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Site of Memory, Site of Trauma: The Memorial Hall of the Victims in Nanjing Massacre and China-Japan Reconciliation

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Abstract

Preserving the theme of victimization as a pivotal in China's remembering of the War of Resistance Against Japanese Aggression, the Memorial Hall of the Victims in Nanjing Massacre serves as the main symbol of traumatic memory in China. The Nanjing Massacre plays a big role in the Chinese people's consciousness and is considered as one of the most debated historical issues between China and Japan. Differences over war memory have negatively impacted Sino-Japanese relations for many decades. But in China, the Nanjing Massacre is regarded as a national trauma that will never be forgotten. This research is aimed to analyze the role of the Memorial Hall of the Victims in the Nanjing Massacre in the construction of attitudes toward Japan and Japanese society in China. And answer what kind of the historical representation of the Nanjing Massacre are shaped by the Memorial Hall? Does the Memorial Hall activate the emotional perception of history? Does it initiate advance reconciliation among former enemies, or, in contrast, deteriorate social reconciliation?

Keywords: Nanjing Massacre, Second World War, China-Japan Relations, Social Reconciliation, Nanjing Massacre Memorial Hall, Historical Memory

History and interactions between states and nations usually shape a certain perception and memory about each other. Mass consciousness is an extremely complicated and contradictory phenomenon. It intertwines elements of social psychology, politics, and culture, moral and ideological preferences. But in our day politics impacts the evolution of mass consciousness more and more. Perceptions and historical memory are salient and important for understanding not only the relationship between people but also for analyzing the foreign policies of states. A consistent policy of memory including historical consciousness and awareness of essential past events can be regarded as a strategic basis for developing society and the state. Thus, memory can not only shape the domestic situation but also constructs the international behavior of a state bringing improvement to the international environment or making it more complicated. However, even good cooperative relationships can be paralyzed by tensions over the historical issue.

This is undoubted, that the memory of the Second World War still provokes intense controversy and continues to shape public debates and regional policies in East Asia. While the Nanjing Massacre, which took place during the

Second World War, remains to be one of the controversial political issues and periodically impedes Sino-Japanese relations.

The Nanjing Massacre plays a big role in the Chinese people's consciousness and is considered as "one of the most debated historical issues between China and Japan" (Wang, 2021: 208). Differences over war memory have negatively impacted Sino-Japanese relations for many decades. But in China, the Nanjing Massacre is regarded as a national trauma that will never be forgotten. "Rape of Nanjing" has become a part of Chinese identity (Fogel, 2000). Scholars emphasize that the memorialization of wartime sufferings in China shape not only Chinese national identity, but also impacts on China-Japan relations, especially the role of the Memorial Hall for compatriots killed in the Nanjing Massacre by Japanese Forces of Aggression (the Memorial Hall) in the national building process and its effects on Chinese international relations (Denton 2007, 2014; Violi 2012; Yoshida 2014, Qian, 2009). The Memorial Hall also is a part of the patriotic education bases of patriotic education campaigns in China and provides special excursions for school children to the museum (PRC, 2021; Zhao, 1998; Yoshida, 2009). Annually museum hosts a variety of events and days of commemoration for reminding people about their traumatic past (Renmin Ribao, 2020; Xinhua, 2021a; Xu, 2021). Taking into account that the Memorial Hall not only serves for the preservation of the traumatic memory of the Nanjing Massacre in China but also aimed to counter the Japanese denial of the event (Armstrong, 2012; Lies, 2017) and response to the Japanese school history textbooks (Zhang, 2017; Qian and Liu, 2019: 83), which mention the Massacre only briefly and downplay Japanese aggression (Schneider, 2008; Shin and Sneider, 2011). In this regard, the research is aimed to track the interpretation and transmission of the collective memory of China's wartime victimization constructed by the Memorial Hall and its impact on the social reconciliation between China and Japan.

