acts all over China"

(Lenaga Saburo, interviewed by Cook. Cook 1992, p.443).

This oral history from personal experiences in wartime suggests that any message about the Nanjing atrocities and other war violence was locked out of the public realm. However, that was not entirely true about the war message circulating at the Japanese home front; for instance, the *Tokyo Nichinichi Shinbun* serially reported on two Japanese officers' "Hundred Man Killing Contest" (Uchiyama 2018, p.60) or the "100-Man Killing Contest" (Wakabayashi 2007, p.x) campaign (Figure 1.13), when they marched on the way towards Nanjing. In light of the humanistic soldiers portrayed by *Nanking* (1938), it is instructive to observe the two types of images in understanding the Japanese soldiers' battlefield life deeply; and it is also helpful to reveal the multifaceted image of Japanese soldiers stored in the memory of Japanese public.



Figure 1.13 Takeshi Noda and Toshiaki Mukai, the Japanese officers who conducted the "Hundred-Man Killing Contest" on the way to Nanjing. The picture about the "Hundred Man Killing Contest" reported by *Tokyo Nichinichi Shinbun* (December 13, 1937) is from *Japan's Carnival War: Mass Culture on the Home Front, 1937–1945* (Uchiyama 2018, p.60)

Yoshida (2006) infers why a wartime history of the Nanjing atrocities failed to develop in Japan from two aspects: one is primarily because Japanese people were

kept from telling the story; the other is “the nation as a whole was largely unwilling to hear it” (Yoshida 2006, p.26). The example of the “Hundred-Man Killing Contest” can encourage one to understand Yoshida’s points. From November 30 to December 11, 1937, Takeshi Noda and Toshiaki Mukai, two Japanese officers, staged a killing contest on their way from Shanghai to Nanjing to see who could be the first to kill one hundred Chinese with their swords. At that time, the *Tokyo Nichinichi Shinbun* (Tōnichi) continuously published reports from four of its correspondents (Asahi, Mitsumoto, Yasuda, and Suzuki) who recounted the process of the contest on November 30, December 4, December 6, and December 13, 1937. About 40 years after this event, one of the reporters covering the “Hundred-Man Killing Contest” recalled the original reason why they and the two officers Noda Takeshi and Toshiaki Mukai negotiated the plan of action,

“They (the two officers) said that because their unit is the smallest unit, they expressed dissatisfaction somewhat that their brave battle exploits have not been reported in newspapers back home”

(Honda Katsuichi, ed. 1977, p.341, quoted in Uchiyama 2019, p.49).

Uchiyama regards this as a new genre of war journalism with a “playful tone” (2019, p.47) for domestic consumption. This “playful tone” as Uchiyama (2019) explains, encompasses two narrative strategies: to dehumanize the enemy into an abstract numerical figure and to transfer war violence into a modern game for readers to follow and trace easily.

The wordplay used by Japanese wartime news reports reflects the publications’ effort to draw home readers’ attention. The “Hundred-Man Killing Contest” event was not the only news related to battlefield violence as journalists “from both the

national dailies and regional papers actively covered kill-counts by Japanese soldiers” (Uchiyama 2019, p.45) combining thrill and pleasure in the narrative, for example, in the story: “Shanghai Camp’s ‘Miyamoto Musashi’ slays twenty Chinese soldiers like watermelon” (the *Tokyo Asahi* August 22, 1937, quoted in Uchiyama 2019, p.45). Thus, it can be seen that consuming Japanese soldiers’ killing stories was not rare and was even popular among the Japanese authorities and populace, though news and photographs related to the Nanjing Massacre were strictly regulated and scrutinized.

According to Uchiyama (2019), the reporter who participated in reporting the killing contest gained public acclaim at home for his report on Japanese soldiers’ “spectacular battlefield exploits” (Uchiyama 2019, p.47). This reaction by Japanese readers partly suggested that they recognized both the journalists’ war narrative and the Japanese soldiers’ relentless violence. However, regarding the mass killing in Nanjing, “the nation as a whole was largely unwilling to hear it” (2006, p.26), as noted by Yoshida. “Unwilling to hear it” has two connotations: first, the cruel extent of the Nanjing Massacre was far beyond these known killings or overstepped the boundaries people could accept; second, Japanese society, at least some people, especially the authorities and war correspondents, knew something about the slaughter, but they conspired to ensure that it was not released. So, the Japanese were not convinced of the Japanese soldiers’ crimes until the IMTFE disclosed the facts of the outrage in Nanjing and other places committed by Japanese troops.

As the heroic image strategy popular in wartime films such as *Nanking* (1938) was gradually exposed and subverted, these good boys and heroes extolled by wartime media were proved to be merciless killers and perpetrators. For Japanese people, the most devastating blow to their primary memory about the Japan-China war and the

soldiers of the front battlefield was the war confessions of Japanese soldiers themselves; for example, the Japanese documentary *Japanese Devils* (2001) contains some veterans' self-confessions of their war crimes (for details see Chapter 4). So, the war memory in Japan is linked not only with the complex images of Japanese veterans but also with an understanding of the war essence.

3.1.2 The view of the war in *Nanking* (1938) and its contemporary echo

In teasing out the film *Nanking* (1938), it can be seen that the Japanese soldier's persona in this film forms one of the confused memories among audiences, especially among Japanese on the subject of the Nanjing Massacre; furthermore, the glory and legacy of the Japanese imperialist war that was the propaganda theme appearing in *Nanking* (1938) and other media still echoes today in Japan implicitly or explicitly, as shown by the "Textbook Incident" and Japanese government official visiting the Yasukuni Shrine. As Kushner concludes, Japanese wartime propaganda is "not a dead issue" and "continues to exert an influence on Japan today" (Kushner2006, p.3). *Nanking* (1938) achieves the informational authority conferred on the film through the synchronous ideological propaganda of the narrator moulding wartime information. It begins with the slogan subtitle "The fall of Nanjing is simply the first step of the first stage for true construction of Asia", and there is a foreword before the story as follows,

"This entrance of Nanking Castle will be recorded on a spectacular page in world history, which our compatriots achieved. This movie is dedicated to our coming generations. Meanwhile, at West China gate, the war victims who were killed in the first attack on Nanking were about to be cremated by their war brothers who shared the battle"

(the statement before the beginning of *Nanking*, 1938).

Next in the film, the narrator praises the victory and loyalty of soldiers in sensational terms designed to stir the public's emotions. As the dream of occupying the Kuomintang's capital, Nanjing, came true, the producer of the film praised the battle for Nanjing as the "construction of Asia" and "a spectacular page in world history"; meanwhile, similar catchlines flooded domestic newspapers, journals, and picture magazines with stirring reports and images from the front, such as "victory news", reports of "military gods", and "invincible Imperial forces" (Cook 2000, p.174). Also, Japanese soldiers' war diaries expressed much exultation of victory with similar slogans, for example,

"the sound of 'Banzai' astonishing the world" and "to occupy the enemy capital, to control the whole of China made the foundation of Asian peace"

(excerpted from the diary of Japanese soldier Nakamura Misaki, published in Asahi Numazu on July 10, 1997, quoted in Zhang 2014, p.959);

"occupying Nanjing on Showa December 13, 12 is the glorious day of the history...The warriors of the imperial army burst into the city, their faces shining with tears"

(excerpted from the diary of Japanese soldier Rosuke Masuda, published in *'Nanjing Incident' (2015): Kyoto Division Related Data Collection*, Izuji, et al. ed. 1989, quoted by Zhang 2014, p.451).

This sense of glory permeating victors of the battle for Nanjing was soon disseminated in Japan through media such as newspapers, newsreels, and films. On the Japanese home front, the blaze of war information from authorized mass media plunged the audiences into enthusiastic backers of the war. As Asai Tatsuzo recalled

in Cook's interview, people at home were desperate for news from the front, and they formed long lines to get into the news movie theatres that showed only newsreels, just war, but it was all "Banzai, banzai", just emotion (Cook 2000, p.205). The victorious message about the war came out, and national joy exploded in Japan (Cook 2000; Kushner 2006; and Ushiyama 2019). According to Kushner, the Japanese populace were "active participants and not mere followers" (Kushner 2006, p.3) in wartime. Michio Tsuda, the author of *'The Nanjing Massacre and The Mental Structure of The Japanese*, recounts his own experiences in wartime Japan,

"Everyone became the membership of the nation and fought for sacred war... I was no exception and keened on catering to the authority's propaganda and agitation" (Tsuda 2005, p.11).

Thus, it can be seen that Japanese wartime propaganda manipulated the war information to present it as a just action and established a solid social public foundation to back up the war.

The caption of *Nanking* (1938) shows it is "dedicated to our coming generations"; that is to say, the film declares its goal was to exert influence on later young generations on remembering and understanding what the film presented, obviously including the "sacred war" and the "loyal and brave" spirit of soldiers. Kushner (2006) thinks that the propaganda lived on after Japan's military defeat (2006, p.3) and its spirits or thoughts of the Japanese at war continue haunting Japanese society today. A representative example is the visit to the Yasukuni Shrine emerging in the actions of the Japanese administration from time to time. Breen views the Yasukuni Shrine as "a mnemonic device that uses texts, display, and rituals to promote a particular view of the Pacific War" (Breen 2007, p.3). It is the place for people to honour the war

dead including Class A war criminals and those who devoted their lives to the emperor. In September 1985, Prime Minister Nakasone Yasuhiro visited the controversial Yasukuni Shrine; in April 1988, the director general of Japan's National Land Agency, Okuno Seisuke, visited Yasukuni, and he declared that "Japan was by no means the aggressor nation in World War II" (Yoshida 2006, p.124). As for processing historical memory, Yasukuni Shrine worship implies recognizing the war criminals and what they did, which epitomizes the legacy of the war still lingering in Japan.

3.2 The two heritages of *The Nanjing Massacre* (1982): National trauma and historical narrative

As the product of propaganda, the short compilation film *The Nanjing Massacre* (1982) attempts to elucidate persuasive and instructive ideas on the basis of limited historical materials about the Nanjing Massacre, though the urgent creation results in a rough presentation. In the context of the Japanese "Textbook Incident", the efforts to construct the memory of the Nanjing Massacre led by the Chinese government was pitted against Japanese right-wing forces denying this historical atrocity, and the silent trauma became the central political discourse; in this way, the governmental mobilization of reviving history stirred up this compilation film's exploration of the once-shelved memory.

In the 1980s in China, as Chen (2014) states, there was no market for documentary films, and television was not yet widespread, which determined *The Nanjing Massacre* (1982) had "little effect on the public" (Chen 2014, p.681). However, it was, after all, the first attempt to express this historical memory in audio-visual form. This short film still grounds two references for later creations of the same subject. One is the stress on traumatic memory through abundant emotional discourses. Kushner

(2006) differentiates propaganda from persuasion in shaping perceptions: “propaganda appeals to emotion, while persuasion centers on logic” (Kushner 2006, p.4). In this sense, emotional expression is a helpful aid for a communicator to evoke a response or an expected action. *The Nanjing Massacre* (1982) defines and explains this event as a historical trauma through the inspiring narrative. The second point is the employment of historical materials. It is a lesson learned when making the later documentaries on related themes. As noted in the analysis in Section 2, the lack of historical resources affects the film’s sufficient historical illustration. Since then, the updated collection of historical evidences and archival resources has replenished and enriched representation on this history in documentaries; consequently, the vein of Nanjing Massacre documentaries gradually transited from emotional dissemination to logical interpretation.

3.2.1 The focus on historical trauma

The early Nanjing Massacre documentary films focus on presenting the situation of Chinese victims and condemning Japanese war violence; to some extent, *The Nanjing Massacre* (1982) establishes this precedent. Zhu Chenshan (2012) notes that in Nanjing Massacre research, the outputs of some Chinese scholars feature the practice of revealing the Japanese Imperial Army’s atrocities from the common stance of victims. Hirsch (2004) believes the mood techniques of historical films in the presentation of images, editing or comments regulates the ideas of the film on the images and stories presented. It implies that filmic mood is akin to a resonating channel between audiences and the film. For example, the narrator of *The Nanjing Massacre* (1982) runs through the memory arguments with one sentence, “The history could not be forgotten, still less tampered with” after narrating the victims’ extreme sufferings; at the same time, his discourse and emotion are heavily weighted in favour of stating the effect of the atrocities on Chinese people, that is,

the formation of historical trauma. After the enumeration of Japanese invaders' tortures and killings that Chinese civilians (including old men, young adults, children, infants, and women) suffered, the narrator summarizes with suppressed indignation,

“These barbarous Japanese invaders brought Chinese people long-term unutterable miseries, some victims survived by a fluke but experienced immense psychological trauma...everyone should remember this painful period of the history”

(voice-over of *The Nanjing Massacre*, 1982).

Propaganda is a collection of techniques used to influence mass opinion. It, therefore, affects the social psychology of a population (Kushner 2006, p.4). Kushner reminds us that propaganda is not always rational because its aim is “to cause action, not a reflection” (2006, p.4). In *The Nanjing Massacre* (1982), a propaganda film in an extraordinary political context, its emotional potency is helpful to rouse the long-shelved historical memory and invoke people's awareness of the historical trauma.

Essentially, as one component of the 1980s' patriotic education campaign in China, *The Nanjing Massacre* (1982) was designed to present to the young generation China's traumatic and humiliating experience of encountering Japanese incursion. Although not completed until 1985, the erection of the Memorial Hall of the Victims of the Nanjing Massacre by Japanese Invaders symbolizes that the Nanjing Massacre is remembered as a national trauma in the nation-state framework of remembering; the significance of *The Nanjing Massacre* (1982) consists in that it provides a forward-looking example to reestablish the traumatic memory with the motivation to reinforce national identity and national dignity in new challenging situations.

3.2.2 The historical materials as narrative foundation

As explained in the above-mentioned analysis, *The Nanjing Massacre* (1982) attempts to awaken the historical memory on the basis of emotional appeal but fails to collect and show enough historical evidence in images. Furthermore, the rich mood prevalent in early compilation films such as *The Nanjing Massacre* (1982) contributed little to clarify the historical facts to audiences; on the contrary, it was criticized for lack of authenticity and reliability of its expression (Cheng 2017, Zhu 2012)---short of support from historical materials is an crucial reason. In China, large-scale research attention on this historical memory was initiated and expanded rapidly after the Japanese “Textbook Incident”. The gradual enrichment of historical data stores and the creative exploration in documentary filmmaking breathed new life into the presentation of Nanjing Massacre documentaries. After three years, in 1985, the second Nanjing Massacre documentary *The Japanese Invaders: The Nanjing Massacre*, was twice as long as the first film (the length of *The Nanjing Massacre* (1982) is just 9 minutes) and adds more precise historical evidence, for example, some documents showing the exact location of the burial sites and the number of victims. In addition to emotional agitation, its narrator of this film uses interpretive discourse to deploy the dispersed historical evidence as more logical and supportive elements in the documentary.

When Eyerman refers to the way to present traumatic events, he says that interpreting events should involve “a certain amount of emotional distance” (2019, p.27) to avoid a lopsided view of events. This view concerns the role of the narrator in presenting historical memory. In compilation films, the voice of God works as the omniscient being in presenting the whole event from its exterior situation to its

interior effect; Nichols argues that “rhetoric or persuasive speech” can mire people in deception and lead to “ideology rather than knowledge” (2008, p.33); in this sense, the voice-over commentary in *The Nanjing Massacre* (1982) offers little substantial help for audiences to understand more details of the history. For example, the narrator explains the victims’ trauma as “old folk... a mother with her children all died under the bayonets” without introducing any information about the individuals, let alone images or individual voices. Some specific historical facts need the testimony of credible authorities such as witnesses who can shed light on what happened to them and what they felt. With the large-scale investigations and collection of evidence testimonies in 1984, 1991, and 1997, survivors and their living memories have become indispensable parts of later Nanjing Massacre films.

The primary memory of the Nanjing Massacre is appended to new interpretations, comments, and meanings in changing eras as time moves forward. In documentaries, the historical representation has run a course of improvement from initial emotional accusation to a more rational presentation; this change not only reflects the process of narrative transformation in the contemporary, for instance, the emphasis has shifted from national trauma to individual trauma to cherishing peace, but also verifies the plasticity of historical documentary making, especially in the use of narrative strategies.

Conclusion

The three compilation films *Nanking* (1938), *The Battle of China* (1944), and *The Nanjing Massacre* (1982) are the first to present the Nanjing Massacre in Japan, America, and China, respectively. Though all of them were created for propaganda reasons, they have their own narrative characteristics; therefore, they produce three

original versions of telling the Nanjing Massacre. The Japanese film *Nanking* (1938) is unique for its attention to the Japanese soldiers in the battle for Nanjing although it rejects showing the monstrous acts of them in the city. *The Battle of China* (1944) is often discussed as an example of Capra's editing skill in framing the conflict between "good and evil". In China, *The Nanjing Massacre* (1982) inspired the public to review this historical trauma and triggered a wave of research on this historical event.

The earliest narratives of the Nanjing Massacre stemming from the three films more or less left their impact on the historical understanding of later generations. *Nanking* (1938), the output of Japanese wartime propaganda, has become mere historical sediment, but its ideas still echo in today's Japan from time to time. *The Battle of China* (1944) contributed to American war propaganda, and its role in transmitting the memory of the Nanjing Massacre in America will be another valuable research topic. *The Nanjing Massacre* (1982) pioneered the presentation of the Nanjing Massacre on screen in China; however, its narrative flaws inspired the exploration of audio-visual forms in recreating this historical memory. For example, in later Nanjing Massacre documentaries new means of representation such as multiple perspectives and animation arise, and more documentary films adopting new forms to present the Nanjing Massacre such as the expository mode and oral history have sprung up. The next chapter aims to explore the narrative characteristics of expository documentaries on the Nanjing Massacre.

Part II

The Expository Mode of the Nanjing Massacre Documentary Films (since the 1990s)

Chapter 2 The Nanjing Massacre Expository Documentaries: Forms and Characteristics of Historical Representation

Introduction

Strong traditions of the omniscient voice of God commentary and compiling are present in the early Nanjing Massacre compilation films, and as discussed in the previous chapter, these features serve as crucial tools of publicity in specific contexts. Since the beginning of the 1990s, as a larger range of documentary filmmaking innovations occurred in China, the expository mode has gradually replaced compilation as the dominant form employed by Nanjing Massacre film producers. This chapter aims to investigate these broadly used but under-explored forms in which expository documentaries present the Nanjing Massacre and explore their narrative characteristics as well the application of narrative conventions in revealing the historical facts. Moreover, this chapter provides the foundation for further discussing the way in which expository mode contributes to construct the event's collective memory – the subject matter of the next chapter – for it covers the basic components and narrative strategies of expository documentaries that can help the audience understand in-depth how these films work.

In the 1990s, the focus on the Nanjing Massacre moved away from highlighting empathy for victims and condemnation of the atrocities in compilation films towards historical facts and visual creations in expository mode. In his theory of documentary classification, Nichols (2001) defines the expository mode as directly addressing the viewer with “informing logic carried by the spoken word” (Nichols 2001, p.167), and he believes that the expository mode has "heuristic value" (Nichols 2001, p.167). He reflects on the documentary's distinctive role in connecting the world and people

“with titles or voices that propose a perspective or advance an argument” (Nichols 2001, p.167). Similar to Bill Nichols’ expository voice, the “formal voices of the documentary film”, as argued by Plantinga, offer “more thorough explanations and come to firmer conclusions” (Plantinga 2018, p.118) by using voice-over commentary. Both authors identify the function of voice-over narration in documentaries and emphasize its properties of explanation with argumentative logic. As for the development of Nanjing Massacre documentaries, verbal commentary plays the role of historical storytelling and professional interpretation. Furthermore, since the last decade of 20th century, voice-over narration has been combined with rich stylistic techniques such as interviews, oral testimonies, animation, and factual representations to create an all-round historical representation in, for example, *Witness to History* (1995); *1937: The Truth of Nanjing* (2005); *1937: Memory of Nanjing* (2014); and *Foreign Witnesses to the Nanjing Massacre* (2015). Given that the manner in which these films address historical facts corresponds with the expository mode defined by Nichols, I categorize them as Nanjing Massacre expository documentaries.

The expository mode of Nanjing Massacre documentaries can be further subdivided into two categories: classical and hybrid expository modes. I define the type of Nanjing Massacre documentary that typically conveys information with a voice-over narrative coupled with archive films or on-site shooting and interviewees' voices as the classical expository mode. It is the most popular form to present this historical event. *The Nanjing Massacre: Witness of Survivors* (1995), *In the Name of the Emperor* (1998), *1937: The Truth Nanjing* (2005), and the seven episodes *For Whom the Bell Tolls* (2015) are representative examples of classical expository documentaries.

In addition, in some Nanjing Massacre expository documentaries, new elements emerge and provide support for the expository mode; I categorize such films as hybrid expository documentaries. Plantinga (1997) points out the flexibility of Nichols's documentary modes, arguing that his classification has no strictly prescribed categories with defined boundaries. Nichols admits that many modes might overlap or demonstrate "cross-breeding" (Nichols 1981, p.172); for example, his definition of "hybrid documentaries" (Nichols 2001, p.31) means one mode mixed with other modes, and he gives the example of *The Battle 360* series on the History Channel that predominantly uses the expository mode combined with participatory and performative modes. Moreover, Hill (2008) notes that hybrid formats have become one of the ways to stylize contemporary television documentaries. According to these ideas, an appreciation of flexibility and a combination of modes help in examining the trend of evolution in Nanjing Massacre documentary narrative forms since the 1990s. For example, in some Nanjing Massacre documentaries, the expository mode merges with other presenting forms and it is either of primary or equal importance. In this case, hybrid exposition can be considered a subdivision of Nanjing Massacre expository documentaries, in which historical exposition works together with one or two other modes, forming a blended style, but the voice-over narrator still plays a predominant role in storytelling.

There are two main types of hybrid expository: one is an expository documentary blended with the particular format of a television programme, such as *Nanjing 1937: Westward Migration of Animals* (2010); *Iris Chang and the Nanjing Massacre* (2012); and *Official Evidence No.1 of the Nanjing Massacre* (2015); the other is the expository mode mixed with the participatory form (according to Nichols (2001), the participatory mode refers to the mode where the filmmaker participates in shaping

what happens through interaction with his or her social actors, for example, in interviews), such as in *Witness to History* (1995); *I Want to Go Home* (2000); *1937: Memory of Nanjing* (2014); and *Nanjing Incident* (2015).

It is essential to note that both classical and hybrid expository modes incorporate interviews and oral testimonies. When oral history is more prominent than the expository means of transmitting information, and oral testimony turns towards individuals and the continuous recording of their words and actions, I classify it as a Nanjing Massacre oral history documentary – this documentary mode is closer to presenting personal narration or individual experiences than a narrator’s explanation or argument; in such films, the voice-over commentary is just used as a supplement or junction point. Chapters 4 and 5 will further discuss Nanjing Massacre oral history documentaries.

In this chapter, I will first review the popular classical expository mode that directly articulates information through a voice-over commentator, interviews, and visual evidence, and then review the two sub-types of hybrid expository: expository documentary mixed with a television programme format and the expository mode blended with the participatory mode.

Section 1 The rise of the Nanjing Massacre expository documentary

Although Nanjing Massacre compilation films still sporadically appear on television screens even in the 21st century, a wave of using the expository mode to represent this historical event has surged, especially in the context of the Chinese documentary movement and the development of modern filming techniques since the 1990s.

Compared with compilation, this new expository trend has certain advantages in historical presentation.

1.1 The shift of compilation films and the emergence of the Nanjing Massacre expository documentary films in China

In China, with the background of the reform and opening up in 1978, the development of China's diplomacy began to open multiple channels for external communication, and documentary production assumed the critical function of external publicity. One of the main issues that Chinese documentaries faced was how to publicize their work effectively. The Chinese Cultural Department implemented three strategic steps: apart from firstly arranging a filmmaking study team tour to France, Italy, Germany, the United States, and other countries, the endeavour included subsequent communication in the field of documentary theory and practice including co-producing.

Some foreign documentary theorists and creators were invited to give lectures or make documentaries in China, such as Charlie Nairn, Irv Drasnin, and the Japanese documentary director Ushiyama Junichi. In an interview in 1979, Charlie Nairn suggested that when attempting to reflect on an event, a documentarian should be truthful to shoot what happened (Ren 1992, p.92). When Drasnin made a speech at the Beijing Broadcasting Institute in 1980 on the issue of rampant subjectivity in Chinese documentary filmmaking, he indicated that filmmakers should not impose their position on others, but arouse the audience's thinking and attention to what they see (Fang 2003, p.309). These foreign ideas on documentaries motivated new insight into local documentary production for Chinese filmmakers.

Although these documentary views “brought great shock” (Fang, 2003, p.310) to Chinese documentary creation and deeply prompted more and more creators to start considering “disruptive creation” (Fang 2003, p.310), there is no suggestion that these foreign creative ideas directly influenced Chinese Nanjing Massacre documentary productions in the 1980s. During this period, the number of Nanjing Massacre documentary productions was small – the only two were *The Nanjing Massacre* (1982) and *The Nanjing Massacre by Japanese Invaders* (1984). They still stayed with the compilation form, showing their significant political, historical, and educational value traditionally through the voice of God's passionate and pedagogic tone. Obviously, for Chinese historical documentaries, especially those related to complicated political events such as the Nanjing Massacre – a new historical theme with limited materials for filmmakers that was a crucial political issue between China and Japan – it was sensible to follow the accepted formal conventions of representation as well as conform to the state's strategy of expression.

However, for some Chinese filmmakers such as Liu Xiaoli and Chen Hanyuan, foreign documentary concepts and their thirst for integrating Chinese documentaries into global developments opened up new spaces for discussing history and inspired their practical endeavours in handling history. The strategy of the Chinese Cultural Department involved co-producing documentaries with foreign countries in filmmaking, which inspired the filmmakers' practical explorations. A unique example is the cooperation between China Central Television and Japan's Nippon Hoso Kyokai (NHK) in the 1980s, represented by the documentaries *The Silk Road* (1980) and *The Stories of the Yangtze River* (1983). The Japanese film crew quietly influenced the Chinese team regarding filmmaking ideas and techniques. For example, the Japanese director emphasized what was happening and was more interested in recording the

process of events. During the filming of *The Silk Road* (1980), there was an argument on how to present the poetic effects of an old bridge in the rain between the crews from the two countries. The Japanese director insisted on shooting the busy bridge crowded with people coming and going, while the Chinese personnel intended to shoot the bridge after clearing it; as a result, the Japanese filmmakers' "shooting skills and the concept of following-up shooting won the admiration of Chinese peers" (Fang 2003, p.318). On balance, in the documentary-making field, these government measures, operating at different layers, including filmmaking ideas and practice, contributed to the acceleration of innovation in Chinese documentary creation.

In the 1990s, with the development of new concepts and creation in the Chinese documentary field, historical documentaries generated a more proximate and sophisticated sense of the past using voice-over explanations and compilation clips, interviews, and even factual representations. Many Chinese filmmakers attempted to explore "expressing human nature and emotions" (Zhang 2016, p.8) to present historical figures and stories rather than voice-over judgment. For example, the Sino-Japanese co-production *The Story of the Great Wall* (1991), shot by a Chinese team (1991), is recognized as "a new milestone of Chinese television documentary filmmaking" (Fang 2003, p.320). According to the team leader and director Liu Xiaoli (2000), it ended the age of omniscient voice-of-God narration in Chinese documentaries. In filming, Liu Xiaoli gave a clear instruction that diegetic sound should completely take the place of the voice-over narrative in this documentary. Moreover, this documentary focuses on recording the lives of ordinary people living around the Great Wall and showing their living conditions and true feelings rather than presenting the historical significance of the Great Wall. Both the creative ideas and the practical techniques of *The Story of the Great Wall* (1991) were held up as a model and deeply affected the field of Chinese documentary creation.

In line with the trend of creative innovation and improvement in filmmaking techniques that swept through Chinese documentary production in the 1990s, some signs of narrative change can also be found in Nanjing Massacre documentaries. For example, *Witness to History* (1995) partly shows the production team collecting first-hand testimonies and archival records by interviewing survivors and eyewitnesses throughout the country; that is to say, the camera rather than the voice of God leads viewers towards the past. In this context, the discourse of compilation films relying on voice-of-God commentary gradually fell out of favour, and the emerging expository mode soon took over the mainstream.

1.2 The advantages of the Nanjing Massacre expository documentary

The strengths of expository documentaries in reconstructing the past can be observed from the representation techniques and their function in spreading history. It is apparent that the expository mode is capable of recreating the Nanjing Massacre through more approaches than that of compilation films, for example, the cooperation of voice-over narration with interviews and the audiovisual skills in the design of space-time structures, camera movement, and image editing.

The interrelation between professional history and the popular accounts of history presented by mass media is frequently a concern in the academic world. Raack describes the archival materials and historical facts in films as “the natural habitat” (Raack 1983, p.413) of professional historians—storing the first-hand records and easier accessible to the public. Deshpande has similar views and affirms the film’s function of “emotionalizing, personalizing and dramatizing” (Deshpande 2004,

p.4458) the history and asserts that the most outstanding merit of historical films lies in the skills to present the past as an integrated process to the audience. As for spreading the history of the Nanjing Massacre, the role of expository documentaries is salient in merging professional history and its popular expression.

1.2.1 Richer means of historical representation: A short comparison between compilation and expository modes

The typical commonality of the compilation and expository forms in representing the Nanjing massacre is the sharing of archival shots and other historical resources; they also rely heavily upon voice-over narratives or exposition to directly address the audience and convey historical knowledge. To some extent, the bridging function of the voice of God or voice-over narrator is essential to build a persuasive or reliable link between films and viewers. Compilation films such as *The Nanjing Massacre by Japanese Invaders* (1984) and *Solid Evidence of The Nanjing Massacre* (1998) provide the audience with a ready-made idea or judgement through the voice of God; off-screen commentator of expository films plays an crucial role in explaining to the audience what happened, for example, the voice over of *The Rape of Nanking* (1985) directly informs spectators of the atrocities committed by the Japanese army during their occupation of Nanjing.

However, there is an evident difference in the verbal style of presenting history between the compilation and expository modes. Compilation films try to influence the audience's feelings towards what they see through well-polished expressions like sound or spoken words. The commentary can be passionate and maximized to explicitly propagandize a proposition or opinion, as in *Nanking* (1938) and *The Nanjing Massacre* (1982). *Solid Evidence of The Nanjing Massacre* (1998) is another

example in which the off-screen voice reads both witnesses' diaries and individual testimonies with an omniscient narrator's single and dominant voice accompanied by a sense of heightened emotion. In contrast, the expository mode provides a wider variety of audiovisual elements to tell the history, and it is not uncommon to choose less-polished voices, for instance, the witnesses' oral narratives, with a comparative moderation of the commentary to allay an overly didactic or rigid impression and then gain a sense of credibility. For example, in the expository documentary *1937: The Truth of Nanjing* (2005), as its director says, the narrative style is plain and supported by historical facts and interviews with survivors and historians.

The voice of God explanation of Nanjing Massacre compilation films, as I discussed in Chapter 1, primarily serves to disseminate some explicit political intention. In expository films, the voice-over commentary gives precedence to the camera, sounds, and interviews related to the history rather than political propaganda, such as can be seen in *Witness to History* (1995); *Foreign Witnesses to the Nanjing Massacre* (2015); *1937: Memory of Nanjing* (2014); and *City Trauma* (2014). For instance, *Witness to History* (1995) presents the journey of seeking eyewitnesses and historical evidence of the Nanjing Massacre; the documentary *Foreign Witnesses to the Nanjing Massacre* (2015) shows the layers of history by drawing on ten foreign witnesses to the Nanjing Massacre.

Another difference worthy of attention is the representation strategies used in expository films to bridge the audience and the history (see details in section 2 and section 3). Here, for example, in terms of constructing time and space, the editors of compilation films create the spatial and temporal dimension to help a particular political aim by disordering and even blurring shots and time frames, as *Nanking*

(1938), *The Battle of China* (1944), and *The Nanjing Massacre* (1982) have shown. On the other hand, The shots of the expository mode, together with the voice-over exposition, frequently seek to establish a sense of concrete historical geographic space and reveal aspects of individuals' distinct experiences along a straight linear or progressive line, such as in *I Want to Go Home* (2000), *Witness to History* (1995), and *1937: The Truth of Nanjing* (2005). Also, filmmakers have independent vision and creativity in organizing historical time and space as well as their points of view to present this historical event. For example, the six-episode television series *1937: The Truth of Nanjing* (2005) starts with an extreme time and space comparison. On August 15, 1937, when Japanese nationals celebrated their safe evacuation from Nanjing with the circumspect protection of the Chinese government, Nanjing residents suffered an indiscriminate bombing in the afternoon of the same day. This beginning of this film structures a visual and interactive linear narrative, and observes the good and evil of human nature through the war outbreak.

1.2.2 The integration of popular accounts of history and professional history

The development of Nanjing Massacre documentaries and the historical research on this event are almost synchronous. From the 1990s, as the production of Nanjing Massacre filmmaking accelerated rapidly, so did historical research, and the latter continuously provided historical materials and credibility support for the historical representation of documentaries. At the end of 2006, the Chinese Foreign Ministry and Japanese Foreign Ministry launched a joint history study project, which was a significant step forward from "the sporadic historians' dialogues of the mid-1980s that lacked official endorsement" (He, 2011, p.1189); furthermore, the project committee, made up of historians from China and Japan, decided to have each side submit its version of bilateral history (He 2011, p.1189; Kasahara 2010, p.24; Zhu 2012, p.7). Simultaneously, as more and more historical themes have been moved on

the screen and consumed more than ever before, filmmakers have combined academic research and individual oral testimonies into the fabric of historical representation.

Regarding the reasons for the rise and popularity of history in mass media, scholars have expressed their ideas on this tendency. For instance, Niemi (2006) points out the public's widespread hunger for history and a growing public appetite for historical representation on film and television. Related to the audience's needs, Kilborn (1997) thinks that television can respond to viewers' expectations of knowing reality and history because this medium can be very mature in making statements and developing arguments through many forms of programming. Edgerton (2001) has a similar opinion, and he attributes it to mass media's affinity and ability to cope with priorities related to the past. Furthermore, some scholars consider the form and the possible dangers of the interconnection between history and the media. Concerning the media stepping into history, for example, Cannadine (2004) collected questions discussed at the conference organized by the Institute of Historical Research in 2002, such as "What forms does this media involvement take?" "What are the benefits and the possibilities?" "What are the dangers and the pitfalls?" These theories and questions also apply to the discussion of how documentary filmmaking deals with the history of the Nanjing Massacre.

When evaluating the development of Nanjing Massacre documentary films, it is essential to consider to what extent these works have presented the achievement of historical research and cognition on this event in both China and Japan. In this way, if expository documentaries strive to conduct a comprehensive recreation of the Nanjing Massacre, the fact is that they involve popular representation of history and

professional history together and transmit it to the audience. Specifically, it has become expected that documentaries present history through a body of visual evidence and the dominant voice-over commentary by interviewing historical participants and researchers. Historians or experts who professionally devote themselves to discovering historical evidence and understanding history with rigorous historical methodology in the Nanjing Massacre research field have been indispensable components to articulate their interpretation in the Nanjing Massacre expository documentaries, which have committed to professional guides to understand historical materials.

Every Nanjing Massacre documentary producers tell or interpret the historical subject from a specific point of view, even when their work is entirely made with actual archival footage from the period in question. According to O'Connor, "an objective or true" (1987, p.25) representation of history does not exist, and it is also untrustworthy that a filmic recreation can offer people the sense of experiencing the past. So, the enormous challenge is for everyone (both filmmakers and viewers) who approaches this subject to pursue absolute objectivity and truth in presentation. They have to face the issue of identification with the narrative perspective and how the audiovisual elements present it.

Edgerton indicates that "a usable past" (2001, p.4) is set to be a "longstanding tenet of popular history"(2001, p.4) to serve the present and future, and he considers that television's "intimacy and immediacy" (2001, p.4) make for the dissemination of history. It is apparent from the theme of the Nanjing Massacre that filmmakers are preoccupied with emphasizing the personal and national ramifications of the war and war atrocities. In practice, positively speaking, media techniques such as camera

movement, music, and sound effects help to making history comprehensible to current and future generations and cultivate their awareness of history. Some analysis of examples in the following sections can demonstrate this point.

