

博士論文(要約)

Producing the Nation:
Memory, Race, and Gender in Chinese and Japanese War Films

(国家の制作 :

中国と日本の戦争映画における記憶・民族・ジェンダー)

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論文の内容の要旨

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Taking the apparent “tidal wave” of memory in the late 20th and early 21st century as its starting point, this dissertation explores remembering in a specific context, World War II in East Asia (1937-1945), and through a specific mode, film. Chapter One introduces the main historical events and themes of the East Asian history debate, situating the conflict within larger global memory trends. Defining memory as the collective narrating of the past, it argues that whereas memory in the past was based on oral traditions, rites, and rituals, now it is institutionalized in “sites of memory.” Remembrance is systematically placed into a vessel such as a public library, monument, art installation, or movie, “markers” we manufacture to attempt to firmly imprint our impression of the past onto the present. The chapter narrows its focus to film, arguing that it is a unique site of memory in terms of its reproducibility, affective impact, blurring of past and present, and appeal to authenticity. War films, by narrating national pasts through images of race and gender, are an integral expression of national memory. By analyzing Chinese and Japanese war films, we can examine current narratives of national identity.

Chapter Two discusses how Chinese and Japanese films reject the perceived “foundational narrative” of the war as established at the postwar International Military Tribunal for the Far East or Tokyo Trial (1946-1948). The “Tokyo Trial” narrative positions the United States as hero,

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Japan as perpetrator, and China as victim. The popular Chinese film *Tokyo Trial* (2006) challenges both this narrative, portrayed as American “meddling,” and the Japanese revisionist narrative, which is presented as the sole Japanese perspective on the war. Japanese films demonstrate two trends. Mainstream films focus on victimhood while concurrently retaining aspects of the foundational narrative; right wing films appeal to heroism, ignore East Asia, and argue for a more equitable US-Japan relationship. While the victimhood narrative is still the dominant narrative, the heroic narrative, appearing at a time when heroic narratives are more prominent in Japan, is significant.

Chapter Three explores the rise of new masculinities in Chinese and Japanese combat films as further evidence of Chinese and Japanese challenges to prior narratives of the war. In combat films, the memory dispute is imagined as the competition of masculinities. The emergence of new Chinese heroes show an increasingly aggressive challenge to Japanese revisionism through the clash of Chinese and Japanese cultural tropes (*karate* vs *wushu*; Chinese machetes and “drawing sword spirit” versus Japanese *katana*) and a changing relationship with Taiwan, as the *Hanjian* (Chinese collaborators) are subtly rehabilitated. Mainstream Japanese films show a problematic victim-hero and the softening of the image of the upper levels of the military. More “right-wing” films portray the unambiguous veneration of military sacrifice and a desire for normalization.

Chapter Four discusses the problematic representation of the Nanjing Massacre and so-called “comfort women,” a euphemism for sexual slavery during the war. More than any other discourse, these films display the most diverse and problematic responses to war memory and highlight the uneasy overlapping of Chinese, American, and Japanese memory discourses. Chinese and Japanese films on wartime rape—often via dialogue with American discourse—tend

to obscure the trauma of individual women in order to support broader political narratives. Many Chinese films struggle to narrate an “emasculated” past, whereas Japanese right and left wing films on Nanjing fight over the national honor/dignity of the Japanese soldier and broader issues of national identity.

Chapter Five examines Sino-Japanese remembrance, discussing attempts in popular media to build a narrative beyond the Tokyo Trial. Tracing different stages of reconciliation narratives, it argues that there has been the slow disappearance of reconciliation in China and Japan both outside the narrative (via co-productions) and inside the narrative (via the image of familial reconciliation). Recent narratives even twist the Sino-Japanese family—originally a symbol of national reconciliation—into a vehicle for nationalism.

Chapter Six concludes that Chinese and Japanese films show disparate relationships to time and thus to prosthetic memory, the vicarious feeling of having experienced a past that one has not experienced in reality. Chinese films after the 1990s reproduce the political narrative of “national humiliation” through the figure of the masculine *Han* hero avenging a feminized Chinese past. The saturation, clarity, and continuity of these narratives compress the sense of time for Chinese audiences, fomenting an urgent desire for a strong response to perceived attacks on the nation. Meanwhile, Japanese films tend towards solipsism and ambiguity, as seen in the figure of the patriotic victim-soldier. These narratives demonstrate temporal distance, a lack of clarity, and a lack of unity which allows for a range of audience interpretations across the political spectrum of right/left/mainstream. This also has the consequence, intended or not, of eliding wartime responsibility and paving the way towards military normalization. Ultimately, war films are a mobilization of identity in response to the changing intersections of power in the Pacific.

Acknowledgements

My paternal grandfather, Lincoln Weiss, served in the Pacific during WWII as a Sergeant assigned to the 775th Army Air Forces Base Unit. A radio mechanic, he was never injured or in combat, though he spend time on the Kwajalein Atoll and Guam in 1944 and 1945. As I was in the midst of completing this dissertation, my father wrote to me, “WWII had a huge impact [on your grandfather]. Grandpa, a former Midwest farm boy, suddenly had his horizons hugely expanded into the Pacific Rim, into an Asian and Micronesian cultural sphere, with a riveting focus on a country and enemy (Japan) heretofore virtually unknown.” When my father, serving in the army during the Vietnam War in 1970, announced that he was going to take a trip to Japan, my grandfather “didn’t say much, simply acknowledging that we live in a very different time.”

I wonder what my grandfather would have said about my current project. My personal interest in Sino-Japanese memory began while I was living in China around the mid 2000s. As I attended classes at the Beijing Film Academy (BFA), Sino-Japanese relations reached their lowest point in thirty years.¹ Japan’s bid for inclusion in the UN Security Council coincided with a global trend of rising nationalism and the 60th anniversary of the end of World War II, culminating in severe historical conflicts over the spring of 2005. During that time, both China and Japan experienced an explosion of films and television shows on the Pacific War. Living in the middle of the Chinese film industry the following year, I had the opportunity to observe and even participate in this trend. Many of my Japanese classmates at the BFA were recruited to play soldiers in Chinese TV programs, and one of my very first film jobs was translating dialogue for

¹ Mindy Kotler, Naotaka Sugawara, and Tetsuya Yamada, “Chinese and Japanese Public Opinion: Searching for Moral Security,” *Asian Perspective* 3, no. 1 (2007): 93-125. Also, see “Chinese and Japanese Public Opinion Polls” in the Appendix.

a film on the Flying Tigers, a group of American pilots who worked with the Chinese Air Force during WWII.

Now, as another 10-year anniversary looms on the horizon, I see TV specials and new combat films being advertised with nostalgic posters on the subways and outside video stores in Tokyo, my home since 2009. Working as a lecturer in Yokohama from 2012-2014, I saw the postwar US-Japan military alliance play out in person. As I passed by families of American soldiers from the Yokosuka naval base, I wondered if I was also walking by Japanese Special-Defense Forces (known to wear civilian clothes when off base).² Having thus experienced the 2005 anniversary in one nation and approaching the 2015 anniversary in the other, I feel as if my life has in a sense been bookended by Chinese memory at one end, Japanese memory at the other, with my own American memory—framed by that of my family—in the middle. Looking back at my grandfather's comment as recalled by my father, it is remarkable to me how much circumstances change over the years. Only time will tell how new generations of Chinese, Japanese, and Americans will gaze at their past and build their future.

Over the years of researching and writing, I have been supported and guided by many scholars and friends. I could not have completed this dissertation without the guidance of Yoshimi Shunya and Jason G. Karlin at the University of Tokyo. I am also grateful to Fujii Shōzō, Timothy Y. Tsu, and Kitada Akihiro for their advice during my first and second defenses. Other scholars who have offered me invaluable support through their comments and suggestions include Nicola Liscutin, Karima Fumitoshi, Tezuka Yoshiharu, Barak Kushner, Patrick Galbraith, Tanaka Keiko, Kaminishi Yūta, Song Gukchin, Yeo Yezi, Susan Taylor, Alexandra Hambleton, Nikura Takahito, Kondō Kazuto, Christian Dimmer, Ha Kyungjin, Ni Fengming,

² Sabine Frühstück, *Uneasy Warriors: Gender, Memory, and Popular Culture in the Japanese Army* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 2007).