The structure of the article is as follows. The first section analyses the existing literature on the role of the Nanjing Massacre on China-Japan relations and introduces the methods of the research. The second section introduces the Memorial Hall for compatriots killed in the Nanjing Massacre by Japanese Forces of Aggression, as well as the representation of the Massacre, traumatic memories and the image of the Japanese army depicted in the Memorial. And finally, in conclusion, the article discusses the role of traumatic memories of the Nanjing event in China constructed by the Memorial Hall and its impact on the process of reconciliation between China and Japan in the post-war period.

1. Introduction

After the Second World War Sino-Japanese relations have had a complicated evolution and faced a lot of challenges standing in the way of reconciliation and cooperative relations. Being a part of the Pacific Theatre of the Second World War, the Chinese People's War of Resistance Against Japanese Aggression (also called the Second Sino-Japanese War, or the War of Resistance) was a military conflict that was primarily waged between the Republic of China and the Empire of Japan conventionally dated to the Marco Polo Bridge Incident on 7 July 1937¹ and continue until September 1945 and took the lives of tens of millions of people. And even the War of Resistance was finished more than 75 years ago, nevertheless, Sino-Japanese relations are still stuck in the process of mutual distrust generating conflicts in bilateral relations. And the roots of the lack of reconciliation and periodical deterioration of interstate relations between the former enemies in peacetime can be a result of the politic of memory carried by states.

The Second Sino-Japanese War is interpreted differently in mainland China and Japan and serves different political and ideological purposes. As for China, the history of the war is widespread and used as a patriotic tool: the narrative of China's resistance to the invasion of Japan is served for the glorification of the nation and the ruling party providing national cohesion and international sympathy by recognition of the traumatic event. While in contrast, in Japan the war history is marginalized. It is aimed to promote nationalism and improve national self-view: represent the war history in the way to justify the struggle of Japan against Western colonizers in Asia to liberate Asian nations, thereby minimizing the historical representation of the war crimes and rehabilitating the actions of the Empire of Japan during World War (Gu, 2021: 2; Liu 2017: 206-207).

As the result, divergent views and evaluations of the war periodically lead not only to political disputes and social media confrontations between China and Japan but also impact on mutual perception and relationships between the two societies. And one of the most controversial events of the Second World War represented differently in China and Japan, which periodically escalates the Sino-Japanese hostility is the Nanjing Massacre.

In accordance with joint Japan-China Public Opinion Survey conducted annually by the Genron NPO and China International Publishing Group since 2005, in 2021 year 56,4% of the Japanese and 80,6% of the Chinese respondents still consider historical issues as main problems in Japan-China relations. In particular, the number of Chinese who think that historical issues "can hardly be solved" in 2021 has increased from 37,1% to 46,9%. In the same time, 63,8% of Japanese respondents points that "China's anti-Japanese education and textbooks" is the main stumbling block between China and Japan. While Chinese people highlight "Japan's perception of the War of Resistance" (72,2%) and "Japan's perception of the Nanjing Massacre" (64,4%) as the crucial constrains for improving bilateral relations (The Genron NPO, 2021).

The Nanjing Massacre or the Rape of Nanjing was an episode of mass murder and mass rape committed by Imperial Japanese troops against the Chinese civilians and disarmed Chinese soldiers of Nanjing, at that time the capital of China. The massacre occurred over a period of six weeks starting on 13 December 1937, immediately after the occupation of the city. During this period, as it was estimated by the International Military Tribunal for the Far East in Tokyo, the total number of civilians and prisoners of war murdered in Nanjing and its vicinity was over 200,000 (IMTFE, 1946:1015), while China's official estimate is more than 300,000 victims (PRC, 2018). This traumatic event is also described in the Documents of Nanjing Massacre, which was inscribed in the program of the Memory of the World of UNESCO dedicated to the protection and promotion of documentary heritage (UNESCO, 2015).

Being one of the patriotic education bases which belong to patriotic education campaigns in China, the Memorial Hall for compatriots killed in the Nanjing Massacre by Japanese Forces of Aggression (in Chinese 侵华日军南京大屠杀遇难同胞纪念馆) is regarded as the main memorial site of the traumatic memories in China.