Section 2 The classical Nanjing Massacre expository film mode and its three elements of presentation

Nanjing Massacre classical expository documentaries organize their argument using a voice-over narrator with visual support and interviews. Three significant elements – explanation, narrative structure, and rhetoric – are usually figured into the presenting system to support the theme and make the argument accurate. Based on collected historical materials, the strategy of classical expository films to deliver historical information prefers to address viewers directly with precise historical materials through voice-over commentaries and interviews. In terms of narrative structure, storytelling involving cinematic techniques such as flashbacks, varied space–time arrangements, and foreshadowing are universal in classical Nanjing Massacre expository films. The application of rhetoric is most prominent in the visual and aural effects produced by camera movement, colour, and sound, which enable the past to be presented more vividly and infectiously. The three dimensions are not exclusive but mutually reinforcing in any given classical expository documentary, and I will take some examples to analyse each dimension separately to identify their effects on historical presentation.

2.1 The voices addressing viewers: *Foreign Witnesses to the Nanjing Massacre* (2015)

The voice-over narrator of a documentary, first and foremost, seeks to guide the interpretation of what is shown on the screen. Kilborn (1997) argues that the

explanation, in effect, informs viewers how they should consider these visual pieces of evidence. According to Plantinga, in nonfiction films, the voice-over narrator takes on the communication function and implies a particular standpoint or “an implicit stance or attitudes toward what it presents” (Plantinga 1997, p.100). Except for the off-screen commentary, other voices such as eyewitnesses, researchers, and spectators in documentaries provide diverse angles in understanding a story. The dominant narrator, combined with other multiple voices, is ubiquitous in Nanjing Massacre classical expository films; the ten-episode television documentary *Foreign Witnesses to the Nanjing Massacre* (2015) is a case in point.

Foreign Witnesses to the Nanjing Massacre (2015) attempts to restore the historical event and reveal the historical truth. Many original materials and documents are from the first view of ten foreigners, including Western witnesses who stayed in Nanjing, Japanese veterans who committed the killings in Nanjing, a Japanese history teacher, and historians actively seeking the historical truth. To reconstruct what the ten protagonists witnessed or did, the filmmaker interviews relevant people and collates documents such as letters, books, and video recordings to verify the past and substantiate historical memories. Off-screen narration and interviews are the main methods to convey this visual information to the audience. This documentary displays its narrative characteristics in dealing with the relationship between information, interpretation, and the audience.

The narrator's discourse is pivotal in mapping the essential historical background while providing context for what is happening on screen. In *Foreign Witnesses to the Nanjing Massacre* (2015), for example, each episode comes with an approximately three-minute introduction by a voice-over narrator, and this provides both a synopsis

of the episode's central argument and a hint of the historical context in which the story took place; meanwhile, specific historical temporal and spatial elements are thoroughly used and underlined in the reconstruction of precise historical situations. For example, at the beginning of the seventh episode, "Shiro Azuma: a Man's Confession", as the camera moves from the far Memorial Hall to the near, a male voice guides viewers toward the main character by introducing the story time and location,

"In April 2004, a white-haired old man knelt in front of the monument of the Memorial Hall of the Victims of the Nanjing Massacre by Japanese Invaders and refused to stand up for a long time"

(the voice-over narration in "Shiro Azuma: a Man's Confession", 2015).

Next, Shiro Azuma, the former Japanese veteran who participated in the Nanjing Massacre and publicly confessed to the Chinese people in the 1980s is introduced to the audience. Some critical periods of his life are chronologically unfolded in the narrator's telling, covering his birth, conscription into the army, the influence of his mother, his cognition of killings and diary writing during the war, his seven visits to China since the 1980s to express his repentance, and his struggles with the Japanese right wing. Consequently, the narration provides a concise framework similar to a personal biography, which encourages the audience to understand the individual destiny in historical changes clearly and to reflect on the war atrocities from a perpetrator's perspective over 39 minutes.

The filmmaker delimits the discourse of off-screen expositions about the current news or historical recordings or just depicts the facts with restraint, attempting to

avoid extending or polishing the meaning of the materials. Two tactics used in the expository films examined here give the audience an impression of narrative objectivity and neutrality so as to abate the sense of interpreting history from an all-knowing standpoint. First, the narrator does his job by keeping his explanation as far away from tendencies towards discussion or judgment as possible. Returning to the beginning of this film again, for example, when a shot focuses on the old man who is kneeling there, the voice-over narrator makes a compendious but clear description of this scene,

“His head was deeply lowered, his hands were clasped together, and he muttered to himself, the old man called Shiro Azuma. He was one of the few Japanese veterans who dared openly repent to the Chinese people”

(the voice-over narration in “Shiro Azuma: a Man’s Confession”, 2015).

Instead of the narrator evaluating Shiro’s actions, the filmmaker then shows a part of Shiro’s confession speech. This pattern of expository words substantiated by historical writings or pictures continues throughout the film.

The representatives expressing their thinking and opinions in front of the camera constitute the other essential and powerful voices in support of the objective position of the voice-over explanation. In this example, compared with the voice-over narration, Shiro Azuma’s statements, including his speech and diaries, are undoubtedly more convincing for people who want to find out about his psychological and emotional trajectory. For instance, when Shiro talks about the influence of his mother in an interview, he recalls the words of his mother, who believed in the Japanese emperor’s motto, “Be loyal to the emperor and die with honour,” when she said goodbye to him. In front of the camera, he says,

“My birth mother said to me as she was saying goodbye that ‘you have an elder brother and a younger brother... If the enemy catches you, kill yourself with this dagger if anything happens to you.’ And she gave the dagger to me”

(Shiro Azuma in “Shiro Azuma: a Man’s Confession”, 2015).

It is apparent that this kind of confided information about one’s inner journey presents the filmmaker’s intention to touch the viewers. As a result, the narrator takes advantage of reading part of the war diaries written by Shiro to help the audience understand the protagonist's psychological struggle on the battlefield, in addition to Shiro’s own accounts of his stories of war killings. In the presentation of the litigation cases between Shiro and right-wing forces, the opinions of the lawyers involved are used to explain Shiro's situation and the Japanese society's attitude towards this period of history at that time.

Aside from providing necessary historical context, the multiple moderated narration strives to maintain the objectivity emphasized by the historical presentation and documentary conventions. Consequently, images on the screen are generally used to illustrate specific points and authenticate the commentary. Moreover, interviewees' voices, such as eyewitnesses and historians, from various stances show the interaction between individuals and history, which can inspire the viewers to acquire more historical knowledge about the war and war atrocities. As for the documentary production, these personal historical statements and interpretations also supplement the off-screen interpretation.

2.2 Storytelling structure: *1937: The Truth of Nanjing* (2005)

Nichols (1991) highlights narrative structure as a fundamental factor in organizing a documentary. In Nichols' view, when the off-screen narrator dedicates themselves to making a given documentary representation more accessible and reliable, his or her narrative cannot be separated from the logical coherence and unity of the narrative framework of the documentary. By comparing newsreels and documentaries, Bruzzi (2006) concludes that a documentary's function is to provide structure and meaning, not just purely convey accurate material. Most Nanjing Massacre expository documentary films exist in the form of a series, and structurally, aside from conventional chronological structures or cause-effect structures, it is not rare for directors to adopt cinematic nonlinear time-space arrangements or draw on literary writing techniques.

The six-episode television documentary *1937: The Truth of Nanjing* (2005), also named *The Truth of the Nanjing Massacre* incorporates the episodes "Fall of the Ancient City", "Bloody City", "International Rescue", "Record of Death", "Sword of Justice", and "For Peace"; it roughly follows a chronological order overall. However, each episode represents a specific perspective reviewing the Nanjing Massacre, operating around a story from a book or a person's fate based on plentiful historical documents. The storytelling structure of the six episodes tangibly in common is characterized by analysis (issues) and exploration (historical details).

It is known that raising questions and then analysing and solving them is a routine step or structure in an argument. This schema is adopted in each episode of *1937: The Truth of Nanjing* (2005), imparting rigour to the historical presentation, and enhancing persuasiveness. Except for Episodes 4 and 5, which directly put forward

their main points, the other episodes advance their narrative and presentation based on questions, such as “What on earth happened in Nanjing in 1937?”, “Nanjing was occupied; what kind of fate might Nanjing soldiers and civilians encounter?”, “What atrocities did Japanese troops commit in the Safe Zone during the fall of Nanjing?”, and “How will the Tokyo District Court rule on this case?” Since the analysis often follows a certain logical argument, historical materials addressed by commentators are associated with narrative foreshadowing, flashback, flashforward, and film editing devices, which build a more flexible and richer narrative in space and time. For example, the main topic of the fifth episode, entitled “The Sword of Justice”, is about the trials of Japanese war criminals, as the voice-over states at the beginning,

“On December 13, 2004... an original transcript of the trial of Japanese war criminals was brought back to Nanjing. The document tells the thrilling history of the courts in Tokyo and Nanjing”
(the voice-over in “Sword of Justice”).

Then, the narrator goes in flashback to the past and takes about three minutes to review the crucial historical moments and events of 1945 and 1943 related to the Japanese trials in a linear fashion; at the end, a historian gives a summary; meanwhile, this narrative flashback involves multiple locations such as Tokyo Bay, Nanjing, Chongqing, and Nuremberg. The three minutes or so of flashback narration forms a closed loop in the whole chain of argument, leading the audience to know the historical facts of this section from the present to the past and then back to the present.

This documentary is also notable for its exploration of historical details, striving to respond to the “truth” claimed by the title. According to the chief director Cao

Haibing, to ensure the historical facts were correct and avoid ambiguity, the filmmaking teams held expert workshops to expound on and prove the incontrovertible evidence of their historical representation. In an interview, Cao Haibing told a story about how he determined this documentary's beginning. When stumped by how to set up a compelling start, he found a detail in Kasahara Jukuji's work *Hundred Days at Safety Zone* (2005) about what happened in several hours of August 15, 1937, before the Japanese bombed Nanjing; that is, the Nanjing Government at that time positively provided help to evacuate Japanese nationals who were stranded in Nanjing. On August 15, 1937, the Nanjing government prepared a special train for the last group of Japanese Embassy staff and Japanese overseas Chinese to evacuate them safely and sent special personnel to escort them. A few hours after the Japanese left by train in the morning, from 2:50 to 3:30 in the afternoon, 20 Japanese attack planes began the bombardment of Nanking, which lasted more than three months. Tokuji Shoji, a staff member of the Japanese diaspora group who returned to Japan on this train, described the experience in his book *The Annals of Japanese Diaspora in Nanjing* (1940), some of his comments are quoted by the filmmaker, like "Our whole journey was very well escorted" by the Chinese government. When these Japanese expatriates learned their planes had bombed Nanjing across the ocean, "cheers of joy broke out in the carriage". Cao says the peace and goodwill of the Chinese people were returned with cruelty and brutal killing by the Japanese army; the details of these historical facts hit him and then became the beginning of the *1937: Truth of Nanjing* (2005). This example indicates the pursuit of the historical details that constitute this documentary's reliable channel to the past.

2.3 Rhetorical narrative: Visual and aural representation in *The Rape of Nanking* (1985)

The expository mode explores historical facts through a more technological combination of images and voices; and aesthetic factors stemming from visual and aural rhetoric became one of the attractions of Nanjing Massacre documentaries. Shooting techniques can provide documentaries with uniquely graphic and attractive factors. Moreover, the movement of the camera enhances the effect of shooting angles that help the audience judge what they see; Katz (1991) says that the travelling camera also “increases the effect of all other perspective cues” (Katz 1991, p.380), so it can shape the audience’s identification of space from various angles. In these expository Nanjing Massacre documentary films, it is usual that filmmakers apply a wide range of camera lenses and angles to present the historical scenes and build narrative sequences rather than editing shots to follow a given subject. Visual and aural storytelling involving colour, point of view, settings, and music either become the vehicles to help viewers explore the objective and subjective aspects of historical representation or serve as rhetorical layers of presentation in a sense. Many filmmakers are enthusiastic about using black and white to offer a nostalgic appearance or create a mood of melancholy. According to Mullen and Kris (2005), colour as an additional element of information in images can boost the emotional tone of the visual information, they also think of colour as an aesthetic visual statement. Such presenting techniques and rhetorical narratives can be found in *Witness to History* (1995); *1937: The Truth of Nanjing* (2005); *1937: Memory of Nanjing* (2014); *Foreign Witnesses to the Nanjing Massacre* (2015), and *The Tokyo Trial* (2016). *The Rape of Nanking* (1985) is a good example of a rhetorical narrative.

Television documentary filmmaker Sammy Jackson made the 45-minute film *The Rape of Nanking* (1985), and provides a large number of first-hand archival sources

such as diaries and letters, footage, photography, and interviews in the film. Although it might be imperfect that the survivors' voices of the Nanjing Massacre are absent from this documentary, the value of *The Rape of Nanking* (1985) is ascribable to the extensive and profound explanation of the historical atrocities through interviewing Japanese veterans, academics and researchers, and through the voice-over commentary as well. The salient feature of this documentary lies in the intensive display of audiovisual rhetorical strategies in its storytelling; in summary, there are three types of rhetorical narrative: the reference to thriller film elements that evoke suspense and curiosity in the viewers; the rhythm that comes from the alternation of original black-and-white archive source with voice-overs or interviews in colour; and a visual language that manifests different pieces of footage or colour to produce, through a montage of sorts, a unique narrative and arrangement of scenes.

The cinematic appropriation of the thriller style in *The Rape of Nanking* (1985) contains various elements, including background music, colour, and camera movement. The film resembles a horror story, not a documentary released on a television history channel; and the filmmaker utilizes horrific images, sound, and voice-over narration to arouse spectator's emotions reflecting the effects that typify the historical trauma of the Nanjing Massacre. The film's beginning is a good example. Instead of coming straight to the point, *The Rape of Nanking* (1985) starts a sequence of terrifying and mysterious footage. With the sound of background music, "Alienator 3" from the album *The Bite of Fear*, grey and black ruins of a wall are faintly visible in the smoke (Figure 2.1). Shots taken with a shaking and segmented lens serve as transitional shots for the following scenes: the fragmentary pictures of a group of Japanese soldiers, the small half of the floating sun flag, and finally, the image of a girl's terrified face, the close-up several letters of the title slowly appear and disappear on the black screen (Figure 2.2-5). These elements – soldiers, the sun flag,

and the scared face in this sequence – hint at the subject matter of the film: war and war violence; moreover, these creepy and tense camera shots at the beginning of the film aim to prepare the viewers to associate the forthcoming story with some tragedies during the war, and the grim atmosphere sets a depressing tone for the film's overall historical representation. In short, these metaphorical images present history not by a precise representation of past scenes, but in an abstracted and allegorical way, aiming to initiate the viewers' visual experiences, memory, and imagination into the history that will be revealed and interpreted by the film.



Figure 2.1 A shot of the starting sequence in *The Rape of Nanking* (1985). The bold colour and indistinct ruins create a strong sense of repression. The illusion of the image encourages the viewer to infer its situation and thus link their own imagination with the situations shown in the film through the implications like the gray shades.



Figure 2.2 A shot of the starting sequence in *The Rape of Nanking* (1985). A mutilated photo of a group of Japanese soldiers. The contrast of bright and dark light intensity produces tension, which sets the viewers in a particular position— they are inspired to know the characters but not allowed too close to them.



Figure 2.3 The close-up of part of the Japanese Imperial flag from the starting sequence in *The Rape of Nanking* (1985). The extreme close-up and the contrast between bright and dark develop a sense of aggression and exclusion.



Figure 2.4 A shot of the starting sequence in *The Rape of Nanking* (1985). A pained face looms from the heavy black, and the black is more akin to an unknown monster that is about to devour the person. For viewers, the image produces the aura of both resistance and invitation to enter the story.

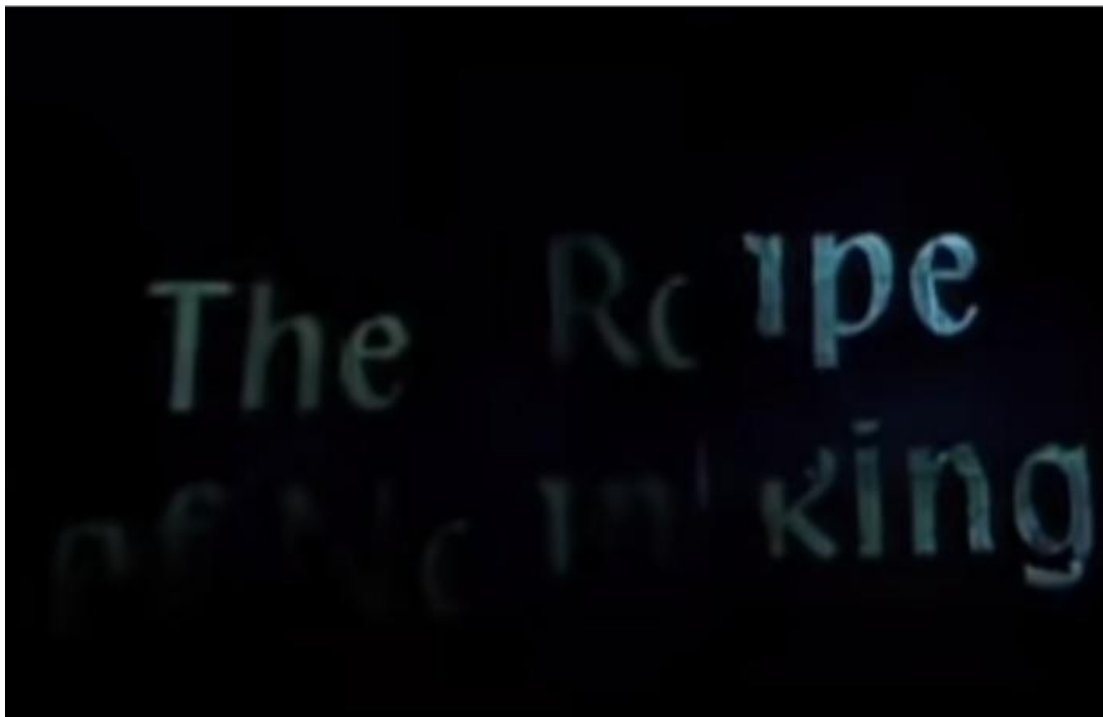


Figure 2.5 A shot of the starting sequence in *The Rape of Nanking* (1985). The fuzzy inscription of the film floating on the black background intends to imply the shadows of this history.

Furthermore, at the beginning of the film, the filmmaker exploits the colour of images, segmenting the limited onscreen space to convey a sense of terror. Bordwell et al. (2017) argue that the film's conventions (subject, theme, iconography) are designed to engage the audience's senses or emotions, such as anxiety or sympathy, and catch their attention. In these images of the beginning, black shadows obscure a third, even half of the area, creating a mysterious space to encourage an emotional response; for example, both a pained face looming from the overwhelming black (see Figure 2.4) and the inscription floating on the black background (see Figure 2.5) show an unknown black power. Therefore, the visual suspense – black acting as a force of repression or aggression – produces a psychological thrill and emotional effects such as expectation, sympathy, anxiety, or disgust.

A rhythm grows out of the alternating narrative between the archival materials with voice-over narration and interviews; that is, after a section of presentation of historical resources including photographs and moving images, one or more interviewees (witnesses or their relatives, experts, writers, and historians) explain, summarize, or assess on this period of history. This pattern of historical presentation and interviewing runs through the film and is distinguished by colour, establishing a balance of information and extending historical meanings between past and present. For example, in presenting the section on Japanese war crimes trials, the voice-over narrator, matched with black-and-white primary sources, explains that the trial “carried a hidden baggage that worked in favour of the defendants” and “there was no great probing into those crimes or much searching for their perpetrators”. This interpretation touches on a complex historical issue concerning the Japanese War Crimes Trial and implies the need for multiple sources of information. Because the Tokyo Trial as a decisive historical moment can never be circumvented for people

who want to understand and memorize the history, and the remains of its historical issues are also well-known.

Furthermore, some crucial figures expressed their opinions on the Tokyo trial in interviews (coloured images). One is Whitney Harris, a prosecutor of the Nuremberg Trials. He explains,

"There was a good trade. The Japanese indicated that they would surrender, but provided that the emperor was not touched, that was the trade. We did agree that the emperor would not be treated as a war criminal, and that was in exchange for the saving of hundreds of thousands of American lives."

(Whitney Harris in *The Rape of Nanking*, 1985).

The other person interviewed was David Magee, John Magee's son, who recalled the historical importance of his father. He says,

"My father testified at the War Crimes Trial, ... I do not think anybody knows why his movies were not shown; that is part of his testimony... it was political, or General MacArthur didn't want that, or I've never known. My dad was astonished; they weren't going to show that he wanted to show"

(David Magee in *The Rape of Nanking*, 1985).

For the first time, this documentary supplies some individual analysis from the international context of the Japanese–American relationship and Japan's international geopolitics in the postwar period. The arguments of the historical film do not just promise to satisfy viewers' curiosity about the past, or in Nichols' words,

“gratify a desire to know” (1981, p.205); on some level, this film also inspires viewers to rethink the issue of historical justice.

The director of *The Rape of Nanking* (1985) conceives ways to pursue subtle but crucial changes in historical moments in visual form, achieving a comparison of images by editing akin to an intellectual montage and establishing visual narratives by contrast – using black and white versus colour. The concept of an intellectual montage stems from Eisenstein’s creative practice and theory in film,⁶ and it has become one of the most popular applied film techniques and theories. Eisenstein (1949) points out that the intellectual montage manifests a conflict juxtaposition, and it can reach the very heart of things and phenomena. Many scholars have put forward their views on intellectual montage. For example, Briley considers it a kind of “metaphoric formula” (1996, p.528) to engage viewers in thinking intellectually. Bordwell (2017) states that it is “the juxtaposition of a series of images” to invent a new idea. Aumont and Hildreth stress the “association” and “attraction” (1983, p.66) of the new effective version created by intellectual montage.

The Rape of Nanking (1985) expertly uses intellectual montage to present juxtaposed images' new meanings and implications. When narrating John Magee’s photography, for example, a segment uses an intellectual montage to generate the visual and mental impact. The filmmaker intercuts family video clips of the children’s happy time before the war and archival photographs of other children’s corpses in the war atrocities (Figure 2.6–9), for example, the scene of a group of children relaxing in the

⁶ Sergei Eisenstein (1898-1948) was a Soviet film director, film theorist, and screenwriter. He was one of the contributors to Soviet montage theory. Eisenstein explained his montage theory at length in his articles and books especially *Film Sense* (1942) and *The Film Form* (1949). As a film director, his representative films are well known and include *Strike* (1925), *Battleship Potemkin* (1925), and *October* (1928). His film theories and filmic technology had a great effect on subsequent creations.

sea is followed by the body of a child who was burnt to death, and these clips all come from Magee's films, in which he filmed the children's daily life before and during the war. The conflict created by the montage reflects the sudden change in people's daily lives due to the outbreak of war. Furthermore, this montage sequence achieves a rational comparison of young boys' happiness with the other group of boys' deaths because of the Japanese killings, and the visual conflict generates a mental impact. The voice-over narrator explains this sequence with a flash-forward,

"The little camera that had captured so much happiness was soon to be in John McGee's trembling hands catching forbidden images that would remain to haunt the world past the end of a bleeding century"

(the voice-over narration in *The Rape of Nanking*, 1985).

The narrator deepens the values of the new visual version by connecting the past and future. Therefore, the use of montage here aims not only to condense the historical time of the presentation but also, more significantly, to create a sharp contrast that intends to provoke a shocked response in the audience.



Figure 2.6 A shot from Magee's short film adopted by *The Rape of Nanking* (1985). A group of children playing on the beach before the eve of the Second World War.



Figure 2.7 A shot from Magee's short film adopted by *The Rape of Nanking* (1985). The body of a Chinese child who was burnt to death by Japanese soldiers during the Nanjing Massacre.



Figure 2.8 A shot from an archival picture adopted by *The Rape of Nanking* (1985). A Japanese soldier is killing people during the Nanjing Massacre.



Figure 2.9 A shot from Magee's short film adopted by *The Rape of Nanking* (1985). Several kids are playing at the beach. It is one part of the scenes shown previously.

In this film, the black-and-white and colour footage is equally essential to the aesthetic and mental effect created by the rhetorical narrative. There are subtle shifts and alterations of colour when presenting the same object – from colour to gray and dark or black and white to colour – and no fewer than three similar scenes appear in this film. The following instances are sufficient to illustrate the creation of visual psychology in this documentary. The narrator recounts the atmosphere when the Japanese military approaches Nanjing, “In the city there was anxiety, and much military confusion”, matching this with a scene showing a light golden palace roof under the cloudy blue sky; and then the tonal values fade out from blue and golden to gray and black through colour cross-dissolving (Figure 2.10–11). This contrast and interaction of colour and black and white reflect the peaceful and glorious past and the unpredictable but foreboding future for Nanjing citizens at that moment. The film ends with a montage sequence that creates a visual narrative: coloured footage of a happy family playing at a park gradually disappears as the next black-and-white scene of a group from the past appears (Figure 2. 12–13), and an explanation by the narrator reveals its meaning: with the courage and hope of their brutalised ancestors, the children of Nanking live on blissfully forgetful of December 1937. Before this ending, a series of shots from archival footage of contemporary war atrocities with toned-down colour is shown, implying the continuity of war killings; and the voice-over narration expresses the issues more directly,

“It would be comforting to say that the likes of the rape of Nanjing never happened again, not in Africa, not in Cambodia not in Bosnia not in Kosovo”
(the voice-over commentary in *The Rape of Nanking*, 1985).

This commentary indicates that war and war violence still continually exist in various

forms in different degrees in current times— to achieve world peace has a long way to go.



Figure 2. 10–11 Two consecutive shots from *The Rape of Nanking* (1985) The change in colour shows the situation's shift from peace to war.



Figure 2.12–13 The two consecutive shots at the end of *The Rape of Nanking* (1985). The comparison of the happy family in peaceful present-day Nanjing and the fleeing people during the war serves the film's theme of war and peace.

Section 3 The hybrid expository mode and its peculiar properties

Beattie (2004) argues that "the television forms of documentary expression" are

getting more attention than before. He explores a type of "long-form television news documentary" (Beattie 2004, p.161) in which "current affairs programming intersects with...a form of television news reporting" (Beattie 2004, p.161). However, in Beattie's discussion, "news" is the essential component of this type. In Nichols' book *Introduction to Documentary*, after he classifies documentary filmmaking into six principal modes, he points out that these modes may "overlap and intermingle" (Nichols 2001, p.33) as "mix and match" modes. He gives as an example the "Battle 360" series on the History Channel: the mode of the series mixes a predominantly expository mode (using voice-over commentary and archival footage) with the participatory mode (using interviews) and performative mode (using animated sequences). Kilborn (1997) notes an alternative to commentary: some expository historical documentaries use an onscreen historian as a commentator; and he thinks this interaction between voice and images is more natural and fluid. This integrated development and reformation of the documentary form is not unusual in Nanjing Massacre expository documentary films.

As mentioned previously, I subdivided the hybrid expository mode into two types. The first is an expository documentary that is presented in a television programme format. Television provides the platform for broadcasting the vast majority of the Nanjing Massacre documentary films, especially in China; Nanjing Massacre documentaries usually appear as series on various television channels. However, irrespective of their form or the extent of their dissemination, documentaries are constantly adjusting and innovating with the contemporary context. Some television programmes adopt expository documentaries related to the Nanjing Massacre as the main content weaved into the programme's regular format; in this case, the documentary becomes both the subject of the history being presented and the object being discussed in the programme. In brief, the standard feature of this mixed

mode programme is that it is presenter-led, or sometimes, there may be guests in the television studio to lead on topics. A complete documentary entering into the programme's production means that it will converge with the qualities and style of a television programme. Specifically, this mixture usually appears in television documentary programmes, for example, *Witness to the Nanjing Massacre* (2008); *Iris Chang and the Nanjing Massacre* (2012).

The other hybrid mode is the primary voice-over exposition mode coupled with the participatory mode; Nichols discusses this hybrid type of documentary in his book and summarizes that it "emphasizes the interaction between filmmaker and subject" (Nichols 2001, p.31). This hybrid mode can be seen in some Nanjing Massacre expository documentaries; for example, *I Want to Go Home* (2000) narrates the story of the Nanjing Massacre survivor Sun Zhongfang looking for her son in 2000 after she had been separated from her family for 60 years. The photographer participates in and records the search, which is full of suspense and longing; a voice-over narrator introduces the story's historical background and chronological connection. The producers use various means of involvement, especially interviewing, to substantiate the process of searching for historical facts and encourage the audience to enter into the construction of meanings.

3.1 Expository mode documentary as the content of a television programme: *Official Evidence No.1 of the Nanjing Massacre* (2015).

This mixed form, with an expository documentary as the central part of a television programme, operates through a close fit between the programme and Nanjing Massacre expository documentaries, and commentary or exposition is a central component of this hybrid mode. It is noteworthy that the original expository

documentary is often interpolated into a television programme as its main content as a result of the host's intervention. Sometimes, together with guests, the host offers a timely analysis of the original documentary; as usual, the voice-over exposition of the original documentary undertakes its primary function, including complementing, explanation, or construction; therefore, two sets of commentary forms are interlaced with each other. The aim of this hybrid type is to provoke the public to explore the traumatic past from various points of view; the host or guest of the TV programme can provide historical background knowledge that might contribute to viewers' thinking. When an expository documentary aligns with a television programme, this hybrid mode exceeds mere documentary and involves the format of a television programme, including chat shows and news, in extending an argument regarding the historical event or presenting diverse exchanges about it.

In practice, Nanjing Massacre expository documentaries mixed with a television programme tend to appear in specific television documentary programmes or channels. Television documentary programmes such as *Archive on Beijing TV* rest significantly upon factual evidence or seek historical facts. The orientation of this television programme joins up with the historical narrative of Nanjing Massacre documentaries to produce a comprehensive review of history; it adopts the techniques of the detective genre since some mysterious elements are established in the presentation. For instance, the presenter, resembling a detective, may frequently ask a series of suspicious questions concerning the content of the documentary. The studio programme *Archive*, launched on Beijing TV in 2009, has the form of a personalized host who is also the narrator; he or she attempts to explore and find out more about little-known facts based on a replay of archival films. For instance, in 2012, it aired a series of historical pieces about the Nanjing Massacre, including "the American Women Who Saved Lives During the Nanjing Massacre", "He Shot

Atrocities of the Nanjing Massacre”, “Tang ShenZhi's Tragedy of Nanjing 1937”, and “Reveal the Nanjing Massacre 1937”. This series focuses on the memorable Western individuals who offered help to protect refugees during the Nanjing Massacre and conveys to viewers a sense of high moral purpose. Another example is the programme “Time Together Down the Strait” on Chinese Central Television, which is a talk show where the host discusses topics with guests in the studio. One of its series, named Taiwan Memory, clearly illustrates its mission with the slogan "uncover the mystery of the past, unlock the secrets of the history", and is fulfilled by presenting stories of historical figures through studio interviews mixed with replays of documentaries.

The documentary film *Official Evidence No.1 of the Nanjing Massacre*, screened on May 26, 2015, as an episode of the series Taiwan Strait Memory, reviews the legendary experience of Luo Jin, the holder of photographic evidence of Japanese soldiers' atrocities in Nanjing in 1937. During the Nanjing Massacre, Luo Jin, an apprentice at a photography studio, risked his life to keep 16 photos of the Japanese soldiers' killings when he developed films for a Japanese officer. These photos were crucial evidence in the trial of Hisao Tani, a regimental commander during the Nanjing Massacre. At the beginning of the TV programme, a trailer blends the programme's voice-over narration with clips of guests' statements, briefly but intensively introducing the episode's main topic. Meanwhile, the narrator raises questions such as, "Can the 16 pictures be kept in security?" "What thrilling process did he go through to keep the album?" Next, the female host, Sang Chen, opens remarks and introduces the guests (Jing Shenghong and Ma Zhendu) present. The programme starts formally. "What on earth is the 'official evidence No.1'? And what is the secret story behind it?" The host raises questions and sketches out the essential details related to the topic, and then turns to the original documentary to

explore the evidence and also seeks an explanation from historians (Figure 2.14), which is the basic format of Official Evidence No.1 of the Nanjing Massacre. From the presenter's standpoint, these questions direct the audience's attention to the past by building suspense to arouse curiosity.



Figure 2.14 The host Sang Chen communicating with two guests Jing Shenghong and Ma Zhenduin in the programme "Taiwan Strait Memory" (2015), they are discussing the documentary *Official Evidence No.1 of the Nanjing Massacre* showed on the big screen.

Another narrative strategy of the hybrid documentary *Official Evidence No.1 of the Nanjing Massacre* (2015) is to use many coordinated skills in storytelling. The original documentary's voice-over exposition, the host's discourse, and two historians alternate. The programme director technologically re-edits the original expository documentary into fragments and places them correctly in the television programme, constituting two kinds of alternating narrative texts: an exposition of the documentary and the discourse of the television programme. For example, the original expository documentary is broken up into around 20 segments intersecting with discussion in the studio. Multiple narratives are created by the initial voice-over

commentator of the documentary, the host and guests of the programme; each impacts the interpretation of the historical facts and their meanings differently. Expository words matching black-and-white images in the documentary illustrate what happened to Luo Jin and his album in the complicated past. The host, Sang Chen, establishes the relevance of each argument and unmistakably orchestrates the following elements: the text of chosen documentary clips, the viewers' engagement, and the guests' contributions. For instance, after one documentary section ends with the voice-over narrator saying, "he decided to make an extra copy of the 16 most shocking photos of Japanese soldiers' atrocities", the television image returns to the host Sang Chen, and she poses questions to the guests and viewers, "Did Luo Jin think about the consequence of his actions? Did he realize the great danger he would face?" Occasionally, she raises questions by pretending to be ignorant to some extent, but although this strategy might elicit detailed answers, it leaves a sense of affectation.

As for the historians participating in the programme, judgment is not their whole task; they demonstrate a course of rigorous historical inquiry rather than just interpreting relevant issues. The programme invites two professional historians – one is a researcher at the Second Museum of Chinese History, and the other is a history professor at Nanjing Normal University – to answer questions from the host; and they both give their professional analysis of the historical event and some more detailed narrative. For example, regarding why the Japanese invaders adopted a premeditated news blockade policy, Professor Jing Shenghong explains that the Japanese government's propaganda policy was to "fool the common Japanese people into believing that the war against China was one of justice". Then, he illustrates one of the essential aspects of this policy to analyse the historical fact that the Japanese government forbade the Japanese military reporters from publishing

the photos they shot on their newspapers without review by authority. In a way, the voices from the television studio remain congruent with the theme of the documentary, and their individual opinions reconstruct a historical dialogue with viewers.

3.2 Expository form mixed with participatory form: *Nanjing Incident* (2015)

Nanjing Incident, aired on October 4, 2015, by Nippon TV (abbreviated as "NTV"), is a vivid example illustrating the characteristics of a hybrid expository documentary that also embeds the participatory type. Using a female voice-over to provide retrospective exposition, the documentary starts with the disputes about the number of Chinese victims massacred by the Japanese army during the fall of Nanjing: the Chinese government considers the total number of killed victims to be over 300,000, and the Tokyo Trial confirms the number is more than 200,000; however, in Japan, there exist various arguments about the number – from tens of thousands to 200,000. Moreover, in recent years, some expressions such as "that was not a massacre" and "the event itself is fictitious" have emerged on the internet. Although "the advent of bilateral memory disputes" (He 2011, p.1181) on the Nanjing Massacre is not the core topic of the film, it is essential historical background and cause of the issues discussed later, as well as an echo of the conclusion in the end,

"When looking back [at] the war, Japanese people sometimes think of themselves as victims, but we must not forget the fact they have taken many others' lives"

(voice-over narration in *Nanjing Incident*, 2015).

The voice-over continues and focuses on concrete issues,

"There is a photo (Figure 2.15) in which a mass of people [are] slumped over the ground wearing a winter coat; it is said that this is a picture obtained by a Japanese in China after the fall of Nanking, is it taken in Nanking?"

"What on earth will the former soldiers' last words and their diaries tell us?"

"Where were the packed prisoners of war taken to?"

(voice-over narration in *Nanjing Incident*, 2015).

After raising questions concerning the historical truth of killing by Japanese soldiers alongside the Yangtze River during the occupation of Nanjing, to impart historical credibility, the filmmaking team strives to collect original or first-hand materials through interviews and investigation such as through digging deep into the archival files and undertaking field research to restore the historical veracity of the massacre.