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Language

This dissertation uses the *pinyin* system for Chinese terms unless referring to titles of books (*The Rape of Nanking* instead of *The Rape of Nanjing*) and popular names (Chiang Kaishek instead of Jiang Jieshi). For Japanese terms, it relies on the Revised Hepburn style of romanization (Shinbashi instead of Shimbashi; Hirō instead of Hiroo). Japanese, Chinese and Korean names are typically listed with the family name first and the personal name last (Satō Junya instead of Junya Satō; Lu Chuan instead of Chuan Lu).

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1. Introduction

“In the most extreme case, the boundaries between fact and fiction, image and the real have been blurred to the extent of leaving us only with simulation, and the postmodern subject vanishes in the imaginary world of the screen.”¹

August 15th, the date which marks the end of World War II in the Pacific (henceforth WWII), has been remembered around the world in strikingly different ways. In 1945, it was enthusiastically celebrated by the Allies as “Victory over Japan Day” or “V-J Day,” perhaps most memorably recorded in the famous “V-J Day in Times Square” photograph by Alfred Eisenstaedt (Figure 1). Since 1949, South Korea has referred to August 15th as “Restoration of Light Day” (*Gwangbokjeol*) to celebrate the end of Japanese colonial rule (Figure 2); in North Korea it is remembered as “Liberation of Fatherland Day” (*Chogukhaebangŭi nal*). In Japan, while in 1945 the average citizen greeted the surrender with confusion, shock, or despair (Figure 3), today the date is commemorated as the “Memorial Day for the End of the War” (*Shūsen-kinenbi*), a somber day to remember the fallen dead and pray for peace.² In China, August 15th has increasingly become a day of informal protest against Japanese revisionism.

Certainly, over the years August 15th has been an important symbolic date for remembering the war. On August 15, 1951, the Japan-China Friendship Association encouraged Japanese citizens to send letters to China and Taiwan to recognize Japanese aggression in the

¹ Andreas Huyssen, “Monument and Memory in a Postmodern Age,” *Yale Journal of Criticism* 6 (1993): 249.

² “Zengoku senbossha tsuitō shiki ni tsuite,” *Kōseirōdōshō*, accessed November 4, 2014, <http://www.mhlw.go.jp/houdou/2007/08/h0808-1.html>.

Marco Polo Bridge Incident.³ In the 1972 Japanese film *Under the Flag of the Rising Sun* (Gunki hatameku moto ni), a bereaved war widow demands details of her husband's wartime death each year on that date. In 1982, the Chinese newspaper *People's Daily* (Renmin Ribao) published the following warning amidst the first textbook controversy: "Past experience, if not forgotten, is a guide to the future."⁴ Finally, August 15th is the contentious date that several prime ministers have chosen to visit the controversial Yasukuni Shrine.⁵ Such diverse remembrance of August 15th suggests the ways in which the war has come to signify different meanings among different communities and how history, rather than receding into the past, is increasingly present.

Discourse on war memory has emerged forcefully over the past two decades, particularly in China and Japan, the subjects of this study. The subjugation, violence and loss of the war left physical, psychological, economic, and social wounds on both nations, an "interpreted shock to the cultural tissue of a society."⁶ In China, the war is considered one part of a "history of pain": a century of colonial incursion, unequal treaties, loss of territory, and domestic turmoil.⁷ From this historical perspective, Japanese aggression in China stretches back

³ Franziska Seraphim, *War Memory and Social Politics in Japan, 1945-2005*, (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 2006), 121.

⁴ Caroline Rose, *Interpreting History in Sino-Japanese Relations: A Case-Study in Political Decision Making* (New York: Routledge, 2005), 1.

⁵ The first unofficial visit was by Prime Minister Takeo Miki in 1975. This visit went largely unnoticed as Class A war criminals were not enshrined until 1978. A visit in 1985 by Prime Minister Nakasone Yasuhiro prompted strong protests among Chinese students. Later visits by Prime Minister Koizumi Jun'ichiro from 2001-2006 inspired angry reactions in countries affected by Japanese colonialism. "Anti-Japan Protests in China," *The Atlantic*, September 17, 2012, accessed November 5, 2014, <http://www.theatlantic.com/infocus/2012/09/anti-japan-protests-in-china/100370/>.

⁶ Cultural trauma can also be considered in terms of Zelizer Levi-Strauss's "hot moment" and Gerbner's "critical incident." For more on cultural trauma, see: Piotr Sztompka, "Cultural Trauma The Other Face of Social Change," *European Journal of Social Theory* 3, no. 4 (2000): 449. For more on "hot moments" and "critical incidents", see: Barbie Zelizer, *Covering the Body: The Kennedy Assassination, the Media, and the Shaping of Collective Memory* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1992), 4.

⁷ Michael Berry, *A History of Pain: Trauma in Modern Chinese Literature and Film* (New York: Columbia University Press, 2011).

in time past WWII to include the 1st Sino-Japanese War (1894-1895), the Boxer Rebellion (1900), the Russo-Japanese War (1904-1905), and the Mukden Incident (1931). In Japan, the war marks both uncomfortable memories of aggressive colonial expansion and tremendous personal devastation and loss. The contested nature of recalling the past in Japan is reflected by its numerous names, which include “The Greater East Asia War,” “the Pacific War,” “the Fifteen-Year War,” and “that war.”⁸

Chinese and Japanese remembrance has undergone three major historical phases since the end of the war. In the first phase of memory (1945-1978), postwar relations suppressed historical discussion between the two nations, obscuring the trauma of the war with the immediate crisis of the Cold War order. For China, the desire to create a new socialist nation led to the repression of victim narratives during this era. Socialist heroism was emphasized in lieu of colonial victimization, and personal accounts, artistic representation, and academic studies on victimhood were not allowed. Meanwhile, Japan was protected and in many ways “rehabilitated” by the US, who needed a friend in the region to battle the “threat” of communism. The countries were thus insulated from each other’s national narratives and experienced a “hibernation” period.

Starting in the years after the signing of the Joint Communiqué of the Government of Japan and the Government of the People's Republic of China in 1972—in which the Chinese government signed away all rights to wartime reparations “for Sino-Japanese friendship”—the two countries enjoyed a few years of friendly relations.⁹ This “honeymoon period” also marked the second wave of memory (1978-1989). In China, the 1980s saw a veritable outpouring of

⁸ Hashimoto Akiko, “Divided Memories, Contested Histories: The Shifting Landscape in Japan,” in *Cultures and Globalization: Heritage, Memory and Identity*, edited by Helmut Anheier et al. (London: Sage Publications, 2011): 240.

⁹ Chalmers Johnson, “The Patterns of Japanese Relations with China, 1952-1982.” *Pacific Affairs* (1986): 402-428. Note, although China signed a normalization treaty with Japan in 1972, it was not until 1978’s open door policy that foreign companies could invest in China. That year also marks the beginning of co-productions with Japan.

memory, much of it focused on the traumatic experiences of Chinese citizens.¹⁰ These memories included not only Japanese colonialism, but also mass suffering experienced during the Great Leap Forward and the Cultural Revolution.¹¹ In Japan, memory of colonialism and overseas aggression had faded for the most part until Vietnam revived discussion of Japanese atrocities and the return of Japanese orphans left in China (*Chūgoku zanryūkoji*) emerged as an emotional site of Sino-Japanese reconciliation.

The third wave of memory began from 1989 and continues to this day. In China, the 1989 protests exposed the ideology vacuum created by the open door policy and led Deng Xiaoping to conclude, “[T]he biggest mistake for the CCP in the ‘80s was that the party did not focus enough attention on ideological education.”¹² Soon after, the government began to promote patriotic education in the “Never Forget National Humiliation/100 Years of National Humiliation” (*wuwang guochi/bainian guochi*) campaign, which was accompanied by the construction of numerous memorials and museums after 1991.¹³ This time period also showed a notable increase in anti-Japanese films and a shift in Chinese sentiment. The end of the Cold War and death of Hirohito also marked a new stage in US-Japan relations and a change in Japanese identity. As Igarashi Yoshikuni argues, “With the disappearance of Hirohito’s body—the key element in the foundational narrative—war memories returned to the Japanese media, both as

¹⁰ Yang Daqing, “Reconciliation between Japan and China: Problems and Prospects,” in *Reconciliation in the Asia-Pacific*, ed. Yōichi Funabashi (US Institute of Peace Press: Washington D.C., 2003), 69.