Analyzing the theme of traumas in academic works, there are a lot of researches on Chinese nationalism, especially related to Sino-Japanese relation, but the role of victimization and trauma as a constitutive element of foreign policy and decision-making process in China is lacking. At the same time, the role of the discourse of victimization and trauma recently cultivated in China affects not only the construction of national identity but also impacts China's relationship with the world, especially with its neighbors and Japan. The role of historical myths in the national collective memory remains to be crucial in Sino-Japanese relations (He, 2007; Gustafsson, 2020). Traumatic past and historical problems remain to impact on Sino-Japanese relations determining the rapprochement or rise of distrust between China and Japan (He 2009; Rose 2009; Wan 2008). China's collective memory of the War of Resistance has shifted from the narrative of the "heroic resistance" to "victimization" in the post-Mao era (Gries 2004; Denton, 2007; Qian and Liu, 2019), while the memorialization of the Nanjing Massacre tied with the narrative of "Century of National Humiliation" applied in patriotic education programs and the inserting of victimization into Chinese national identity (Callahan, 2004; Wang, 2012). For example, Zheng Wang believes that the Chinese people's historical consciousness and its complex of myth and trauma are the dominant ideas in China's public rhetoric (Wang, 2012), while patriotic education campaigns, history textbooks, and military museums not only targeted to legitimize the Communist rule in China but also determine the climate of Sino-Japanese relations (Wang, 2017; Violi 2012; Yoshida 2014; Liu 2017).

Besides, as former German Chancellor Willy Brandt points out "understanding and reconciliation cannot be decreed by politicians but must mature in the hearts of people on both sides"(1978: 407), hence the role of the nation and its perceptions of former adversaries have to be considerate too. And one of the historical events which currently shape the attitudes toward Japan in China is the Nanjing Massacre.

Thus, this research is aimed to analyze the impact of the narrative of the Nanjing massacre currently cultivated in China and the role of the Memorial Hall of the Victims in Nanjing Massacre in the construction of perception and

attitudes toward Japan and Japanese society in China. As the result the role of the memories of the Nanjing Massacre and the Memorial Hall on the process of reconciliation between China and Japan in the post-war period.

2. The Memorial Hall for compatriots killed in the Nanjing Massacre by Japanese Forces of Aggression

The Method section describes in detail how the study was conducted, including conceptual and operational definitions of the variables used in the study. Different types of studies will rely on different methodologies; however, a complete description of the methods used enables the reader to evaluate the appropriateness of your methods and the reliability and the validity of your results. It also permits experienced investigators to replicate the study. If your manuscript is an update of an ongoing or earlier study and the method has been published in detail elsewhere, you may refer the reader to that source and simply give a brief synopsis of the method in this section. The Memorial Hall for compatriots killed in the Nanjing Massacre by Japanese Forces of Aggression (in Chinese 侵华日军南京大屠杀遇难同胞纪念馆, pinyin: Qinhua Rijun Nanjing Datusha Tongbao Jinianguan) was erected by the Nanjing Municipal Government and officially opened in 1985 in commemoration of the 300 000 victims who lost their lives in 1937 in Nanjing during the China's War of Resistance against Japanese aggression. The Memorial Hall covers a total area of 103 000 square meters, with a building area of 57 000 square meters and the exhibition area of 20 000 square meters (The Memorial Hall, 2021a).

The Memorial Hall was enlarged and renovated several times. Firstly in 1995 and later in 2005-2007 enlarged the Memorial Hall by three times (Qian and Liu, 2019: 91-92). In 2017 the main exhibition hall was undergoing a third renovation for the upcoming 80th anniversary of the Massacre (Xinhua, 2021b).