Figure 2.15 A shot from the *Nanjing Incident* (2015). The photo shows a mass of bodies on the ground; it is said that this is a picture obtained by a Japanese person in China after the fall of Nanking.

The participatory form involving interviews and investigation supports further

exposition, including direct statements or some cues hinting at the ongoing investigation. The programme team relies heavily on the historical scholar Ono Shinji to collect testimonies and diaries of these former Japanese soldiers to eliminate the indeterminacy of the historical event at the Yangtze River shore. Ono, the key figure and authority of the film, is a Japanese expert in Nanjing Massacre research, and he looks up evidence to become a constituent part of the documentary. For example, "the description [from] the diary of the senior soldiers we decided to investigate further for any unnatural points or inconsistencies". Here, "we" refers to the participant Ono Shinji together with the filmmaking team; in particular, the documentary is driven by consistent expository narration, which focuses on presenting the findings of the historians who are seeking the truth of the massacre. With commentary such as "We visit a museum near the port", "The accounts of the soldier's diary are consistent with official records", "This 96-year-old Japanese veteran witnessed the shooting atrocities near the Yangtze River in Nanjing", and "The information we obtained was simulated by computer animation", the voice-over narrator of this film does not manifest herself as omniscient. Instead, she strives to present convincing judgments based on the historian's surveys and historical materials to form a whole process of historical argument.

The photo of abundant corpses littered on the ground runs as a narrative thread through the whole documentary. *Nanjing Incident* (2015) returns to the historical sites to find the truth of history. For example, to capture reliable evidence, the filmmaking team and Ono Shinji travel around many history-related places, including Fukushima, Kobe, Nanjing, and massacre sites near the Yangtze River. Besides inquiring in archives, Ono Shinji managed to collect 31 diaries of Japanese veterans and some videos or recordings of interviews (Figure 2.16–17).



Figure 2.16–17 Two shots from *Nanjing Incident* (2015) – a collection of Japanese veterans' diaries (3.16) and Ono Shinji working (3.17). They indicate the endeavors and achievements in the historical investigation of the Nanjing Massacre.

The excerpts from diaries and the interviewees who participated in the historical event can articulate details of the past and the authors' unique feelings at the time. One soldier of the 19th Regiment recorded his experiences in his diary as he, an ordinary farmer, left his pregnant wife and headed for the battlefield. A male

voice-over reads some of the diaries in the soldier's tone,

"In the afternoon of October 3, I finally landed on the land of China...During the period, the anti-aircraft gun launched by my friend's army, sparks were scattered, and this was the real war Kato," "On November 17, she ran away, so I immediately fired a small gun and shot her to death"

(the excerpts of Japanese veterans' diaries, read by voice-over in *Nanjing Incident*, 2015).

With hints from the diary, the truth relating to the photo seems to be approached slowly. The recounting of the diary owner's words accompanied by black-and-white images, creates a historical space for viewers. The next entry in the diary concerns crucial information about the photo,

"December 16, 5000 Chinese soldiers were sent away to the coast of Yangtze River to be killed...I pierced 30 captives to death too...I borrowed a sabre and cut ahead"

(ibid).

There might be some doubts about the diary record because it was forbidden by international law to kill prisoners of war; then, a video interview with the owner of the diary is provided by the historian to testify to the contents of the diary. Also, the documentary uses a short animation to recreate the killing scenes.

In sum, the purpose of the documentary is not only to testify the truth of that photo but also to revisit the historical places where the truth of history exists; its entire argument manifests as the process of revisiting historical witnesses and bringing

fragments of past to the present. In the end, as the voice-over calls for viewers to learn from history, the Japanese viewers benefit from the credible manner provided by the documentary to review the historical event by bridging the present and the past.

Conclusion

In this chapter, I explore the uniqueness of expository Nanjing Massacre documentaries with concrete examples. Although the emerging expository documentaries inherit some compilation elements, for instance, attaching importance to historical resources and depending on voice-over to convey information, the expository mode exhibits distinct features and strengths such as a voice-over narrator that is no longer immersed in omniscience but a proper combination of history with audio-visual language. Therefore, the shift from compilation films to the Nanjing Massacre expository style not only entails a change in shooting techniques such as adding location shooting, sound, and colors but signifies a new diversity of form and content to establish a large-scale narrative. According to the formal characteristics of their presentation, I classify Nanjing expository documentaries into two sub-modes: classical expository and hybrid expository.

In support of the narrative effect in classic expository documentaries, it is standard for filmmakers to use compelling narratives, workable structures, and skilful rhetorical presentations. The voice-over is the organizer of space and time in documentary presentation and the interpreter of implicit historical information. Aiming to heighten credibility, the narrator deals with the relationship between voice and image more rationally and moderately, and in some cases, constitutes a

dialectical structure that intentionally creates arguments or comparisons. In terms of visual and aural effects, documentary filmmakers make efforts to use colour, sound, camera movement, and editing. For example, a small detail such as a colour change can be linked with the subject and emotional expression through specific editing. In *The Rape of Nanjing* (1985), a montage sequence with a piece of music conveys the filmmaker's intention and draws the audience into sympathizing with the historical tragedy.

As an example of expository documentaries mixed with a television programme, the documentary *Official Evidence No.1 of the Nanjing Massacre* (2015) combines the role of the host as an investigator with two historians as commentators. Their relationship operates according to the programme's format, which is directed at understanding the past. Finally, the audience's assessment relies on the combination of original documentary and the programme's open structure in terms of how much knowledge and what kind of views on the history the host and the participants offer. A further consideration is how television programmes' format and narrative techniques collaborate with the representation of original documentaries. Television programme producers need to deploy tactics to achieve good ratings and create interest in the broadcasting of the documentary; as a general principle of both documentaries and television programmes, to attract and involve viewers needs "a well-constructed plot structure" (Edgerton 2001, p.2). In *Official Evidence No.1*, the storytelling strategies involve the presenter asking questions, the trailer spots, and an alternating narrative between the narrator of the documentary and the presenter.

The other hybrid expository mode is where the participatory style, involving interviews and investigation, blends into the expository mode; therefore, the

coherent and incisive exposition constructs the documentaries' fundamental framework, and participatory methods offer essential support and enrich arguments. In the *Nanjing Incident* (2015), constructing an argument and conclusion depends on the congruence between the voice-over narrator's exposition and the historian Ono Shinji's findings. Ono Shinji works as a scrupulous figure in the Nanjing Massacre research through investigation, such as interviewing and recording Japanese veterans to gather available historical materials. Meanwhile, the exposition appears both predominant and cooperative and retains the convention of interpretation or commentary by an off-screen person.

The cases of Nanjing Massacre documentaries noted above offer significant insights into historical representation in the expository mode. With respect to the Nanjing Massacre, expository documentaries are endowed with the efficacy of cohering individuals and collectives and stimulating people to reflect on history. Furthermore, both the classical expository mode and hybrid expository form reflect that the production of the Nanjing Massacre documentary takes on the interpretation and construction of the Nanjing Massacre collective memory. "Memories are both personal and social" (Winter, 2006, p. 136), various material sites of Nanjing Massacre memory mark the victims' historical trauma and a painful chapter of Chinese history.

Finally, it is instructive to think about how these expository documentaries construct a collective memory of the Nanjing Massacre. The Nanjing Massacre expository documentary films that present as many historical facts as possible provide the public with a path to understand the significance of the past and build up a sense of the identity of historical memory. Halbwachs (1980) stresses that if people rest

content with their perceptions of history, they will keep only a fragile and transitory remembrance; they need to comprehend the historical facts underlying their perceptions. He points out the feasible alternative that means stepping outside the self and looking at things collectively. Halbwachs' views reveal the different levels of historical remembrance – historical knowledge and historical cognition or understanding – and indicate the path of historical memory towards collective memory. The Nanjing Massacre documentary films strive to both provide fundamental historical knowledge of the event but also engage in shaping the collective memory by interpreting the connotations of the event. The point on how expository documentary constructs the collective memory of the Nanjing Massacre will be explored in the next chapter.

Chapter 3 The Power of Interpretation in the Nanjing Massacre Expository Documentaries: From Historical Facts to Collective Memory

Introduction

In the 1990s, with the recurrence of the Japanese right wing's arbitrary falsification or denial of the Nanjing Massacre and the wave of exploration of history in China, the agenda of Nanjing Massacre documentary production lay in striving to get audiences involved in historical reflection and remembrance. In Nanjing Massacre expository documentaries, the function of voice-over and images continued serving as a guide or promoter in forming collective memory as in compilation films, however, the means of representation changed. Linking historical representation to the shaping of collective memory, the filmmakers adopted three key methods: the collection and presentation of historical materials as the foundation of collective memory as in *Witness to History* (1995) and *1937: The Truth of Nanjing* (2005); striving to reveal historical questions so as to clarify and guarantee the veracity of collective memory as in *The Tokyo Trials* (2015); and uncovering the significance of historical sites to strengthen the collective memory as in *Survivors: Witness to Nanjing 1937* (2016-2017) .

This chapter will focus on how the expository mode transmits the historical facts of the Nanjing Massacre to shape its collective memory through the narrator's interpretation according to the three aspects mentioned above. Specifically, the Nanjing Massacre expository films carry on the exploration and review of historical evidence that underlies the content of collective memory; moreover, they pay a significant amount of attention to some contested points in the historical events. In the historical perception and remembrance of the Nanjing Massacre, some complex

phenomena or views relevant to this event continue to arise, for example, the consistent practice of denying the Nanjing Massacre atrocities in Japan. It is indispensable to face these perplexing questions to guarantee the credibility of the historical memory. I will explore how these confusing historical issues are put forward and discussed in documentaries. The last point will discuss how historical memorials' given meanings further intensify the historical facts and memory of the Nanjing Massacre. Established monuments, including the Memorial Hall, gravestone groups, and sculptures, contribute to the public's connection with the past through their shared sense of historical sites or material heritages.

Section 1 The shift way of evoking historical memory: From propaganda to storytelling

Before addressing the three central arguments, it is necessary to compare the methods of compilation films and expository documentaries in shaping the collective memory of the Nanjing Massacre. As discussed in Chapter 2, within the context of political conflict about these historical issues between China and Japan in the 1980s, Nanjing Massacre compilation films such as *The Nanjing Massacre* (1982) and *The Nanjing Massacre by Japanese Invaders* (1984) were characterized by editing archival resources and organizing passionate voice-of-God statements for political purposes. As a fashionable screen expression of the period, this compilation mode reflected the urgency of arousing the obscured historical memory and also emphasized the importance of remembering the national trauma; thus, this mode focuses on the presentation of Japanese soldiers' atrocities and Chinese suffering. Nevertheless, its both commentary or ideas and the presentational form easily create an impression of sheer propaganda or subjective bias rather than historical narrative.

Nichols points out that expository films work through "verbal commentary and an argumentative logic" (Nichols 2001, p.31). In Kilborn's opinion, more specifically, the narrator of the expository mode can impact how viewers should "think of the visual evidence" (Kilborn 1997, p.58) in front of them by interpreting the images being shown. Without exception, voice-over commentary in Nanjing Massacre expository documentaries plays a part in conveying or interpreting historical information and guiding the audience towards historical memory.

Comprehension of the Nanjing Massacre, as a part of the historical heritage of both Chinese and Japanese people, relies on the communication of factual materials and the formation of inter-generational memory about the past, and this memory needs to be formed without sacrificing the integrity of historical facts. Compared to the commentaries in compilation films with the lack of historical material support, the narrators of expository mode films, based on the collection of abundant historical materials, seek to present more dimensions related to the historical event, including original data, foreign witnesses, testimony of survivors and Japanese veterans, and more, and the constructive storytelling is the frequent strategy used.

1.1 The propagandistic memory in the Nanjing Massacre compilation films

Aiming at the denial of the Nanjing Massacre by the Japanese government and right-wing forces, these compiled documentaries produced by the Chinese government commonly call for the Chinese public to learn about and remember the historical event; however, the historical version they provide about the Nanjing Massacre is abstract because it fails to provide sufficient information about this long-shelved volume of history. For example, in *The Nanjing Massacre* (1982), the voice of God stresses that historical facts cannot be erased and the past is a guide to

the future, but it can not offer fresh historical information to support the historical facts of atrocities except for repeating the limited archival resources. As a result, these films lead the audience's attention to certain stressed aspects; for example, the narrator often points out that the Japanese imperialist invasion of China brought untold suffering to both the Chinese and Japanese people and hammers home that this historical lesson should be borne in mind. Although these Nanjing Massacre compilation films, as discussed in Chapter 1, are dedicated to exposing the national trauma and calling upon the audience to remember it, they fail to offer adequate historical material about the Nanjing Massacre to support the construction of historical memory, meaning that the limited and repetitious historical narration lacks persuasive force.

The omniscient voice of God in compilation films, the agent of the official ideology, dominates discourse in the representation and interpretation of all the historical information. Li (2003, p.115) points out that compilation documentaries focus more on simple concept demonstration than reconstructing history creatively. Similarly, He (2009, p.33) argues that this kind of discourse style has a strong sense of indoctrination. Logistic discourses often emerge at the end of compilation films, such as "Let's remember the historical lesson together", "May the people of China and Japan continue their friendship from generation to generation", and "Wish the world peace forever". According to the convention of Chinese compilation films, these words are considered as the summary and deepening of the film's theme. However, the insufficient historical narrative tends to diminish the persuasive force of this kind of concluding declaration. In her *History of Chinese Documentary*, Fang notes that documentary filmmaking turned more to the popular position to present what the public needed instead of propagating idealism (Fang 2003, p.307). Since the 1990s, the change in the concept of documentary creation and the improvement in film

shooting techniques in China, as analysed in Chapter 2, initiated new attempts at Chinese documentary production, including Nanjing Massacre documentaries.

1.2 Historical narrative as the foundational means of shaping the collective memory in expository documentaries

In Nanjing Massacre expository documentaries, landing points for constructing historical memory consist of abundant and detailed historical facts. Due to the stimulation of the Textbook Incident in 1982, the Chinese government began to attach importance to the historical materials of war atrocities, and meanwhile, historical research into the Nanjing Massacre made great progress. For example, during this period, Mr Zhang Yaohua, who served as mayor of Nanjing, played an essential role in collecting historical materials about this event, establishing the Memorial Hall, and carrying out relevant research. In 1998, the Center for Massacre Studies was established at Nanjing Normal University. It has organized several international academic seminars and peace gatherings on the Nanjing Massacre, extensively promoting academic exchanges on Nanjing Massacre research. Since the 1990s, in the field of Nanjing Massacre documentary making, the expository mode that replaced the compilation of archival materials has made full use of advances in historical research to endow the presentation with a sense of authenticity and authority.

1.2.1 emphasis of historical details

In the Nanjing Massacre expository films, the combination of voice-over and shooting weaves together a detailed body of historical evidence derived from archival records, interviews, professional research, diegetic sound, and more, instead of deploying the omniscient and preachy voice of God to tell the audience what

happened to Nanjing in 1937; at the same time, the reliability of historical facts is corroborated by the visual images of archival documents and professional analysis or individual testimonies. As a result, these collected resources continually enrich the repository of collective memory.

For example, the television documentary series *Witness to History* (1995) works through eight episodes to record the process of investigation. It includes war remnants, historians' research, and witnesses' memories related to the Nanjing Massacre throughout the whole country, and frequently, it gathers multi-layered information concerning the event's causes, process, results, and influence. For instance, in the eighth episode "A Historical Visit in Taiwan", the team visited and interviewed Mrs Shi during filming in Taiwan. Her late husband was Judge Shi Meiyu who presided over the Nanjing Military Tribunal; she showed a lot of historical materials about the Nanjing trial. The documentary photographer makes close-ups of some pictures that show Judge Shi Meiyu inspecting the Nanjing Massacre mass grave excavation on site (Figure 3.1). The pictures provide the audience with the judge's standpoint to witness the massacre sites.



Figure 3.1 The shot is from “A Historical Visit in Tanwan”. These pictures show Judge Shi Meiyu inspecting the Nanjing Massacre mass grave excavation at the sites.

1.2.2 The method of seaming historical facts with remembering

Expository documentaries are designed to encourage viewers to become aware of and remember the traumatic past through images combined with voice-over interpretation. In a way, the narration of expository mode provides essential information and assembles various elements, including the transition of sequences, interviews, footage, and archival data, to facilitate telling history. Bernard affirms that a great voice-over in documentaries can be “one of the most efficient ways to move the story along” (2007, p.212); it can draw the audience into and through the whole story.

Storytelling structure is the commonly used device that seams the history with memory in these Nanjing Massacre films. For example, the documentary *I Want to Go Home* (2000) tells interludes of the survivor Sun Zhongfang’ life. During the

Nanjing Massacre, Sun fled to a remote village in Guangxi province but was separated from her family. Over 60 years later, the old lady Sun expressed her desire to look for family. This documentary presents the journey of the mother looking for her separated son, and the photographer records the search as full of suspense and longing. Meanwhile, the narration takes advantage of the storytelling techniques of twists or turns to draw the audience into the story; for example, it introduces the essential historical background and chronological connection of the story, while the course of the story relies on what information the search volunteers can gather, which means the audience must experience with Sun Zhongfang the sense of uncertainty about the outcome of the search till the end. It is a happy ending; with the help of volunteers, the old mother is reunited with her son, who lives in Shanghai with a three-generation family (Figure 3.2).



Figure 3.2 The shot is from *I Want to Go Home* (2000). Sun Zhongfang is reunited with her son after 60 years of separation because of the war.

I Want to Go Home (2000) provides another perspective to prove the subject matter of how war is cruel. It centres on Sun Zhongfang's homesickness and volunteers' efforts rather than reviewing the heroine's traumatic memories as a survivor. To be

more specific, this film choose the life story after the war and indicates the long impact of the war on people's later lives, including the pain of family separation. In addition, the unremitting endeavours of volunteers from society are juxtaposed with Sun Zhongfang's homesickness driving the story. The documentary shows that the search includes a hotline, news leads, and file searches in different institutions with several participants. In contrast to those documentaries focusing on historical event itself or personal trauma, this film pays more attention to goodness of human nature and reflection on the war and peace.

Sometimes, the voice-over conveys specific ideas about history and memory, making the documentaries' points concise, direct, and meaningful and linking the past with present and future. For example, "For the Peace", the final episode of the documentary series *1937: The Truth of Nanjing* (2005), aims to present the significance of learning from the past. When the subject turns to the establishment of the Memorial Hall, the voice-over explains the necessity of historical remembrance and the connotation of the memorial as "when the history is going away...if we view the reflection on the war atrocities that happened in Nanjing as the national heritage, this may be the best memorial to the victims." This commentary addresses the transmutation of the relationship between the victims and national memory.

In the expository form, the organization of materials or information mainly relies on the off-screen voice; the ubiquity of narrative skills is also salient in the presentation of text and interviews. For example, each episode of *Witness to History* (1995), begins with the narrator's brief synopsis. The second episode, "Sixteen Pictures" is a story of Luo Jin who once risked his life to preserve sixteen photos of the massacre

taken by some Japanese soldiers. Before the interview with Luo Jin, the narrator says, "For the sake of finding Luo Jin... we drove to Datian County, Fujian Province", with a matching transition shot of a car driving on the road. Although, as the fiction film *Massacre in Nanjing*, adapted from Luo Jin's experience was released in 1987, the story of Luo Jin had been widely disseminated as one of the survivor legends of the Nanjing Massacre, this documentary leads the audience to approach this hero and share his historical adventures for the first time.

Many narrators of Nanjing Massacre expository films present in a manner that attempts to convey neutrality. They move their narration forward with questions or invite key figures such as survivors, experts, or historians to participate in the discussion. For instance, *The Tokyo Trials* (2015) uses two narrative lines: a series of questions raised by the narrator regarding the Tokyo Trials and the responses from interviews and archival materials. The myths or perplexing issues from the Tokyo Trials still haunt society today and are also barriers to remembering the past; the narration explores specific historical moments and memories to seek answers. In *The Tokyo Trials* (2015), the method of questioning creates a structure of questions—evidence—interpretation (see the details in Section 3), which gives more focus to the presentation.

In sum, the Nanjing Massacre compilation films were the first to activate the public's memory of the historical atrocities, while expository documentaries supplemented and strengthened this historical memory with more perspectives, aided by the interpretive effect of a voice-over commentator. A change in form and concept in documentary making, as Nichols puts it, embodies "the transformative potential of documentary representation" (Nichols 1994, p.xv); he explains that the

presentation of a documentary not only describes an event but also interprets its meaning and continues structuring the reality. This evolution of the Nanjing Massacre documentary from presenting a political stake in historical memory to showing an integrated historical narrative indicates the potential of representation: the attention to historical materials and the illustration of their meaning are intended to produce a profound influence on public understanding and remembrance of the past; in some extent, this shift also shows the dilution of political advocacy, the emphasis on narrative techniques, and the significant status of oral narrators.

Section 2 Recasting the historical memory through seeking historical evidence.

As the long-buried history of the Nanjing Massacre gradually surfaced, the Nanjing Massacre documentaries of the 1990s were more characterized by retrospection on the historical events – tracing and showing historical facts constitutes their primary content and closely connects with the process of forming collective memory. At this point, "recast" refers to sorting out and organizing the historical information in a certain logic for the viewers to comprehend and remember it; simply, it means to pick up and splice fragments of history and reshape memory primarily through the use of a cohesive voice-over narrative. As mentioned in section 1, this expository mode moves the narrative from a purely official vein to an integrative account including officials, historians, and witnesses, its voice-over interpretation experiences a change and adjustment in both style and role.

When more individual memory and archival resources arise in documentary productions, the expository discourse not only explains the history but also forms a multi-dimensional presentation together with other discourses; and all these voices contribute to assimilating the implication of the traumatic memory into the

understanding of the atrocity and war. For example, the boom in Nanjing Massacre expository documentaries in the new century features diverse visual angles, including historians from China, Japan, and America, film directors, history teachers, Japanese veterans, and survivors. *1937: The Truth of Nanjing* (2005), *1937: Memory of Nanjing* (2014), and *Foreign Witnesses to the Nanjing Massacre* (2015) are excellent cases.

2.1 Tradition and innovation in interpretation: *Witness to History* (1995)

Kilborn notes that expository documentaries usually use a narrator "who is readily identifiable with the target audience" (Kilborn 1997, p.58) to achieve persuasion, and he takes the white, middle-aged, and middle-class narrator of European and American television as an example. In contrast, the appeal of narrative sound and emotional expression in Chinese classical expository documentaries is crucial in appealing to audiences. The voice-over of the Nanjing Massacre expository documentaries in the 1990s more or less follows this narrative convention. At the beginning of each episode of *Witness to History* which was made in 1995, for example, a female and a male voice are used, condemning the Japanese soldiers' war atrocities and expressing sympathy for victims in a dramatic cadence, suffused with moral emotion. A series of rhetorical words such as "bestiality", "cruelty", "grief", and "suffering" mark the heaviness and seriousness of the subject matter. This is a common tactic to attract the audience's attention or arouse sympathy in classical Chinese expository documentaries. The narration also serves to extend the theme and make abstract generalizations, for example,

"It is not only the responsibility of the Chinese people but also the Japanese people to let the younger generation know about the history and avoid the recurrence of historical tragedies"

(the female voice-over commentary in *Witness to History*, 1995).

However, very quickly, their narration revolves around historical resources and provides the viewers with rational analysis, and the narrative subject gradually transfers to interviewees.

The interpretation of this documentary series highlights the consistency between the public aesthetic and filmic practices dominant in documentary making. "Bloody City", the first episode of *Witness to History* (1995), starts with an explanation by two narrators who use rhetorical strategies such as questioning-answering and parallelism to make points, for example, "What is the holiest in the world? It is life." and "What is it that humans most desire? It is peace." The narrative features of other episodes are similar. Actually, this once-popular style used to present history on the screen during and before the 1980s indicates the attempt of this film to fit the taste of mainstream viewers in the 1990s.

Meanwhile, this documentary shows abundant and fresh historical data to the viewers; it pioneers the representation of more extensive testimonies than ever from witnesses and scholars' thoughts asking teams to collect the voices of survivors, eyewitnesses, and elderly Japanese soldiers who were part of the invasion of China. They also visit and interview judges, prosecutors, interpreters, and trial witnesses involved with the IMTFE and the Military Tribunal of China, the leading academic experts and researchers on the Nanjing Massacre, the head of the China-Japan Friendship Association, and citizens of the international communities as well. The attention to the details and process of history in this film reflects the creative representation following the tendency of documentary innovation in the 1990s.

As for conducting interviews with diverse people in different regions, this documentary naturally links the interview process with daily life using diegetic sound instead of voice-overs. The daily life situations of the interviewees, such as standing on the street and sitting in a messy living room, bring their remote traumatic memories alive and make them perceptible to the audience. Episode 4 “The Wounds Hard to Heal” is an example of this. Zhao Bin (the son of Sun Yat-sen's guard Zhao Zhicuang) and his daughter tell how they found out the Japanese soldiers had killed his father. The interview is conducted in Zhao Bin's living room, a typical ordinary one. In the sitting room, Zhao Bin recalls his father's story, and the listeners, including his family and the interviewer, sit around him. The footage presents some introductory information about the daily circumstances in which the family lives, showing, for example, a dinner table with chairs, a thermos jug, and a bag of stuff near a smaller table (Figure 3.3-4), Zhao Bin sits beside the table, telling the story confidently. These visual cues suggest that memory has been one part of their daily life. Such relaxing and naturalistic interviews also operate as a bridge to connect the audience's memory with history. For some people who know the Nanjing Massacre well, the opinions and recollections from interviewees are a kind of verification of their historical memory; for those unaware of the historical facts, these interviews will become a new addition to their historical remembrance.



Figure 3.3-4 Two shots from “The Wounds Hard to Heal” of *Witness to History* (1995). In an interview, Zhao Bin talks about what his family suffered during the Nanjing Massacre. The interview is conducted like a workaday conversation.

2.2 Interpretation and multiple voices— *1937: Memory of Nanjing* (2014)

Nanjing Massacre expository documentaries are more concerned with collecting and reading many first-hand resources such as testimonies, archival records, and photos than assembling compilations of shots taken from archives. More and more witnesses, including Chinese survivors, Japanese former soldiers, and some offspring of Western eyewitnesses, are active in recounting this historical tragedy. To recall memories buried for a long time from diverse historical accounts, typically, as in the example discussed above, filmmaking teams are enthusiastic about finding new historical materials throughout the country and even the world to interview all kinds of involved people. Therefore, there are multiple voices, including Xia Shuqin, Li Xiuying, Zhang Xiuhong, Chang Zhiqiang, and Su Guobao, who are Nanjing Massacre survivors or eyewitnesses, and elderly Japanese soldiers who took part in the invasion of China such as Shiro Azuma, as well as certified academic experts and some amateur researchers of this historical atrocity.

As an example, the five-episode documentary *1937: Memory of Nanjing* (2014) presents the memory of the Nanjing Massacre from multiple viewpoints. Its content is concerned with tracing and expressing the historical memories of several prominent representatives such as the Chinese-American writer Iris Chang, the American director Bill Guttentag, the Japanese female history teacher Tamaki Matsuoka, the curator of the Memorial Hall Zhu Chengshan, and the Chinese historian Bu Ping. They have contributed to the spread of historical memory of the Nanjing Massacre from different fields. Rather than emulating the expository mode's traditional angle, which as Kilborn says, frequently "seeks to communicate to the audience a single perspective only on its topic" (Kilborn 1997, p.58), this documentary series takes multifaceted narratives focusing on the common subject

instead of the single viewpoint of a voice-over narrator.

The public's remembrance of the Nanjing Massacre is built on historical materials and memories. Click demonstrates that one of memory's salient features is to form "complex trajectories" (1998, p.382) with time, and he emphasizes the linear feature of memory. In this way, memories relevant to the same event from different narrators can form an open and continuous memory net or memory bank. The exploration and research on the Nanjing Massacre of the five characters in this documentary serve as an information supply to the memory web of this event. The soothing male voice-over assumes the task of introduction and interpretation and forms an ensemble in narrative content with the five stories; at the same time, an aesthetic separation effect is created.

The narrative separation effect in this documentary results from the specific construction of the relationship between memory and interpretation. Except for investigation and analysis of the historical material itself, at times, the narrator of *1937: Memory of Nanjing* (2014) is also relegated to the observer role: observing with the audience how the five researchers in different fields intervene in the historical memory. For example, Bill Guttentag, the main character of the second episode, recalls his thoughts in front of the camera as he prepared to create his documentary *Nanking* (2007); and he tells his conception,

"I want to do this film. However, I asked myself how to bring the film's life to the 21st century and be true to the story."

"The idea of a combination of survivors, Japanese soldiers, and actors to tell the story using real words...hope the audience start forgetting the actors, and the

idea will be a powerful connection with the audience"

(Bill Guttentag in an interview of *1937: Memory of Nanjing*, 2014).

It is a reasonable explanation for the audience as to why different means of telling history are used in *Nanking* (2007). Therefore, in this documentary series, diverse voices help the audience access memories of the atrocity such as verbal evidence, newly discovered photos, and letters; these voices also offer a method of accessing an understanding of history from this research, which prompts people to conduct further reflection on the concept of war atrocities, traumatic memory, war, and peace.

Section 3 To clarify doubts of historical memory: *The Tokyo Trials* (2015)

Some Nanjing Massacre documentaries, such as *Japanese Devils* (2001) and *Nanjing Incident* (2015), are more or less concerned with the Japanese domestic attitude towards the war and war atrocities. In actuality, the voices of public denial of the Nanjing Massacre from Japan were repeated in the 1980s, engendering "negative emotions and perceptions of hostile intention between the two countries" (He 2011, p.1161). These words and deeds on the Japanese side regarding the Nanjing Massacre after the war became a puzzling region of the Nanjing Massacre memory map. To refute such denials, the production of Nanjing Massacre documentaries has demonstrated more historical details from multiple viewpoints, and some filmmakers have strove to trace the historical roots of these negative thoughts.

It is well-known that the IMTFE (International Military Tribunal for the Far East), usually referred to as the Tokyo Trials, issued its verdict on Japanese war criminals on

November 4, 1948. The Nanjing massacre was first brought to the Japanese public's attention at the Tokyo Trials, and the views on this war memory witnessed a wide divergence among government officials, academics, and average people in Japan. Some scholars returned to the history of the Tokyo Trials to seek the root cause of the above problems. For example, Togo expresses the opinion that this trial essentially addressed "all issues so far discussed", including "apology, war responsibility, Yasukuni, and even textbooks" (2008, p.74). Hence, he argues that further efforts to find a synthesis for conflicting views are required. Lu (1997) also believes the issue of Japan's war guilt still exists as a political problem even in postwar years. The issue of the Tokyo Trials is an indispensable link in understanding Japan's perception of the Nanjing Massacre.

The issue of Japanese war criminals and the Tokyo Trials as the concluding part of the historical event has been presented in some documentaries as a primary historical fact and a symbol of just triumph. For example, Episode 5 of *Witness to History* (1995) is about the Tokyo Trials, the narrator illustrates several crucial moments at the Trials where the lies and denials of Japanese war criminals were stripped away by irrefutable pieces of evidence, positively affirming the trials' historical significance as a "contribution to the world peace" (voice-over of the documentary); meanwhile, the narrator mentions the incompleteness of the trials as well. *The Rape of Nanking* (1985) and the other mini-film *Japanese Revisionism: The Hidden Truth about the Nanjing Massacre* (Mateus Berutto Figueiredo, no date) compare the trials of German Nazis at Nuremberg with the trials of Japanese war criminals at the IMTFE; they both indicate that the IMTFE, responsible for convicting Japanese war criminals, has many flaws; for instance, significant players in the event, such as Prince Asaka, one of the commanders of the Japanese forces in Nanjing, and the Japanese Emperor Hirohito, were granted immunity. Nevertheless, the two films both lack a comprehensive

exploration of the Tokyo Trials. The expository three-episode documentary *The Tokyo Trials* (2015) provides analysis and references for a better understanding of the Tokyo Trials with a series of queries, interviews, and reasoned explanations.

3.1 Questions relevant to the Tokyo trials

A structure of "question–evidence–interpretation" runs through this documentary using a voice-over narrator. Specifically, a question is first raised by the narrator, and then the process of proof is conducted via the display of historical evidence together with scholars' explanations or the narrator's interpretation. The application of such a structure places viewers in the subject position to find, think, and reflect on the historical questions. Kilborn (1997) describes the subjective position of the viewers created by some films as a device to help them maintain a certain distance from the film's content, and the result is that viewers have a sense of the film's objectivity. The off-screen commentator of *The Tokyo Trials* (2015) mimics viewers in an inquiry position of subjectivity to raise questions about the trials' confusing or hidden parts. For example, he poses twelve questions concerning the trials of Japanese war criminals, including the issue of Emperor Hirohito's responsibility for the war, the controversial dissenting judgement of Judge Pal, and the Tokyo Trials' influence on the Japanese memory of the war. These popular divisive issues can involve more viewers in discussion and thinking because they are directly relevant to whether they understand the historical event well.

The documentary series *The Tokyo Trials* (2015) cuts to the most essential issues of Japan's war crimes posed by the narrator on behalf of the audience. The film starts with a montage sequence before the narrator poses two questions: "Would the crimes committed by Japanese criminals be proven? Would justice be served?" At

the Tokyo Trial Court, under the judge's interrogation, Hideki Tojo is asked, "Hideki Tojo, how do you plead guilty or not guilty?" and gives the response "not guilty"; then, the documentary presents what happened next via a combination of several shots that are scenes of other detainees' answering "not guilty" (Figure 3.5–7). This beginning touches on the root questions of the reconstruction of memory in postwar China and Japan. As Togo notes, the IMTFE had an immediate impact on all discussed issues, including "apology, war responsibility, Yasukuni, and even textbooks" (2008, p.74). China, as the victimized party, recognized the final verdict of the Tokyo Trials, despite its flaws and unfairness in Japan; while on the side of the perpetrator, the wave of doubt and denial of war guilt constantly emerges, and many conservatives still believe that "Japan fought for a righteous cause" (Lu 1997, P.410). In this regard, the documentary begins to show the crux of the historical disputes about the Nanjing Massacre in the form of a dialogue between the images and questions raised by the narrator.





Figure 3.5–7 A montage sequence from the start of *The Tokyo Trials* (2015). This segment shows these Japanese war suspects facing trial claiming with one voice “Not guilty”, which not only indicates the difficulty and complexity of the trials but also hints at the historical echoes between the war criminals’ claiming “not guilty” and the current Japanese denial of war atrocities.

3.2 The response to the historical questions

In the search for answers, this documentary presents the views of judges, prosecutors, interpreters, and trial witnesses involved with the Tokyo Trials; it also interviews historians and researchers who focus on this event. As a body of historical

data is demonstrated and worked up into an analysis, the professional interpretations and answers address some intricate historical phenomena about the Tokyo Trials; that is, they are dedicated to clarifying specific opaque segments of the historical memory. For example, in early 1946, IMTFE released the list of class-A criminals, and the Japanese Emperor was not on the list. As the narrator concludes, "This is also part of the unfinished Tokyo Trials and still affects the understanding of history some Japanese have". This conclusion not only shows the far-reaching impact on Japanese but also naturally inspires viewers to explore the reasons further; in time, the narrator asks, "Why was Emperor Hirohito, the supreme head of the country, not put on trial? Did he have nothing to do with the war launched by Japan?" In response, enough strong original information is provided and explained by Chinese and Japanese scholars such as Cheng Zhaoqi and Yutaka Yoshida to prove that even though Emperor Hirohito was not convicted, he was still responsible for the aggressive war because he made final decisions and participated in the decision-making process during the war. Then, the narrator pursues the question, "How did the Emperor, with such great power, escape the war crime trials?" According to research by Yoichi Komori, Yutaka Yoshida, and David Cohen, it resulted from Emperor Hirohito being used as a political tool in the American takeover and to fight the rise of socialist forces. The historical mystery of Emperor Hirohito's exoneration has been analysed and explained at length for the audience. When discussing the advantages of historians involved in presenting history in the media, Cannadine believes that a historian of academic standing will "always possess an authority and credibility" (Cannadine 2004, p.116). Historical documentary filmmaking shares the same point of view, demonstrated through the practice of employing professional historians, for example, in *The Tokyo Trials* (2015), that historians provide professional analysis in explaining some suspicious points about the Nanjing Massacre gives the audience a taste of the unknown historical field.