¹¹ This can be seen in the “scar cinema” of the ‘80s and early ‘90s.

¹² Wang Zheng. “National Humiliation, History Education, and the Politics of Historical Memory: Patriotic Education Campaign in China,” *International Studies Quarterly* 52, no. 4 (2008): 788.

¹³ According to Wang, “The patriotic education campaign was made official by two documents issued in August 1991: ‘Notice about Conducting Education of Patriotism and Revolutionary Tradition by Exploiting Extensively Cultural Relics’ and ‘General Outline on Strengthening Education on Chinese Modern and Contemporary History and National Conditions.’” Wang Zheng. “National Humiliation, History Education, and the Politics of Historical Memory: Patriotic Education Campaign in China,” *International Studies Quarterly* 52, no. 4 (2008): 789.

nostalgia and as critical reflection.”¹⁴ The Gulf War and Japan’s financial involvement further prompted reassessment of Japan’s lack of military and “unnatural” political situation.¹⁵ Compounding this period of transition, Nanjing/comfort women discourse merged with American Holocaust discourse, fundamentally changing US-China-Japan memory dynamics. This period marked what Yoshimi Shunya refers to as “the shift from the postwar economic growth-centered nationalism of the Cold War era to the crisis-driven neonationalism of the age of globalization.”¹⁶

Moreover, since the late ‘80s, dissimilar approaches to remembering have created conflict. Many Japanese films aim to conceal or ignore the trauma that Japan’s military expansion wreaked on invaded nations, with extensive postwar misery and the feeling of being subject to “victor’s justice” obscuring widespread recognition of the suffering they inflicted on other Asian populations.¹⁷ Meanwhile, Chinese focus on remembering its “100 years of humiliation” has contributed to intense public outcries, the violence of which—when mixed with anxiety over an ascendant China—have undermined sympathy abroad.¹⁸ These issues, compounded by other aspects of these disparate perspectives, mean that the project of remembrance is fraught for both nations. Recent small-scale economic and civilian conflicts,

¹⁴ Igarashi Yoshikuni, *Bodies of Memory: Narratives of War in Postwar Japanese Culture, 1945-1970* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2000): 204.

¹⁵ Francis Fukuyama and Kongdan Oh, National Defense Research Institute, *The US-Japan Security Relationship After the Cold War*, 1993.

¹⁶ Yoshimi Shunya. "Television and Nationalism Historical Change in the National Domestic TV Formation of Postwar Japan," *European Journal of Cultural Studies* 6, no. 4 (2003): 483.

¹⁷ An excellent discussion of postwar Japan can be found in John W. Dower, *Embracing Defeat: Japan in the Wake of World War II* (New York: WW Norton & Company), 2000. For more on “victor’s justice,” see Laura Elizabeth Hein et al, ed., *Censoring History: Citizenship and Memory in Japan, Germany, and the United States* (Armonk: M.E. Sharpe, 2000).

¹⁸ For more on “100 years of humiliation,” see: William A. Callahan, "National Insecurities: Humiliation, Salvation, and Chinese Nationalism," *Alternatives* (2004): 199-218 and Peter Hays Gries, "Tears of Rage: Chinese Nationalist Reactions to the Belgrade Embassy Bombing," *The China Journal* 46 (2001): 25-43.

increasingly negative media depictions, and shocking shifts in public sentiment can all be tied to the “memory problem.”¹⁹

Therefore, taking the apparent “tidal wave” of Chinese and Japanese memory in the late 20th and early 21st century as its subject,²⁰ this dissertation explores remembering in a specific context, World War II in Asia (1937-1945), and through a specific mode, film.²¹ Viewing memory as the collective narrating of the past, I begin with an overview of memory studies, narrowing my focus to film-as-memory. I argue that film constructs the past in a unique way through its reproducibility, affective impact, appeals to authenticity, and manifestation of time and space. They are also significant as collective expressions of national narratives that appeal primarily to domestic audiences through narratives centered on the national self. I elaborate on how the narratives within these films use images of race and gender to symbolize national identity, positing that by analyzing Chinese and Japanese war films, we can examine current narratives of national identity. I conclude with an overview of my four main chapters and central argument, which contends that war films in China and Japan after the end of the Cold War demonstrate a change in memory and thus a shift in identity in the Pacific region.

¹⁹ An overview of several public opinion polls conducted by agencies in China, Japan, Korea and the US concludes: “Whereas over 60 percent of Japanese surveyed in the late ‘70s felt positively toward China, an equally negative view was presented by 2006. This reversal of goodwill is the same for the Chinese toward Japan.” Mindy Kotler et al, “Chinese and Japanese Public Opinion: Searching for Moral Security,” *Asian Perspective* 3, no. 1 (2007): 93-125.

²⁰ Pierre Nora, “Reasons for the Current Upsurge in Memory,” *Eurozine*, April 19, 2002, accessed April 13, 2014, <http://www.eurozine.com/articles/2002-04-19-nora-en.html>.

²¹ America’s involvement in WWII (1941-1945) is typically described as “the Pacific theater of WWII,” the “Asia-Pacific War” or the “Pacific War,” with the conflict beginning with the bombing of Pearl Harbor. Chinese and Japanese involvement is usually referred to as the “2nd Sino-Japanese War.” I use “World War II” (WWII) throughout this dissertation to include both Sino-Japanese events of the 1930s such as the Nanjing Massacre of 1937 (wherein American witnesses were such an integral part) and the battles between Japan and the US.

Collective Remembering

In his canonical essay “The Collective Memory,” Maurice Halbwachs suggests that the individual, as a member of different social groups, has access to collective narratives of the past:

Every group—be it religious, political or economic, family, friends, or acquaintances, even a transient gathering in a salon, auditorium, or street—immobilizes time in its own way and imposes on its members the illusion that, in a given duration of a constantly changing world, certain zones have acquired a relative stability and balance...²²

In other words, our individual identities are framed by the narratives of each group to which we belong. Our ability to think about the past extends beyond the limits of our own spatial/temporal existence into the imagined pasts of our parents and grandparents—beyond their lifetimes, even, to those of national heroes, religious figures, and mythical beings. The past thus becomes standardized by the decisive dates of each collective group. In this way, events like World War II, a family trauma, or even the creation myth of a nation delineate the temporal perimeters of our own lives. However, such “collective memory” is never static: it is always in motion. As Jeffrey Olick and Joyce Robbins state, “memory is a process, not a thing.”²³ Collective memory is a verb perhaps best articulated as collective remembering.²⁴ It is a form of constructing, narrating, or framing the past and communicating it to the collective. Narratives of the past are continuously changing, usually affected by the addition of new narratives and the impact of

²² Maurice Halbwachs, “The Collective Memory,” in *The Collective Memory Reader*, edited by Jeffrey Olick et al., (Oxford: Oxford University Press), 149.

²³ Jeffrey K. Olick and Joyce Robbins, “Social Memory Studies: From “Collective Memory” to the Historical Sociology of Mnemonic Practices,” *Annual Review of Sociology* 24.1 (1998): 122.

²⁴ James Wertsch and Doc Billingsley, quoting Bartlett (1932) also emphasize the “doing” of memory by highlighting the “-ing” of remembering. James Wertsch and Doc M. Billingsley, “The Roles of Narratives in Commemoration” in *Cultures and Globalization: Heritage, Memory and Identity*, edited by Helmut Anheier et al., (London: Sage, 2011), 25.

contemporary discourses. With the rise of mass media and globalization, memory is ever more unstable and transitory.

Collective remembrance has changed dramatically over the past century. Modernity signaled a major change in perceptions of the past through its displacement of tradition as “the functioning of memory itself, the institution of memory and thereby of history, became critical preoccupations in the effort to think through what intellectuals were coming to call ‘the modern.’”²⁵ Whereas memory in the past was based on oral traditions, religious rituals, and spirit possession,²⁶ remembrance became increasingly institutionalized in the museum and the archive,²⁷ a trend Pierre Nora has described as our transition from *milieux* (backgrounds) of memory to *lieux* (sites, also referred to as realms) of memory.²⁸ These sites signify “fixed points” or important events of the communal past.²⁹ Whilst collective remembering was previously relayed through rites and rituals, societies began to increasingly manufacture markers to imprint their impression of the past onto the present. Remembrance was systematically placed into a vessel such as a public library, a monument, an art installation, or a film. Now, through these sites of memory, never has the past—or so many pasts—been more present, the

²⁵ Friedrich Nietzsche’s famous “On the Uses and Disadvantages of History for Life” participates in this dialogue on modernity by elaborating on how the past can serve the progress of man in the future. He delineates three forms of remembrance: the monumental (glorious events of the past that can inspire one in the future), the antiquarian (origin narratives which inspire a sense of genesis and therefore meaning), and the critical (events of the past that challenge how man will build his future). Friedrich Nietzsche, “On the Uses and Disadvantages of History for Life,” translated by RJ Hollingdale (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1983), 57-123. For more on modernity and memory, see: Richard Terdiman, *Present Past: Modernity and the Memory Crisis* (Cornell: Cornell University Press, 1993), 5.