The Memorial complex consists of sculptures, statues, cultural relics, buildings built out of gray marble, historical data and materials, paintings, photos, and films which serve as historical pieces of evidence of the perpetrated massacre. In addition, it is a free-entrance historical museum with descriptions given in three languages: Chinese, Japanese, and English. It also should be noted, that the Memorial Hall is one of the leading museums by highest attendance in the world and placed third most visited museums worldwide on the ranking in 2019 with 4,17 million visitors and with 1,51 million visitors in 2020 (Statista Research Department, 2021).

2.1 Main exhibitions of the Memorial Hall and representation of national trauma of the Nanjing Massacre

The first exhibits - the chain of sobering sculptures - meet visitors before the entrance into the memorial complex. Sculptures portray Chinese people of different ages and gender with faces writhed in agony and with pain. People represented on these sculptures are helpless and lost; they try to seek escape from the horror of the war. Sculptures like alive have souls and these souls are sobbing violently, they are screaming, crying, and calling for help. Moreover, each of the sculptures has a terror depicted on their faces. All of these sculptures are accompanied by a little description of depicted people and their suffering in Chinese and English languages. For example, the first and the biggest sculpture "Family Ruined" (see Appendix A) is described by words: "Never returns the son killed. Never returns the husband buried alive. Miseries drowns the wife raped. Good Heavens!." The sculpture of the couple is accompanied by "How wretched she was! My dear poor wife! The devil raped you, stabbed you... We were together even though we died."

The main part of the Memorial Hall can be divided into three main sections: the Square Exhibit Section (广场陈列, pinyin: Guangchang Chenlie), the Memorial Remains Exhibit Section (遗骨陈列, pinyin: Yigu Chenlie) and the Historical Material Exhibit Section (史料陈列, pinyin: Shiliao Chenlie) (Wei, 2017). All these sections dedicated to the history of the massacre, proofs, evidence, testimonies and commemoration.

After passing the chain of sobering sculptures and entrancing in the Memorial Hall, there is the Square Exhibit Section. The Square Exhibit Section is composed of the Mourning Square (悼念广场, pinyin: Diaonian

Guangchnag), the Sacrificing Square (祭奠广场, pinyin: Jidian Guangchang) and the Graveyard Square (墓地广场, pinyin: Mudi Guangchang).

The Mourning Square was built in 1997, it has several memorial monuments and is covered by grey stones. There is a memorial monument in the form of a cross built out of white granite bricks with the engraving inscription of the time of the Massacre and a big stele with the numbers of victims - 300 000 victims - carved on it in eleven languages such as Chinese, Korean, Japanese, English, Russian, Spanish, Italian and etc (see Appendix B). On the right side of the Cross, there are remains of "the Disaster of the Ancient City" (古城的灾难, Pinyin: guicheng de zainan) in the form of the destroyed wall which also bears an inscription 300 000 victims, besides there are big sculptures conformed to shape of head and arm rising from the ground, these sculptures can be associated with people buried alive during the Nanjing Massacre.

The Mourning Square locates at the begging of the memorial complex and creates feelings of oppression and devastation thereafter visitors with heavy hearts continue viewing the museum (see Appendix C).

The Sacrificing Square is based on the former memorial museum walls, which were built in 1985, with engraved words "300, 000 victims" in Chinese, Japanese, and English. Moreover, the inscription "the Memorial for compatriots killed in the Nanjing Massacre by Japanese Forces of Aggression" (侵华日军南京大屠杀遇难同胞纪念馆, pinyin: Qinhua Rijun Nanjing Datusha Tongbao Jinianguan) is still to be seen on the former entrance wall. The tablet with this inscription symbolizes the name of the memorial complex which was given and written by Deng Xiaoping (China News, 2014).