Furthermore, in seeking answers, the commentator, as mentioned above, takes a stand with the audience to raise questions and explicitly acts as an observer who keeps a certain distance from the historical materials to interpret them. Specifically, the voice-over commentator conventionally serves the role of a go-between or interpreter when scholars express their ideas, which can orient the audience methodically in figuring out these confusing points of historical memory. For example, before the topic turns to the Indian judge Pal, the narrator briefly introduces Pal's controversial opinions and his far-reaching impact on the Japanese in advance,

"Pal, the Indian judge who strongly believed that all class-A criminals were not guilty...His dissenting judgement has been used by some Japanese right wingers to defend the war"

(the voice-over narration of *The Tokyo Trial*, 2015).

This explanation states the established historical facts about Judge Pal in an objective method, and Judge Pal's unusual ideas encourage the audience to search for the cause; therefore, the narrator returns to the audience's position and asks the question, "Why did Judge Pal insist the criminals were not guilty?" This narrative strategy is a good example that clarifies the unclear historical points about the Tokyo Trials and contributes to reconstructing the audience's understanding and memory of the trials.

In *The Tokyo Trials* (2015), the quality of the professional analysis from historians produces a sense of historical authority, ensuring the film's reliability (Figure 3.8). Moreover, the narrator plays a role in bonding aspects of the documentary like interviews, audience, historical materials, and images. According to Nichols (1994),

using visible or audible evidence to make an argument or to authenticate aspects of history is one of the documentary form's attributes. Verbal evidence, he indicates, contains the narrator's discourse in addition to various testimonies from witnesses or reputable experts (Nichols 1994, p.47). Without exception, this documentary follows the most common convention that the verbal elements always work together with the images ("the visible evidence", as Nichols puts it) that support the illustration, interpretation, and arguments.

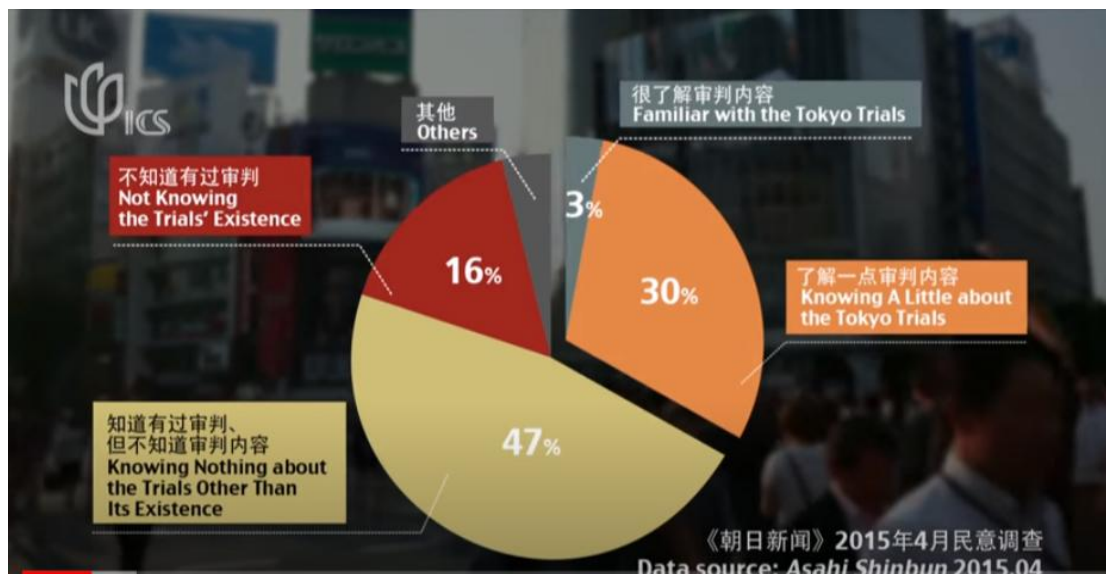


Figure 3.8 A shot from the third episode of *The Tokyo Trials* (2015). The data source shows to what extent the Japanese were familiar with the Tokyo trials from the *Asahi Shinbun* in April 2015. The result shows that nearly half of the informants (47%) knew nothing about the trials other than their existence, and only 3% were familiar with the Tokyo Trials.

Section 4 To enhance and fix the memory: physical symbols and interpretation.

Every year, millions of people visit the historic landscapes in Nanjing and enter the Memorial Hall. The painful and brutal atrocities Chinese people suffered are preserved in these public sites as a permanent memory – relatively, there is no noticeable change in these memorial objects with time. According to Neal, collective trauma or suffering often serve as raw materials for creating “sacred symbols” (Neal 1998, p.22) such as memorials, monuments, and tombs, which are

exploited to shape the social moral community and national identity. Therefore, it is not enough to focus on the physical properties of these historical sites; they are associated with history, and remembrance is of the essence to help visitors learn about the close connection between the sites and the historical trauma they commemorate. The role of documentaries consists of interpreting and spreading the significance of these historical sites or materials.

Historical sites like memorial museums are “deeply political institutions” (Sodaro 2018, p.4) when negotiating complex memories, which implicates that they are not only a response to the historical violence but also identified with historical victimization and demonstrate the regime’s purpose to take advantage of the past through regular commemoration and educational activities. With the end of the Mao Era and the liberation of the mind inspired by the reform and opening up, people’s emotions and memories about the war trauma began to be released and formed a positive interaction with the government—the Memorial Hall as a place of memory is one of the results of this interaction. People from all walks of life wrote a letter to the Nanjing municipal government, calling for the building of a massacre museum “for history and the future, for the people of Nanjing, the Chinese people, but also the peace-loving world people” (Zhang 2003, p.148), and also to remember the dead and educate future generations. The appeal of the people was “a powerful impetus to the government’s decision-making” (Zhang 2003, p.148). In 1985, the first project of the Memorial Hall was completed. At the same time, a series of commemorative sites scattered throughout Nanjing were built and excavated, such as the Yangtze River Beach monument, Zhongshan pier monument, and monument of the east suburban burial site. Thus, a memory site system was formed with the Memorial Hall as the core.

Regarding the connection of "urban landscape history to memory rooted in places" (Hayden 1995, p.45), Hayden indicates that the history of the cultural landscape can draw on public memory to enhance the link between disparate areas and develop new projects. Although his point of view serves the theme of urban landscape creation, it provides a train of thought to consider the relationship between historic sites and memory. In turn, for example, the public can use historical landscapes situated for remembrance as cohesive symbols of history and memory. To explore this point, documentaries such as *Survivors: Witness to Nanjing 1937* (2016-2017), *1937: The Truth of Nanjing* (2005) and *1937: Memory of Nanjing* (2014) serve as examples of how the narrator establishes a connection between historical landscapes and memory. In his book *Memory and Material Culture*, Jones shows that monuments such as sculpture stones offer a method of "impressing or cementing a sense of social or collective memory" (2007, p.49); then, he emphasizes the importance of figuring out how material culture works on memory. At this point, giving memorials material meanings is the standard method to link history, material, and memory, it can be seen that the narrator of the films strives to strengthen the public memory of history and conceptualize historic sites or memorials such as Nanjing city, sculptures, and the Memorial Hall, simultaneously giving them coherent meaning in a popularized way.

4.1 Nanjing city and the Memorial Hall linking with a national memory

The ancient capital of the six dynasties is another name for Nanjing remembered by the Chinese, which means that it carries a long and rich seam of political, historical, and cultural memory. Before the city fell into the hands of the Japanese army, Nanjing was the Nationalist Party's capital and was characterized by traditional culture and modern civilization. The fall of Nanjing in 1937 and the Massacre signify

that the historical memory of Nanjing is first associated with the destruction of the city, the Massacre of the people, and national suffering, and thus, this traumatic memory is now another identification of the city. Many documentaries have to a greater or lesser extent shown the historical vicissitudes of modern Nanjing – from its status as a peaceful capital to being destroyed in 1937, and then to its rebirth in New China – such as *The Rape of Nanking* (1985), *Survivors: Witness the Nanjing 1937* (2016-2017), *City Trauma* (2014), and *1937: The Truth of Nanjing* (2005) through interpretation by voice-overs, the oral narrative of witnesses, and archival sources. These films have in common that they interpret the historical changes in Nanjing.

In the course of the establishment and maintenance of national identities, Olick and Robbins concern the role of “mnemonic sites, practices, and forms” (1998, 124) providing the historical memory of continuity. Memorial Hall is a symbolic mark seen in lots of Nanjing Massacre documentaries, including *Witness to History* (1995), *1937: Memory of Nanjing, Foreign Witnesses to the Nanjing Massacre* (2015); and *Survivors: Witness to Nanjing 1937* (2016-2017); in them, the Memorial Hall is often interpreted as a symbol of cultural and historical trauma in the construction of the public memory. Furthermore, the creation of the Memorial Hall echoes a new approach to remembering and learning history: not just to preserve the darkest and most painful part of history but also as a medium to make the historical trauma visible and educate visitors for posterity.

4.1.1 Nanjing: The beginning and extension of traumatic memory

Nowadays, the city of Nanjing, a particular place grounding the memory of the notorious massacre, refers not only to the history of the Massacre but also embodies

the efforts of conveying this memory to future generations. The establishment of the Memorial Hall located in the city of Nanjing proclaims the integration of Nanjing with its traumatic history and memory, and this fused urban landscape contributes to historical education and triggers historical memory in addition to preventing historical amnesia. The documentary form has become an indispensable channel to convey the connotation of the Memorial Hall and its power to shape people's historical memory. A more detailed discussion about this point follows in the next subsection.

Edward Casey deems that people's "participation" (1987, p.184) is the "functional essence" (1987, p.184) of commemoration. He further explains that commemoration establishes "deeply interpersonal roots", and "presupposes collective roots" (1987, p.185) like language, social class, and history, which make people not as separate but as united; thus, people share the memory, of history and tradition via kinds of material or psychical memorials. Since 2014, the national public memorial ceremony for the victims of the Nanjing Massacre has been held in Nanjing every year on December 13 as scheduled, and it has become a critical way of calling on the public to engage in the commemoration widely, which suggests that the city's historical memory is remembered and shared in the mode of national memory. Usually, this memorial ceremony is shown on television through live broadcasts and feature programmes; sometimes it serves as the subject matter of documentaries in the form of excerpts. For instance, the 10-episode television documentary series *Survivors: Witness to Nanjing 1937* (2016-2017) starts with partial shots of the first national public memorial ceremony for the victims of the Nanjing Massacre held in the Memorial Hall in 2014. In the first episode "Xia Shuqin: Testify for History", after giving a speech, President Xi, with a teenage representative, holds the hand of Xia Shuqin, an elderly witness of history walking to the public memorial platform (Figure

3.9–10). This sequence significantly implies the path of inheritance of this historical memory – from individuals to the state and from the old to the young generation.



Figure 3.9 This shot comes from “Xia Shuqin: Testify for History”. It shows one scene of the first National Memorial Ceremony held in 2014. Since then, the national memorial ritual has been a convention held on December 13 every year. It signifies that the history of the Nanjing Massacre has become an integral part of national memory.



Figure 3.10, a shot from “Xia Shuqin: Testify for History”. In the first National Ceremony, President Xi, with representatives of teenagers and survivors, walks up to the memorial after a speech. This ritual shows the inter-generational inheritance of historical memory and the link between individual trauma and national trauma.

According to Connerton, ritual is a form of collective symbolic display and possesses a "hidden point...behind ritual symbolism" (Connerton 1989, p.53), and people can understand this covert point through interpretation, and the interpretation can take the form of actions or words. Moreover, as political and collective action, the ritual aims to organize public participation and enhance the collective memory of the past. In addition to the fact that the state leader's speech explicitly calls for "learn[ing] from the history, remember[ing] the history and pray[ing] for peace", which sets the tone for remembering the atrocities, this ceremony also fully utilizes a rich etiquette process and solemn ambience to incorporate the sense of historical value into the contemporary national education and collective memory. In the film, the voice-over commentary, "This is a memorial ceremony held in the name of the country with the condolences of 1.3 billion people", underlines how this historical memory is encoded as a national memory.

4.1.2 The implied meaning of the Memorial Hall: The Legacy of Survivors

After the memorial sites' gradual opening, they witnessed a couple of veterans from Japan coming to apologize for their behaviour during the war, young people yearning for the historical truth, and visitors from the United States, Canada, and other countries around the world. On October 9, 2015, the documents of the Nanjing Massacre from China were inscribed on the Memory of the World Register by the International Advisory Committee of UNESCO's Memory of the World Program.

Sodaro (2018) summarizes three primary functions of the museum: restoration, enlightenment, and pedagogy; and he believes that the memorial sites for war

atrocities contribute to harnessing the historical memory of violence and preventing future violence. In terms of the Memorial Hall, its mission is intended not just to commemorate Nanjing Massacre victims and arouse people's emotional empathy and identification with the victims but also to promote peace in the present and future.

Compared to Sodaro's ideas of the three functions, Hayden (1995) specifies that the power of historic sites lies in helping the public define their history. He further explains that these places can operate as memories for "insiders" (Hayden 1995, p.46) who have shared a common past; moreover, historical places also can influence "outsiders" (Hayden 1995, p.46) who show interest in knowing about them. In the television documentary series *1937: Memory of Nanjing* (2014), a very typical example of this point is that in 1988, Tamaki Matsuoka, a Japanese primary school teacher, came to Nanjing for the first time and visited the exhibition reflecting the atrocities of the Japanese army, and in the interview she recalls that she was deeply shocked; as a result, she felt that the conclusions in the Japanese history books were unfair and began her long investigation into the Nanjing Massacre to reveal the historical reality to the world.

The fifth episode of the television documentary *1937: Memory of Nanjing* (2014), "The Legacy of Survivors", explains the implied meaning of the Memorial Hall in detail through the designer's voice in tandem with visual storytelling. As the most typical public historical space, the Memorial Hall is intended to pay respect to victims, build up the cognition of the historical atrocities, and also appeal to world peace. The first design concept of the Memorial Hall is, as Qi Kang, the designer of the first phase of erecting the Memorial Hall explains, "life and death" (Figure 3.11). In the

course of the explanation, the voice-over commentator sometimes replaces the designer to convey the spiritual and symbolic significance of these elements with images such as green grass, gravel, dead trees, and sculptures, "they express the mood of sadness and anger". The narrator attempts to establish emotional resonance with the audience, providing access to the historical trauma.



Figure 3.11 This shot comes from “The Legacy of History”. The designer named this landscape “Life and Death” to express the desperation of victims in 1937.

As the visual traumatic memory or mnemonic installments are arranged in the Memorial Hall, it is no longer an imaginary space or landscape. In the fifth episode, Zhu Chenshan, the curator in 1992, claims that it is time to consider the Memorial Hall as a carrier of national memory; he further stresses the necessity of converging folk memory into national memory. As discussed above, the tradition of the national ceremony for victims of the Nanjing Massacre confirms the symbolic significance of the Memorial Hall as a site of national memory. For people who intend to understand the Nanjing Massacre, the memorials of the Nanjing Massacre, nowadays the symbol of individual trauma and national memory, often work as a communication channel for sensing the past, and reflecting the present and future. With the growing interest

in visiting the Memorial Hall, the emergence of the wave of traumatic memory among civilians means that memorials are increasingly burdened with the pedagogical responsibility of linking history and memory.

In 2005, the second phase of the Memorial Hall was expanded, designed by He Jiantang, with three sequences of "history, memorial, and peace" as the concept. In addition to building a straightforward rapport with the most profound historical memory, the designer aims to create a historical context for visitors to rethink history and receive inspiration. For example, in the place named "Meditation Hall" (Figure 3.12), according to the designer's idea, this dark area with dead silence implies the context of the darkest history to inspire visitors to think about some moments of the past. The voice-over undertakes the major exposition of the design intention. For instance, a scene shows finely coordinated delicate images and camera movements: water droplets falling, then a photograph of each victim every 12 seconds; the narrator interprets, "this type of distinctive architectural language solidifies history." Both the designer and the filmmaker intend to connect the traumatic history with viewers' emotions through an empathetic reconstruction to imagine how victims suffered in the darkest time and use the solidification property of architecture to refer to the continuity and durability of the history and its memory.



Figure 3. 12 This shot of the Meditation Hall comes from “The Legacy of History”. The design displays the darkest period in 1937 and encourages visitors to feel and think.

Consequently, visual and verbal codes about the design concept of the Memorial Hall are revealed and employed by this documentary to be the resource for shaping collective memory. The connection between historical trauma and its enlightenment is deeply articulated in these detailed descriptions of the Memorial Hall. Specifically, the documentary does not stop at disclosing the design intentions of these ceremonies but follows the voice-over commentary in further linking the monument to the remembrance of the past with the present and future.

4.2 Monuments of Nanjing Massacre victims in villages: For peace and future

In the third episode of *Survivors: Witness to Nanjing 1937* (2016-2017), “Su Guobao: The Last Storyteller” recalls the atrocities committed by Japanese troops in lots of villages near Nanjing. For example, it narrates the story of a Hu Shan monument named “Learning from History” to remember the Nanjing Massacre victims. The idea and effort to build a monument to memorialize local victims mainly came from a villager, Su Guobao (89 years old), whose family was killed by Japanese soldiers in

1937. Su explains his purpose in erecting the monument in an interview: to teach future generations about history and remember what their grandparents suffered (Figure 3.13). One of his supporters Dai Houwu says,

"There are two reasons why I agreed with erecting the grave. First is that my grandfather was one of the victims; the second, it will be one of our nation's memorials, and we must remember the past"

(Dai Houwu in the interview of "Su Guobao: The Last Storyteller", 2016).

In October 2005, the first memorial was built by local civilians; after four months, the other village, Xi Gangtou, which also suffered from the Japanese soldiers' killing and established a similar monument for local villager victims of the Nanjing Massacre (Figure 3.14).



Figure 3.13 A shot from "Su Guobao: The Last Storyteller". Su Guobao, the last storyteller of the Nanjing Massacre in Hu Shan village, led the villagers to erect the monument to remember the victims of the Nanjing Massacre. On the marble, there are names of victims who were killed by Japanese invaders in Hu Shan village.



Figure 3.14 A shot from “Su Guobao: The Last Storyteller”. Under the impact of Su Guobao, the neighboring village also built a monument for victims who died in the Nanjing Massacre, as the monument inscription shows “The memory of Victims of Xi Gangtou Village”. It indicates the standard form of civil memory around the theme of the Nanjing Massacre.

“If I don’t talk about the past, many people will not know what happened.” Su Guobao’s worry demonstrates the urgency and legitimacy of constructing civil monuments. In 2016, Su Guobao, the last survivor of Hushan village, passed away. According to the statistics in this documentary, there were only 108 survivors still alive as of November 27, 2016; the documentary concludes, “the living witnesses of the Nanjing Massacre become less and less as time goes by”. The filmmaker expresses the significance of materialized memory through voices from different levels; for instance, “they are the consistent reminder of humiliation and pain people have suffered” (from the voice-over narrator of “Su Guobao: The Last Storyteller”); and as for the meaning of these monuments, Tamaki Matsuoka considers that it is for “peace and future””. Tamaki Matsuoka is a Japanese history teacher and devoted to investigating historical facts about the Nanjing Massacre.

Image presentation in “Su Guobao: The Last Storyteller” is also helpful for comprehending the relationship between history and memory; to some degree, the composition and the shifting angles of filming are involved in some visual rhetoric or expression of specific meaning. For example, in the section presenting victims, the camera moves around the sizeable survivors and victims' photo wall from left to right with a high-angle shot, then moves from a wide shot to a middle close-up, slowly zooming, and finally uses a long shot to show the picture wall (Figure 3.15–16). The shots focus on the whole picture wall, consisting of abundant photos of individuals (including victims and survivors), instead of using close-ups to pick one individual out as a case or emphasis. In arguing for commemorative forms and collective memory, Winter pays attention to the mundane small groups consisting of normal individuals; he views them as the “social agents of remembrance” (Winter 2006, p.136) and the foundation of collective memory. At this point, this segment significantly hints at the survivor individuals integrating into these particular groups – the social agents of the historical trauma and memory – their experiences and activities not only contribute to the memory work but also constitute an integral part of collective memory. More precisely, if traumatic memory is just the soliloquy of the survivors, it will disappear quickly; only when it is transformed from individual memory to collective memory can it obtain continuity and impact the social framework.



Figure 3.15—16 Shots from “Su Guo bao: The Last Storyteller”. The photographer shows the introduction to the survivors' group from a high-angle shot (Figure 3.15) to a long shot (Figure 3.16). Most survivors have died, but this unique group has always been the bond between individual and collective memories.

4.3 Sculptures based on individuals' traumatic memory

The memories of survivors and stories of victims have inspired many artists to convey their understanding of the Nanjing Massacre through creations such as sculptures, paintings, and carvings. In front of the Memorial Hall, a series of sculptures located

as an indispensable part of the building tell the stories of the war violence in 1937. "Chang Zhiqiang: Carved Memory", the second episode of the television documentary *Survivors: Witness to Nanjing 1937* (2016-2017), shows one of these sculptures as a prelude to tell Chang Zhiqiang's story and his traumatic memory (Figure 3.17–18), as the voice-over explains, "these carving records the real story that happened during the Nanjing Massacre in 1937." The sculpture is presented through camera movements from different angles, including the alternate use of panoramic images, medium shots, and close-ups: a seriously wounded and dying mother lies on the ground, her infant is nursing in her arm, and her elder son sits nearby crying. With the "the young boy survived" (from the voice-over narrator), the documentary turns to the survivor Chang Zhiqiang's current life and the accounts of his trauma. "I was nine years old at that time," Chang Zhiqiang begins his story. Visualizing the memory and connecting with the storyteller converge images and words into more rich information.



Figure 3.17–18 shows two shots from “Chang Zhiqiang: Carved Memory”. Figure 3.17 shows Chang Zhiqiang standing still in front of the sculpture, which is based on his family’s tragedy in the Nanjing Massacre. Figure 3.18 presents a close-up of the sculpture.

Subsequently, the representation takes a break from Chang’s story temporarily; it refrains from continuing a complete narrative and central exposition on remembering. The documentary moves on to tell of other survivors’ sufferings during the Nanjing Massacre and then turns to the story of the American director Bill Guttentag, who made the documentary *Nanking* (2007) (Chang Zhiqiang is one of the

oral narrators in his documentary film). When Guttentag and his team members heard Chang's heartrending story, this director says on camera, "We're all touched by this story. It was very, very powerful, and my job is to contain the power into the film." This segment dealing with Guttentag's story and his documentary can provide a powerful addition to and certification of the impact of Chang's story.

In fact, according to Chang Zhiqiang's daughter, her father, the 88-year-old man is less willing to recall his painful experiences. On one level, time may cause individual "memory attrition" (Cohen 2003, p.156), which Cohen refers to as "forgetting", for memory is "fragile, uncertain, malleable" (Cohen 2003, p.163); however, memory also may continue by being recorded, as well as sculpted. The following segment is the linchpin of Chang's storytelling, which appropriates some shots from the documentary *Nanking* (2007). Looking into the camera, Chang Zhiqiang narrates the whole tragic process of what happened to his mother and his four younger brothers, full of pain and sadness on his face, in his gestures and voice as well,

"I saw three Japanese soldiers run into the alley with large bayonets and guns...My mom was carrying my baby brother, this Japanese devil went up to her and stabbed her...He stabbed her again, and she fell. We all started crying...One of the other Japanese devils saw my baby brother bawling on the ground, went over and skewered him clean through his buttocks with the bayonet, then picked him up and tossed him away...I searched. She struggled to unbutton her clothes and began breastfeeding my brother. As soon as my brother saw my mother pulling open her clothes, he crawled into my mother's arms and started breastfeeding. ...My brother was drinking milk, while a stab wound beside her breast was gushing blood. My brother was too little to understand and tried hard to breastfeed while more blood bubbled out of her

chest...Tears just streamed down her face. Suddenly, her head dropped down”
(Chang Zhiqiang, *Nanking*, 2007).

The continuity of historical memory is just the core argument of the documentary episode “Chang Zhiqiang: Carved Memory”; next, the filmmaker attempts to advance the theme through Chang’s offspring – the other point of view. Chang's daughter says, "When we were young, our father never talked about his early years”, but they later gradually understand what happened to their father: "We all hope this historical memory will be passed down for generations so that our descendants can tightly remember the past and cherish peace." Chang's story feeds value and life into the sculpture; the sculpture, in turn, is the media used to make the story and memory living on from individual to generations.

To show the links between the historical sites and the traumatic memory of war, the filmmakers offer oral histories of witnesses, which does not mean they abandon the omniscient perspective. Instead, the voice-over commentary gives a finishing touch to some crucial joints, as a bond to unite the verbal memory and the physical monuments integrally on the screen. In this way, the interpretation of documentaries introduces numerous historical information while trying to give these historical signs significance to create access to the past for remembering across time and space.

Conclusion

In the 1990s, as gaining historical evidence and undertaking research became an urgent requirement for the public to know more about the Nanjing Massacre, the documentary form and narrative strategy changed from traditional compilation to

the expository mode, as discussed in the last chapter. This change means that new ways of constructing the collective memory of this historical event emerged. For instance, when some narratives from interviewees involve a series of extreme inhumanities they experienced or witnessed, the commentator often actively makes their judgement on the level of ideological or political dimensions besides personal emotional expression. Such remarks and reading become the way to build an emotional interaction and provide critical references to the audience. It is important to note that the Nanjing Massacre documentaries of this period provide the viewers with plenty of original and complex evidence about this historical event, constituting the foundation of understanding and remembering the historical trauma for the public.

The work of expository documentaries helps cultivate the public's historical consciousness. By gathering massive data and academic research on the Nanjing Massacre, the interpretation of the expository documentaries strives to make historical information explicit and systematized. The voice-over commentary frequently works in a more creative documentary way than the paranoid propaganda or pedagogical presentation of compilation documentaries. Moreover, in the representation, these expository documentaries are not confined to the narrative of material collection; they are concerned with presenting the memory of individuals involved in this history, aiming to build a communication of historical memory between the teller and the audience.

When discussing some issues regarding the Nanjing Massacre, it is necessary to situate precise historical information into people's memories. According to the documentary *The Tokyo Trials* (2015), the historical controversies about the Nanjing

Massacre lingering today are the legacy of the Tokyo Trials, because they were incomplete. As the narrator says, "After 70 years, the trials have not ended." Therefore, the filmmaker actively attempts to seek to clarify these historical problems, starting from the first fundamental question: "Would justice be served?" Its retrospective assessment of the Tokyo Trials affords credible evidence and professional knowledge for viewers about the intrinsic connection between the historical questions raised.

As Raack (1983) notes, film can recover the liveliness of historical memory and recompose it to manifest external reality based on rich historical resources through many perspectives. The subject matter and narratives of Nanjing Massacre expository documentaries are increasingly diversified and meticulous. For example, historical sites such as Nanjing city, Memorial Hall, village monuments, and graves as historical referents of remembering serve to provoke the public's historical memory. So, these documentaries' vital function is to explain and disseminate the significance of historical landscapes to help the audience connect these mnemonic devices with past and memory.

Hayden (1995) says that triggering social memory relies on storytelling. By contrast, distant historical memory is more likely dependent on storytelling. In Nanjing Massacre documentaries, detailed narratives from witnesses are conducive to constructing the event's collective memory. Individual oral histories bring the remote past into the current, providing the audience with first-hand information and memories. This connection between oral narrators and the audience creates a possibility of memory transmission through inquiry, empathy, and remembering. It should be pointed out that the oral history documentary form has become the other

popular mode to represent and memorize the Nanjing Massacre since the 21st century, and this topic will be examined in a more dedicated discussion in Chapters 4 and Chapter 5.

Part III

The Oral History Mode of the Nanjing Massacre Documentary Films in the 21st Century

Chapter 4 The Nanjing Massacre Oral History Documentaries: Oral Narratives from Survivors, Perpetrators and Rescuers

Introduction

At the beginning of the 21st century, a noteworthy emerging trend was that more and more witnesses who experienced the Nanjing Massacre were willing to tell their stories; meanwhile, oral accounts from survivors, Japanese veterans, and records of Western rescuers of the Nanjing Massacre were presented more intensively in documentaries, for instance, *Japanese Devils* (2001); *The Nanking Massacre* (or *Nanking*, 2007); *Iris Chang: The Rape of Nanking* (2007); *The Confession Memorandum of Japanese War Criminals* (2015); *The Accounts of Survivors: Bloody 1937* (2017); and the four-part series *My 1937* (2017). The bulk of the principal figures delivering the oral history of the Nanjing Massacre are well known and include Chang Zhiqiang, Su Guobao, Xia Shuqin, Zhang Xiuhong, Ebato Tsuyoshi, Tsuchiya Yoshio, Suzuki Yoshio, Rabe, Magee, and Minnie Vautrin – the owners of archival personal records (family letters, diaries, and reports).

Oral histories are frequently used as crucial historical resources in documentaries; however, there is no indication that documentaries based on oral narrative have been grouped into a separate category. In his work *A Shared Authority: Essays on the Craft and Meaning of Oral and Public History*, Frisch (1990) speaks of a programme in which he engaged in the preparation of an oral history documentary, and discusses the uses of oral account in documentaries. Frisch's research is on how oral history in documentaries is selected and edited by filmmakers and perceived by the audience, and in his view, the role of spoken words is "communication" and not just "documentation" (Frisch 1990, p. 147). In Nichols' documentary modes, "oral history" appears not in the list of documentary modes but in the column of nonfiction models

under “testimonials” (Nichols 2001, p.151), and he defines oral narrative as an extended recounting of past events by participants.

In oral history-oriented documentaries, interviewees give oral testimonies from their own actual experience or witnessing of events but from a limited personal point of view. Compared with the analysis of historians, oral history offers an event’s internal angle for people to understand the history. Furthermore, the frame of the documentary means the interviews and oral accounts are selected and arranged in line with the specific subject. I collect and define those Nanjing Massacre documentaries that concentrate on presenting witnesses and their oral narratives as a separate mode-- Nanjing Massacre oral history documentary films. In this oral history mode, the filmmakers give the impression that they serve more as a recorder and complement than an apparent intervening actor or presenter of meaning.

It is essential to delineate some distinctive attributions of the oral history and the Nanjing Massacre oral history documentary modes. First, I intend to specify the two key aspects of the Nanjing Massacre oral history documentary mode: limitation and authenticity. Limitations result from the narrator’s first-person level; authenticity as a pursuit of historical representation arises from a process of corroboration between individual testimonies and related historical materials or historical research.

In addition, this chapter will discuss the oral histories of three parties presented in Nanjing Massacre documentaries, including survivors’ narratives of traumatic experiences, former Japanese soldiers’ retrospection on their atrocities, and the written recordings of Western rescuers as eyewitnesses; and explore how filmmakers

apply the three narrative angles to reveal the historical details of the Nanjing Massacre.

Section 1 The issues of the limitation and authenticity of the Nanjing Massacre oral history documentaries

Oral history touches on a narrator's own experiences in the past and is a way of sharing historical information with others. When the three groups, Chinese survivors, Japanese perpetrators, and Western humane rescuers, narrate their memory of the Nanjing Massacre, each narrator from a particular group is governed by their own standards such as an exclusive narrative angle, their position in the history, and their moral judgment, and these are sure to result in a limitation of narration rather than being capable of offering any historical facts that occurred out of their sight, which means that their own conditions frame the version of their oral accounts.

The issue of the accuracy of oral history documentaries has been subject to fierce discussion. Beattie (2004) considers that two manners of operation in documentaries can construct convincing arguments and claims about the world: one is the "properties of the photographic image" (Beattie 2004, p.13), which build this connection between image and object in "an indexical bond" (Beattie 2004, p.13) – between the image and the real world, which generates an impression of authenticity used by filmmakers "as a warrant or guarantee of the accuracy and authority of its representation" (Beattie 2004, p.13); the other is spoken statements and instructions from voice-over commentary or witnesses' testimony that can provide "first-hand interpretations of historical events" (Beattie 2004, p.23). Similarly, Nichols views oral histories as "primary source material" (2010, p.191); and Goff agrees that verbal memory is the raw and living material used by historians (Goff

1992, p.XI). What the filmmakers should do ,as Aufderheide alerts, is to avoid regarding oral histories "as a sole source of information" (Aufderheide 2007, p.100). Renov (2005) also emphasizes that history may become the object of investigation when the past is in pieces or ambiguous, and thus filmmakers should favour "interrogation" rather than "preservation" (Renov 1993, p.27) of historical information from oral histories. What he reminds filmmakers of is the necessity of identifying authenticity and accuracy in the selection of oral history. In the Nanjing Massacre oral history documentaries, the presentation of interviews and oral testimonies, such as what and why witnesses remember, the similarities and differences in their oral accounts, and what they pass along to new generations, suggests a process of historical interrogation.

1.1 The limitations of the Nanjing Massacre oral history

Oral narratives of the Nanjing Massacre are closely related to the experience of a narrator who may be a survivor, perpetrator, or rescuer, and the "experience" refers to both living through the past and the process of giving testimonies in the present. Each perspective signifies a helpful signpost for viewers to understand real people's situations during the Nanjing Massacre.

Before and after the fall of Nanjing, many Western witnesses who stayed in this city wrote down what they saw and heard with precise words. *Nanking* (2007) screened on HBO features some of these Western rescuers' written testimonies read by performers. For example,

"We are a little concerned ourselves. Today's air raid brings our tally to 114. ... I am writing this to the tune of big guns, just outside of the city"

(the letters of Doctor Bob Wilson, read by the actor Woody Harrelson).

“At noon, a man was led to headquarters with head burned cinder-black, eyes and ears gone, and the nose has partly gone...A ghastly sight. I took him to the hospital in my car, where he died a few hours later. His story was that he was one of the gangs of some 100, who had been tied together, then gasoline was thrown over them, and set afire”

(the records of George Fitch, read by the actor John Getz).

“From 8:30 to 6:00 this evening, I stood at the front gate of Ginling College as the refugees poured in. They had disguised themselves in every possible way. Many had cut their hair, and most of them had blackened their faces. Many wore men's or boys' clothing, or even that of old women”

(the diary of missionary Miss Minne Vautrin, read by the actress Mariel Hemingway).

The above pieces of information come from a first-person angle to witness and account for the facts, and the filmmaker uses them to embody a sense of limited personal narrative of these real witnesses, and creates an impression of informational reliability.

In the Japanese documentary *Japanese Devils* (2001), some oral accounts of former Japanese soldiers imply a shift in their understanding of the war. For example, when Kaneko Yasuji speaks of the war atrocities he and other soldiers committed, he is troubled, because his militaristic belief inculcated by the Japanese government during the war was shaken by the facts he witnessed or experienced. Kaneko Yasuji spends less time exploring deep reasons in relation to this topic because there is still no clear solution to his own doubts up to the present, as he says, “How can I express it... it's always stayed with me.” The uncertain discourse and awkward expression

imply the narrator's dilemma. His words indicate that this dilemma stems from his own limited recognition of the war or the essence of militarism – it is not enough to explain his and his colleagues' merciless killings in China.

Therefore, the narrative limitation, as a fundamental element of oral history, is related to both the theoretical knowledge and experiential standpoints of narrators. Richie notes that in historical research it is important to understand the limitations of memory when undertaking oral history because the memories of the past reflect "the individual ways people lived rather than the broad panoply of history" (Richie 2015, p.18). In addition, Grele (1985) is concerned more about the oral narrators' attribution "as individuals and members of a particular culture at a particular time" (Grelle 1985, p.250) when they experience events. In terms of the oral history of the Nanjing Massacre, what the survivors, perpetrators, and rescuers offer is relevant to their own experiences and sense of the atrocities during that period; their moral judgment of the past is limited perhaps by horizons, gender, status, and culture. For example, as for the sexual violence in the Nanjing Massacre, the victims would have chosen to keep silent early on because of cultural biases, and the Japanese soldiers would have considered it as part of their war mission.

The issue of these limitations ultimately involves the tripartite construction of historical facts and their effects on our understanding the past. Within limits, each party provides its own experiences or remembrance and personal comprehension through documentaries, which is the way history expands – the audience participates in communication, reinterpreting, and remembering; these oral histories also contribute to filling historical gaps about events; for instance, individuals' motivations or feelings are frequently obscured in archival collections. The filmmakers make full

use of this unique value of oral history to integrate the multiple oral accounts with archival materials to reconstruct the historical event.