²⁶ For more on spirit possession as collective memory, see: Paul Stoller, *Embodying Colonial Memories: Spirit Possession, Power, and the Hauka in West Africa* (New York: Psychology Press, 1995).

²⁷ Huyssen, discussing Holocaust memory, notes, “...some neoconservative German philosophers such as Hermann Lübbe and Odo Marquand have argued that the undisputed erosion of tradition in modernity actually generated compensatory organs of remembrance such as the humanities, societies for historical preservation, and the museum...” Huyssen, “Monument and Memory,” 252.

²⁸ Pierre Nora, “Between Memory and History: Les Lieux de Mémoire,” *Representations* (1989): 7-24.

²⁹ Jan Assmann and John Czaplicka, “Collective Memory and Cultural Identity,” *New German Critique* 65 (1995): 129.

“simultaneity of all times and spaces readily accessible in the present.”³⁰ This institutionalization of the past has, from the writing of history to the production of sites of memory, become increasingly intertwined in the making of the nation.³¹

The reason for the turn toward memory is largely due to three factors. Firstly, WWII—and in particular the Holocaust—was a radical shift in perceptions of the past and in the approach to remembering. As Nora famously said “Whoever says memory, says Shoah.”³² The systematic nature of the genocide, changing attitudes towards human rights/war crimes, and new technologies of remembrance meant that for many “the image of the Holocaust victim has not simply become first among images of victims generally, but has supposedly placed the image of the victim at the core of contemporary culture as a whole.”³³ The attempt to remember the Shoah in memorials, books, films, and art has inspired critical responses among both artists and scholars, inspiring fierce debates over how an event like the Holocaust can be represented.³⁴ In fact, Holocaust studies have provided some of the earliest and richest work on film as a site of remembrance, albeit work that is primarily focused on European or American experiences.³⁵ In

³⁰ Huyssen, “Monument and Memory,” 253.

³¹ Scholarship is both inspired by and fuels the increase in interest in memory studies. For an overview of the main perspectives, see: Jeffrey K. Olick and Joyce Robbins, “Social Memory Studies: From ‘Collective Memory’ to the Historical Sociology of Mnemonic Practices,” *Annual Review of Sociology* 24.1 (1998). For criticisms of memory studies, see: Kerwin Lee Klein, “On the Emergence of Memory in Historical Discourse,” *Representations* (2000): 127-150 and Alon Confino, “Collective Memory and Cultural History: Problems of Method,” *The American Historical Review* 102, no. 5 (1997): 1386-1403.

³² Jay Winter, “The Generation of Memory: Reflections on the ‘Memory Boom’ in Contemporary Historical Studies,” *Bulletin of the German Historical Institute* 27, no. 3 (2000): 69.

³³ Jeffrey Olick et al., “Introduction,” in *The Collective Memory Reader*, edited by Jeffrey Olick et al., (Oxford: Oxford University Press), 30.

³⁴ Shoshana Felman, “The Return of the Voice: Claude Lanzmann's Shoah,” in *Testimony: Crises of Witnessing in Literature, Psychoanalysis, and History*, edited by Shoshana Felman et al., (New York: Routledge, 1992): 204-83 and Dominick LaCapra, “Lanzmann's Shoah: Here There Is No Why,” *Critical Inquiry* (1997): 231-269.

³⁵ Emerging from a rich canon of studies on how different sites of memory visualize the Holocaust, the nine-hour documentary *Shoah* (1985) and feature film *Schindler's List* (1993) have prompted the most debate. Hansen notes that *Schindler's List* in particular inspired an intense reaction, with criticisms including its status as a “Hollywood product,” its “inadequacy on the topic,” its reliance on the

the 1980s, as generations who experienced the Holocaust passed away, there was another shift in discourse. As Andreas Huyssen puts it, “Since the ‘80s, the question is no longer *whether*, but rather *how* to represent the Holocaust “in literature, film and the visual arts.”³⁶ Debates in China over how to represent the Nanjing Massacre, the crystallized image of national trauma in that society, in some ways resemble debates on representing the Holocaust.³⁷

Even though the Holocaust is not imagined in Asia the same way as in the West, it has affected Chinese and Japanese remembrance in three ways. First, the Holocaust was the impetus/justification for the development and application of the concept of “war crimes” first established at the Nuremberg trials, which were later applied to Japanese soldiers and leaders at the postwar tribunals. As I will discuss in Chapter Two, the postwar tribunals established a narrative of the war with which certain groups within Japanese society in particular continue to grapple. Furthermore, the Holocaust inspired numerous Hollywood films that shaped how global audiences imagine the war and archetypes of the war. When Chinese-American Iris Chang wrote

perspective of perpetrators, and finally, its attempt to represent that which cannot be represented. However, she argues against these critiques, suggesting that the constant comparison of *Schindler's List* to *Shoah* serve to ignore the film's textual specificity and set up an unhelpful dualism. The Italian film *Life is Beautiful* (1998) also inspired numerous responses. Sander Gilman argues that, as the first Holocaust comedy wherein the director/actor did not require the authenticity of being Jewish, it suggests that “[t]he Shoah is becoming (has become?) a factor of general historical experience of the West rather than of the experience only of those who were or were imagined to be the primary victims.” Miriam Bratu Hansen, “Schindler’s List” Is Not Shoah: The Second Commandment, Popular Modernism, and Public Memory,” *Critical Inquiry* (1996): 292-312; Sander L. Gilman, “Is Life Beautiful? Can the Shoah be Funny? Some Thoughts on Recent and Older films,” *Critical Inquiry* (2000): 279-308; Also see: Young, *The Texture of Memory*; Barbie Zelizer, *Remembering to Forget: Holocaust Memory through the Camera’s Eye* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1998).

³⁶ Andreas Huyssen, “Of Mice and Mimesis: Reading Spiegelman with Adorno,” *New German Critique* (2000): 65-82.

³⁷ Yet it must be noted here that Chinese and Jewish memory are not the same. Michael Berry argues that Jewish and Chinese remembrance is different in terms of space and the relationship to the perpetrator. He suggests that Jewish people are often diasporic and no longer live in the location where the trauma took place, and thus they create a “ghostlike monument.” Chinese continue to live in the space of the traumatic event with all visual reminders of the trauma removed. A second difference is that Chinese trauma was caused both by outsiders and insiders, whereas Jewish trauma was caused by outsiders. Berry, *History of Pain*, 19-20.

The Rape of Nanking, she drew upon Hollywood images of the Holocaust to present Chinese memory to Americans. This imagery was, as we will see in Chapter Four, imported back to China where the “Schindler of Nanjing” has become a vital symbol tying Chinese and American memories together. Lastly, the two academic fields to emerge out of the Holocaust—trauma studies and memory studies—have shaped the ways that many Western-educated scholars look at Chinese and Japanese remembrance, which in turn has shaped the parameters of the academic discourse on memory in East Asia.³⁸ A few studies, such as the work of Fujiwara Kiichi, Iwasaki Minoru, and Komatsu Hideo, analyze Japanese memory through the lens of European memory studies.³⁹

The second factor that changed the landscape of remembrance is globalization. After World War II, postcolonial societies began to gaze back, forcing the colonizer to confront and account for the colonized’s traumatic memories. This uprooting of collective and individual identities marked the decline of master narratives and the introduction of a multitude of perspectives on the same events. Different perceptions of the past emerged in an increasingly differentiated web. The remembrance of global events like the Holocaust or Nanjing—through their global visibility and cross-border commemoration—indicate the emergence of global or

³⁸ Recent memory studies on China tend to focus on traumatic memories caused by political and economic change during the 20th century, such as the Cultural Revolution or globalization.³⁸ Due to the political atmosphere surrounding remembrance of China’s colonial past, there is also a great deal of work on the politics of remembering, such as the work of Qiu Jin and Wang Zheng. Wang Zheng, “National Humiliation, History Education, and the Politics of Historical Memory: Patriotic Education Campaign in China.” *International Studies Quarterly* 52, no. 4 (2008): 783-806; Qi Jin. “The Politics of History and Historical Memory in China-Japan Relations,” *Journal of Chinese Political Science* 11.1 (2006): 25-53.