In 2002 the cooper plate pathway of "Historical Witnesses' Footprints" was set up on the 65th anniversary of the Nanjing Massacre and added to the Sacrificing Square's landscape. The cooper plate pathway of "Historical Witnesses' Footprints," as it described at its introduction notice, is "40 meters long and 1, 6 meters wide, on which cast the footprints of 222 historical witnesses including some survivors in the Nanjing Massacre." Besides, there is a bronze statue erected in 2005 in memory of Iris Chang (Gang, 2017). Iris Chang was an American historian and journalist who published the book "The Rape of Nanking: the Forgotten Holocaust of World War II" in 1997, the best-known book of the atrocities committed by the Japanese militarist army in Nanjing. In China, Iris Chang became a symbol of disclosing to the public what had happened in Nanjing in 1937 and currently, she is regarded as the last victim of the Massacre due to committing suicide after several years after the publishing of the book (Irischang.net, 2011). Moreover, there is more information about Iris Chang in the stand dedicated to activities in memory of the history of the Nanjing Massacre in the Historical Material exhibit section.

The Graveyard Square was built in 1985. It more closely resembles a "courtyard where cobblestones are laid to signify the location of a graveyard," also there are dead trees and a "broken wall which create a desolate atmosphere" (the description near the entrance into the Graveyard Square). Besides, there is the large statue of Mother surrounding by the dead and growing trees as reminding of the contrast between death and life. Behind the statue of Mother, the visitors also can find a wall with the names of the victims of the Nanjing Massacre. Furthermore, the square has a Ruined Wall with depictions of the main scenes of the Nanjing Massacre and is accompanied by a detailed description of each event (see Appendix D). For example, the "Catastrophe" part of the ruined wall is described as "Japanese invasion caused huge destruction to the city and to various families... Mothers of Nanjing strived to protect their frightened children. Unarmed and crippled Chinese officers and soldiers were driven toward the road to death, alongside hundreds of thousands of civilians...within 6 weeks since December 13th, 1937, people of Nanjing suffered an extremely pitiful Catastrophe that shocked the world." The "Destruction" part represents my next words on tablet: "the crying baby witnessed it...if front of his eyes there was a horrific scene: piles of corpses and conflagrations everywhere, dead bodies were floating and rolling in the river." While the "Memorial" part is accompanied by such narrative as "survivors were deeply sorrowful after the catastrophe...the wailing mother who is holding a baby shoe could never forget her children whose lives were taken away...." All descriptions mentioned above underline the date of the Nanjing Massacre and the

defenselessness of Chinese people and repeat some of this information several times. Moreover, such descriptions create a horrible picture in visitors' minds and bring full consciousness of the danger and horror of the Nanjing Massacre and in particular atrocities committed by Japanese Imperialist troops.

Memorial Remains Exhibit Section introduces the bone remains of the victims excavated from the Jiangdongmen. In total, the Memorial Hall buries three sites of the mass grave of remains of victims, which were found in 1984, 1998-1999, and 2006 (The Memorial Hall, 2021a). The most mass grave of 10 000 corpses was found in 1998 and stored in the memorial complex to the present day (The Memorial Hall, 2021b). All bones and skeletons found during excavations in Nanjing are stored in the Memorial and can be overviewed by visitors.

Historical Material Exhibit Section is the tomb-like exhibition hall located partially underground and introduces the whole history of the Nanjing Massacre. It is also known as the document hall with cultural relics and can be divided into three parts: "A Human Holocaust" - An exhibition of the historical facts of the Nanjing Massacre perpetrated by the Japanese Invaders (人类的浩劫——侵华日军南京大屠杀史实展, pinyin: Renlei de Haojie - Qinhua Rijun Nanjing Datusha Shishi Zhan), Special Exhibition of the Victory in 1945 (胜利1945 专题展, pinyin: Shengli 1945 Zhuanti Zhan) and cinema-hall displaying documentary film and movie about the Nanjing Massacre and other events of China-Japan war.

Before the exhibition of "A Human Holocaust," visitors can see a big hall representing the death toll of the victims of the Massacre, old photos of the victims moving on a multimedia screen, and names of the victims on the walls surrounding this hall. The main exhibition reveals the whole history of the occupation of Nanjing by Japanese troops during 1937-1945 beginning with the invasion of Shanghai. The hall includes such materials as historical photos, documents, collection of pictures, charts, records at the scene of events, skeletons, paintings, sculptures, hanging video displays, multimedia screens and documentary films, Japanese soldiers' diaries, articles from Japanese newspapers, maps and testimonies of over 1000 survivals (see Appendix E). All these materials and tools are aimed to demonstrate crimes and atrocities perpetrated by the Japanese army.