1.2 the authenticity of the Nanjing Massacre oral history

Aaltonen and Kortti indicate that the issue of authenticity, evidence, and truth in documentary filmmaking is crucially bound up with “reconstruction” (Aaltonen and Kortti 2015, p.116), which means a filmmaker’s intervention. For the Nanjing Massacre oral history documentaries, reconstruction includes the selection of narrators, the settings for specific interviews, the use of other historical materials, and more. Bullert defines the “truth” of an event as “a process of discovering” (Bullert 1997, p.xiv) and handling information, for example, the cross-checking of conflicting or similar versions of events. In the Nanjing Massacre oral history documentaries, the discussion on authenticity can be conducted from two levels: one is the strategy of filmmakers’ reconstruction, and the other concerns narrators and their oral testimonies.

The merit of oral history, as Thompson views, is the “original multiplicity of standpoints” (Thompson 1998, p.24) on complex events, which can make for a more realistic reconstruction of the history. When confronted with diverse, even conflicting versions of oral stories from different parties, the filmmakers exhibit and check pieces of information addressed by each party. For example, the first episode “Xia Shuqin: Testify for History” of the television documentary *Survivors: Witness to Nanjing 1937* (2016-2017) presents Xia Shuqin’s life stories and oral history through cross-narration. The filmmaker starts the tragic story of Xia Shuqin’s family with the American priest John Magee’s footage (Magee filmed the scene of the killing twelve days after the event happened) and its detailed illustration; next, Xia Shuqin narrates

how her father was killed by Japanese soldiers when he opened the door on December 13, 1937; then, the voice-over narration states that Magee's film explains what exactly happened to Xia's mother and sisters. This filmmaker focuses more on what Xia Shuqin (who was 8 years old in 1937) saw and felt at that moment, like "At that moment, the shouting outside, (I) was very frightened..." and "They (Japanese soldiers) stabbed me and I fainted at that moment...". The eyewitness Xia Shuqin affords immediate empirical shreds of evidence about the unrecorded sections of the event, and her oral accounts replenish and sustain what Magee's film could not record; in this way, the integration of two angles' narratives restores a specific historical moment.

Xia Shuqin and her oral history became the target of Japanese right-wing attacks. In 1998, Higashinakano Shudo, a representative of a Japanese right-wing group that denies the Nanjing Massacre, produced his book *A Thorough Test of the Testimonies of the Nanjing Massacre* and asserted that Xia Shuqin is fabricated and not a real person, and the book also claims that there are too many doubts about the identity of the survivor Xia Shuqin, especially that she is not the 8-year-old girl in John G. Magee's film. In 2000, Xia Shuqin decided to defend her reputation and maintain the truth of history through the law.

The documentary shows some critical nodes and points of the lengthy lawsuit (it lasted nine years). For instance, Higashinakano Shudo's lawyer indicated that even though what was written in the book defamed Xia Shuqin's reputation, it was academic freedom and did not break the law. Hosumi Takashi, Xia Shuqin's Japanese attorney, responded in an interview, "The hardest thing is not the fact or laws but the verdict of the court. Since the case was related to the right-wingers, the court pulled

back." This documentary declares the result of the lawsuit which lasted nine years by presenting pieces of Japanese and Chinese newspaper reports related to Xia Shuqin's victory, which suggests that the widespread dissemination of Xia Shuqin's story and her oral history became compelling evidence of the Nanjing Massacre.

The detailed narration of memory is a powerful vehicle for re-establishing a connection with the past, and it can make particular historical processes concrete and concretize the audience's imagination with past precise situations. For example, "torture" and "Japanese Devils" are a kind of abstract description of things the Japanese Imperial Army did and do not address what exactly is referred to and its extent. However, the fourteen former Japanese soldiers reproduce the processes and details in spoken words – each of them with astonishing openness explains what they did in China. Tsuchiya Yoshio, a former 2nd Lieutenant and a member of the Military Police describes how water torture was carried out against Chinese resistance members,

"There were all kinds of torture. The worst torture was forcing them to drink water. The way of working was that there would be a low bench made of wood. You made them lie face up on it and forced their head back like this (giving a demonstration). And then you tie them back, like this (giving a demonstration)... And then you would straddle them, forcing them to swallow lots and lots of water, their head lowered through their nose and mouth. Then you put a towel over their face. Because, if you cover their face... Each time they gasp for air, water gets into their lungs. But if their lungs fill with water, they will die. So you gave them a little air. Covering them with a towel briefly means they get a little air, so they don't die. However, you keep dumping lots of water from a big kettle. Pouring, keeping water out of the lungs... So it goes into the stomach. And very

soon, it starts to swell. Moreover, when it's swollen since he is lying down... If you shove on the stomach, the water gushes out. And you do it over and over again. It made them talk, oh, yes, it does. But they don't know anything. So even if they want to talk, they can't. But you think, screw this bastard! Make him swallow more, more! That's what we called water torture"

(Tsuchiya Yoshio in *Japanese Devils*, 2001).

According to Ritchie, in oral history, "direct, dramatic, and emotional situations tend to produce more fixed and lasting memories" (Ritchie 2015, p.17). These oral testimonies describe the irrational actions of a group of Japanese soldiers as the events' participants at great length, and the clear narrative of detailed torture shows the depth of the narrator's memory. Meanwhile, this individual memory represents the "micro-history" described by Natalie Zemon Davis that explores a telling example in depth and reveals "social structures and social codes in given time and place" (Davis, 2000, p.26) – in this case, Tsuchiya Yoshio's oral history gives a glimpse into the operation of Japanese Imperial military as a war machine.

The collocation of historical materials with spoken testimony is not uncommon in the Nanjing Massacre documentary films; oral histories have been identified as empirical support for primary historical material by historians, and documentary filmmakers take full advantage of this uniformity as a presenting strategy. They usually arrange related oral accounts and historical resources to explain the discovery process or demonstrate corresponding facts. The Japanese documentary *Nanjing Incident* (2015), which I have explored in the last chapter, is a good example. This documentary shows that, based on Japanese soldiers' oral accounts of the mass slaughter of Chinese soldiers and civilians along the Yangtze River, diaries, and a

photograph taken at the time, the documentary team finally found the original site of the incident along the Yangtze River in Nanjing, China.

In the view of Hammerton (2003), the authenticity of oral history hinges on the verification of factual details, and also on "the process by which informants make sense of them in their present" (Hammerton 2003, p.111). When they recall and speak out their life stories, they seem to split themselves into an observer or a critic in search of particular views; simultaneously, they try to look backwards and forwards by comparing the sense of the past and the present. The enduring impact of war atrocities on survivors as an integral part of historical recollection is an issue worth discussing. In her diary full of desperate stories, Zhao Zhengang articulates her intensive abomination for the war atrocities. She explains how the war was the source of her sister's whole painful life by orally interlacing their own experiences and perceptions of the past and present. In the documentary, witnesses are glad to coalesce their recollections with the present, accompanied by a specific summary or self-reflection on the past, which reflect the filmmaker trying to set up an informative oral narrative and heightening its persuasiveness.

Oral narrators, whether Chinese survivors or Japanese perpetrators, have no intention of recapturing the whole historical event but intend to share only what they witnessed. Furthermore, the oral history documentaries concern about the history's lessons, and provide an entry for the audience and later generations into the distant past and can also drive generations inspired by these anguished memories to find a helpful path of insight into wars.

Section 2 The survivors' oral history

It takes great courage for survivors who have suffered brutal war violence to recall painful experiences that caused them physical or mental trauma, and their oral testimonies rank among the most precious historical heritage. In front of the camera, many of them use concise discourse to explain how they witnessed and feared Japanese invaders' killings, rape, and torture, and experienced excessive pressure and humiliation during the Nanjing Massacre; in this war atrocity, of particular concern is the physical and mental damage inflicted on many women.

At the most basic level, the representation of the oral history documentary is created not only from the concrete contents of the survivor's spoken testimonies but also through a purposeful storytelling structure and filming language from the filmmaker. The documentary filmmakers attempt to convey the voice of the survivors and their life stories to the public. In doing so, in addition to interviews, they adopt expressive elements or forms such as animation clips and a biographical structure. Specifically, cut-in animation sections are salient in reproducing crucial scenes of narration, for instance, their pleasant childhood and killings by Japanese soldiers. Moreover, biographical style has gained popularity in oral history documentaries and shows its advantages in emphasizing the critical stages of a narrator's life, particularly by exploring the aftermath of war trauma.

2.1 Traumatic narrative

Survivors of the Nanjing Massacre recount their remote memories, especially miserable ones, in concise and straightforward words with sincere emotion. Moreover, the traumatic narrative from survivors, especially female victims who endured violence and sexual abuse in the Nanjing Massacre, has been instrumental

in explaining how the historical trauma caused lasting hurt to their whole life course.

2.1.1 The verbal utterance

The ordinary storytelling skill of survivors is characterized by using form and tone of everyday language-- precise and succinct words in verbal accounts, and the narrators are adept at recalling the past and explaining their personal feelings at that moment, highlighting some experiences or making sense of them. For example, the survivor Xia Shuqin has been active in activities such as speeches, interviews, and testimony sessions on the Nanjing Massacre; her oral account frequently opens with when the event began and what she saw,

"On December 13th, a bunch of Japanese soldiers rushes in, and my dad was shot when he went to open the door"

(Xia Shuqin's, in "Xia Shuqin: Testify for History", 2016).

"At nine or ten o'clock in the morning of December 13, 1937, a group of Japanese soldiers came in, it was my father who opened the door, my father did not say anything at that moment. He saw so many guns, bayonets, and a white flag red circle, he tried to run, but did not walk far, was shot to death by the Japanese"

(Xia Shuqin's in series short-film *The Accounts of Survivors: Bloody 1937*, 2017).

Xia Shuqin was featured in two interviews in different documentaries, and the texts of her narration are brief and detailed, respectively (see above); however, the core information such as when (on 13 December 1937), who (a group of Japanese soldiers, father), and what happened (father was shot to death), remains stable. In addition, the selection of oral accounts such as the details or omissions are closely associated

with the structural design of documentaries. In the documentary *Survivors: Witness to Nanjing 1937* (2016-2017), the oral history of Xia Shuqin is interwoven with the voice-over and Magee's film, as Section 1.2 of this chapter discusses, more details are left to Magee's footage and illustrations. While in the mini-documentary *The Accounts of Survivors: Bloody 1937* (2017) that interviewed 100 survivors, the oral account of each constitutes one episode, and Xia Shuqin's six-minute narration tends to be more intensive personal observation and interpretation of what she saw

Although survivors still alive are all in their eighties or even older, the core narrative of their minds and memories about their war sufferings do not show any trace of decline, and their language is still concise and well organized. In the choice of content, they focus more on describing what they saw and felt in the shocking moments than collecting fragmented memories. In "Su Guobao: The Last Storyteller", for example, Su Guobao, the 89-year-old survivor, is now the only living survivor who can tell the Hu Shan village massacre story entirely and clearly. At the age of 10, he witnessed his little brother being killed by a Japanese soldier. The following is Su Guobao's narration,

我弟弟跟我两人肚子饿了，跑出村找吃的，我跟他一起。一个日本兵把我的小弟抱到怀里，小孩子怕兵叫日本兵放开他。日本兵没有放，小孩子脾气倔就用嘴咬日本人的脸和手膀。日本人一怒，把我小弟弟投到七乡河水里活活淹死了。

"My little brother and I were hungry, so we went outside the village together to look for something to eat. A Japanese soldier held my brother in his arms. Afraid of the soldiers, my brother told the soldier to let him go, but the soldier wouldn't. My brother is stubborn so he bit the soldier's face and arms. Angered, the

Japanese threw my brother into the Qixiang River to drown him"

(Su Guobao in "Su Guobao: The Last Storyteller", 2016; translated by myself).

Here, Su Guobao's spoken words tell what he saw at that moment without carrying any imaginative and emotional words – the whole event is described as a coherent set of actions, like “饿了 (being hungry), -出村 (going outside)- and -找吃的 (looking for food)” to explain their simple purpose. The narrator represents the conflict between his little brother and a Japanese soldier: 日本兵抱 (Japanese soldier holding) and 小孩害怕 (the little boy fearing); 小孩叫放他走 (let me go) but 日本兵不放 (Japanese not let him go); 小孩咬 (little boy biting) and 日本兵怒投他到河里 (Japanese soldier being angry and throwing). As a result, 小孩淹死 (the little boy was drowned). In the documentary, 89-year-old Su Guobao's calm and natural discourse implies that the personalized core oral version is already established, and also shows that concise language is less influenced by factors such as social, political, or cultural conditions or even personal mood.

2.1.2 The stories of female victims

After investigation, the IMTFE concluded that "within a month after the occupation, about 20,000 rapes took place in Nanjing city" (Zhang, 1986, p.485). Some witnesses also recorded the fate of women during the Nanjing Massacre. For example, Vautrin's diary (1937–1940) is one of the vital eyewitness accounts of the Nanjing Massacre as the "primary source on Japanese crimes committed inside a women's camp" (Hu and Zhang 2010, p.3). Her diary pays more attention to the fate of women and children under extreme situations, and reveals the painful and desperate voice of women, including herself, in the war.

In the survey of survivors after the war, many women who had been raped were unwilling to recall their painful experiences, and even if they could tell their stories, they were unwilling to expose their names in public publications. According to traditional conservative views, if a woman was insulted, especially by enemy soldiers, it was equal to her life being ruined. The influence of this concept causes them to transform their suffering into an inner sense of shame. It was difficult for them to speak out publicly. Therefore some survivors of sexual violence have buried this pain deep inside, even not letting their children know. However, they need to speak out. "One has to know one's buried truth in order to be able to live one's life" (Shoshana, 1992, p.78). This means that survivors need to speak out and understand their own story then experience rebirth and cross the painful past. When the Nanjing Massacre returned to the public eye in the 1980s, some female survivors appeared on the screen.

In "Zhang Xiuhong: Silent Scars" and "Two sisters: The Past Never Erased", two shots can quite appropriately illustrate this point by recording the featured women's outbursts. In the 2007 Nanjing Memory International Academic Conference: On the 70th Anniversary of the Nanjing Massacre, Zhang Xiuhong spoke publicly about her traumatic past for the first time, and her burst of grief was photographed (Figure 4.1); the personalized low-angle shot highlights the power of stifling emotion, and more importantly, the documentary attempts to emphasize that the repressed inner trauma of survivors needs a similar suitable trigger and outlet. Zhang Xiuhong, the victim of sexual violence as a 12-year-old child during the Nanjing Massacre, was not listed in the first nationwide census of survivors in 1984 because she chose to remain silent until the beginning of the 21st century when her husband died. Zhang Xiuhong told the investigator in the film that she was relieved after telling her story.



Figure 4.1 A picture from the newspaper *Yangtze Evening Post* (November 13, 2017). This photo is also used by “Zhang Xihong: Silent Scars” to show her emotional outburst when Zhang Xihong spoke publicly about her traumatic past for the first time in 2017.

Similarly, When Zhao Zhengang talked about her feelings of viewing the fiction film *City of Life and Death* (2009) in an interview, she sobbed; a facial close-up shot catches her painful expression (Figure 4.2),

“I feel very uncomfortable. Those things will always be held in my mind, and I will never forget the trauma in my heart”

(Zhao Zhengang in “Two Sisters: The Past Never Erased”, 2017).

Next, the filmmaker arranges for a psychologist to explain Zhao’s emotions in the interview,

“She fought so hard to hide the trauma for so many years... she deserved a chance to express her pain ... when it did, her pent-up feelings just spilled out”

(Sang Zhiqin, a psychologist in “Two Sisters: The Past Never Erased”, 2017).

Zhao Zhengang's tears are emblematic of a burst of traumatic emotions and pain of suffering, loneliness, and injustice. In fact, she is certifying her own empirical historical facts in telling her traumatic memory. Her emotions and feelings are part of her testimonies, a component of the historical moments to which she was indeed bearing eyewitness. Zhang Zhengang comments on the scenes of mass killings presented in the film *City of Life and Death* (2009) that there are still some cruel crimes that are not fully reflected. This comparison from the person who experienced the massacre at least illustrates two overtones: the destruction of war atrocities is far beyond imagination; for some survivors, the degree and effect of the trauma caused by war violence is inexpressible.

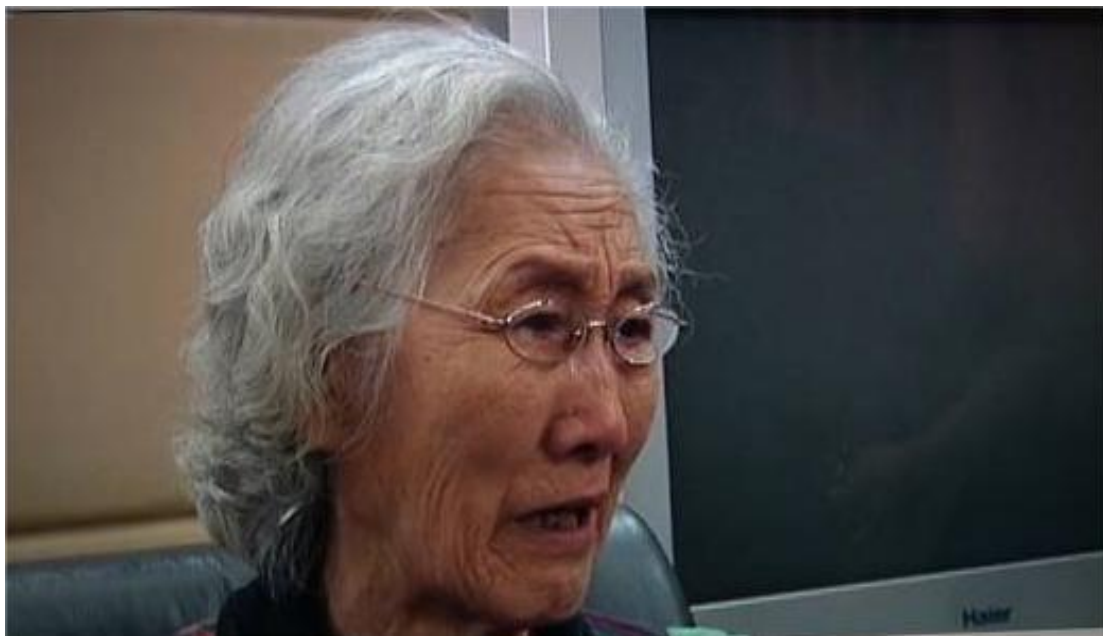


Figure 4.2 A shot from “Two Sisters: The Past Never Erased”. Zhao Zhengang, who survived the Nanjing Massacre, is giving her thoughts about the scene of mass killings during the Nanjing Massacre. This close-up of the figure’s face is designed to draw the emotional distance between the speaker and the audience closer to generate an emotional impact on the audience.

In “Zhang Xiuhong: Silent Scars”, the filmmaker invites psychologists, historians, and some former Japanese soldiers to broadly discuss the issue of sexual violence during wartime, including the psychology of sexual perpetrators and rape's function in the

Japanese military. For instance, the former Japanese soldiers explained the facts of rape and killings in the Nanjing Massacre: "rape was a sure thing, no matter if it is an old woman or someone, raped first and then killed most often" (Japanese veteran Deguchi Jiro) and "the order of rape was determined by lottery"(Japanese veteran Teramoto Shigera). The Japanese historian Kasahara jûkyû Tsukasa analyses it from the point of view of the Japanese military culture and history,

"War is plunder; men rape women; even after the Meiji era, this concept was inherited. So the soldiers who occupied Nanjing took raping women for granted material benefits"

(Kasahara jûkyû Tsukasa, in "Zhang Xiuhong: Silent Scars", 2016).

Both the testimonies of Japanese perpetrators and the analysis of Japanese historians attribute sexual violence to Japan's institutional and cultural influences on soldiers at the particular time, rather than individual responsibility. The documentary shows the current status of reflection on this point, without further debating it; its focus is more on whether those who were sexually assaulted or those who bear witness to sexual violence can escape the psychological shadow of events, and the traumatic memory of these female survivors inspires the viewers to think more about sexual violence in war.

2.2 The strategies of filmmakers to present survivors' oral history

Traumatic accounts are laden with personal revelations and sincere feelings such as sadness, anguish, calmness, relief, and happiness, which help to develop specific emotional identification with viewers. In documentary creation, to enhance these effects, the filmmakers make a great effort to enhance the process of

telling stories through background settings, and traditional technological means such as cutting, sound effects, lighting, and shooting angles; furthermore, many of them constructively draw on digital animation techniques or creative narrative frameworks to make the oral stories more presentable and intriguing.

2.2.1 Reproduction of traumatic moments through animation

In filmmaking, animation is a popular way to visualize what cannot be seen or filmed. Doane considers animated re-enactments and eyewitness accounts as “a compensatory discourse” (2001 p.281) for the camera’s inability to capture precise moments. Similarly, Cannadine believes reconstructions can free historical representation from “the tyranny history of the archive image” (2004 p.14). This is because they can explore fields beyond the realm of film, for instance, the appearance of the past, and can take viewers to an era that no cameras could reach, using expressive audio-visual elements to aid the visualization of memory and history. The use of animation in documentaries, as Ehrlich views, has the potential to assist subjective accounts of events that would “remain unrepresentable” (2021 p.190) such as memories and dreams. As examined in *Survivors: Witness to Nanjing 1937* (2016–2017), the animated events exhibit both the survivors’ happy times and sufferings from their childhood, which represent a sense of life’s twists.

White, in *Historiography and Historiophoty* (1988) indicates that rhetorical skills will hold and touch a large number of viewers ‘with remarkable verisimilitude or stronger emotive effect (1988 p.1194), provided that the rule of not violating history’s authenticity is observed. Ehrlich (2021) demonstrates that image-production technologies contribute to changes in documentary aesthetics. He concludes that animation imagery, as one of the technocultural forms, is familiar and has been

accepted by viewers “as valid visualizations of non-fiction” to deliver “factual information” (Ehrlich 2021, p.43). In terms of animated documentaries, Ehrlich stresses the significance of the viewer and the viewed visualizing together to “create an empathic mode” (2021 p.177). In her study of a Holocaust presentation through an animated documentary, Liat Steir-Livny (2024) points out that animation can help viewers discover the past from the protagonists’ experiences and perspectives, and, more importantly, empathize with them. That is, in documentaries, animated representations, combined with live action and interviews, construct specific historical settings or moments, which encourage viewers to become immersed in the process of identifying with the speakers’ memories as a way of understanding history.

Animated sequences constitute a fundamental part of the television documentary series *Survivors: Witness to Nanjing 1937* (2016-2017). The filmmakers apply black and white woodcut pictures in each episode to reenact details or essential scenes of an event, relying on survivors’ spoken materials; in consequence, memory, verbal information, and the reproduced past are orchestrated to generate a coherent and fluent historical narrative. For example, the scenes of Japanese soldiers’ atrocities such as killing civilians (Figure 4.3 and Figure 4.5), chasing and kidnapping girls, as well as the suffering situations are demonstrated by animated pictures. The use of an animated section opens up a visual history and makes the oral accounts dynamic, indicating that the atrocities happened in a particular socio-historical world, just as the survivors described them.

The animated historical scenes frequently work as visual representations in alliance with interviewees’ recounts, like the examples from *Survivors: Witness to Nanjing 1937* (2016-2017), and there is a junction between narrators telling their childhood

stories, accompanied by animated images and the straight-to-camera live-action interviews. Animation in two painting styles is used to mimic some moments of what the survivors experienced. One is woodcut (Figure 4.3 and Figure 4.4, for example), and the other is Chinese brush painting (Figure 4.5 and Figure 4.6, for example). Woodcut is achieved by cutting lines on a board with a carving knife to create images, and strong lines with black and white contrast produce a visual impact. For instance, in Figure 4.3, the hard lines of the two figures' clothing folds illustrate the tension between the two powerful reactions — the Japanese soldier's anger and the little boy's struggle with fear; moreover, the blood-red background and black clouds of this image add to the terrible atmosphere, and the figures leaning to the left generate a sense of instability in the image. By contrast, in Figure 4.4, the lines and colors are soft in the use of black and white proportions, where a number of regular lines of figures and buildings create a harmonious state and an intimate family bond.

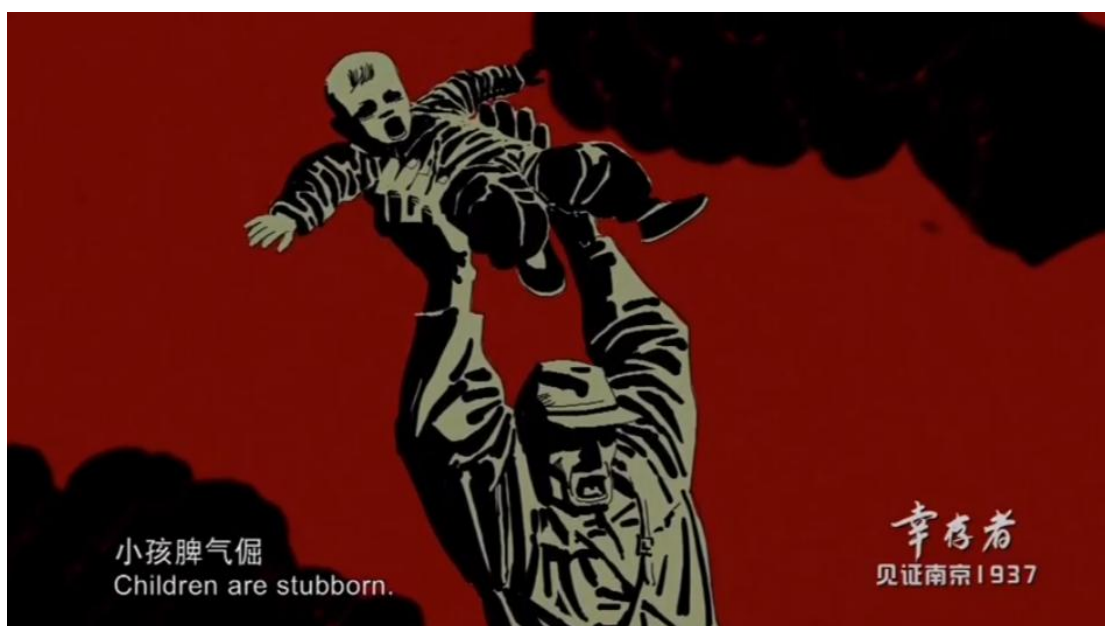


Figure 4.3 A shot from the episode “Su Guobao: The Last Storyteller”. The animated picture shows the moment when Su Guobao’s little brother is being thrown into a river. Later, the little boy drowns.



Figure 4.4 A shot from “Chang Zhiqiang: Carved Memory”. Little Chang Zhiqiang is carried by his father to watch Chinese operas before the war.

Chinese brush painting is well known for its simple, symbolic, and natural style, and its basic elements consist of ink, water, black, and white. Similar to woodcut images, Chinese brush painting stages the feeling of pressure (Figure 4.5, for example) and being pleased (Figure 4.6, for example) through the configuration of the ratio of black and white. For example, in Figure 4.5, the different layers of thick and light ink remind viewers to focus on the bayonet and facial expressions, and the size of the two figures is outlined in line with the contrast of strength to show the moment of life and death, and the loss of humanity.



Figure 4.5 A shot from the episode “Chen Deshou: My Family of Eight”. The Chinese brush picture shows Chen Deshou’s aunt being killed. The animated images are used to help viewers understand historical details in a lively way.



Figure 4.6 A shot from “Two Sisters: The Past Never Erased”, shows two sisters’ carefree childhood. Soon afterwards, their pleasant life was destroyed by war.

These scenes recreated by animation help in visualizing survivors’ narrative fragments, and more importantly they are used to arouse viewers' emotional resonance. Laub argues that the reoccurrence of the event’s process makes a

“repossession of the act of witnessing” (1992, p.85) possible, and therefore, the listeners to trauma get to be participants and co-owners of the traumatic memory. The survivors’ memory depicted using animation builds up the empathy by presenting not only the family ties (see Figure 4.4 and figure 4.6) such as parents and children or sisters, but also conflicts between people, for example, the Japanese killers and Chinese victims (see Figure 4.3 and figure 4.5). In this way, the emotional connection is generated between the viewers and the narrators’ happiness or anxiety. For example, Chang Zhiqiang describes a happy time together with his father when he was a child; the sisters Zhao also had a carefree childhood. These images, with a rich flavour of life, can naturally boost empathy of viewers; however, the Japanese invasion and massacre changed their lives and destinies forever. The sharp contrast is formed with reproductions of their terrible sufferings, and the shift of survivors’ experiences leads viewers to sense the cruelty and irrationality of war. In brief, animation gives the audience an insight into subjective reality, according to Liat Steir-Livny (2024), animation enables the filmmakers to reflect the individuals’ fears, emotional scars, trauma, and emotions, and animated presentation has effects on the post-memory of offspring. However, it should be noted, as Bersani (2005) discusses, that the reconstructive function of art is far from conveying the complexity of history, much less compensating for historical catastrophes.

2.2.2 The biographical structure of presenting survivors’ life stories: “Two Sisters: The Past Never Erased”

The approach of biographical structure focusing on life stories offers film much room to explore holistic and intricate individual experiences; also, it can pick up some crucial moments of a life and sort out a variety of relations in which the person is involved. In the Nanjing Massacre oral history documentaries, survivors recount their most miserable stage of life during the war; meanwhile, many of them are glad to

reminisce about the time before the war and share information about their present as well. Biography is a frequent frame used by filmmakers to process the life stories of oral narrators – not a continuous life history but significant parts of their lives.

For example, the documentary episode “Two Sisters: The Past Never Erased” builds a biographical structure to present the sisters' life stages. To trace the past of the two sisters, the filmmaker selects Zhao Zhenhua — the little sister who is still alive — as the oral narrator, interlacing her narrative with readings from the memoir of Zhao Zhengang, who passed away years ago. From Zhao Zhenhua’s storytelling and the memoir, her sister Zhao Zhengang never recovered from the horror of the massacre and the stress of witnessing sexual violence. As a teenager during the Nanjing Massacre, she saw and heard many rapes and killings, for example, the tragedy of her neighbour friend and friend's mother, who both were raped and killed by Japanese soldiers, as well as the constant harassment and rape by Japanese soldiers in the Safety Zone she was in. In her memoir, she depicted her feelings,

"The Japanese soldiers used to run in all day and night to catch girls. I was so scared that I hid in the crowd, only to hear the screams in the house, and no one could stop them. Who should I talk about my pain to?"

(Zhao Zhengang, in “Two Sisters: The Past Never Erased”, 2017).

Zhao Zhengang was traumatized by what she saw, and later in life she was unhappy in her marriage and had no children. Finally, she died of lung cancer; according to her sister’s views, the power of these events in her later life is demonstrated by her loss of a sense of trust in men.

The biographical form explores and compares the two sisters' lives in the past and the present. Although both of them were traumatized because of bearing witness to the atrocities, they had different results in confronting the past. The little sister Zhao Zhenhua strives to come to terms with the past and enjoys her present life after the war, while her sister Zhao Zhengang was impacted by trauma permanently, and never got over the traumatic past regardless of family help. As the documentary shows, Zhao Zhenhua created a new extended family and took on new social roles. She seems to have completed self-healing, as she states, "The hard days are over, and a better life awaits me." In trying to help her big sister recover from the trauma, the only way Zhao Zhenhua could share her sister's pain was to let her child accompany and look after her sister, even though she had to endure the sadness and loss that she could no longer let her son call her mum. "My sister, who had suffered so much, was pathetic." Zhao Zhenhua gives the reason in an interview. The representation of the two sisters' life stories demonstrates that trauma may have a lasting effect on survivors' lives, and the bond of family frequently works as a treatment.

The biographical narrative is constructive for viewers to comprehend the impact of trauma on survivors' lives. Typically, the framework of survivors' life stories already provides room not only for conflicts primarily caused by trauma but also for protagonists to explain their situations. "Two Sisters: The Past Never Erased" fully captures the subtle emotional changes and details of their lives to illustrate the war's profound and long-term impact on them.

Life stories in oral accounts are often fragmented because of the leap in the narrative time and space, for example, involving some preceding memories, life afterwards, and current situations. The biographical structure of "Two Sisters: The Past Never

Erased” has the advantage of pooling the decisive points of the protagonists’ life experiences and places the trauma based on the survivors’ narratives as the main thread to form a coherent story in the context of daily life. In the documentary, the fictional film *City of Life and Death* (2009) triggered an outburst of Zhao Zhengang’s traumatic memory. This fictional film creates visualized massacre scenes to make the viewers feel as if they were the victims bearing witness to the atrocities of the Japanese Army in the ruined scenes of bodies here and there (Figure 4.7). However, the survivor Zhao Zhengang came straight to her conclusion, "It is true, but it is not completely true. It was worse than that." The significance of her words is to draw viewers back from the cinematic spectacle and give them a new sense of the massacre: if the sheer horror of what is shown in the movie is not enough, the massacre must have a unthinkable nature with a grisly power. As a result, the story of Zhao Zhengang alludes to the fact that the audience can not truly understand the pain of the victims because they did not suffer the war violence. To some extent, the truth of what war means to everyone cannot be found theoretically.



Figure 4.7 A shot from the fictional film *City of Life and Death* (2009) showing piles of bodies during the Nanjing Massacre. This image shows that the Japanese military killed Chinese civilians and unarmed soldiers who were concentrated on one site on a massive scale. After the survivor Zhao Zhengang watched this film, she concluded that the film failed to present the cruel degree of the Nanjing Massacre.

Section 3 The recollection of former Japanese soldiers: *Japanese Devils* (2001)

After the Japan–China war (1931—1945), former Japanese soldiers kept silent about their memories of the invasion of China in public until the 1980s. In the 1980s, Japanese academic circles were engaged in a wave of explaining the war history and memory; a few individuals and groups also emerged among the Japanese who actively collected memories of the atrocity from the past and called for remembering history. Ono Kenji, for example, a factory worker who became interested in the subject, spent several years locating diaries and journals among Japanese veterans in the Fukushima area who had participated in the battle of Nanjing (Yang 2000, p.140). Tamaki Matsuoka, the Japanese history teacher, set out to investigate the actuality of the Nanjing Massacre in 1988. She interviewed nearly 300 survivors in China and 250 Japanese veterans and made hundreds of digital records. Later, she wrote a monograph, *Torn Memories of Nanjing* (2005), and a documentary of the same title was made in 2009.

At present, not many documentary films concentrate on presenting Japanese veterans' oral history, though clips of Japanese veterans telling of war experiences often appear in some documentaries as support for related historical facts. The Japanese independent documentary *Japanese Devils* (2001) is one of the few documentaries that focuses on the oral narrative of Japanese veterans, and the attitudes of Japanese veterans to the past that are no less significant than presenting historical facts. Technically, the strategies of presenting details in the film involve observation through the camera's purposeful movement, such as frequent close-ups of narrators' faces and eyes, which is intended to form exceptional communication between the narrators and the audience.

3.1 Oral history of Japanese veterans

In *Japanese Devils* (2001), the oral history of fourteen Japanese veterans more or less spontaneously touches upon how the propaganda and training in Japanese imperialism and militarism absolved a personal sense of morality and shame. Declaring a holy war, Japan launched military operations to expand its territories by invading China. With troop strength ballooning, Japan reached its domestic limits for reinforcements. Many oral accounts reveal that the former soldiers' enlistment started from a variety of personal causes, but finally, experiencing a similar national emotion, they went to war for the Japanese Emperor and the Japanese people. There were endless military pledges such as "our military is under the command of the Emperor, originating with Emperor" that were used to educate new soldiers mentally, as Funyu Taisuke explains, "That is what we had always been told, and what we believed.... we no longer had any regrets about losing our lives." Ebato Tsuyoshi, a graduate of Tokyo Imperial University, admits he never believed the war was a holy war, but he finally reconciled himself to his fate because he resolved to fight "not only for those who had raised me but also for those children who would bear Japan's future...That fighting for them would eventually lead to peace for Japan." Thus, these oral testimonies of Japanese veterans disclose the driving force of participating in the war – they believed they were doing their duty to fight for justice.

Furthermore, their verbal accounts contain past and present complex perceptions of the war. First, the physical and mental trauma they as newcomers initially experienced in military training and killing exercises still deeply rankled with them. Most of them describe in great detail how they were slapped by superior officers, as exemplified by Ebato Tsuyoshi,

"I was slapped back and forth, without reason for having an attitude. But they didn't slap with their hands. They used their regulation slippers. The rubber ones were especially painful. Some were leather. Then there was mutual slapping. They made the newer soldiers face each other in rows... "

(Ebato Tsuyoshi in *Japanese Devils*, 2001).