³⁹ Fujiwara Kiichi, *Sensō o kioku suru Hiroshima horokōsuto to genzai* (Tokyo: Kōdansha, 2001); Iwasaki Minoru, “Higashiajia no kioku no ba no kanōsei: Piēru Nora e no hihanteki ōtō no kokoromi to shite,” *Quadrante* 11 (2009): 47-54; Komatsu Hideo, “Tairō ii naosuke no komemoreishon no bunka shakai-shi,” *Studies* 51.2 (2004): 165-191.

regional “cosmopolitan memory.”⁴⁰ However, as Wimal Dissanayake elaborates, globalization forms a “chiasmus” with the national: the local and the transnational are always intertwined.⁴¹

Thirdly, the rise of new technologies fundamentally changed the way people remember. New technologies transformed memory from the more localized physical and aural traditions of commemorative rituals or oral histories into mass visual markers of memory. Film in particular dramatically altered our relationship to time:

...new technologies of representation, such as photography, phonography, and the cinema, are crucial to modernity’s reconceptualization of time and its representability. A sea change in thinking about contingency, indexicality, temporality, and chance deeply marked the epistemologies of time at the turn of the last century.⁴²

Such technologies changed society’s understanding of time through their radical ability to “capture” the past, i.e., their “unique propensity to depict the present moment as it occurs—something previously apprehensible only as bodily sensation, not cognizable until after the fact...”⁴³ Now, remembrance also takes the form of Twitter feeds, online blogs, video installations, and performance art.⁴⁴ It is increasing in volume, with growing numbers of history tomes, television programs, and films produced each year. Film has become a central mode of historical remembrance, with documentaries like *Shoah* (1985) and feature films like *Schindler’s List* (1993) producing both popular and critical discourse on the nature of commemoration.

⁴⁰ Daniel Levy and Natan Sznaider, “Memory Unbound The Holocaust and the Formation of Cosmopolitan Memory,” *European Journal of Social Theory* 5.1 (2002): 87-106.

⁴¹ Wimal Dissanayake, “Globalization and the Experience of Culture,” in *Globalization, Cultural Identities, and Media Representations*, edited by Natascha Gentz et al. (Albany: SUNY Press, 2012).

⁴² Mary Ann Doane, *The Emergence of Cinematic Time: Modernity, Contingency, the Archive* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 2002).

⁴³ Russell Kilbourn, *Cinema, Memory, Modernity: The Representation of Memory from the Art Film to Transnational Cinema* Vol. 6. (New York: Routledge, 2013): 2-3.

⁴⁴ For more on online archives as memory, see: Amit Pinchevski, “Archive, Media, Trauma in *On Media Memory: Collective Memory in a New Media Age*, edited by Motti Neiger et al. (New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2011).

These changes have compressed our experience of space and time, exposing us to more images of the past than ever before.

Although there are numerous technologies of memory—museums, archives, and installations, to name a few—this dissertation will focus specifically on filmic narratives like TV dramas and feature films. Film is “the chief carrier of historical messages in our culture” and noteworthy as a particular mode of remembrance.⁴⁵ Indeed, a Chinese poll taken in 1996 found that 70% of students interviewed claimed they learned about Japan through films and TV produced in China.⁴⁶ Not only do films reveal what kinds of narratives are prominent in a given culture, but they also allow the diachronic comparison of how narratives have changed over time. Moreover, film is itself uniquely located in the collective. As opposed to auteur theory, which posits that a film has one creator, in reality—more so than journalism, painting, writing, and photography—film is a collective process which involves a large group of performers, authors, and capital. These creators and the narratives they produce are further framed by the collective identities of nationality, ethnicity, and gender. Thus, as I will argue below, film is a critical site of collective memory.

Film as a Site of Memory

According to Pierre Nora, the second half of the 20th century saw the “acceleration of history” as remembrance took on a sense of new urgency and ubiquity. Social remembrance moved away from “true environments” of memory towards “sites of memory,” which are “fundamentally remains, the ultimate embodiments of a memorial consciousness that...calls out

⁴⁵ Robert A. Rosenstone, ed., *Revisioning History: Film and the Construction of a New Past* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1995): 3.

⁴⁶ Yang, “Reconciliation Between Japan and China,” 79.

to memory because it has abandoned it.”⁴⁷ This type of remembrance is conscious and marked by a sense of distance from and obligation to preserve the past. Sites of memory include structures like memorials, statues, and monuments;⁴⁸ repositories like museums, archives, and libraries; and texts, such as songs, memoirs, poems, books, and movies.⁴⁹ Even a body can be a site of memory through gestures, performance, rituals, pain, wounds, scars, and markings.⁵⁰ Within each site of memory, the material, symbolic, and functional all interact and interplay.⁵¹ Among all of these sites, film has been singularly important in four different ways.

First of all, films are highly immersive technologies of identification. As Tessa Morris-Suzuki argues, “Our relationship with the past is not simply forged through factual knowledge or an intellectual understanding of cause and effect. It also involves imagination and empathy.”⁵² Morris-Suzuki divides the representation of the past into two levels. The first, “history as interpretation,” is historiography that focuses on defining the institutions, ideologies and conditions that cause changes in societies. The second is “history as identification,” a process which connotes empathizing with people in the past “...to imagine their experiences and feelings, mourn their suffering and deaths and celebrate their triumphs.”⁵³ Such “histories” tend to enforce affective identification as opposed to critical interpretation. Unlike more open-ended

⁴⁷ Nora, “Between Memory and History,” 12.

⁴⁸ For work on Holocaust memorials, see: James Young, *The Texture of Memory: Holocaust Memorials and Meaning* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1993). For memorials commemorating Hiroshima, see: Lisa Yoneyama, *Hiroshima Traces: Time, Space, and the Dialectics of Memory* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1999).

⁴⁹ Dora Apel, “The Tattooed Jew,” in *Visual Culture and the Holocaust*, edited by Barbie Zelizer (New Brunswick: Rutgers University Press, 2001).

⁵⁰ Paul Connerton, *How Societies Remember* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1989); Arthur Klenman and Joan Klenman, How Bodies Remember: Social Memory and Bodily Experience of Criticism, Resistance, and Delegitimation following China's Cultural Revolution, *New Literary History* (1994): 707-723; Roberta Culbertson, “Embodied Memory, Transcendence, and Telling: Recounting Trauma, Re-establishing the Self,” *New Literary History* 26.1 (1995): 169-195.

⁵¹ Nora, “Between Memory and History,” 19.

⁵² Tessa Morris-Suzuki, *The Past Within Us: Media: Media, Memory, History* (London: Verso, 2005): 22-23.

⁵³ Morris-Suzuki, *The Past Within Us*, 22.

media forms, films do not give alternative answers to what happened in the past.⁵⁴ Even documentaries present testimonies as “fact” rather than questioning whether or not those statements are accurate.⁵⁵

Alison Landsberg suggests that mass media like film, graphic novels, and museums have created “transfential spaces” which impart the feeling that one has accessed experiences in the past through “sensuous memories.”⁵⁶ This is what she terms “prosthetic memory,” that is, the feeling of having experienced something that one has not actually experienced.⁵⁷ Through the affective ties of narrative, the viewer may identify with main character’s perspective of the past.⁵⁸ More than theater, in which the tableau allows for more freedom of the gaze, or the painting, which is static and has a less collective relationship between the author/viewer/painting, film is a guided viewing experience in which the eye is “chaperoned” by way of editing, movement, and framing. The focus on the actor and the experiences of the individual character further highlight the ethos of the past.⁵⁹ Films are “simultaneously subjective and public,” framing memory in a way that is intimate but also communal and shared.⁶⁰

Second, and perhaps most significant, film is unique in terms of time. Jason G. Karlin, citing Benedict Anderson, notes that “[t]he simultaneity of time, measured by clock and

⁵⁴ Robert Rosenstone, “The Historical Film: Looking at the Past in a Postliterate Age,” in *The Historical Film: History and Memory in Media*, edited by Marcia Landy (New Haven: Rutgers University Press, 2001): 55-57.