The Historical Hall shows photos of atrocities and brutally killed civilians accompanied by murder weapons and instruments such as firearms, bayonets, machine guns. Photos depict executions of civilians and soldiers, rapping and looting in Nanjing committed by Japanese troops, destructions of the ancient city of Nanjing. The exhibition also pays attention to killed children, mainly most photos and sculptures of killed and surviving children are accompanied by the information of their age.

The numbers of the victims 300, 000 and the word "massacre" are repeated several times. It appears in the form of separated small sculptures or big engravings, besides it can be stressed by in thick large type.

At the end of the "A Human Holocaust" exhibition, we can see a huge Archive Wall. As described in the tablet, the Archive included "10,000 individualized archive datum of the victims in the Nanjing Massacre in black archive boxes and 2,600 individualized archive data of the survivors in blue archive boxes; grey archive boxes – 103 Japanese inflictors and 39 foreigners individualized archive datum who had protected Chinese people during the Nanjing Massacre." Interestingly, that there is a self-service machine on the opposite side of the archive, which can help us to check our awareness and what did we memorized after the exhibition.

Besides testimonies of Chinese people, the Memorial Hall includes the exhibitions devoted to the Nanking International Safety Zone and its humanitarian operations during the Massacre showing testimonies of international witnesses too. A big part of the exhibition is dedicated to the International Safety Zone and refugee camps. Besides, information about the International Military Tribunal for the Far East and Nanjing Military Tribunal for the Trial of War Criminals occupies a fitting place in the hall. Also, there is a mention about the role of the Communist Party and the Chinese Nationalist Party and international contribution to the victory.

One of the most chilling exhibits that make visitors numb with horror and evoke sorrow is "12 Seconds" (12 秒, pinyin: 12 Miao). "12 Seconds" is a small pool with a drop of water dripping into it every 12 seconds symbolizing

the death of one of the victims of the massacre every 12 seconds (see Appendix F). "12 Seconds" is a soul-trembling exhibit that can shake everybody up and will be engraved into hearts. We will give the whole description written near this exhibit in order to convey at least some of the feelings and sentiments: "Accompanying by the "tick" sound of a clock, a drop of waterfalls from the high sky every 12 seconds, and meanwhile, a lamp, with a portrait of the victim on the sidewall, will be on and then off. Within the six weeks, more than 300,000 compatriots were slaughtered if counted by the time, one life would disappear every 12 seconds. One's life is precious. We should condemn the invasion, condemn slaughter, condemn terrorism, and pray for the permanent peace for humankind".

2.2. The representation of the enemy: the image of Japan army

Generally, representation of Japan and Japan army is represented in the context of the description of the Massacre and the traumatic experience of the Chinese people during the event.

The most commonly used appellations of Japan and Japanese in the exhibition are "Japanese invading troops" (日本侵略军, pinyin: riben qinlüejun) and "Japanese army" (日军, pinyin: rijun). There is no clear difference between Imperialist Japan and Japan in general, as the results of the negative attitudes, which are shaped by the Memorial, usually is shaped toward Japan in general, not to Imperialist Japan, Imperialist army, or Imperialist government. As the result, the difference between the government and society in that time, the time when the massacre had happened, and today's Japan are erased and unclear.