The obvious result is that the traumatic experiences they suffered finally inspired them to become proficient killers. After training to stab living Chinese, Kaneko Yasuji recalls,

"So what I learned was that in order to kill someone, ... I killed one, then two, and finally, it's a daily competition. ...so how many you've killed becomes a standard of achievement"

(Kaneko Yasuji in *Japanese Devils*, 2001).

Their narratives further confirm the presence of compound images of Japanese soldiers – shifting between peaceful normal people and killing devils – that appeared in documentary films discussed in Chapter 1. Their oral histories involve a process of self-image reconstruction and indicate that they can recognize themselves as both perpetrators and victims in the war. Even though the causes of the complicated situation result from diverse factors such as politics, culture, and psychology, my focus is more on the extent their oral history impacts on the war memory in Japan, and I will further explore this issue in the next chapter.

Second, as the documentary shows, most of the narrators convey their confusion about the war they actively participated in and articulate a disillusionment about the patriotic war. Ritchie (2015) notices the passage of time enables parts of memory to

be reinforced or diminished, and the narrators' memories may take on "a more mature, mellow, or disillusioned cast" (Ritchie 2015, p.18) due to the narrator's condition at the interview. Over time, some former Japanese soldiers attempted to make sense of their memories of the war. For example, Kaneko Yasuji is puzzled that the military is "a strange place" (spoken words of Yasuji). He makes a comparison,

"In Japan, in your country, arson and rape and murder are felonies. Nevertheless, the more crimes you commit in the military, the better your record"

(Kaneko Yasuji in *Japanese Devils*, 2001).

Koyama Ichiro recalls how Chinese labourer were oppressed, just like animals, "That's how heartless they were about human life. I've had to think about that..." These utterances show a course of reflection in which narrators review the war akin to an observer.

Doubt or confusion implies these Japanese former soldiers' tendency to rethink the war; the confession or redefinition of war behaviors constitutes a significant part of their oral narration. In the process of talking about the horrible crimes he committed, Shinozuka Yoshio looks like an observer and commentator split from himself. He states,

"When I was assigned to the unit, cholera and the plague, what we call now, could our bacteria overpower the vaccines and cause infection? That was our mission. We used five Chinese people for this study"

(Shinozuka Yoshio in *Japanese Devils*, 2001).

After one second, he stops and thinks, then corrects a word, " 'used'...is not correct... We murdered them brutally. We were testing the plague." This change to the word "used" implies the two layers of his perception of historical atrocities: first, the word "use" he referred to is a historical fact – the captured Chinese were the tool the Japanese used for their biochemical tests; the second, "murder", manifests a present moral judgment on their past deeds. This substitution of words encapsulates the process of change in the narrator's historical cognition. Another similar instance can be seen in the case of Yuasa Ken, the former 1st Lieutenant Army Medical Corps. As he describes his colleagues and the time he heard the crying of the Chinese target, he uses "terrifying" to evaluate that past moment,

"What is terrifying when I think back now, is that all of us there, the doctors, nurses, and the unit Army doctors assembled there for training, ...everyone was smiling, we were going to cut up living people, and we were all smiling" (Shinozuka Yoshio in *Japanese Devils*, 2001).

Then he comments on the current situation,

"But no one said a word. That was the problem. That's also true of the murder, rape, plunder, and all the terrible things that all the other Japanese soldiers did. Couldn't talk, wouldn't talk. Still, a million people like that are still alive today. Do their consciences torment them? I wonder what they think..." (Shinozuka Yoshio in *Japanese Devils*, 2001).

Grele views oral history interviewing as "a process in the construction of a usable past" (Grele 1985, p.236). This reconstruction of the past contains the structuring of memory and self-reflection. In the documentary, Yuasa Ken recalls his war memory

on the basis of interrogation of human nature that makes his memory take on new significance and impacts; for example, the active moral introspection of these former Japanese soldiers gradually complicates the attitudes of the public, including survivors, toward Japanese perpetrators, I will further discuss this point in Chapter 5.

3.2 Skilled camera techniques

The creator of the *Japanese Devils* (2001) is keen on building a dialogic relationship between the oral narrators and the audience through the camera's sensitive observation and recording. The storyteller's speech and gestures are often revealing a subtle change in emotion or psychology during their storytelling. For example, the former Sergeant Major Enomoto Masayo, sitting at a table motionlessly, seems to immerse himself in the past when he speaks about what he did after he raped a young woman,

"Hadn't had any meat forever. No vegetables in the villages either...So I figured I'd hand this meat out to them. As soon as I thought of it, I killed her. ... it tasted better than pork"

(Enomoto Masayo in *Japanese Devils*, 2001).

A bit of hesitation and awkwardness in his gloomy tone is conveyed by the shot being held slightly longer than usual (Figure 4.8).



Figure 4.8 A shot from the documentary *Japanese Devils* (2001). Enomoto Masayo narrates his experiences of raping, killing, and eating a Chinese woman during the war. His expression and slow voice show he seems to be immersing himself in the memory of eating human flesh.

Suzuki Yoshio recalls that his wife read his published war memory, and she was greatly shocked. He explains,

"Because at that time, nobody back in Japan had a clue that the Imperial Army was killing civilians all over China. They all believed we'd been off fighting a just war. That we'd faced the enemy, been lucky to live and come home, that's all. And she asked me why I had to speak out"

(Suzuki Yoshio in *Japanese Devils*, 2001).

The camera zooms in on the narrator's face suddenly, seemingly with a powerful query, and then the close-up of the eyes exacerbates a sense of oppression and examination of the narrator and his yearning for the answer (Figure 4.9). Benison (1965) stresses that sound in oral history is not only an integral part of environment

but also reflects a speaker's inner characteristics such as intelligence, sensibility, and education; more importantly, the physical voice can also "give a rounded psychological portrait" (Benison 1965, p.76) of an interviewee. The flat and expressionless voice of Enomoto Masayo provides a reasonable interpretation of the absurdity and abomination of aimless doings veteran is not so good at expressing himself, and he is still incapable of explaining the irrationality and inhumanity of his behaviour in the war.



Figure 4.9 A close-up of the interviewee's eyes from the documentary film *Japanese Devils* (2001). Suzuki Yoshio recounts that his wife asked why he was willing to speak out about what he did in the war. The camera focuses on his eyes waiting for his response.

Since the representation of oral history by Japanese veterans is not popular in documentary filmmaking, *Japanese Devils* (2001) is of extraordinary value in contributing the voices of Japanese perpetrators to the public, supplementing historical facts and providing a gateway to rethinking the war.

Section 4 Testimonies from western rescuers

During the darkest time in Nanjing, approximately twenty Europeans and Americans

who had refused to evacuate Nanjing organized the Safety Zone to protect refugees. More than 250,000 citizens were sheltered against the terrible assaults by Japanese Imperial troops (Brook 1999, p.3; Hu and Zhang 2010, p.2; Hsu 1939, pp.2–3; Jowett 2013, p.248; and Lai 2017, p.84). Many committee members wrote down what they saw and heard during the bloody event in letters, diaries, and reports. These firsthand documents bearing witness have proved to be significant historical evidence, and they help "make possible the memory of the atrocities in detail" (Brook 1999, p.11); moreover, these materials work as a more neutral and objective third-party on the Nanjing Massacre compared that of either the survivors or the perpetrators.

4.1 The re-enactment of *Nanking* (2007)

In that past locked-down and hellish city, the Safety Zone no doubt meant the only hope of survival for citizens, and it has now become an icon of humanity's fight against brutality in historical memory. Stories of the Safety Zone and these Western humanitarian rescuers have become indispensable parts of both Nanjing Massacre documentaries and fiction films. For example, the HBO documentary *Nanking* (also named *Nanking Massacre* 2007) is a historical documentary film directed by Bill Guttentag and Dan Sturman; it gathers the original family letters and diaries of the Western humanitarians who witnessed the Nanjing Massacre, as well as oral testimonies of 12 Chinese survivors and 8 Japanese veterans; it also uses archival materials such as original documents, photos, and short-films as supportive elements. As the director Bill Guttentag states in an interview in "Chang Zhiqiang: Carved Memory", the film's subject matter shows "the worst side of humanity and the best side of the humanity. You can find some hope in the dark".

Like historical animation, re-enactment is another reproduction technique commonly seen in historical filmmaking. Nichols considers this cinematic method a “corporeal incarnation” (Nichols 1994, p.4) of speech and action, and it achieves “the continuation of the past in the present” (Nichols 1994, p.4). Rather than using animation to reconstruct historical scenes as discussed previously, *Nanking* (2007) deploys performers to speak out the actual words of these rescuers from history without re-enacting any historical actions and scenes.

Raack (1973) argues that film evokes the past so well through technical means that it is better at representing history than written history. Adapted from some war diaries and family letters, *Nanking* (2007) consists of oral testimonies and re-enactments of employed movie stars who play eight authentic historical witnesses (among them John Magee, Lewis Smythe, George Fitch, Minnie Vautin, Mills McCallum, John Rabe, Miner Searle Bates, and Bob Wilson) of the Safety Zone Committee, complemented with segments of archive films. Although, as Michael Frisch (2008) notes, the shift from the written word to authoring in sound might lose much in translation, the cast in *Nanking* (2007) enhances the vividness of communication and to some extent gives life to the written word through body language, mood, and sound. The eight professional performers immerse themselves in the historical world across time and space to engage with viewers, although they are only responsible for imitating the historical figures to produce an oral narrative. In an interview, Bill Guttentag declares that he exhibits “the idea of a combination of survivors, Japanese soldiers, and actors to tell the story using real words.” In practice, oral narratives from different points of view build up a historical memory net to present what happened in 1937 in Nanjing. In addition to some survivors and former Japanese soldiers providing their accounts in front of the camera, some excerpts from authentic letters and diaries of former Western rescuers are read to the audience by role-players.

4.2 The historical authenticity of *Nanking* (2007)

As its director Bill Guttentag describes, the fundamental aim of making this documentary is to reproduce an authentic historical event. His choice of a re-enactment not only reduces the facts but also enhances his presentation of personal recordings from the featured Western humanitarians. The director describes his concept as follows,

"we wanted to create the film that would be completely defensible, part of issues around Nanjing Massacre that the people who denied or diminished it. They say, it didn't happen instead that Chinese say it happen and will attack the film. We want our film that you couldn't really attack for facts. Everything was accurate and provable, we were considering getting it right"

(Bill Guttentag in *1937: Memory of Nanjing*, 2014).

Though it invites the participation of performers, *Nanking* (2007) rarely takes liberties with historical accuracy but remains consistent with the original materials in actors' oral narration. For example, Mariel Hadley Hemingway enacts (Figure 4.10) the former American missionary Minnie Vautrin who served as acting president of Ginling College and turned the place into a refugee camp, and orally narrates what happened in the first person to the audience based on Vautrin's diaries (1937–1940). Moreover, utilizing subtitle prompts to indicate the progression of events, this film produces dense narratives from diverse points of view, and each scene unfolds cross-referentially. The oral storytelling of Western witnesses as a central narrative is interlarded with other speakers' (Chinese survivors, Japanese veterans) accounts articulating what they saw, heard, and felt. Consequently, everyone in the film

"presents themselves to us as themselves in stories" (Nichols 2010, p.14); the actors and their re-enactments in *Nanking* (2007) merge with historical people, and their ideas and circumstances are presented in a close connection with history.



Figure 4.10 A shot from *Nanking* (2007). In this documentary film, the Hollywood actress Mariel Hadley Hemingway enacts the American missionary, Minnie Vautrin, and emotionally narrates what Minnie Vautrin recorded in her diaries.

To guarantee that everything in the film is “accurate and provable” as the director claims, the core framework tactic concentrates on proving historical facts and clearing up controversies surrounding the Nanjing Massacre. For instance, the film presents some historical photos in which Japanese soldiers are handing out candies or cigarettes to groups of Chinese. Lewis Smythe (acted by Stephen Dorff), a sociology professor at the University of Nanking, recorded what he saw and commented in his diary,

"We've better understood Japanese propaganda. Amid great suffering, Japanese newsmen went around staging pictures of Japanese soldiers giving candy to the children or Army doctors examining children"

(Lewis Smythe's record read by Stephen Dorff in *Nanking*, 2007).

The American Missionary Mills McCallum (acted by Chris Mulkey) also witnessed this and wrote down,

"Some Japanese newsmen came to the camp and handed out cakes and apples even coins to the refugees, a moving picture was taken of this kind of act. At the same time, a bunch of soldiers climbed the back wall of the camp and raped dozens of women; no pictures were taken at the back."

(records of Mills McCallum read by Chris Mulkey in *Nanking*, 2017).

The two oral narratives are accompanied by corresponding scenes of original moving pictures shot by Japanese newsmen; this way, the truth of the historical scenes is revealed one by one. Therefore, viewers bear witness to the process of proving the truth of history and understand the conclusion that these so-called good deeds of Japanese soldiers in Nanjing were temporary performances for Japanese government propaganda.⁷

4.3 The emotional power of *Nanking* (2007)

The survivor Chang Zhiqiang is one of the oral narrators in *Nanking* (2007); his story shocked all members of the crew of this documentary (I have discussed Chang's family tragedy in the Nanjing Massacre in Chapter 3). The director Bill Guttentag recalls it in an interview,

⁷ Some literature on "Japanese government propaganda during the occupation of Nanjing" can be found in the written records of the American missionary Mills McCallum, Lewis Smythe, and recalls of the photographer and editor of the Japanese documentary film *Nanking* (1938) (see my discussion in chapter 2 for details).

"We all touched by this. It was very, very powerful. My job was to maintain this power throughout the film's editing process"

(Bill Guttentag in *1937: Memory of Nanjing*, 2014).

The term powerful emotion with respect to this film embraces two meanings: one is the passion of the storytellers; the other comes from the stories of suffering. These historical recordings of rescuers embody the force of personality, which actors with empathy expression. The American missionary Minnie Vautrin's diaries, read by actress Mariel Hadley Hemingway, articulates her hopelessness during the war. The emotional voice of Hemingway bridges the gap, conveying a strong sense of the deep connection with the original image, herself, and the audience to whom she is speaking.

Alexander believes narrators who become "traumatized by an experience or an event" (Alexander 2003, p.94) can persuade a broad audience. Even though in 1940, Minnie Vautrin suffered a nervous breakdown and returned home to the United States, she repeatedly told her friends how much she missed China, "do you think I ought to prepare to return to China? China is my home, and not going back does not seem right" (Hu 2000, p.146). A year to the day after leaving Nanking, she committed suicide. Vautrin and her heroic story are highly respected and appreciated by Chinese survivors, and they name her "Goddess of Mercy"; the survivor Wu Zhengxi, for example, gives his gratitude that Miss Vautrin was just like a Goddess of Mercy in China. This section of the film reinforces the theme of love, goodness, and hope by presenting rescuers' actions that deserve the love and respect of the Chinese.

Nanking (2007) is so far the only documentary film focusing on the rescuers'

recorded testimonies of the Nanjing Massacre, and it centres on integrating the three parties' oral history in the film. The use of re-enactments in this film is another way to bring the past alive and to make it closer to a modern audience to stimulate more interest in viewing history. It is more important that in terms of the filmmaking process, the historical recordings from these Western humanitarians are collated and reproduced from the vast store of historical materials and disseminated through the mass media; as a result, more people are able to know about an in-depth knowledge of the tragedies from more layers of historical facts.

Conclusion:

The oral history of the Nanjing Massacre has gradually become the main content of some documentaries, and it is therefore necessary to classify them into a new mode: the Nanjing Massacre oral history documentary. This classification helps in exploring the oral history presented by documentaries and further discussing its role in shaping the collective memory. I elaborate on the oral history of the Nanjing Massacre represented in documentaries from three parties: Chinese survivors, Japanese former soldiers, and Western rescuers. The first basic point is to clarify the limitations and authenticity of oral history presented by filmmakers. The first-person narrative locates the oral history within a limited narration; in addition to the detailed and precise narration of witnesses, the filmmakers make efforts to present a sense of historical authenticity through creatively presenting history, such as by cross-checking evidence and adopting an oral history-centred narrative structure.

The tripartite oral histories in the Nanjing Massacre documentaries constitute the main points of this chapter, including the traumatic memory of survivors, rethinking the war violence of Japanese veterans, and re-enacting the narratives of Western

helpers. The analysis of oral histories concerns both the historical information they provide about the past, as well as the narrators' attitude and psychology towards the events.

Rather than relying heavily on voice-over narrators, rendered music, and comments of experts, oral history documentaries adopt various narrative strategies to reconstruct the historical events, such as modest re-enactment and a biographical structure to support the oral accounts. For instance, in the documentary series *Survivors: Witness to Nanjing in 1937* (2016-2017), an animation section builds upon the past and renders the oral accounts dynamic, creating a particular communication and emotional transformation with the oral narrative. The use of the biographical structure allows for the presentation of the narrators' life course and adequately presents their critical life stages and psychological changes; in this way, viewers can gain more information from the protagonists.

The values and function of Nanjing Massacre oral history documentaries are located not only in revealing the nature of the atrocities or conveying firsthand historical materials but also in concerning a collective response to the past. In terms of how these oral histories shape the collective memory of the Nanjing Massacre, this will be the main point of the next chapter.

Chapter 5 The Oral History of Nanjing Massacre Documentaries: From Individual Memory to Collective Memory

Introduction

Individual memory of the Nanjing Massacre refers to the historical remembrances of those who experienced or witnessed the Nanjing Massacre, and it manifests as witnesses' oral history or testimonies, and written records as well. In the 1990s, the rise of oral history led to a wealth of survivors' accounts, and encouraged more people to become involved in the inheritance of historical memory; a number of personal letters and diaries of Western witnesses were discovered and published; and a minority of Japanese citizens and organizations actively participated in seeking and revealing the truth of the war atrocities by collecting and collating Japanese veterans' diaries and oral testimonies.

Winter (2006) views the collective memory as the process through which different collectives, from two to groups in their thousands, engage themselves in "acts of remembrance together" (Winter 2006, p.4). His point on the collective memory not only clarifies the range of the collective but also highlights the collective actions of remembering. I agree with and adopt Winter's view on the dynamic development of collective memory. In the process of individual memory being recalled and communicated widely, documentary filmmaking plays a crucial role in keeping these historical remembrances alive to serve the construction of collective memory. In this respect, considering many oral histories and personal letters and diaries employed by the other two documentary modes, especially expository documentaries, the scope of discussion is expanded naturally, which can be conducive to the explore the impact of oral history on the construction of collective memory as a whole.

Within this spectrum, this chapter probes into the transfer of the individual memory to collective memory from two perspectives, one of which is the propagation path of individual memory. Through the presentation of documentaries, when individual accounts gain a consensual understanding from their family and the public, they affect the formation of historical memory more broadly; to some extent, in the process of the dissemination of memory along the route of individual memory, family memory/group memory, and collective (or national) memory, the three layers are closely related but distinguishable. I will focus on the manifestation and characteristics of this inherited historical memory in family, communities, and the way spreading to society through the Nanjing Massacre documentaries.

The second angle concerns the techniques used by documentary filmmakers that aim to intensify the expression of individual memory and stimulate the transmissibility of oral accounts. For example, the typical narration applied by many documentaries, including Xia Shuqin's oral accounts, Chang Zhiqiang's recollection, and Suzuki Yoshio's oral testimonies, makes their accounts more memorable and easily shared. Moreover, it is worth noticing that the documentary production as a whole forms a convergence of shared historical experiences from specific groups such as survivors, perpetrators, and rescuers who consist of the original and minimal group memory of the Nanjing Massacre – the central foundation of the event's collective memory.

Section 1 The historical context of individual memory and oral history presented by the Nanjing Massacre documentaries

Eyerman (2004) indicates that if a specific group memory originates from a traumatic

event, it may take one or more generations for this memory to spread from the group to the public, or it might never be achieved. The transformation of individual memories of war atrocities into spoken history has experienced a long and complicated path both in China and Japan. Overall, there have been two periods: hidden personal memories and open oral history. There is a sense in which individual memories and the domestic political discourse determined by the international situation are closely connected, and this connection represents an external influence on the expression of individual memory; the other internal reason, for survivors, lies in the traumatic shadow of the mass killings that impacts survivors' later lives, and for many Japanese perpetrators, they were unwilling to recall the past in public. Given that the core point of this chapter is a focus on the oral history presented by documentaries, the exploration of individual memory will align with the development of Nanjing Massacre documentaries and the internal dynamics of individual memory.

1.1 Survivors' memories: From personal secrets to oral history

In the 1980s, rampant denials of the Nanjing Massacre in Japan deeply hurt and irritated survivors, generating an urgency around communication of the this event to more people. In 1984, promoted by the Nanjing municipal government, an organized and large-scale census of survivors and witnesses of the Nanjing Massacre was conducted for the first time. Within a few months, 1,756 survivors, witnesses, and victims were identified. In documentary production, oral history is indispensable historical material, and as more individual survivors recounted their memories in front of the camera, this number of material grew. Some of the survivors, such as Xia Shuqin, Li Xiuying, and Jiang Genfu, were active participants in oral history events and became pioneers in recounting their traumatic memories on screen. For example, Xia Shuqin and her testimony emerged as a representative of survivors in the early

documentaries like *The Nanjing Massacre by Japanese Invaders* (1984).

However, although the number of survivors recalling their memories in documentaries grew by degrees, no large-scale oral history and no new oral narrators appeared in documentaries until the advent of the eight-episode television documentary *Witness to History* in 1995. The main feature of this documentary is expository narrative, as analyzed at length in Chapter 2. Moreover, it dramatically contributed to mining and presenting more individual memories. During pre-production, its filmmaking team interviewed more than one hundred people with various identities. For instance, the interviewees on screen include survivors, judges, prosecutors, interpreters, trial witnesses, and Japanese veterans as well as leading academic experts and researchers of the Nanjing Massacre.

To some extent, the fact that the offspring of some survivors disclosed their parents' refusal to share their memories can manifest the struggles of survivors with their memories. The two main reasons are a sense of shame, especially for surviving female victims, and trauma (Chapter 4 details female survivors' situations). Link notes that survivors can "feel guilt or shame" (Link 2002, p.XV) after suffering a terrible event, so they need time to resolve the pain before recalling that dark time. For some survivors, the time required to surmount pain spanned several decades, and the memory of witnessing mass killings was a private secret for many years. In the documentary *1937: Memory of Nanjing*, Chang Zhiqiang's daughter Chang Xiaomei says, "When we were young, my father never told us about his past to us." Their family history was always kept secret from the children; Chang Zhiqiang did not talk about his seven relatives killed in the slaughter until 1997. A similar story of individual memories being kept secret applies to survivors such as Chen Deshou,

Zhang Xiuhong, and Li Daokui. Actually, quite a few survivors, according to investigators who carried out the collection of Nanjing Massacre survivors' oral histories, suffered severe psychological trauma, so they "do not want to touch scars again" (Liu, 2009, p.8); some people even felt "powerless, or denied it" (Liu, 2009, p.8). Gradually, through a combination of factors and efforts, such as the support of government and family and a sense of personal responsibility, some survivors ultimately overcame the barriers and devoted themselves to oral history activities.

1.2 Japanese veteran's memory: From war diaries to oral history

The Japanese perpetrators' memory of the war atrocities mainly occurs in personal war diaries. There was a discipline and format for writing wartime diaries for Japanese soldiers during the war, which was "derived from official military record-keeping practices" (2011, p.401). Moore refers to these war memories as "memory writing" (2011, p.402); and he analyzes the reasons why Japanese veterans choose to publish their diaries and memoirs, most of Japanese former soldiers came towards the end of their lives in the 1980s, and some of them rethink their war violence—the "personal motivation" (2011, p.424) impel them to speak out. Buchholz (2014) calls them self-narratives of Japanese servicemen and divides the self-narratives into two types: the vast majority of the war memories were narrated from the angle of a "victim" (Buchholz 2014, p.219); a small percentage of war memories were written from "the perspective of the perpetrator" (Buchholz 2014, p.219). Some of the war memories based on the soldiers' diaries created a significant stir on publication after the war in Japan, and these war diaries entail a unique way of conducting oral history. For example, the Japanese television documentary *Nanjing Incident* (2015) analysed in Chapter 2 at length uses excerpted sections of veterans' diaries as testimonies read by a voice-over narrator. Moreover, some individuals and groups emerged among the Japanese who actively collected and

sorted out war memories from former soldiers and called for remembering history. For instance, the Japanese history teacher Tamaki Matsuoka (Figure 5.1) interviewed over 250 Japanese veterans starting in 1997; later, she wrote a monograph, *Torn Memories of Nanjing* (2005), and a documentary of the same title was made in 2009.



Figure 5.1 A shot from the documentary *1937: Memory of Nanjing* (2014). Tamaki Matsuoka, who was a history teacher, is interviewing Japanese veteran Yoshiji Matsumura. Aiming to seek the historical truth of the Nanjing Massacre, she visited over 250 Japanese veterans and collected oral testimonies from over 300 Chinese survivors.

According to Moore's studies (2011), some Japanese veterans used self-published war memories to communicate with others, like family members and the local community. It is not uncommon for some Japanese veterans and their oral history to appear in Nanjing Massacre documentaries; in particular, the five-episode *The Confession Memorandum of Japanese War Criminals* (2015) reviews the re-education process of around 1000 Japanese criminals in Fushun War Criminal Management Centre through interviews with related people, including some Japanese veterans. However, few documentaries centre on presenting the oral history of Japanese veterans in Japan; the Japanese independent documentary *Japanese Devils* (2001) is the all-important representative work, and the oral narratives of Japanese veterans who proactively express confession and reflection in this film represent a tiny

minority of former Japanese soldiers, but the frank accounts of this minority provide a version of historical facts from the view of war criminals.

Moreover, the 14 Japanese veteran narrators in *Japanese Devils* (2001) belong to the China Returnees Liaison Association (abbreviated as CRLA) (Figure 5.2). Here, it is necessary to explain more about the members of CRLA. The aforementioned documentary *The Confession Memorandum of Japanese War Criminals* (2015) introduces the background of its membership. This organization consisted of a group of Japanese war criminals who were tried in China and went back to Japan; the organization was set up by these released returnees in September 1957, and aimed to, as one of the members, Sabato Tsuyoshi declares, "oppose the war of aggression and contribute to peace and friendship between Japan and China" (excerpt from the documentary *The Confession Memorandum of Japanese War Criminals*, 2015). Following the former prime minister Chou Enlai's comments that "even war criminals are human" and "respect their humanity" (Dower 2000; Yoshida 2006), these war criminals all received humane treatment. The positive and profound result of this re-education was to propel these Japanese veterans into becoming "diehard antiwar activists and advocates of establishing diplomatic relations with the PRC" (Yoshida 2006, p.68). In postwar Japan until now, the memory of the Nanjing Massacre has been muted by the majority of Japanese; and some conservatives and right-wingers have dealt with the war memory in selective ways such as distorting or concealing; in this situation, the oral history of anti-war activists has become valuable in articulating the war memory, although the voices of the group are not dominant in Japan.



Figure 5.2 A shot from the documentary *The Confession Memorandum of Japanese War Criminals* (2015) shows the members of the China Returnees Liaison Association. These men were Japanese soldiers who participated in the invasion of China, and postwar were re-educated and tried in China as war criminals (1950–1956). After they were released and returned home to Japan, they devoted themselves to antiwar activities.

Section 2 Exemplary establishment of individual memory in documentaries

In the book *A History of Pain Trauma in Modern Chinese Literature and Film*, after raising the question of why some Chinese-made Nanjing Massacre documentaries repeatedly only use the same handful of oral stories and the same survivor figures as well as the “corporeal display of atrocity” (Berry 2011, p.114), the author Berry argues that the reason is the use of “flawed strategies” (Berry 2011, p.114). He indicates that this strategy might render the individual oral narratives into a stereotype – that survivors are prone to indulging in telling their own sad stories – and this stereotype risks compromising the arguments of oral narrators. He notices this phenomenon acutely in some Nanjing Massacre documentaries, then implies its potential to destroy the credibility and objectivity of documentaries.

Nichols argues that repetition in programmes can infuse the personality of hosts and interviewers with an iconic status in the television programme (1991, p.54). Similarly, the repetitive presentation of the narrators and their information in films is invested with particular functions. Contrary to Berry's adverse inference on this issue, I would contend that there is a specific positive purpose in "repeatedly featuring the same handful of photogenic survivors" (Berry 2011, p.114) and view repeatedly featuring these figures and their oral accounts in documentaries as establishing an exemplary narration. In this regard, I am further focusing on elements of oral narrative such as the "repeated narrative" of narrators or "display of physical scars" by some survivors, which have a significant impact on the reconstruction of historical cognition and collective memory.

Kilborn views the issue of typicality as "the heart of documentarists' attempts" (Kilborn 1997, p.211) to present significant accounts of the world. He thinks that the crucial function of typicality is closely related to whether it stimulates the audience to "draw a general conclusion from a limited number of examples" (Kilborn 1997, p.211) chosen by filmmakers. Nanjing Massacre documentaries present typical oral narrators including survivors and perpetrators who tell their own particular experiences and represent the universal features of the community memory. For example, the survivors of the Nanjing Massacre Xia Shuqin and Li Xiuying have played a consistently significant part in providing historical testimonies, and they have been among the most typically featured cases in documentaries. According to Alexander and Dromi, traumatic narrative, especially about war trauma, is "not just individual but social and collective" (Alexander and Dromi 2011, p.108); trauma is transmissible from survivors to others or a broader collective. The process of typification helps to engender the public's gradual cognition of historical trauma. These representatives with their spoken accounts provide the public with personal sufferings and feelings

and reveal the horrible situation of the citizens gripped by ubiquitous brutality during the Nanjing Massacre.

2.1 Typical narration: Stable texts of individual memory

Naomi White argues that the natural link between “the capacity to memorize and the desire to listen” (White 1998, p.181) urges the survivors and listeners together to structure and give meanings to the past and the current during the storytelling. In this point, the way of involving the listeners into the story is the quiet crucial element to maintain and strengthen the link of telling and listening. In practice, the clarity and stability of oral narrations have formed, as presented in the Nanjing Massacre documentaries. These oral narrators differ from those who enjoy creating verbal tricks, such as knowledgeable people or professional speakers; they have their own idiomatic utterances. Although tiny differences in wording occur in their retold stories when they are interviewed in different documentaries, the unique personal experiences and habits of expression of each narrator produce an individual text or version that always corresponds to the same referent, that is, what happened to him or her during the Nanjing Massacre. Additionally, to ensure the reliability and stringency of their oral history, some survivors (as Berry mentions, most notably Xia Shuqin, Li Xiuying, and Tang Shunshan) actively show historical evidence such as historical recordings, wounds, or scars to support their oral storytelling (Figure 5.3).



Figure 5.3 A shot from *1937: Memory of Nanjing* (2014). In an interview, the survivor Xia Shuqin shows scars from a stab wound inflicted by a Japanese soldier during the Nanjing Massacre. Scars comprise a crucial part of some survivors' oral accounts.

In addition to informing audiences of historical facts, the value of exemplary oral narratives is the explicit and long-term aim to build a profound link with universal pursuits – for example, the appeal for peace and against war. For example, the documentary *The Accounts of Survivors: Bloody 1937* (2017) contains 80 micro-episodes of 100 survivors' oral histories, in which peace is a key word mentioned over and over again, such as in “wish the world should be peaceful forever!” (Tao Chengyi), “we remember the past in order to look forward to the future peace” (Ge Daorong), and “we must tell this history to our descendants for peace” (Fang Suxia). Similarly, typical oral testimonies of some Japanese veterans are vital to awakening Japan's reacquaintance with its war history. For example, the members of the China Returnees Liaison Association actively take responsibility for revealing what happened during the Sino-Japanese war by frequently sharing their experiences and thoughts with the public.

2.2 Typified storytellers

The typical figure is a salient feature in the Nanjing Massacre oral history documentaries. Specifically speaking, first, typified narrators are a handful of representatives of the vast group that experienced war atrocities; second, these personal stories condense the various catastrophes that happened in the Nanjing Massacre. On the long list of oral narrators and their stories, individuals such as Xia Shuqin, Chang Zhiqiang, Li Xiuying, Zhang Xiuhong, Ni Cuiping, the Japanese veterans Kaneko Yasuji, Shinozuka Yoshio, Yuasa Ken, Ebato Tsuyoshi, and a few offspring of Western rescuers such as David Magee, have become narrative stars. In this grim picture of history, each party signifies the details of the historical events.

It is important to note that including some typified narrators does not mean erasing the uniqueness of individual memory or overlooking diverse witnesses. Especially, the condition of Japanese veterans is very complicated; for example, although the oral narratives of the China Returnees Liaison Association members are repeatedly used in documentaries such as those of Shinozuka Yoshio, Ebato Tsuyoshi, Kaneko Yasuji, Enomoto Masayo, and Yuasa Ken, and they are frequently viewed as the representatives of Japanese veterans, in fact, these members can not speak on behalf of all Japanese veterans. Tamaki Matsuoka told a reporter for China News Service in an interview in August of 2016 that “the number of those who were willing to repent what they did is less than 2 per cent of the 250”, which means only three or four veterans expressing their confession in her interview.

In recent decades in China, with the dwindling number of survivors, the rescue of historical memories has been carried out in many ways, and new oral history

documentaries have emerged. For example, *The Accounts of Survivors: Bloody 1937* (2017) contains verbal accounts of 100 survivors, aiming to collect and retain historical memory from individuals and groups to the full extent. When more and more individual memories are presented, the Nanjing Massacre is no longer an abstract historical term but an ensemble of each empirical trauma.

2.3 The significance of oral history typicality used by documentaries

Halbwachs believes that the support of others' memory can increase confidence in the accuracy of people's memory (Halbwachs 1980, p.22). The advantage of typicality or exemplars as a much-used technique in documentaries is providing audiences with reference cases of remembering and thinking about history. For instance, the Chinese-American writer Iris Chang (whose grandparents survived the Nanjing Massacre) visited China to collect historical materials on the war atrocities in 1997. She realized that the brutality of this dark history was much worse than the sufferings in her family's memory after interviewing some survivors in China; more importantly, in her view, this historical atrocity was nearly forgotten by the world, which partly explains the name of her book *The Rape of Nanking: The Forgotten Holocaust of World War II*.

Another example provides a unique explanation of the importance of narrator typicality. The Japanese right-wing Tonakano Shudo claimed the survivor Xia Shuqin was fake, as discussed in the last chapter; very similarly, Li Xiuying was called a fake witness by the right-winger Toshio Matsumura as well. Li's lawyer Liu Huiming explains why Japanese far-right forces strongly attack these narrators,

“...because they are typical figures. If Japanese right-wingers slandered them

successfully, the basic historical facts of the Nanjing Massacre would be destroyed”

(Liu Huiming in *Witness: Lixiuying*, 2005).

This reasoning emphasizes the power of oral history and its owners in preserving historical remembrance and fighting back the denials of history. Earlier, the darkest historical memories of war atrocities were stored as inanimate information in diaries, letters, or pictures; however, later face-to-face oral history made historical facts come alive through the moral sense, sensitivity, and emotion of narrators. For example, the documentary *Iris Chang: The Rape of Nanking* (2007) retraces the process of Iris’ change in sentiment and thoughts as a result of her listening to the oral history of the Nanjing Massacre. Iris Chang described her feelings after conducting interviews with some survivors, saying, “When I close my eyes, I can almost hear their screams.” Chang’s collaborator in the interview also reveals the impression on that interview,

“Her (Iris Chang) feelings became very heavy and sombre. Every time we interviewed them (survivors), they (survivors) suffered again, and we listeners were saddened too”

(Duan Yueping in *Iris Chang: The Rape of Nanking*, 2007).

This emotional resonance was experienced by interviewers and interviewees; however, Duan Yueping stressed the feelings of a being listener instead of a historical researcher, which embodies the empathetic connection between oral narrators and the audience.

As for how documentaries deal with a topic out of the range of reality, Corner (1995) stresses that the selection typical of more general circumstances is a helpful strategy of representation and visualization. In the Nanjing Massacre documentaries, the

process of turning narrators into agents of the past is achieved by the repetitive tactic of establishing narrative representatives, which helps the audience construct a general impression of the historical event. For instance, Tang Shunshan recalls what he witnessed during the slaughter,

“Some children could not walk. The Japanese soldiers killed them with bayonets. The Japanese soldiers also bayoneted older people who couldn't walk anymore. The streets were smeared with blood as if it had been raining blood”
(Tang Shunshan in *Iris Chang: The Rape of Nanking*, 2007).