⁵⁵ Robert Rosenstone, “History in Images/History in Words: Reflections on the Possibility of Really Putting History onto Film,” *The American Historical Review* (1988): 1173-1185.

⁵⁶ Alison Landsberg, “America, the Holocaust, and the Mass Culture of Memory: Toward a Radical Politics of Empathy,” *New German Critique*, no. 71 (1997): 66.

⁵⁷ Alison Landsberg, *Prosthetic Memory: The Transformation of American Remembrance in the Age of Mass Culture* (New York: Columbia University Press, 2004).

⁵⁸ Telling a story is an important “vehicle” of transmitting individual memory to the collective. Jens Brockmeier, “Remembering and Forgetting: Narrative as Cultural Memory,” *Culture & Psychology* 8.1 (2002): 15-43.

⁵⁹ Mark Moss, *Toward the Visualization of History: The Past as Image* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2008): 125.

⁶⁰ Jeffrey Pence, “Postcinema/Postmemory,” in *Memory and Popular Film*, edited by Paul Grainge (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 2003): 238.

calendar, is reflected in the shared experience of reading newspapers that mark and organize events by the date at the top of the newspaper...⁶¹ Similarly, Paul Ricoeur argues that identity is fundamentally collective and connected to time and narrative, as we create meaning in our lives by narrating it through time and via relation with others.⁶² A film creates a shared narrative of the past and thus of identity. Film and television also mix the past with the present: “They have no grammatical analogues for the past and future tenses of written language and, thus, amplify the present sense of immediacy out of proportion.”⁶³ While the viewer can choose to stop the film or leave, they can make no edits, nor can they stop the flow of time, change the camera angle, or ask the actor to perform different dialogue. Through the narrative, films also structure the unstructurable, defining historical events as having a beginning, middle, and end.⁶⁴

Of course, audiences are a product of their time and will engage with texts in different ways across time. Hans Robert Jauss’ concept of “horizon of expectations” discusses the importance of the historically situated reader/audience in the interpretation of texts.⁶⁵ The reader will, by nature of their existence at a particular moment in time, be aware of and have their expectations shaped by previous texts they have read or seen. Genre is one major element in this “horizon of expectation,” as is historical period. Thus, an audience member in 1982 who has lived through the war will have a different “horizon” from an audience member in 2015 who was not.

Outside of the film, historical or war films blur the present and past by appealing to heritage. Films are “based on a true story,” “shot on location,” the result of “years of research”

⁶¹ Jason G. Karlin, *Gender and Nation in Meiji Japan* (Honolulu: University of Hawaii Press): 3.

⁶² Paul Ricoeur, *Time and Narrative* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2010).

⁶³ Gary Richard Edgerton, “Introduction,” in *Television Histories: Shaping Collective Memory in the Media Age*, edited by Gary Edgerton et al. (Lexington: University Press of Kentucky, 2001): 3.

⁶⁴ Rosenstone, “The Historical Film,” 55-57.

⁶⁵ Hans Robert Jauss and Elizabeth Benzinger, “Literary History as a Challenge to Literary Theory,” *New Literary History* 2.1 (1970): 7-37.

and interviews. They create a sense of authenticity unhampered by their fictional nature through the guidance of consultants who are veterans, experts, scientists, and historians.⁶⁶ They are created by a survivor of the Holocaust or the son of a soldier or a member of an ethnic or religious group. Steven Spielberg, perhaps the most famous of the war film director/producers, uses his identity as the son of a WWII veteran to create this sense of lineage for *Saving Private Ryan* (1997); he cites his Jewish heritage for *Schindler's List* (1993), and he refers to his father and uncle's experiences in the Pacific for *Letters from Iwo Jima* (2006), *Flags of Our Fathers* (2006), and *The Pacific* (2010). *Schindler's List* further appeals to authenticity by having actual survivors approach the real Oskar Schindler's grave alongside their actor doubles: "[W]hen the survivor touches the actor, the possibility emerges for a transmission of memory across radical temporal and geographic chasms."⁶⁷ Japanese actor Mikuni Rentarō, performing in the Sino-Japanese reconciliation melodrama, *The Go Masters* (1982), apologizes on behalf of Japan not only through his performance as an actor, but as a former soldier in China. Just as photographs used to transfer memory within the blood-related family, films transfer memories within the larger imagined family.⁶⁸ Films do not question this heritage. They do not suggest "the possibility that there may be a very different way of reporting what happened" nor do they indicate "where knowledge of the past comes from and our relation to it."⁶⁹ They are, however,

⁶⁶ Hoskins discusses the issues of attaining authenticity in this technological era. Andrew Hoskins, "Signs of the Holocaust: Exhibiting Memory in a Mediated Age," *Media, Culture & Society* 25, no. 1 (2003): 7-22.

⁶⁷ Alison Landsberg, "America, the Holocaust, and the Mass Culture of Memory: Toward a Radical Politics of Empathy," *New German Critique*, no. 71 (1997): 64.

⁶⁸ Marianne Hirsch's concept of postmemory examines how children of Holocaust survivors experienced the traumatic pasts of their parents. This form of memory was primarily mediated through family photographs in an atmosphere permeated by memories of Holocaust trauma. Although Hirsch's concept refers specifically to the communicative level, it might be extended to the cultural level to explain the effect of films on the collective imaginary. Marianne Hirsch, *Family Frames: Photography, Narrative, and Postmemory* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1997).

⁶⁹ Natalie Zemon Davis, "'Any Resemblance to persons living or dead:' Film and the Challenge of Authenticity," *Historical Journal of Film, Radio and Television* 8, no. 3 (1988).

somewhat held “in check” by the discourses outside of the film: reviewers, historians, and witnesses provide counterpoints to the histories presented onscreen.⁷⁰

Lastly, actors complete the temporal experience of film by embodying the memories of the collective and channeling the spirits of “our” ancestors.⁷¹ The bodies of suffering characters personify the trials and tribulations of the past; the experience of visual, auditory, and emotional immersion reaches outside the narrative to inspire shock, fear, or sadness in the body of the viewer. This is exemplified by films concerning a traumatic past, such as Lupita Nyong’o in *12 Years a Slave* (2013), who thanked the spirit of women like the slave Patsey in her Oscar acceptance speech. This mediation of history combines the pre-modern ritual of memory with the modern apparatus of film. While we are aware that we are watching an actor or filmmaker in the present performing the events of the past, such reenactment is still a powerful linkage to our collective past. The contemporary actor “provide(s) a face for the faceless” historical figure, as Robert Rosenstone notes in his description of how the film *Gandhi* (1982) represents a South African railway conductor who was not described in Gandhi’s biography.⁷²

Third, film is unique in terms of space. The diegetic world of the film—its enclosed space of narrative, space, time—is not constructed the same way in any other form of media.⁷³ Film constructs three-dimensional worlds through manipulative music, sentimental story lines, persuasive editing, and seductive star power, all of which encourage the unconscious submission to the flow of the narrative. The camera in motion is a kind of “moving consciousness” which

⁷⁰ Robert Burgoyne, “Prosthetic Memory/Traumatic Memory: Forrest Gump,” *Screening the Past* 6 (1999).

⁷¹ Diana Taylor, *The Archive and the Repertoire: Performing Cultural Memory in the Americas* (Durham: Duke University Press, 2003).

⁷² Robert Rosenstone, “History in Images/History in Words.”