As for the descriptions of atrocities committed by Japanese invaders in the memorial: "the Japanese troops launched the mass slaughter of innocent people and perpetrated extreme terror," "destroyed China," "civilians and disarmed Chinese soldiers were massacred by execution squads" are commonly used and repeated numerous times not only in the document hall but in the outdoor exhibitions too. Moreover, for example, in the document hall, there is such exhibit as souvenir bows and badges of "China Incident" issued by the Japanese government in 1937 and described as souvenirs with "the pictures of a fully armed Japanese soldier with riding boots trampling on the Chinese land, between whose legs there a Chinese soldier facing the ground and carrying a broadsword on his back." Besides, some historical photos, which were made by Japanese soldiers, give an explanation of the purpose of making these photos, for example, such explanation as "to send to his daughter with the description of his life." All atrocities perpetrated by the Japanese army are well-organized and represented in detail.

Besides, it should be noted that the exhibitions are finished with the stand on the topic of China-Japan relations development. This stand includes photos of Chinese leaders and Japanese leaders together accompanied by descriptions of good relationship development stages. However, this stand does not enjoy popularity among visitors. Taking into account a high passableness in this day, there were no any of visitors observing this stand during the 15 minutes.

2.3. Additional exhibitions and branches of the Memorial Hall

It should be noted, that except for the Memorial Hall, there is a branch of the Memorial with a basic thematic exhibition the Nanjing Lijixiang Comfort Station opened in 2015 (The Memorial Hall, 2021b). The exhibition represents the history of the "Comfort women", women and girls forced into sexual slavery by the Imperial Japanese Army in occupied countries and territories during the Second World War.

Besides, there is a new exhibition hall dedicated to the Great Victory of the Anti-Fascist War in the Chinese theater of the war and International Military Tribunal for the Far East – entitled "Three Victories" (三个必胜 pinyin: San he Bi Sheng). It was opened in 2015 due to the 70th anniversary of the victory of the War of Resistance Against Japan. Expect the Chinese Great Victory over the Japanese army in 1945 and the role of the Communist Party of China in this victory, "Three Victories" exhibition hall also introduce the international anti-fascist front during the Second World War: representing different theatres of war in Asia, Europe, Africa, and Oceania, main war crimes and international trials. The main idea of this exhibition hall is to link China's War of the Resistance against Japan with the global Anti-fascist war and emphasis the contribution made by China along with the Allies to the victory

over fascism. As the result, represent China as a key power in the struggle against fascism during the Second World War.

Also, the Memorial Hall has a Peace Park Area with the statues of "Peace" (the statues of the peace-wishing woman with a child), "Wall of Victory", and "Wall of Peace Declaration". Peace Park is regarded as the lightest, green, and peaceful place in the whole memorial complex thereafter it causes a big resonance with the dark atmosphere of the other largest part of the memorial.

3. Conclusion

For many years the Nanjing Massacre has been the most known evidence of atrocities committed by the Imperial Japanese Army against Chinese soldiers and civilians. Chinese students have been taught the Nanjing Massacre in schools and in recent years Chinese history textbooks are over-filled with pictures, photos, and information describing the historical issue of 1937 that happened in Nanjing. While the Memorial for Compatriots Killed in the Nanjing Massacre by Japanese Forces of Aggression plays the role of the commemoration and educational base not only for the students but is regarded as a symbol of the historical trauma for the whole Chinese nation. It also is actively involved in the memorial policy in China. The Memorial Hall annually holds state the National Memorial Day in China commemorating not only Nanjing Massacre victims but all those killed during Japanese aggression against China (introduced in 2014 along with Victory Day, Xinhua, 2014).

The Memorial Hall is an unforgettable powerful memorial erected not only for Chinese people but also directed to the world to show profound grief and bereavement of the Chinese nation during history. The Memorial Hall evokes not only the sense of trauma and feeling of sorrow but also gives a chance to share the pain and mourn with Chinese people for the victims of the Nanjing Massacre.

At the same time, the Memorial Hall constructs two main narratives. On the one hand, it shapes the narrative of trauma, namely the emphasis on suffering and victimization. On the other hand, the idea of heroism, heroic resistance, and victory. And even the victimization and trauma prevail at times, the narrative of the victory currently inserted into the national identity of China too. The Memorial Hall is used to construct and distribute the collective memory of victimization and victory in China not only to shape national identity and consolidate the nation but also to legitimize Communist Party rule, under whose leadership the nation was saved from trauma and horrors of the war.