This narrative indicates that the whole city suffered horrible atrocities rather than just some people being killed. In a way, these oral testimonies constitute the inhumanity and irrationality of war in a microcosm. In the narrative framework of typicality, the particular narrators' oral accounts as definitive versions comprise the resources of collective memory at present and even in the future.

Section 3 Individual memory as the heritage of family memory

On the map of memory dissemination, the family is a unique and essential unit that inherits and propagates this historical memory, and the intergenerational transmission of family memory has its exclusive strengths in spreading the historical remembrance; for example, it carries on and possesses the authority of the original oral testimonies, and moreover, the unique family bond has a prime position in comprehending and reading the emotional factors of individual memory.

3.1 The motivation of individual memory transferring within family memory

In a family, the communication of memory between the war generation and the

younger generation is frequently composed of not just individual experiences but also individuals' heartfelt thoughts about the war, such as hate or peaceful aspiration (survivors), confession or impenitence (Japanese veterans), and national trauma (overseas Chinese). For the offspring, to assume the burden of delivering the historical information means to process the heritage by evaluating and choosing – not merely repeating what ancestors told them. For instance, the documentaries *Witness: Li Xiuying* (2005), *Iris Chang: The Rape of Nanking* (2007), and *The Confession Memorandum of Japanese War Criminals* (2015) demonstrate how a parent's or grandparent's war memories have a profound effect on a family's young generations.

3.1.1 Family trauma as heritage

Eyerman calls the past a “stepping-stone” (2004, p.94), and explains that the past as heritage is still helpful in the present and something which will be highlighted or revised to anticipate the future. This “stepping-stone” view at least displays the continuity of the historical memory and adjustability of understanding history, which is applicable to explore the subtle shift of survivors' mentality, for example, the hatred of Japanese imperialism and personal mixed emotions towards contemporary Japanese.

Li Xiuying was six months pregnant when she was stabbed over 30 times (according to Dr Robert, there were 37 wounds) by Japanese soldiers during the Nanjing Massacre. Documentary *Witness: Li Xiuying* (2005) shows a section of an interview with Li Xiuying in 2001 where she said, “I hate Japanese, they kill my baby in my belly.” Liu Huiming, Li's lawyer, said,

“After making several speeches and communicating with some average persons in Japan, she told me that she should distinguish the Japanese militarists from current Japanese ordinary people”

(Liu Huiming in *Witness: Li Xiuying*, 2005).

Li Xiuying’s attitude influenced her children, and her son expressed similar thoughts that the hatred of Japanese imperialism should be remembered and justice must be done. At some point, reconciliation can happen to personal traumatic memory with the present and future rather than with the past, it means that the old generation who suffered in the past can transcend their experiences to conform to current trends and look forward to the future on the basis of firmly remembering the history, which is more likely to be identified with the family’s new generation who never had similar experiences.

Oral history documentaries suggest many survivors anchor expectations on the trans-generational succession of family memory and view spreading history as a sacred mission and responsibility. Family support partly brings more confidence and hope for these historical communicators and their oral recounts. For instance, in *Witness: Li Xiuying*, (2005) a Japanese reporter asked Li Xiuying if she was worried that she could not go on her storytelling one day, Li Xiuying responded, “It does not matter, I have offspring.” In “Su Guobao: The Last Storyteller” (the third episode of the documentary *Survivors: Witness to Nanjing 1937*, (2016-2017)), Su Guobao says, “If we survivors do not preserve the past with our writings, there might be no living historical materials about the Nanjing Massacre after years.” It took nine years for Su Guobao to write his memoir, as his son concludes, “This is the last memory for us left by my father.” Documentaries show that these survivors, such as Xia Shuqin, Zhang Xiuhong, Zhao Zhenhua, Li Xiuying, Chang Zhiqiang, and Su Guobao, created their

new extended families and took on their new social roles after the war (Figure 5.4), which implies the continuity of oral histories as family heritage.



Figure 5.4 A shot is from the fourth part “Chang Zhiqiang: Carved Memory” of *Survivors: Witness to Nanjing 1937* (2016-2017), showing four generations of the family of Chang Zhiqiang. This picture implies the two roles of family support: healing the historical trauma and extending individual memory.

3.1.2 The war memory in Japanese veterans’ families

In *Japan Contested War Memories: The Memory Rifts in Historical Consciousness of World War II*, the author Philip A. Seaton illustrates the three situations that family members experience in the course of inheriting their fathers or grandfathers’ war memories: (1) working through the pain of acknowledging the relatives’ war crimes by tracing his war actions and fulfilling his penitent will; (2) silence, denial or maximizing the morality of their relatives’ war actions and thereby minimizing the issues of guilt; (3) some descendants of executed war criminals viewing themselves as victims of social stigma for their relatives’ war crimes (Seaton 2007, pp.388–390). The first situation is well illustrated by the documentary *Japanese Devils* (2001), in which for example, the Japanese veteran Shikada Masao expresses his will,

“I am 80 years old now... With as many details as possible, I will bear witness to the younger generation ...This is what happened. I must find a way to tell the young generations that we must never repeat such transgressions”
(Shikada Masao in *Japanese Devils*, 2001).

A similar feeling of penitence was experienced by a tiny minority of Japanese old soldiers, as Tamaki Matsuoka concluded after interviewing 250 Japanese veterans. Matsuoka Tamaki shows that many relatives of the veterans knew nothing of the bad things their seniors in the military did because these veterans never told their families about the atrocities they committed during the war (Ying 2016). However, this minority of Japanese veterans has played a proactive role in diffusing individual war experiences and soul-searching to stimulate their descendants to inherit the business of transmitting historical facts.

Mitsuharu Yazaki, the son of Japanese war criminal Shinobu Yazaki, as presented by the documentary *The Confession Memorandum of Japanese War Criminals* (2015), recalls how his father became involved in antiwar demonstrations and publicity after re-education in China and returning to Japan. His father persisted in taking him (when he was in his teens) to attend antiwar activities organized by the China Returnees Liaison Association for nearly ten years. Now Mitsuharu Yazaki works as a member of the Japan-China Friendship Association, and he explains that

“for me, this is to fulfil my father’s will, as he emphasized that we can’t return to war again and the good relationship must be kept and put forward between Japan and China”

(Mitsuharu Yazaki, in *The Confession Memorandum of Japanese War Criminals*, 2015).

Ito Hideko's father, Tetsuichi Uetsubo, spoke of a similar will to his offspring:

"My father always spoke of that aggressive war destroyed Chinese people, and he felt very sorry about what he committed in the war,"

(Tetsuichi Uetsubo, in *The Confession Memorandum of Japanese War Criminals*, 2015).

And Ito Hideko responds, "my father urged us to stand firm against war and strive to service for the friendship of Japan and China. All seem to have become our family instructions"

(Ito Hideko, in *The Confession Memorandum of Japanese War Criminals*, 2015).

New family generations encounter two or more diverse or contradictory narrative versions of war history in Japan, respectively, provided by war witnesses and history textbooks. Some oral narratives or writings of the war generation have functioned as definitive texts in their family education, while the source of historical knowledge provided by school blurs wartime history (Dower 2000; Erna 2001; Orr 2001). According to Mitsuharu Yazaki,

"Children at school will be told about the pain Japan suffered as victims, such as atomic bombings, air raids, but nothing about what Japan committed to China"

(Mitsuharu Yazaki, in *The Confession Memorandum of Japanese War Criminals*, 2015).

Therefore, for descendants of these Japanese veterans, such as Ito Hideko and Mitsuharu Yazaki, disseminating their elder generation's memory is closely associated with re-recognizing the past and coping with the present. The documentary *The*

Confession Memorandum of Japanese War Criminals (2015) shows that Mitsuharu Yazaki, Keitam, and Shiko Fujiwara have gone through the journey of discovery and inheritance of their family war legacies. They make no secret of admitting their shock when they learned of the detailed atrocities their elder were involved in during the war.

For example, when Mitsuharu Yazaki was 20 years old, he heard his father recount his war experiences for the first time at an exhibition: “I got to know the different side of my father...I was shocked and learned a lot.” The high school student Keitam was shocked after learning what his great-grandfather did in China, for his beloved relative did such unconscionable things. However, from the information in these documentaries, the shock did not result in a collapse of family belief but motivated the younger generation to seek the truth of history. To know more, family members collected historical facts through collating belongings, interviews, and individual creations, such as, Mitsuharu Yazaki interviewed his father and gathered information about his war experiences (Figure 5.5); Keitam was intrigued by his great-grandfather’s story and published three articles on his relative.



Figure 5.5 A shot from the documentary *The Confession Memorandum of Japanese War Criminals* (2015). Mitsuharu Yazaki shows the historical materials he collected. Mitsuharu Yazaki was the head of the secretariat of the Japan-China Friendship Association and devoted himself to collecting and collating historical materials on the Nanjing Massacre.

3.1.3 Identification with family trauma: The memory of the Nanjing Massacre among overseas Chinese

For those emigrant Chinese survivors whose families have been separated from their home country's original history and cultural environment, the construction of family memories about the past can become a symbol linking them to their home country. For instance, Li Daokui, who lives in New Zealand, wrote a family letter to record what happened to him and his family members during the rape of Nanjing in 1937. He says in an interview conducted in the documentary episode “Li Daokui: A Special Home Letter” (Figure 5.6),

“It is imperative to publicize the Nanjing Massacre abroad because there are textbooks and memorials about this history at home, but people do not know about it abroad. ... I have to tell this history on television programmes, and Chinese newspapers; this is what I should do. Those Chinese who have not experienced the war cannot know the pain; they must understand that today’s

happiness is not easy. History must not be forgotten. ... This is what I want to tell my offspring and young people"

(Li Daokui in "Li Daokui: The Special Home Letter", 2017).

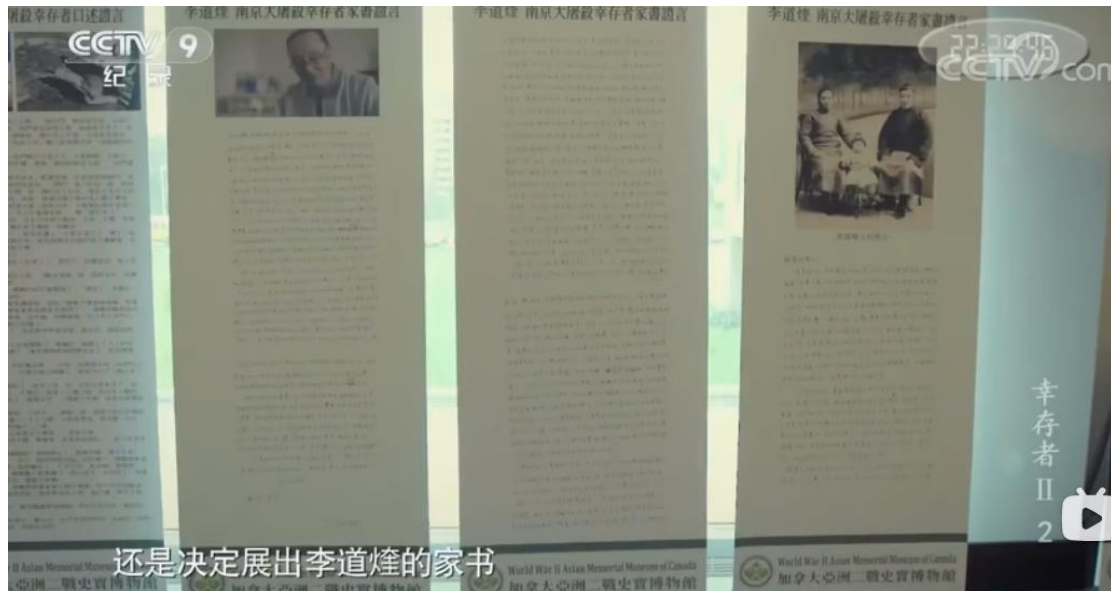


Figure 5.6 A shot from "Li Daokui: A Special Home Letter". The family letters written by Li Daokui are exhibited in the World War II Asian Memorial Museum of Canada.

When Li Daokui tells his daughters and grandson about the history and the significance of remembering family trauma, he stresses that the family's roots are in China. In this regard, it is an attempt to build a sense of relevance by identifying the shared trauma memory with the motherland or to confirm personal identity through tracing historical origins such as where they are from and who they are.

In the circle of Chinese migration, the story of Iris Chang and her historical work *The Rape of Nanking: The Forgotten Holocaust of World War II* is well-known due to Iris Chang's hard work and contribution to making the history of the Nanjing Massacre known as a part of the Second World War memory. While Iris Chang was growing up and during her research career, her family memory of the Nanjing Massacre played a

vital role. The documentary film *Iris Chang: The Rape of Nanking* (2007) looks back at several stages of Iris' short life as a historical writer through personal video footage of Iris, oral accounts of her family members, friends, and the role of an actor. When Iris was a child, her parents told thrilling war stories that happened to her Chinese grandparents. As this family story was passed on to Iris, the historical memory profoundly shaped her identity and affected her future career. In 1995, Iris arrived in China to interview survivors for her plan to write a book about the Nanjing Massacre (Figure 5.7). According to Iris, in contrast to the Nazi Holocaust known by the whole world, the history of Japanese soldiers mass killing Nanjing civilians was something very few people knew about in America and the West. Being of Chinese descent, she said,

"I have a responsibility to write this book...I'm the one who has to make this atrocity known to the world. ... I have to finish it"

(taken from the film *Iris Chang: The Rape of Nanking*, 2007).

In 1997, *The Rape of Nanking: The Forgotten Holocaust of World War II* was published, and in this book, oral history is an indispensable component of the basic historical facts of the massacre.



Figure 5.7 A screenshot from the documentary film *Iris Chang: The Rape of Nanking* (2007). The picture was taken during Iris Chang's (standing on the far right) visit to interview the survivor Xia Shuqin (middle) in Nanjing in 1995. Iris' collection, collation, and publication of the oral history of the survivors in Nanjing initiated the dissemination of the oral history of the Nanjing Massacre to the outside world.

3.2 The features of individual memory transmitting in families

The function of generational remembering is to steadily carry and share the original memory of older generations in a family; however, in the case of the Nanjing Massacre, for those younger family members who have not experienced the historical massacre, the family heritage of oral history represents a generational reconstruction of individual memory with the addition of some new contemporary views. Furthermore, it is not possible for memory as a family heritage to be identical to the original experiential memory; it carries more trivial details and emotional identification among family members, as well as the sense of mnemonic authority, due to the role of natural family bonds.

3.2.1 Rethinking of the original history

As new intellectual, cultural, and political factors emerge in different eras, the

transmission of oral history in the family is slowly and subtly restructured in terms of reflection on historical meanings or revelations, while its basic historical facts steadily pass through the generations. Zhang (2003) considers that the remembrance of historical facts and personal feelings constitute two inseparable and irreplaceable aspects of traumatic memory. In his view, remembering the Nanjing Massacre has transcended “the primary vengeance” (Zhang 2003, p.151) and moved to a “self-strengthening consciousness” (Zhang 2003, p.151) over time, which means that the survivors who escaped from death have become more tolerant of the past. Zhang (2003) observes that the complication of survivors' emotion to Japanese occurs to the development of the political relationship between China and Japan in recent years. In this regard, a similar sign of rethinking the past can be found in the Nanjing Massacre documentaries. For example, Xia Shuqin donated money after the 2011 earthquake in northeast Japan even though seven of her family members were killed during the Nanjing Massacre. Ge Daorong was stabbed and lost three relatives in 1937; in an interview, he says, “hatred can fade, but history cannot be forgotten, and we look forward to peace in the future” (taken from the documentary *The Accounts of Survivors: Bloody 1937*, 2017).

However, it is also expected that not all survivors and their families can reconcile with the enmity and pain caused by the massacre, for example, the offspring Dai Houwu of a survivor admits, “I can’t forget the pain of the past.” Whether one faces the present and future or clings to past pain, both reactions conform to human nature and depend on the profound effect of trauma. Zhu Xiuying and Zhou Zhilin, for instance, call on the generations to firmly remember the facts that the Japanese army killed a large number of Chinese people; similarly, Gao Ruqin emphasizes,

“I will tell the young generations what happened in Nanjing, the family hatred

and national humiliation must be remembered for ever”

(taken from the “Su Guobao: The Last Storyteller”).

As for the historical memories of Japanese veterans inherited within the family, as already discussed, the memories caused the young generation to go through a process of cognitive subversion, and they prefer to retrace the historical facts based on family individual memory rather than the information offered by official textbooks. The documentary *The Confession Memorandum of Japanese War Criminals* (2015) shows that the aims of the three Japanese veterans’ relatives (Mitsuharu Yazaki, Keitam, and Shiko Fujiwara) simultaneously centre on contributing their share to Japan-China friendship, which is the same as the future wishes of some survivors and their families.

3.2.2 Inheriting the authority of oral narrative

Chapter 4 illustrated that the authority of the oral history of the Nanjing Massacre comes into being through the narrators’ detailed retelling, as well as multiple evidence-based certifications of individual memories. To some extent, the essentials of original oral narratives, especially the fundamental historical facts and the streamlined storytelling, convey the inheritance imperceptibly. The family memory originating from individual oral accounts displays its authority from three aspects: the transmission of core narratives, extra details, and emotional resonance.

As many relatives of the witnesses have been directly involved in various oral history activities, the intimacy of family provides unique access to original information of oral history. For example, when survivors such as Li Xiuying, Zhang Xiuhong, and

Chang Zhiqiang attend oral history activities, their daughters or sons often accompany them and support their narratives (Figure 5.8). In Japan, Shiko Fujiwara extended the legacy of her husband Tsuno Fujiwara (a former imperial soldier) who dedicated himself to the relationship between Japan and China, and she collected Tsuno Fujiwara's oral testimonies and published his memoirs.



Figure 5.8 A shot from the episode “Chang Zhiqiang: Carved Memory”. Chang Zhiqiang is telling the story of his childhood to his daughter Chang Xiaomei. According to Chang Xiaomei, with age, her father's memory began to fade bit by bit, and he only remembered a few scenes of his childhood and some fragments of family miseries for the Nanjing Massacre.

The descendants can provide essential details about the original narrators of the family memory, including the long-term physical and mental effects of historical trauma on their daily lives, and even some anecdotes within the family. Extra details refer to the information closely linked to verbal accounts of witnesses but not embraced in their regular publicly delivered oral accounts, for instance, the impact of history on their daily lives. In the documentary *Witness: Li Xiuying* (2005), the son Lu Yongsen reminisces about his father's meticulous daily care for his disfigured mother (she was badly stabbed by Japanese soldiers during the Nanjing Massacre),

“John Magee advised my father to take care of my mother properly, Magee

said she would be a key witness in future... My father admired my mother's braveness against Japanese soldiers despite being badly wounded...My mother frequently cried in dreams and her hands tremble from the sharp pains and mental stress of the past"

(Lu Yongsen in *Witness: Lixiuying*, 2005).

Ito Hideko recalls in *The Confession Memorandum of Japanese War Criminals* (2015) that her father Tetsuichi Uetsubo refused a job offered by a Japanese police institution when he returned, because "my father was deeply sorry for what he committed in China, he hated war." These narratives from family members akin to observers or witnesses of oral history afford the angles where the camera cannot reach, or the tales meta narrators have never shared with the public. More importantly, this extra information from family members helps to thoroughly understand individual memory and is a crucial component of integrated oral history.

The universal affection conveyed by the family narrative helps to resonate with the audience and is the third element to augment the sense of authority. Since the survivors' memory is frequently passed down to descendants orally, it is the traditional way to preserve the affection contained in information from the narrator to the listener to a great extent. For example, when Iris Chang was in her childhood, she was told the history of the Nanjing Massacre including the stories of her grandparents' flight as refugees during that dark period of history. A segment conveys the handover of family memory between two generations in the documentary film *Iris Chang: The Rape of Nanking*, (2007) (Figure 5.9–11). The family story starts with the narration of Iris's father, who says,

“...it is my mother who has to bring all four children to safety ... there was no news between my mother and my father”

(Shau-Jin Chang in *Iris Chang: The Rape of Nanking*, 2007).

then the voice cuts to Iris to tell the other part of the family story about her mother’s parents,

“My mother's father worked for the Nationalist Government in Nanking ... My grandfather and other officials were ordered to evacuate immediately with or without their families...”

(Iris Chang in *Iris Chang: The Rape of Nanking*, 2007)

Then, Iris’ mother takes over the narration,

“my mother was visiting her mother, so he sent a message to my mother in the village to ask her to come to Wuhu instead of Nanking...”

(Yingying Chang in *Iris Chang: The Rape of Nanking*, 2007).

Next, the alternate narratives of mother and daughter perform the storytelling – and thus the memory transmission involves the relationships among the three generations.



Figure 5.9 A shot from *Iris Chang: The Rape of Nanking* (2007). Shau-Jin Chang, Iris's father is recalling the story of his parents in the war. He is the inheritor of his parents' memory of the Nanjing Massacre.



Figure 5.10 A shot from *Iris Chang: The Rape of Nanking* (2007). The voice of Iris Chang continues the story of her mother's parents. This alternate oral narration between Iris and her parents creates the intergenerational continuation of family memory.



Figure 5.11 A shot from *Iris Chang: The Rape of Nanking* (2007). YingYing Chang, Iris' mother, continues her parents' story. She is an excellent storyteller who is good at describing tense moments and twists of her parents' experiences during the war. Iris said the family memories her parents recounted had a great influence on her.

The filmmakers pay more attention to showing the current state of the oral narrators, which intends to remind the audience that both victims and perpetrators are ordinary people – they were the fathers, grandfathers, or husbands of a family. In this way, family ethics used by documentaries aim to encourage audiences to construct a sense of psychological or sentimental identification, and empathy with these descendants who are dedicated to the inheritance of the family memory. For example, the story of Li Xiuying fighting against Japanese soldiers inspiring her children; Lu Yongsen speaks in *Witness: Li Xiuying* (2005), saying, “We families are the pride of my mother’s courage and strong mind.” In *The Confession Memorandum of Japanese War Criminals* (2015), Mitsuharu Yazaki consciously stands in the position of a family member of war criminals to think about what the family considers, “because I am the posterity of a war criminal.” Shiko Fujiwara was always confused as to why her husband Tsuno Fujiwara rejected visiting China even though he always missed China. As she sorted through his memoirs, she saw more criminal information her husband had hidden: he killed 83 Chinese soldiers and raped four

Chinese women. Shiko Fujiwara interpreted this as follows,

“I think he was in pain because of his crimes, so, once he visited China, the memories would return to the brain. Even if he desired to revisit China, he could not realize it”

(Shiko Fujiwara, in *The Confession Memorandum of Japanese War Criminals*, 2015).

These words properly reveal the complex psychology of a war criminal, penitent, and husband. The role of family members such as Shiko Fujiwara is to complement and extend the historical facts as the successor of the family memory, and it is necessary that their interpretations of the original memory are merged into the memory storehouse as part of historical sources.

Halbwachs (1980) points out that the duration of memory is related to the duration of the group, and a community is “more intimate” (Halbwachs 1980, p.27), and its memory is “certainly more durable” (Halbwachs 1980, p.27). The capacity of the family to inherit the individual memory of the Nanjing Massacre originates from the solid intimacy arising from family ethics and their strong responsibility or interest in the values of oral history. Halbwachs also notes the influence of “currents of collective thought” (Halbwachs 1980, p.27) on the capacity of the family to remember. With oral history spreading wider, individual memory and family memory continue their fundamental function of carrying historical facts in communication with others (outside the family); and the new relations of memory dialogue occur to facilitate the formation of the collective memory of the Nanjing Massacre.

Section 4 Memory conversations in documentaries: The path leading to collective memory

In the continual flow of oral history from individuals and family groups to broader and more diverse groups, narrative is still the dominant mode to transmit information, especially through interviews in documentary films. In the view of Hunt (2010) and Eyerman (2014), the narrative is a means of interaction with others to explore personal identity and to share experiences; Eyerman views identity as the way in which both “individuals and collectives are positioned by or position themselves within the narrative” (Eyerman 2014, p.66). These insights are helpful for classifying the oral history of the Nanjing Massacre: survivors' traumatic narratives, Japanese perpetrators' accounts, and rescuers' written narratives, which are distinguished by the narrators' identities clarified in the narratives.

Alexander (2004) illustrates that historical memory expands its influence through various types of communication and interaction. Eyerman conceives collective memory as “the outcome of the interaction, a conversation process” (2004, p.66). Likewise, Winter points out that collective memory is created by action and does not exist “in a vacuum” (2006, p.178). Actually, the purpose and outcomes of either survivors' or perpetrators' oral narratives all point to the collective memory of the Nanjing Massacre; furthermore, in the course of dissemination, the historical memory of the above main three groups or individuals interact and contact each other, thus forming dialogue relations among diverse individuals or groups, for instance, complementary, agreement, or conflictual relations. In this regard, oral history documentary filmmaking partly reflects their interaction process or communication activities, and the filmic representation refers to two points: one is the function of documentaries as mass media that build the conversation between the oral history and the public; the other is the content of documentaries that show

the dialogic course of individual memory or group memory.

4.1 The role of documentary as a medium to communicate individual memory of the Nanjing Massacre

When Frisch discusses the issue of how documentary films disseminate oral history, he uses “oral-historical construction (1990, p.165)” and “oral-historical content (1990, p.165)” to distinguish the editing techniques such as selection, juxtaposition, and assembly. Frisch argues that “arranged oral history excerpts (1990, p.165)” can create a dialogic relationship between films and the audience, conveying immediate narrative or moral points. During the historical commemorations of the Chinese National Memorial Day for Nanjing Massacre Victims and the Japanese National Commemoration of the War Dead of World War II, for example, notable television documentaries flourish on screen and urge audiences to be concerned and recall war memories.

Since 2014, the State Commemoration Ceremony for the Nanjing Massacre victims has been fixed in the calendar as an annual official and public event to commemorate the victims of the massacre on December 13. During the ceremony, the mass media, such as television, films, and newspapers, cooperatively feed the public memory through various excerpted oral narratives or historical materials. The television documentaries around the memorial ceremony gain their salience in serving historical recollection and education. For instance, since 2016, Jiangsu Television has produced seven series of television documentaries, particularly the programme “The National Commemoration”, focusing on the whole procedure of national ceremonies and other public memorial activities such as witnesses' speeches, communicative assemblies, and exhibitions. This case epitomizes how

television documentaries link the traumatic history to the present and persistently update the historical memory of the war atrocities for younger generations.

Moreover, mini-documentaries are gradually becoming popular on television and the internet. These are more like advertising, intended to intensively express the theme in minutes. For example, as the fourth National Commemorative Ceremony approached, the premiere of the new 11-minute documentary *Everyone's 13 December* was held on December 12th, 2017, in Nanjing. This mini-film condenses the traumatic memory through oral narratives of two exemplary survivors Chang Zhiqiang and Xia Shuqin; furthermore, it features a university student who knows no more about the Nanjing Massacre than the number of victims (according to her self-statement) as a thread for exploring the historical memory.

In this short documentary, a dialogic relationship between the younger generation and the traumatic memory is formed through mise-en-scene (Figure 5.12). Within the sequence of the girl visiting the Memorial Hall, the camera pans gently to show the girl walking slowly from the right side of the frame along the Survivors Wall until her meeting with Chang Zhiqiang who is looking at the wall, and this encounter of history is constructed by a lengthy shot, which suggests that the exploration of the Nanjing Massacre is not just remembering a simple number but facing real historical figures and their experiences. The filmmaker's staging arrangement and the actors' performances seek to create the dialogic moment or connection between the survivor (representing the historical trauma) and the girl (meaning the new generation) onscreen—they both are engaging in the memory of the past.



Figure 5.12 A shot from the mini-film *Everyone's 13 December* (2017). This picture composition forms a dialogic relationship between the young girl and the survivor Chang Zhiqiang through mise-en-scene. This staging creates a graphic scene of “history and the present”.

In Japan, the Japanese government holds annual commemorative rituals in memory of the war dead of World War II on August 15 every year. On that day, in addition to officials attending rituals, Japanese citizens can watch “the state-sponsored Memorial Service for the War Dead broadcast live” (Hashimoto 2011, p.27). According to Hashimoto’s description, during the national commemoration, audiences can see television programmes such as commemorative documentaries, live debates, and oral history interviews. The theme usually concerns “tragic experiences of national failure and vowing to overcome them by pledging for peace” (Hashimoto 2011, p.28), and as Hashimoto argues, the media act as discursive tools to reinforce the national failure as a cultural trauma for the next generations.

Eyerman considers generational memory as “a record of and a reaction” (Eyerman 2004, p.71) to those historical events experienced by an age group directly, and the function of generational memory is to facilitate the younger generation to reshape cultural heritage. He stresses the role of mass media in generating and reinforcing

generational identity. Therefore, the purpose of historical documentaries has an intrinsic link with the construction of generational memory, and this link is particularly salient in the specific time frame, such as the above annual commemorations – these documentaries supply paths for new generations to retrace history, for instance, to know the witnesses who own the historical experiences and their empirical narrative through oral testimonies.

4.2 The conversational spread of oral history presented by documentaries

Rethinking and dialogue are natural ways to transcend the boundaries of different group memories of the same event. Grele considers that oral history is a dialogue and also a type of joint activity organized and counterpointed by the historical perspective of participants, because an oral teller speaks to the interviewer, and also to a “larger community and its history” (Grele 1985, p.135). In a sense, oral history is an information flow within the diverse exchange of facts, emotions, and ideas among the public that is involved in these memory stories. Moreover, Neal (1998) states that the collective memory must be interpreted and “constructed along lines that give it application to present concerns” (Neal 1998, p.202), and this view confirms the dynamic nature of collective memory. The individual memory of the Nanjing Massacre, as it is spread more widely, experiences degrees of multi-communication, including learning, referencing, and deputing.

4.2.1 Oral history and historical identity of the new generation

The communication of oral history embraces a dynamic cooperative process to construct a shared memory about the past between narrators and receivers. According to Assmann, the specific value of the victims’ storytelling lies in “forging a trans-generational link” (Assmann 2006, p.261) between them and those who listen

to them. Some narrators express that they feel responsible for sharing their personal experiences of the past with others, especially younger generations who have not acquired an exceptional sensitivity to history. For example, Xia Shuqin has been involved in oral history activities for over thirty years, and as she explains, her responsibility as a historical eyewitness is to help more people know the past.

How to face the war memory and speak of it is complex and confusing for both Japanese veterans and their listeners, so both need to plot a course of thinking or discrimination. In *The Confession Memorandum of Japanese War Criminals* (2015), Keitam completes his interviews with some Japanese veterans and then concludes that during the war, these Japanese soldiers thought of their killing as a matter of justice rather than crimes. But “my great-grandfather changed his thoughts and confessed what he did when he returned to Japan”. Keitam stresses the significance of rethinking history. The interplay between Keitam’s historical exploration and his great-grandfather Tetsuichi Uetsubo’s devotion to narrating his war memory can form a reference flowing into a re-understanding of war memory for the Japanese young generation.

Eyerman (2004) suggests that historical trauma is connected to the course of collective identity and the shaping of collective memory. In specific situations, Alexander believes that “shared values” (2003, p.114) and “the moral qualities” (2003, p.96) motivate more collective members to participate in the trauma process with victims. The Nanjing Massacre has been defined as a “national calamity” (two words from the inscription engraved on the sacrifice tripod in front of the Memorial Hall) in the history of China by the state discourse; for each generation in China, it entails a sense of identification and collectivization of the traumatic memory.

Survivors and their oral accounts have also created a bond of empathy in the historical exchanges between the Chinese and Japanese populace. Although the war memory retained by the two countries' public is filled with discordant voices due to their different cultural values and conceptions of history, the pursuit of historical facts and human sensitivity to suffering set up a channel through which people can communicate. In practice, Xia Shuqin, Zhang Xiuhong, and Li Xiuying have participated in several Sino-Japanese testimony assemblies on the Nanjing Massacre. With these survivors participating in testimonial rallies and exchanges in Japan, Japanese audiences, especially the younger generation, have the opportunity to enter into dialogue with witnesses and gain access to more historical facts. For example, some Japanese young people claimed that they had never heard of the Nanjing Massacre,

“I am shocked by her suffering experiences; she deserves apology and respect. We should remember the history...”

(a response of the interview in “Zhang Xiuhong: Silent Scars”, 2016).

“I do not know these Japanese soldiers had done such cruel things in China; I will tell my classmates. The history textbook does not tell us anything about the Nanjing Massacre”

(a Japanese audience in “Zhang Xiuhong: Silent Scar”, 2016).

A similar story happened to Li Xiuying. In response to the Japanese right-wing author Toshio Matsumura's claim that Li Xiuying and her testimonies were false, Li Xiuying filed a lawsuit with the Tokyo District Court. Right after the trial of Li's case in Tokyo, a Japanese young man walked to Li Xiuying and knelt, and then he apologized,

“I knew nothing about so many bad things the last generation did to you. I apologize for what they did on their behalf”
(a Japanese young man, in *Witness: Lixiuying*, 2005).

This historical conversation implies an information gap in this shared history between what the oral accounts of survivors reveal and what the Japanese public is obligated to know. The filmmaker tries to illustrate that the interaction of historical memory can prompt more people including the new Japanese new generation to get involved in shaping or reshaping the collective memory of the war.

4.2.2 Historical trauma and overseas Chinese national identity

Neil contends that any given trauma concerns “community and identity” (Neil 2004, p.44), so the concepts of collective memory, collective trauma, and collective identity are usually associated with one another; he concludes that the efficacy of sharing traumatic memory collectively is that it can produce a national sense of “cohesion, membership, belonging, and community” (Neil 1998, p.25). Neil’s points can partly explain that remembering and sharing national trauma such as the Nanjing Massacre is a way of identifying with the mother country for overseas Chinese communities. For example, some organizations among the overseas Chinese groups, such as the San Francisco China Peaceful Unification Promotion Agency, Canada Ontario Hong Maple Foundation, the Russian Federation of Overseas Chinese Youth, and the Italian-Chinese Exchange Association, actively take responsibility for arranging various memorial events, including assemblies and memorial ceremonies, as the Nanjing Massacre memorial day approaches each year. According to Eyerman, collective identity appertains to the formation of “we” (Eyerman 2004, p.74); it refers to the sense of belonging for individuals. Halbwachs (1980) also stresses that the sense of belonging plays a crucial role in constructing collective consciousness. He

contends that a member belonging to some group manifests keeping the concerted “habits” with the group and sharing the group’s ideas and “conceptions” (Halbwachs 1980, p.26). These overseas Chinese communities participate in remembering the common national trauma employing similar symbolic memorial rituals with the motherland’s, and this interaction with Chinese domestic commemorations up to a point establishes the sense that “we” belong to the extended family.

Specifically, the organizers utilize media such as films, exhibitions, and oral histories popular within the communities to radiate the traumatic memory outward. In some exhibitions and assemblies, for instance, individual memories contained in oral history, diaries, and letters are typically used to enlighten and reinforce the historical awareness of Chinese community members. Take the two cases discussed in Section 3 the family letters of Li Daokui and the family stories of Iris Chang – typical oral accounts of the historical trauma widespread in overseas Chinese communities and frequently referred to in memorial events. In 2008, the documentary *Iris Chang: The Rape of Nanking* (2007) was released; this film was initiated and invested in by the Toronto Association for Learning & Preserving the History of WWII in Asia (ALPHA). In December 5, 2018, to commemorate the Nanjing Massacre, ALPHA and the Chinese Professionals Association of Canada (CPAC) arranged the screening and panel discussion of the film *Iris Chang: The Rape of Nanking* (2007), aiming to make the next generation and others who grew up in the West learn about the history of the Asian battlefields of World War II. The significance of this film for the audience lies in the story that retraces the traumatic past of China (the home country) and reveals the hidden texts of history (the world forgot this war atrocity). The audience can access the history by following Iris Chang (acted by Olivia Cheng) to visit the city and listen to the survivors; that is, the group of viewers is involved in sharing the traumatic memory with wider collectivities; while for the young generations who

knew nothing about the tragedy, it is the process of seeking historical truth and constructing a historical identity with the far homeland.