⁷³ Metz defines diegesis as “the sum of a film’s denotation: the narration itself, but also the fictional space and time dimensions implied in and by the narrative, and consequently the character, the landscapes, the events and other narrative elements...” Christian Metz, *Film Language: A Semiotics of the Cinema* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1974).

guides our gaze.⁷⁴ The diegetic world created via continuity editing, close-ups/medium shots, 3D sound, increasingly elaborate special effects, and naturalistic acting creates a different spatial experience than paintings, photographs, and museums. Sound is particularly important. As Noel Burch argues, it was not until synchronized sound that film achieved its “full diegetic effect,”⁷⁵ and as Jonathan Crary notes, it is the arrival of sound that first commanded the full attention of the viewer.⁷⁶ The spaces delineated in films become the visual reference for the actual battlefields of the past.⁷⁷

Finally, films are unique in terms of reproducibility. The first way is in terms of “paratexts,” which is what Jonathan Gray terms the ways in which the film text appears outside of the text, such as in awards ceremonies acceptance speeches, commercials, ads, interviews with movie stars, etc.⁷⁸ The text of the film is not limited to its broadcast: it extends far beyond its status as a film in the form of promotions, interviews, and debates outside of the film. Star image might be seen as one of the major paratexts affecting the way that audiences interpret the film. For example, Richard Dyer discusses “polysemic star image,” which elaborates on the construction of star image through promotion, publicity, film roles, and commentary. When a famous actor stars in a film, they bring with them the discourses that surround their star

⁷⁴ Frantz Fanon first used the phrase “moving consciousness” to refer to the nation. Frantz Fanon, *The Wretched of the Earth*, (New York: Grove Press, 1961).

⁷⁵ Noel Burch, “Narrative/Diegesis: Threshold, Limits” in *Screen Histories: a Screen Reader*, edited by Annette Kuhn, et al. (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1998).

⁷⁶ Crary notes that the late 1920s are possibly denoted as the beginning of the film-as-spectacle for Debord because of a variety of factors, including how the changing technology of the film changes the spectator’s “awareness of the body,” attention, perception, and even relationship with memory. Jonathan Crary, “Spectacle, Attention, Counter-memory,” *October* (1989): 102.

⁷⁷ Michelle Pierson, “A Production Designer’s Cinema: Historical Authenticity in Popular Films Set in the Past,” in *The Spectacle of the Real: from Hollywood to 'Reality' TV and Beyond*, edited by Geoff King (Bristol: Intellect, 2005): 139-149.

⁷⁸ Jonathan Gray, *Show Sold Separately: Promos, Spoilers, and Other Media* (New York: NYU Press, 2010).

identity.⁷⁹ Thus, as George Custen remarks, in a film about Queen Elizabeth starring Bette Davis, "...perhaps one admires Queen Elizabeth I for her statecraft but also because she is Bette Davis."⁸⁰ Paratexts can also be popular archetypes which function as cultural memes, such as the "insistent fringes" Roland Barthes pointed out in American films featuring the Romans or the comical Hitler mustache-sporting Japanese soldier seen in many Chinese films.⁸¹ Since the 1990s, the Internet has increased the speed, spread, and volume of such paratexts through user comments, mass access to media, intensifying intertextuality as netizens create their own videos or memes in response to filmic texts.

War Films as National Memory

Turning to film as a national site of memory, memory has long been linked to nationalism, with the imagining of the past integral to the formation of group identity.⁸² As Benedict Anderson famously said:

Because there is no Originator, the nation's biography cannot be written evangelically, 'down time,' through a long procreative chain of begettings. The only alternative is to fashion it 'up time,'—towards Peking Man, Java Man, King Arthur...World War II

⁷⁹ Richard Dyer, *Stars*, (London: British Film Institute, 1979).

⁸⁰ George F. Custen, "Making History," in *The Historical Film: History and Memory in Media*, edited by Marcia Landy (New Haven: Rutgers University Press, 2001): 68.

⁸¹ Roland Barthes, *Mythologies* (New York: Macmillan, 1972).

⁸² Collective memory and nationalism are different processes. Social forms of remembrance pre-date nationalism and have different theoretical foci. Collective forms of remembrance, on the other hand, existed long before the rise of nations in social groups such as religious groups and tribes. While cultural memory refers to a broad process of narrating the past through sites of memory, nationalism is the imagining of a cohesive political group of territorially bound people who are united by a shared past and whose narrative importantly includes the future. The two processes overlap and frequently inform each other, but are discrete.

begets World War I; out of Sedan comes Austerlitz; the ancestor of the Warsaw Uprising is the state of Israel.⁸³

New nations often emphasize their relationship to the past by establishing new calendars, emphasizing national origins, and highlighting moments of group triumph and trauma to unify the nation. War—its enemies and heroes, “Us” versus “Them,” its emphasis on boundaries—is the ultimate expression of national identity. Indeed, “In the modern era, it has been the nation which has been the prime arena for the articulation of war memories and the mobilization of commemoration, since war has been central to its identity and symbolic continuity.”⁸⁴ The fact that people sacrifice their lives for the survival of the nation is a testament to the power of national identity.⁸⁵ Further, as the last worldwide conflict, World War II and its immediate aftermath further mark the identity shift that established current power balances, rivalries and alliances. The current Japanese Constitution, the American hegemony, and the CCP (Chinese Communist Party) all emerged in the immediate aftermath of WWII. It was the last war to stretch around the world and involve every strata of society, a factor that undoubtedly contributes to its longevity in the discourse of all three nations.

Like postmemory, wherein memories of the Holocaust are passed down through a family photograph in a way that imparts that experience to the child of a Holocaust survivor,⁸⁶ the “prosthetic memory” of film can bind the individual to the larger family of the nation. Early war films, according to Marcia Landy, often constructed “monumental history” by presenting a triumphant narrative of the nation. Both spectacle and the hero were important figures in these

⁸³ Benedict Anderson, *Imagined Communities: Reflections on the Origin and Spread of Nationalism* (London: Verso, 1991): 205.

⁸⁴ Timothy Ashplant et al. *The Politics of War Memory and Commemoration* (London: Routledge, 2000), 22.

⁸⁵ Anthony D. Smith, *Nations and Nationalism in a Global Era* (Cambridge: Polity Press, 1995): 156.

⁸⁶ Marianne Hirsch, *Family Frames: Photography, Narrative, and Postmemory* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1997).

types of films, with the famous movie star representing a form of national identity.⁸⁷ War films could also confront the trauma of defeat. American combat films of the '80s dealt with waging a lost and pointless war in Vietnam.⁸⁸ By the '90s, however, American war films “kicked the Vietnam syndrome” by emphasizing American heroism during WWII and by focusing on an insular world of Americans dying for Americans.⁸⁹ Some war films frequently serve to normalize the military actions of the state, while others challenge viewers by confronting them directly with images of warfare.⁹⁰ As Teshome discusses in his article on “third cinema,” movies can also serve to dispute dominant national narratives.⁹¹

Although films are said to “travel”—to be transnational—the national is pervasive. Films are produced and consumed by people who exist in a certain time and space,⁹² and even in the production of a “transnational” film “the national continues to exert the force of its presence.”⁹³ While there has been a rise in transnational co-productions in order for companies to share the rising costs of producing films and attempt to reach a broader audience, in many cases such texts fail to travel as the co-production tends to favor one side or other in appealing to audiences

⁸⁷ Marcia Landy, “Introduction” in *The Historical Film: History and Memory in Media*, edited by Marcia Landy (New Haven: Rutgers University Press, 2001): 8.

⁸⁸ Gaylyn Studlar and David Desser, “Never Having to Say You're Sorry: Rambo's Rewriting of the Vietnam War,” *Film Quarterly* (1988): 9-16.

⁸⁹ Marilyn Blatt Young, “In the Combat Zone,” *Radical History Review* 85, no. 1 (2003): 253-264 and Susan A. Owen, “Memory, War and American Identity: Saving Private Ryan as Cinematic Jeremiad,” *Critical Studies in Media Communication* 19, no. 3 (2002): 249-282.

⁹⁰ Mark J. Lacy, “War, Cinema, and Moral Anxiety,” *Alternatives* (2003): 611-636.

⁹¹ Gabriel Teshome, *Third Cinema as Guardian of Popular Memory: Towards a Third Aesthetics* (London: British Film Institute, 1989): 53-64.

⁹² Susannah Radstone argues, “Whether we focus on the ways in which memory might ‘travel’ via the cinema, or the Internet, for instance, that travel remains only hypothetical, or an unrealized potential, until a particular individual goes to a specific website, or a particular audience watches a specific film. For even when (and if) memory travels, it is only ever *instantiated* locally, in a specific place and at a particular time.” Susannah Radstone, “What Place is This? Transcultural Memory and the Locations of Memory Studies,” *Parallax* 17, no. 4 (2011): 109-123. Accessed online: <http://www.tandfonline.com/doi/full/10.1080/13534645.2011.605585>

⁹³ Will Higbee and Song Hwee Lim, “Concepts of Transnational Cinema: Towards a Critical Transnationalism in Film Studies,” *Transnational Cinemas* 1, no. 1 (2010): 10.

whose tastes are, ultimately, rooted in the local.⁹⁴ Films are also uniquely fixed in nationally framed paratexts—they are commemorated at national sites of memory such as national film awards ceremonies (the Japan Academy Prize), national archives (Japan’s National Film Center), and national education programs (*Little Soldier Zhang Ga*). In addition, cinema as an industry may be used transnationally to strengthen national “soft culture” ties as in the Beijing Screenwriting Competition for Americans. Even at international film festivals, the film’s nation of origin continues to be important in the scheduling and marketing of films.