Besides, both narratives cultivated in the Memorial Hall - trauma and victory, the identity of victim and hero, serves as China's self-presentation. However, the predominance of the victimhood narrative in Memorial Hall, as well as the focus on trauma and how this trauma took place, all these blur China's self-view as a hero. Even the new reconstruction of the memorial and the connection of China's War of the Resistance against Japan with the global Anti-Fascist War with the emphasis on the contribution made by China along with the Allies to the victory over fascism is also aimed to consolidate China's traumatic victimized past not only inside the country but also in world history too.

The narrative of the victim roots more and more into the national identity of the Chinese people. As the result, traumatic memories are transmitted among generations, while the narrative of victory is not consolidated into the Chinese consciousness, as it is shaded by the focus on the trauma of the Nanjing Massacre.

As for the perception of Japan and the Japanese Army. Firstly, the Memorial Hall focuses on the description of the wartime atrocities in detail using various tools of transmission of the memory of the Nanjing massacre, such as multimedia, photos, videos, sculptures, newspapers, testimonies, excavations, monuments, and touching descriptions to it. All these diversities of representation of memory are aimed to evoke feelings toward the Nanjing Memory. The Memorial Hall generally aimed to construct the emotional perception of the Nanjing Massacre to visitors rather than just list a bunch of historical facts. Thus, the Memorial Hall activates the full range of traumatic sentiments such as shock, fear, horror, grief, resentment, and others. As the result, the Memorial Hall causes deep-rooted aversion to Japan and the Japanese army not only among Chinese people but also among other visitors from

other countries. Hence, anti-Japanese sentiments can be easily explained by the presence of such bright and bloody reminding of the past as the Nanjing Massacre Memorial Hall in China.

Secondly, the Memorial Hall represents the Nanjing Massacre from the Chinese history point of view, while for Japan this interpretation is not entirely acceptable and adopted. The Nanjing Massacre is introduced differently in China and Japan, even the total number of victims, which is claimed and repeated many times in the Memorial, is estimated differently. Thus, the Memorial Hall produces selective memories and activates emotional perception of the history, which do not initiate advance reconciliation among former enemies, and in parallel deteriorate social reconciliation.

Preserving the theme of victimization as a pivotal in China's remembering of the War of Resistance in general, and the Nanjing Massacre in particular, the Memorial Hall serves as a symbol of traumatic memory in China. However, social reconciliation is a process where two sides of the conflict are involved. And as long as Japan avoids war stigma and minimizes the historical representation of the war atrocities during the Second World War, China remains to reinforce the narrative of victimization not only in the Nanjing Massacre Memorial but also in memory politics in general. Thereby the Nanjing Massacre Memorial remains to be used to construct an emotion-centered interpretation of the history and provoke intense controversy in China-Japan relations, which in turn deteriorates the social reconciliation in post-war time.

Notes:

1. The Chinese People's War of Resistance Against Japanese Aggression is also called an "eight-year war" in China. However, in 2017 the Ministry of Education of the People's Republic of China declared to revise starting point of the conflict from a battle on 7 July 1937 at the Marco Polo Bridge near Beijing to the Mukden Incident on 18 September 1931 preceding the Japanese invasion of Manchuria. Thus, the Communist Party issued to replace the term "eight-year war" with "fourteen-year war" as a period of Chinese resistance against militarist Japan (Xinhua 2017c).

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Appendix A. Sculpture "Family Ruined." Photograph made by the author.



Appendix B. The Morning Square: Cross and Stele. Photograph by the author



Appendix C. "The Mourning Square." Photograph by the author.



Appendix D. "The Graveyard Square: Ruined Wall." Photograph by the author.



Appendix. E. Exhibition of the Historical Facts of the Nanjing Massacre Perpetrated by the Japanese Invaders. Photograph by the author.



Appendix. F. "12 Seconds." Photograph by the author.