4.2.3 The conflict of viewpoints on war violence

Bartov points out that the issue of war crimes as “history and memory” and “individual complicity and national responsibility” (Bartov 2002, p.xii) haunts many countries. For example, Japan has to confront and address the leftover war responsibility, and the narratives regarding war memory remain highly contested; when the official historical narratives intentionally twist the information stored in the brains of live witnesses, the struggles of historical memory inevitably take place. In this war memory conflict, one side consists of war witnesses who own the war memory, such as survivors, Japanese veterans, and some people who belong to new generations are determined to seek the historical facts; the other side refers to the Japanese conservative forces including authorities, individuals, and right-wing organizations; essentially, the heart of the conflicts concerns whether to respect history.

The positive outcome of the disputes on the Nanjing Massacre between oral narrators and Japanese right-wingers is to bring the historical event into the public domain more than once. Some documentaries, including *Witness: Li Xiuying* (2005); *Survivors: Witness to Nanjing 1937* (2016-2017); *Iris Chang: The Rape of Nanking* (2007), and *Japanese Devils* (2001), present several conflicts about the remembrance of the Nanjing Massacre between survivors and Japanese right-wing forces. For example, in “Xia Shuqin: Testify for History”, the off-screen commentator sums up the implication of Xia's struggle with the Japanese right wing, “she carries that heavy history with her thin and weak body.” Meanwhile, a mid-shot focuses on the old lady,

and then the shot pans to a close-up of her face, her eyes are staring into the distance, and her lips are gently compressed in a persistent expression (Figure 5.13). The legal efforts of Xia Shuqin to refute the Japanese right-wing claims and uphold the historical facts have been detailed in Chapter 4. In terms of the impact of these lawsuits between Chinese survivors and Japanese right-wing forces, they were not just disputes over historical facts, they embodied a broader and profound exchange of historical memories of the war between the Chinese and Japanese public.



Figure 5.13 A close-up of Xia Shuqin from “Xia Shuqin: Testify for History”. Xia Shuqin has participated in oral history for over twenty years, including many speeches made in Japan. She defended her reputation and that of history by winning the court case (2004–2009) against the Japanese right-wing author Toshio Matsumura and Tonakano Shudo who claimed Xia Shuqin was a false witness and her testimonies were fictitious in 1998.

In the issue of war memory, the Japanese authorities strategically employ the narrative of Japan as the defeated party and a victim to resist or obliterate the facts of invasion and atrocities in the war. According to Seaton, there is “a ubiquity of victim mentality” in Japan (2006, p.54); similarly, Gordon notes that the Japanese

invasion was “never ... enshrined in national remembrance” (1993, p.83) and that the public memory in Japan embodies “amnesia” (1993, p.83) of the Nanjing Massacre and “a skimming silence” (1993, p.83) for the war. In Japan, the situation even today shows the war memory still remains incomplete and the issue of war atrocities stays unsettled, therefore, historical remembrance and reflection are particularly necessary for this country.

Moore believes that some Japanese veterans’ reflection on the war promote their desire to exert an impact on Japanese public discourse about the war or the war atrocities, “setting the record straight” (2011, p.424). The film *Japanese Devils* (2001), for example, presents the 15 Japanese veterans’ oral testimonies, partly challenging the mainstream trauma narrative in Japan. Their oral accounts reproduce the war activities commanded by Japanese imperialism at length; they intend to tell the public that the essence of the Sino-Japanese war was flooded with militarism and atrocities. Consequently, these soldiers' memories and the public’s war memories shaped by the government are in conflict. On this point, Hashimoto (2011) offers insights into the process of historical memory construction of Japan, arguing that it “inevitably embraces the reflection and criticism on Japan’s responsibility and criminals” (Hashimoto 2011, p.30), and it certainly encounters “the strong attacks and resistance of Japanese conservative and right-wing groups” (Hashimoto 2011, p.30). The beginning of the documentary *The Japanese Devils* (2001) shows the signs of social tensions caused by the divergent and irreconcilable historical cognition of the war memory in Japan.

The *Japanese Devils* (2001) begins with a sequence of juxtaposed audio-visuals to illustrate the confrontation around the Yasukuni Shrine on the anniversary of Japan’s

defeat. The filmmaker copes with the opposite propositions of the two groups by cross-cutting images (Figure 5.14–15) and voices. For example, the image of a group of protesters appealing to "stop praising our deceased relatives as war heroes" is followed by the frames of the other group who claim, "revere our War Dead" and "prime minister pray for our Dead." When an old lady cries,

“...he never came home, and I was never able to see him again. In this way, war is a place where people murder and are murdered. No matter what it takes, it is up to us women who birth and raise children, to create a world without war”
(accounts of an old lady in *Japanese Devils*, 2001).

An angry young man is shouting out: “shameless idiots.” The filmic representation of the two groups’ conflict and tension epitomizes the actual situation of the splintered war memory in Japan. In practice, the divided social context is the barrier these oral narrators encounter, while it is also the cause of their constant struggle to construct a proper historical memory in Japan.



Figure 5.14–15 The two shots come from the beginning of *Japanese Devils* (2001), a group of protesters appeals for people to “stop praising our deceased relatives as war heroes” (Figure 5.14), while the other group of right-wing protesters calls for “the war heroes who rest in Yasukuni Shrine” (Figure 5.15). This audio-visual comparison suggests the divergent historical cognition of the war memory in Japan through the two groups’ slogans.

Conclusion

Through the flow of memories in families, what the descendants inherit is the primary information and the sentiments rooted in the individual narrations; this

entails a process of filtrating or reinterpreting individual accounts. Furthermore, the surrounding family members of individuals who suffered from the Nanjing Massacre can supply support through domestic affection and empathy; in turn, the individual's memory can inspire young family generations to become involved in exploring and transmitting this historical memory. Some documentaries are concerned with the sharing and passing down of memory among family generations, such as *Iris Chang: The Rape of Nanking* (2007), *The Confession Memorandum of Japanese War Criminals* (2015), and *The Accounts of Survivors: Bloody 1937* (2017).

The collective memory of the Nanjing Massacre means that the public at the social level remember this history, which includes reflection on the historical trauma as well; it helps to strengthen the bonds attaching the public and intensify the prevailing sense of nationality; for instance, the Nanjing Massacre is classified as a national calamity by the Chinese government. Moreover, it is also defined as a constant and generational mnemonic inheritance in China – the National Memorial Day for the Victims of the Nanjing Massacre spurs the public, especially the younger generation, to get involved in the interaction with the historical memory.

It is an essential way of commemorating and respecting this historical tragedy for both China and Japan to construct its collective memory. The transmission of oral history from the individual to the collective memory incorporates multifaceted communication and interaction – among individuals, or individuals with groups. More precisely, individuals and specific groups who own this historical memory expand their influence on memory transmission through widespread interchange and diverse interplay, for example, in the form of exhibitions, assemblies, speeches, disputes, and even conflicts.

Conclusion

My research shows that Nanjing Massacre documentaries have been used as a conduit for fully integrated historical representations, helping filmmakers build events into an impression of coherence and authenticity and evoke the public to experience traumatic historical consciousness and memory. As a Japanese war atrocity, the Nanjing Massacre is engulfed by long-term denial and controversial voices from Japan. I was a Chinese teacher and researcher, and it is fair to say that I am closely bound with this national trauma, responsible for educating a generation that is ignorant of the historical tragedies. Meanwhile, the risk that my preconceived perceptions and moral judgments based on this historical memory pose to this research is highly prioritized. For instance, as I lived in the very area of China impacted by these events, I must acknowledge that my subjectivities including sympathy for the victims and prejudice against or hatred for the Japanese perpetrators can harm the principle of justice relevant to the historical research — equal treatment. In this context, inevitably in my study, I must struggle with all potential sources of biases or personal prejudices to reduce or minimize the deviation from historical facts.

The contributions of my research lie in two layers. First, I provide an approach to understanding the Nanjing Massacre grounded in a synthesis of historical materials and perspectives. I discuss the Nanjing Massacre documentaries that use distinct forms and adopt a wide variety of cinematic technologies to rebuild the historical trauma and shape the collective memory. Second, this is a new achievement of studying documentary, which offers a reference to explore the role of documentary modes in tracing historical trauma and shaping the event's collective memory. Each mode not only sets up a framework that filmmakers flesh out but also reflects the

filmmaker's response to history from a distinctive perspective at one specific moment. I gain insight into the formal or stylistic pattern intrinsic to the presentation modes and testify how documentary forms highlight the different aspects of the historical trauma and in the process contribute to the construction of collective memory. Furthermore, I am convinced that it is also important to seek signs of special advantages and extend dimensions from the cinematic presentation, which will provide more references in theory or practice.

Section 1 Authenticity and authority of historical representation in documentaries

Truthfulness is the core issue of documentary creation. A documentary is defined as a production that "speaks about situations and events involving real people (social actors)" (Nichols 2010, p.14). Aufderheide (2007) claims that a documentary produces "a fair and honest representation of somebody's experience of reality" (Aufderheide 2007, p.3) and emphasizes three qualities of documentaries: truthfulness, accuracy, and trustworthiness. Concerning historical representation in documentaries, a focus on the issue of authenticity and authority cannot be neglected.

Nichols (1981) believes that cinema contains overlapping communication categories such as art, entertainment, propaganda, and advertising, so it is more important to consider it from a certain perspective than to define precise boundaries. When looking at the authenticity and authority of historical documentary films, the expressed perspective selected by filmmakers often involves the complex nature of history regarding social, political, and cultural factors, the relationship between individuals and society, and more.

1.1 The argument for the authenticity and authority of documentary films

There has been considerable debate about what constitutes the authenticity and authority of history presented by documentaries. In a discussion of tele-history programs, McArthur (1978) argues that the authority of the “real” presented by tele-history depends on two main factors: the status of the narrator or the narration, for example, the central ideological function of the narration, the academic reputation of the narrator, or whether the narrator is at the heart of the events described; the footage itself is the other important manifestation of the authority of the “real”, and it refers to both capturing ongoing real life and the reconstruction of a particular historical area. According to McArthur, the "real" is conceived as the phenomenal world (McArthur 1978, p.28). Niemi also pays attention to the issue of history in television but stakes out a spectrum of film by exploring two types of history film: the docudrama and the documentary. He cautions that a documentary film is not more objective and reliable in narrating historical truth than a docudrama. However, the source materials are all real enough, and the interviewees are supposedly sincere because the documentary filmmaker "manipulates more subtly" (Niemi 2006, p.xxiii) by choosing or editing materials. It is true, however, that the manipulation of the creator does not mean denying the possibility of a documentary to present a reliable history; for instance, it needs, as Niemi stresses, to view history from more angles to do justice to its mysterious aspects and explore insoluble contradictions and complexities, instead of skewing history through “a partisan interpretation” (Niemi 2006, p.xxiii) or just simple, one-sided interpretations. Voci (2004) considers the subjectivity of filmmakers; he views the issue of subjectivity as an inescapable and essential part of filmmaking, and he concludes that all filmmakers have to make a fundamental choice between offering verbal explanations or adding visual complications.

As for the Nanjing Massacre documentaries, the endeavor of filmmakers to represent history is a good example of pursuing authenticity and authority in historical documentary-making. My research shows the representation and manipulation of these documentaries recreate the logical development of the historical fragments while exercising the principle of authenticity; they aim to provide authoritative accounts to enable people to understand the war massacre committed by the Japanese army in the fallen city of Nanjing in 1937.

1.2 The efforts to practice authenticity and authority in documentary films

In the views of Mueller (2013), historical documentary creation has an intrinsic connection with education and politics. The production of Nanjing Massacre documentaries especially in China, as part of patriotic education, mainly focuses on two key points: the understanding of the Nanjing Massacre and the historical remembrance of it, which fits neatly within the ideological missions of the government and times. However, authority is conferred on historical narrative not only through the ideological mechanism of production (which compilation films rely on) but is also rooted in the accurate rendition of history. When Goff (1992) discusses the issue of historians dealing with history, he admits that the representation of history concerns a “rearrangement” (Goff 1992, p.XI) of the past, subject to ideological and political structures. Regarding historical documentaries, filmmakers face the issue of “rearrangement” of historical materials. For example, to encourage the public to remember and learn lessons from the past, producers use a huge range of historical source information and emphasize the values of historical remembrance through the use of different narrative angles provided by, for example, historians, witnesses, and bystanders.

Chapman (2001) stresses the rigorous principle of dealing with historical resources for documentary filmmakers by comparing with the research manner of professional historians, for instance, “ascertaining the provenance” and authenticity, “assessing the nature of the evidence” (Chapman 2001, p.137). As I have analyzed, the filmmakers are dedicated to pursuing the authenticity of both the archival resources and oral history in their works. Especially, when filmmakers face up to and explore the complexity of history, these memories repressed intentionally or not manifested have gradually got to the surface, contributing to viewers engaging and understanding history better. Because of Japanese prevarication on admitting individual complicity and national responsibility for war crimes, the issue of the Nanjing Massacre continually haunts China and Japan explicitly or implicitly. Goff (1992) points out that in some situations, political regimes use conscious manipulation to oppose the truth of history (Goff 1992, p.XI). A great example is that the Japanese government and right-wing forces deny the existence of the Nanjing Massacre and other war atrocities. The field of documentary-making has responded to this challenge, with more and more filmmakers turning to searching for and amassing a mountain of first-hand historical pieces of evidence, tracing and rethinking the complexity and controversy of the Nanjing Massacre. These filmmakers try to impact viewers by using a range of narrative devices, including original archives, authoritative testimonies, and interviews, in addition to using voice-over interpretations. When the presentation of history is broadened and not bound by the conservative narrative form, for example, the omniscient voice-over, the historical exploration can engender a dialectical form. As a result, the multifaceted narration uncovers the cracks of history and multiple memories about events, which forms the possibility of a dialogue with the audience in terms of history.

According to Aufderheide (2007), the core problem of documentaries is always around the relation between their representation and reality; that is, “the claim to truthfulness” and “the need to select and represent reality” (Aufderheide 2007, p.127) are always in tension. In the representation of Nanjing Massacre documentaries, various conventions emerge to balance historical narrative and history. For example, the Nanjing Massacre expository mode commonly combines historical footage with historians' or witness interviews, and the oral history mode focuses on oral narrators' accounts. In Goff's (1992) view, the possibility of broad agreement concerning the value of any historical work is the first touchstone of historical objectivity (Goff 1992, p.113). The effectiveness of authority and objectivity strategies used in documentaries chiefly depends on reputable historians (experts guide to source materials), witnesses and their oral testimonies (key figures who convey original information and feelings), as well as archival films and documents (the verifiable sources and the primary proof of history). The fourth element frequently reinforcing the accuracy of the historical information in works is the insights of others, such as third-party historical researchers.

Rather than just recounting historical facts, Nanjing Massacre documentaries also carry a responsibility for reality; namely, the historical representation of documentaries is appropriate to the audience and era; moreover, its purpose is not reduced to pure subservience to history, but the historical heritage is employed in an educational role, as discussed earlier. For instance, in the fourth episode of *1937: Memory of Nanjing* (2014), Bu Ping, the director of the Institute of Modern Chinese History, summarizes the purpose of collecting historical data on the Nanjing Massacre,

"We strive to refine the memory of the Nanjing Massacre, the memory of individuals, the memory of villages, and the memory of cities into the memory of the nation, and then further into the memory of the world"

(Bu Ping, in the fourth episode of *1937: Memory of Nanjing*, 2014).

Here, memory means not forgetting the historical tragedy; Bu Ping's words address the consequence and relevance of reviewing and remembering the Nanjing Massacre for the present and future.

Therefore, the authenticity of the event presented by documentaries is normally measured by the remembrance or knowledge of the historical facts. The meaning of authenticity in my research is embodied with the pursuit of filmmakers to the specific historical facts of the event. These documentaries, utilizing plenty of original materials, have more or less become stores of historical sources that viewers can review or discuss and from which the past can gradually become clear.

Section 2 The mediated war violence: Traumatic memory and its heuristic role

Although the Nanjing Massacre committed by the Japanese military happened over 85 years ago, it is worth continuing the discussion about it because war violence is not only an aspect of historical heritage but is also intermittently re-staged in the world in different ways. Hence, it remains urgent and continually relevant to discuss historical trauma, especially when war trauma remains an unresolved state; and learning from history should be constantly highlighted as a unique power at the very heart of culture.

Therefore, the second finding of my research is related to the traumatic memory mediated by documentaries: the reconstruction of the traumatic memory is contingent on the present. To some extent, the process of constructing the Nanjing Massacre and shaping its collective memory through documentaries indicates the mediation and reflection on this historical trauma, which constitute the practical value of the Nanjing Massacre documentaries in reality.

2.1 Some views on mediated traumatic memory

While discussing the development of traumatic memory in the mass media era, some scholars have noted the mediation of traumatic memory among individuals, society, and the collective. In particular, the extent the history and its traumatic memory mediated by mass media receives much attention, as well as the process of collectivizing traumatic memory by cultural transfer. For example, Roger (2009) indicates that historical products of mass media function in the construction of society; in his analysis, what the mass media produces does not just passively spread content related to the collective memory, it actively participates in collective practice such as setting the agenda for the receivers by “repeating pictures and interpretations they create” (Roger 2009, p.189). Hoskins discusses the authentic and original issues of mediated memories in today’s media-saturated environment, and he admits the “new memory” (2001, p.333) of history produced by mediated spaces such as television and films contains inherent contradictions: “ephemeral” and “enduring”, “artificial” and “explicit” or “authentic” (Hoskins 2001, p.345). Concerning the power of traumatic memory over individuals and society, Alexander and Breese (2011) believe that the cultural process of symbolic representation of social suffering can channel powerful human emotions, and they demonstrate that the social groups carrying the symbolic and emotional forces make powerful, history-changing effects in the worlds of both morality and materiality.

It is necessary to retain traumatic memories as a reminder to the world to prevent history from repeating itself. Niemi interprets the ending of the documentary Shoah as showing a chilling possibility that "if it could happen once, it could happen again. The precedent has been set" (Niemi 2006, p.93); he explains that once the boundary of morals and the psychology boundary has been broken, there is no hope for it to be fully repaired. This example profoundly questions and reveals human nature; however, it also prompts a rethinking of the function of traumatic memory in the present and future. It can be found that Nanjing Massacre documentary films convey the intention of what we can do now instead of dwelling on who should be responsible for it. That is, the Nanjing Massacre documentaries strive to fulfill a role in both forging traumatic memory into a collective memory and illustrating the practical consequence of traumatic memory.

Therefore, I am concerned about the function of mediated traumatic memories rather than discussing the possibility of their narrative variation during the transmission. Individual painful experiences frequently fuel the construction of collective trauma; the Nanjing Massacre documentaries not only show the sufferings of victims that constitute the empirical material of traumatic memory and a verifiable historical representation but also provide new meanings of traumatic memory and indicate the importance of reflection on it in the present, for both individuals and nations.

2.2 To engrave the traumatic memory of war on our mind and reflect on it

It is common to highlight the enlightening connotation of traumatic memory within

documentary representation, for instance, through interviews, oral recollection, and historical sites or ceremonies, to engage the audience in close dialogue and involve them in constructing meanings. The practical approaches to mediating traumatic memory can be divided into popular communication and authority discourse. Popular communication refers to the traumatic memory spreading among the public through multiple channels, as detailed in Chapters 4 and 5, including oral accounts from individuals and the inherited memory of family and communities. Examining the mass communication of traumatic memory focuses on the practical interaction shown by the documentaries among those telling stories and individuals giving responses. The discourse of authorities intended to shape the traumatic memory from the advocacy at the government level like appearing in compilation films through voice-of-God narration, as discussed in Chapter 1. Although historical facts and oral testimonies of individuals represent the main body of subsequent documentary modes, authority discourse steers the direction of the theme, especially in Chinese documentaries.

2.2.1 Traumatic memory transmitted by popular communication

Traumatic memory accounts are bound to elicit responses that convey deep personal emotions and reflections. Although, as Caruth discusses, the transformation of trauma into a narrative memory might create “a dilemma for historical understanding” (1995, p.153) because language is powerless to convey the incomprehensibility of history at times, he confirms that the narrated memory fundamentally “serves a social function” (1995, p.163) through the integration of verbal skills and other information connected to the subject. The oral history in Nanjing Massacre documentaries is an open form of discourse; it not only embraces unreserved accounts but skilfully inspires and welcomes the active echoes of the audience, which is achieved by the cooperation between narrators and filmmakers.

While narrating their memories, the witnesses, including Chinese survivors and Japanese veterans, have gradually become good narrators over time at conveying valuable messages, using the potential combination of narrative rhetorical strategies and new information such as newly discovered historical data or the dynamic political climate to help new generations connect with the past on a more practical level. For example, as I discussed in Chapters 4 and 5, the survivors speak of their changed situations in the past and at present, and Japanese veterans reveal their changed consciousness toward the war or the war violence they are involved in. The two voices of individuals' deep memories of war violence offer a heuristic discourse when both point to the present, such as, in the rethinking of war and appeals for peace. For example, in the short documentary series *The Accounts of Survivors: Bloody 1937* (2017) when or after narrating personal traumatic stories, many survivors frequently express their feelings and wishes, such as "I hope everything is safe, no more fighting again" (Shi Xiuying) and "Now we can live in peace and stability, no one living in fear anymore" (Ge Daorong). These simple but emotional words give the audience a sense of truthful expression. As some documentaries show, many narrators are also active social actors who share the meanings of their traumatic stories and feelings; for instance, they frequently act in public venues such as communities, associations, and schools by making speeches, exhibiting writings, or chatting with people.

To some extent, the interviews in some documentaries create a window to assess the popular response to the historical trauma. The arrangement of interviewing, other than moving forward the progress of the documentaries, is a productive strategy since it provides the time and space for expressing or reflecting on the theme for

both interviewees and viewers. For example, the third episode of the documentary *1937: Memory of Nanjing* (2014) shows that some Japanese tourists visit the historical sites of the Nanjing Massacre; and after the visit, two young college students express their thoughts in the interview,

“These things were committed by the generation of my great-grandfather...and I intend to tell my friends what I’ve seen (here)... and we need to reflect the past and make the right choices”

(Hiroshi Iwasaki, in the third episode of *1937: Memory of Nanjing*, 2014).

“I will tell my classmates first, and I want to be a teacher in the future and teach these historical facts to my students. This experience of visiting and learning is very important for me”

(Uraya Yusumi, in the third episode of *1937: Memory of Nanjing*, 2014).

The answers are the personal expression of subjective critical thoughts about what they have seen or heard, which is not conveyed as an anonymous or collective opinion but as a spontaneous individual stand.

Langer indicates that one effect of transferring traumatic memory into shared memory is to reassure us of some “inviolable human bonds” (Langer 1991, p.9), and he gives the example of family unity that helps people going through suffering. In my view, human bonds can be expanded to include moral responsibility, obligations, and the ability to empathize with the past, which supports the possibility of learning from the past. In the documentary interviews, the voice of the participants is articulated for themselves and also shared with the audience, who are invited to enter into a dialogue about the past and take part in creating the meaning of it together.

2.2.2 The traumatic memory mediated by governmental discourse

The governmental effort to mediate traumatic memory exists in parallel with the communication of memory within civil society. For example, the shaping of the collective memory is jointly promoted by the government and the lay public in China, as some Nanjing Massacre documentaries show. China is a good case study in dealing with this historical trauma, thus, I mainly choose Chinese Nanjing Massacre documentaries as case studies in this subsection.

According to Winter, history and historical memory are not “some vague cloud which exists without agency” (Winter 2006, p.11). He gives as an example the fact that historians, as part of “the memory boom” (Winter 2006, p.11), contribute to constructing the historical remembrance and promoting it. Winter (2006) considers that memories are both personal and social, and sites of memory are created not just by nations but primarily by small groups of men and women who do the work of remembrance (Winter 2006, p.136). In terms of traumatic memory of history, for example, the Nanjing Massacre, it is not only owned by individual victims and historians, but it also goes beyond private memories or the historical field and becomes an enduring power affecting the public’s historical remembrance and practice. In China, an annual sanctified national ceremony is the direct way for the Chinese authorities to forge the historical trauma into a part of collective memory and it bridges the historical sufferings and current understandings. At the first national ceremony for memorizing the victims of the Nanjing Massacre in 2014, President Xi gave a eulogy entitled “Speech at the National Memorial Ceremony for Victims of the Nanjing Massacre”. One passage of the speech is as follows,

"Historical experiences tell us that peace needs to be fought for and peace needs to

be preserved. The hope for peace stems from everyone willing to cherish and maintain peace to learn from the tragedy of war.

This memorial ceremony held for victims of the Nanjing Massacre aims to arouse the yearning for and holding fast to peace, not to perpetuate hatred. The Chinese and Japanese people should continue to be friendly from generation to generation; we should learn from history and look into the future, jointly contributing to the world”

(Xi Jinping, *People's Daily (Renmin Ribao)*, December 14, 2014; translated by myself).

In settling the memory of national trauma, Neal credits the crucial role of governments, and leaders, and considers that they frequently make “a significant influence on the construction of narratives” (2005, p.237). I consider the official narratives also have an impact on practices in the process of shaping collective memory. The intrinsic worth of this ceremony and the government declaration is that they set the instructive tone for inheriting this traumatic memory: to learn from history to preserve peace, which guides the public towards positive attitudes in viewing the historical trauma and owning it. This theme remains consistent with the main idea of the earliest governmental discourse on this historical event in public; for example, the compilation film *The Nanjing Massacre* (1982) has addressed a similar proposition. The theme is emphasized, consolidated, and implemented in practice, for instance, in the construction of physical memorials, historical exhibitions, and cultural products such as fiction films, documentaries, and literary works. The Chinese Nanjing Massacre documentaries, as I confirmed previously, convey the subject matter of learning from history and cherishing peace. In large part, the above ideas impose on people the role of being active participants in the mediation of

historical trauma – not becoming immersed in the past trauma but giving history fresh vitality. Consequently, the government proposition and popular communication form the phenomenon of conversation and cooperation in dealing with the historical trauma in China.

Section 3 The findings related to future research.

I have illustrated filmmakers' efforts to create a sense of authenticity and authority in historical representation to preserve the value of the Nanjing Massacre documentaries and verified that these elements constitute the fundamental and significant principles by which these documentaries reconstruct the historical event. However, the presentational conventions and forms of the Nanjing Massacre documentaries vary and develop with time. The obsession with authenticity as the key feature of the documentaries shows an eagerness to display the actual historical world in different forms. On the other hand, the fictional films that cover the same subject, the Nanjing Massacre, show a different imaginary world.

Moreover, as mentioned in the introduction, platforms on the internet converge Nanjing Massacre films that are published or shared by specific organisations or individuals, aside from numerous other original historical documents. With the evolution of media, historical communication embodies dynamic innovation. I am concerned with how the individual trauma and historical heritage of the Nanjing Massacre enter a collective arena through interactive channels from a silent state to a wide range of vital formations.

As time goes by, witnesses' number of the Nanjing Massacre dwindles, for example,

there are 36 living survivors by far. This fact reminds us that these people are the last direct link for us with that history; meanwhile, it alerts the necessity of preserving and extending this oral legacy. In China, the analysis of oral history especially related to the Nanjing Massacre has much room for improvement. My interest is to connect a practical approach with the interpretation of oral testimony.

3.1 The Nanjing Massacre presented by feature films

To provide viewers with a window into history, a few film directors have tried to make an impression of historical authenticity in their creations by appropriating some documentary-making techniques and historical re-enactments. For example, the beginning of the film *City of Life and Death* (2009) emulates hand-held photography and documentary footage to give an impression of the real battles in Nanjing city, aiming to create a sense of historical authenticity in the film.

The widespread debates and discussions triggered by the historical film *City of Life and Death* in 2009 caught my attention. It can be a further research case on the narrative strategies of historical feature films. *City of Life and Death* (2009) tells a straightforward story: a Japanese soldier, Kadokawa, maintains his conscience during the Nanjing Massacre and acts as the protagonist and observer, providing his views on the slaughter; at the end, his despair of humanity leads to his suicide on the battlefield. One of the severe criticisms of this film is that the representation of the past, especially the part concerning the national traumatic memory, challenges the accuracy of history and received understanding of the past because there is no existing recording of a Japanese soldier who repented of the killings and the war on the Chinese battlefield (Chen 2010; Liu 2009; Hao 2009; and Yan 2009), although a few Japanese soldiers expressed their repentance, but only after the war. Compared

to how the director deals with the individual and typical characters in historical films, the issue of appropriating historical details is what I am more concerned about in future research.

One of the arguments concerning historical films is about what is lost in presenting information and the knowledge of history in films, for example, the accuracy of some details and the complexity of explanation. Rosenstone believes that “the inevitable thinning of data on the screen” (Rosenstone 1988, p.1178) has little effect on the quality of historical presentation. However, thinking further, what will happen if some new inferred information is added in a historical film and if the fictionality of the plot distorts the facts in the historical documents or exceeds the degree of emotional acceptance? In light of Rosenstone’s (1988) statement, the intention of historical films is not only to provide viewers with enough understanding of what history is but, even more importantly, to offer a sufficient understanding of what it is to be human. Very similarly, White (1988) views that the criterion of the veracity of detail hinges on the method chosen to represent the past and “our thought about its historical significance” (White 1988, p.1199). However, when some crucial information in film accounts of historical events is derived from extrapolations based on general humanity or individual assumptions, the uncertainty of historical details will trigger viewers to argue or think about the reliability of the director’s interpretation of the past.

3.2 The role of media interaction in communicating the Nanjing Massacre

Nowadays, through revitalizing the past, it is commonplace for the editing or sharing of history on the internet to mingle with the representation and distribution of other mass media such as newspapers, magazines, television, and films. According to

Wilson, the blooming media gives rise to the ability of 'generational edits of memory remixes of the past' (Wilson 2009, p.185). My interest is not only in the media footprints of communicating the history of the Nanjing Massacre but in the significance brought by the media's reimagination and interaction in our re-experiencing and remembering of the past.

To some extent, the history of the Nanjing Massacre films reflects the media communication process. For example, the release of the Nanjing Massacre films is frequently followed by waves of related discussion through multiple media outlets, such as academic debates in journals and public forums on web platforms. This practice of multiple-platform dialogue drives historical information across a larger number of media channels and audiences. As a result, historical memory undergoes a cycle of evoking, discussing, and enhancing processes in media development. Hoskins concludes that memories move along paths such as satellites, mass media, and the internet, "crossing boundaries and extending to a global level" (Hoskins 2011, p.3). Under the context of interactive forums and other novel forms of democratic participation, the conditions of collective memory formation have altered. I intend to explore to how and what extent this media-interactive communication functions in forming the collective memory of the Nanjing Massacre.

3.3 The further research on oral history

Oral history is a way against the fading of historical memory, especially significant for a generation ignorant of the war atrocities. These witnesses' accounts provide the original voice of real experiences and an integral part of historical wealth. They also give listeners an insight into the relationship between past and present, the self and society, and individual and collective memory (Abrams, 2010; Grele 1985; Thomson

2009). According to Eyerman, collective memory is conceived as “the outcome of interaction” (2004, p.66), and a conversational course within which individuals position themselves; in fact, this dialogic process is a kind of negotiation and location for both individuals and the collective. As I have demonstrated in Chapter 5, the communication of oral history reflects the conversational relationship between individuals and the public.

The documentary productions are devoted to presenting the oral history of the Nanjing Massacre and have achieved outstanding results, some classified oral history collections, including survivors' accounts and Japanese veterans' testimonies, can be seen in archives and libraries; however, the research on this oral heritage is quite deficient. Chapters 4 and 5 of this research have conducted a precursory exploration of the characteristics of oral history presented by documentaries and the role of oral history in shaping collective memory. However, a further interpretation of oral history is worthy of being forged ahead. For example, the oral history films about the Nanjing Massacre construct personalised figures such as traumatic survivors, confessed Japanese veterans, and the humanistic Western helper, reflecting a stage of the tellers' lives. In the frame of historiography, my concern is the construction of the narrators' selves, which produce a sense of historical seriality in their life stories, and the close relationship between personal vicissitudes with the past and the present social world, between individual memory, and collective memory.

To sum up, I, a Chinese researcher in UK academia, provide a unique English perspective in the reconsideration of this historical tragedy by approaching the Nanjing Massacre documentary films through different types of presentation. This cross-cultural research background provides a special angle from which I can view

this historical event, which benefits my study. The obvious advantages lie not only in collecting a large number of documentaries related to the Nanjing Massacre via several channels, and critically synthesising English scholarship on this event (as analysed in the literature review) but also in that my research integrates the driving force of individual national memory and identification with the cultural and historical research vehicles I use, such as the English language and types of documentary. Crucially, this work has to do with how much might be learned from my elaboration, including the highlighted and extended aspects, to move forward the interest in the Nanjing Massacre and reflect on the relationship between the past and the capricious present.

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- The Stories of the Yabftze River* (25-episode), 1983. [Film]. Directed by Dai Weiyu. China & Japan: CCTV, Masashi Sasada.
- The Story of the Great Wall* (four-episode), 1991. [Film]. Directed by Li Xiaoli. China & Japan: Chian Central Television, Tokyo Broadcasting System Inc.
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Appendix: The chapter-based list of films and television programs

Introduction

Nanking, 1938. [Film] Directed by Akimoto Takeshi. Japan: Toho.

The Nanjing Massacre, 1982. [Film]. Directed by Gao Zhongming. China: Central News Film Studio of China.

The Battle of China, 1944. [Film]. Directed by Capra. USA: Heroic People of Xinyang, 1958. [television programme]. Beijing Television Station. 1 June, 1958.

Survivors: Witness to Nanjing 1937 (Season 1, 5 episodes), 2016. [Film, DVD]. Directed by Dai Bo, China: Jiangsu Province Broadcasting Corporation.

Survivors: Witness to Nanjing 1937 (Season 2, 5 episodes), 2017. [Film, DVD]. Directed by Yu Wen, China: Jiangsu Province Broadcasting Corporation.

Iris Chang and the Nanjing Massacre, 2012. [television programme]. Yunnan Satellite TV. 5 April 2012, 09:10.

1937: Memory of Nanjing, 2005. [Film, DVD]. Directed by Yan Dong, Cao Haibing. China: CCTV; Jiangsu Province Broadcasting Corporation.

1937: The Truth of Nanjing, 2005. [Film, DVD]. Directed by Cao Haibing. China: Jiangsu Province Broadcasting Corporation.

Foreign Witnesses to the Nanjing Massacre (ten-episode), 2015. [television programme]. CCTV Science education. 7 December 2015, 22:00.

Why We Fight (1942 to 1945), [Film]. Directed by Frank Capra and Anatole Litvak. USA: U.S. Army Pictorial Service[a] and United States Army Signal Corps.

Rape of Nanking (also named *Nightmare in Nanking*), 2005. [Film, DVD]. Directed by Rhawn Joseph. USA: BrianMind.com Productions.

Nanking, 2007. [Film, DVD]. Directed by Bill Guttentag and Dan Sturman. USA: Ted Leonsis, Bill Guttentag, and Michael Jacobs.

Chapter 1

Nanking, 1938. [Film] Directed by Akimoto Takeshi. Japan: Toho.

The Nanjing Massacre, 1982. [Film]. Directed by Gao Zhongming. China: Central News Film Studio of China.

The Battle of China, 1944. [Film]. Directed by Capra. USA: Heroic People of Xinyang, 1958. [television programme]. Beijing Television Station. 1 June 1958.

Rent Collection Courtyard, 1966. [Film]. Directed by Chen Hanyuan. China: Beijing Television Station.

Why We Fight (1942 to 1945), [Film]. Directed by Frank Capra and Anatole Litvak. USA: U.S. Army Pictorial Service[a] and United States Army Signal Corps.

Chapter 2

I want to go home, 2000. [Film, DVD]. Directed by Pang Xinhua. China: CCTV-9.

Nanking, 1938. [Film] Directed by Akimoto Takeshi. Japan: Toho.

The Nanjing Massacre, 1982. [Film]. Directed by Gao Zhongming. China: Central News Film Studio of China.

Solid Evidence of The Nanjing Massacre, 1998. [Film, DVD]. Directed by Wang Lili. China: Central Archives; Second Historical Archives of China; and Jilin Academy of Social Science.

The Silk Road (CCTV series, fourteen-episode), 1980. [television programme]. CCTV. 1980.

The Silk Road (NHK TV series, thirty-episode), 1980-1984. [television programme]. NHK. 7 April, 1980.

The Story of the Great Wall (four-episode), 1991. [Film]. Directed by Li Xiaoli. China & Japan: Chian Central Television, Tokyo Broadcasting System Inc.

The Stories of the Yabftze River (25-episode), 1983. [Film]. Directed by Dai Weiyu . China & Japan: CCTV, Masashi Sasada.

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