The Chinese and Japanese film and television industries are also affected by their national origins, having undergone different developments historically. In postwar China, film companies were highly regulated by the CCP—movies were produced by nationally operated studios and intended to focus on the ideological education of the Chinese masses. Since the ‘80s, there has been a transition from state-owned enterprises to private production companies as well as a turn towards diasporic/transnational film production.⁹⁵ Yet production and distribution are still subject to stifling national laws.⁹⁶ If producers want to have their films released through official channels or to avoid being censured at home, they must submit their films for review at the State Administration of Radio, Film, and Television (SARFT, often referred to as “the censors” in Western media). Moreover, Chinese filmmakers who proceed to show films without passing SARFT or non-Chinese films with themes deemed negative by the government can be

⁹⁴ Fu Hualing, "Television in Post-Reform China: Serial Dramas, Confucian Leadership and the Global Television Market," *The China Quarterly* 201 (2010): 195-227.

⁹⁵ Kong Shuyu, "Genre Film, Media Corporations, and the Commercialisation of the Chinese Film Industry: The Case of “New Year Comedies,”” *Asian Studies Review* 31, no. 3 (2007): 227-242 and Sheldon Lu, ed., *Transnational Chinese Cinemas: Identity, Nationhood, Gender* (Honolulu: University of Hawaii Press, 1997).

⁹⁶ Stanley Rosen, “Foreword,” in *Television in Post-Reform China*, edited by Zhu Ying, (London: Routledge, 2008).

subject to government blacklisting, as in the case of Jiang Wen's *Devils on the Doorstep* (Guizilaile, 2000).

Japanese postwar cinema peaked in the 1950s and 1960s as film studios like Nikkatsu, Daiei, Toho, and Tōei produced economically and critically successful films for both Japanese and international audiences. The arrival of television—begun in the '50s and popularized through the '60s and '70s—led to audiences focusing more on television than on feature film attendance (a trend that is global in nature).⁹⁷ As Yoshimi has argued, television in Japan since the '90s shows two tendencies—a turn towards the transnational in terms of capital and a turn towards the national in terms of narrative content.⁹⁸ In particular, there has been a shift from nationalism centered around a unified timetable to nationalism structured around national crisis.⁹⁹ We might argue that for many Japanese, the transnational historical disputes of the '90s constitute another such national crisis. A second major difference is that Japanese cinema has, unlike Chinese cinema, been primarily shaped by capitalist forces. As a result, there is less focus on political dogma (such as China's "mainstream melody" films, *zhuxuanlü*, films that are in "harmony" with the CCP narrative), and more emphasis on films that will appeal to audiences.¹⁰⁰

Audiences in China and Japan also differ. During the Mao era, Chinese viewership was highly regulated, and citizens only had access to very limited selection of socialist films. From the early 1980s, "[a]s political and economic pressures combined with a technological shift towards satellite, cable, and VCR, they fueled the rising aspirations of citizens, who now had access to more information and imagery than would have seemed imaginable only a few years

⁹⁷ Yoshimi, "Television and Nationalism" and Yoshimi Shunya. "'Made in Japan': The Cultural Politics of Home Electrification in Postwar Japan," *Media, Culture & Society* 21. 2 (1999): 149-171.

⁹⁸ Yoshimi, "Television and Nationalism," 461.

⁹⁹ Yoshimi, "Television and Nationalism," 484.

¹⁰⁰ For more on mainstream melody films, see: Jeffrey C. Kinkley, *Corruption and Realism in Late Socialist China: The Return of the Political Novel* (Stanford; Stanford University Press, 2006): 212.

before.”¹⁰¹ Despite television being a relatively recent trend, it was adopted and disseminated into many Chinese homes quickly. Moreover, due to the wide availability of films online and on the street via pirated forms, many contemporary Chinese viewers may have access to more films than Japanese audiences. For instance, the 1983 NHK drama *Tokyo Trial* (Tokyo saiban), relatively hard to find in Japan, has been translated and is widely available online from the Chinese search engine *Baidu*. As for Japanese audiences, it is believed that older audiences tend to view films more than younger audiences in the theaters, though big budget films and multiplexes may be reversing that trend. Globalization and the decline of the traditional film industries means that most people are watching films at home. For both national audiences, the paratexts surrounding these discourses—the Internet in particular—are increasingly significant in shaping the meaning of these texts.

In sum, the war film is, perhaps more than any other film form, based in the national. However, the pasts represented in a war film can be represented in different ways depending on the perspective of the creators, the discourses prominent at that time, and the changing systems of consumption and distribution.

Narratives of Race and Gender

In the representation of an abstract concept like “nation,” gender and race are important visual markers. Indeed, the conflicts among nations are often performed through race and gender.¹⁰² Many modern nations build their legitimacy and identity on the “ethno-symbolic”

¹⁰¹ Michael Curtin, *Playing to the World’s Biggest Audience: The Globalization of Chinese Film and TV* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 2007): 192.

¹⁰² Rita Felski suggests in her discussion of modernity, “If our sense of the past is inevitably shaped by the explanatory logic of narrative, then the stories that we create in turn reveal the inescapable presence and power of gender symbolism.” Rita Felski, *The Gender of Modernity* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 2009): 1.

narratives of the past.¹⁰³ This is connected to concepts of collective storytelling like “mythomoteur,” an ethnic group’s origin myth, such as Japan’s narrative of the “Yamato *minzoku*.”¹⁰⁴ As for gender, the state itself is essentially male; moreover, international relations might be seen as the competition of masculinities.¹⁰⁵ As Connell emphatically states, “The historical processes that produced global society were, from the start, gendered.”¹⁰⁶ Colonialism produced gendered notions of conquest, labor, and social norms, all encompassed by a racial hierarchy that was itself gendered in nature. Early cinema coincided with the height of global imperialism and, as such, much early cinema shows racist images of colonized peoples.¹⁰⁷

Such discourses of nation, race, gender, and power connect to the concept of postcolonial masculinities.¹⁰⁸ As Edward Said, Homi K. Bhabha, and Gayatri Spivak have all noted, the West—exemplified by the Caucasian male—has shaped the terms by which non-Western nations are imagined. Western power represents a kind of hegemonic masculinity juxtaposed against the marginalized masculinities of non-white, non-Western powers.¹⁰⁹ Indeed, cinema itself is connected to colonialism, a “gendered Western gaze.”¹¹⁰ The men of the dominated nation were frequently imagined as hyper-sexual savages to justify colonial intervention in local matters or

¹⁰³ Anthony D. Smith, “Memory and Modernity: Reflections on Ernest Gellner's Theory of Nationalism,” *Nations and Nationalism* 2.3 (1996): 371-388.

¹⁰⁴ Anthony D. Smith, *The Ethnic Origins of Nations* (Oxford: Basil Blackwell, 1988) and John Alexander Armstrong, *Nations before Nationalism* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1982).

¹⁰⁵ Marysia Zalewski and Jane L. Parpart, ed. *The "Man" Question in International Relations* (Westview Press, 1998).

¹⁰⁶ RW Connell, "Globalization, Imperialism, and Masculinities" in *Handbook of Studies on Men & Masculinities*, edited by Michael S. Kimmel et al (London: Sage Publications: 2005): 71-89.

¹⁰⁷ Robert Stam and Louise Spence, “Colonialism, Racism and Representation,” *Screen* 24, no. 2 (1983): 6.

¹⁰⁸ For a short overview, see: Lahoucine Ouzgane and Daniel Coleman, “Postcolonial Masculinities: Introduction,” *Jouvert: A Journal of Postcolonial Studies* 2.1 (1998): 1-10.

¹⁰⁹ Charlotte Hooper. *Manly States: Masculinities, International Relations, and Gender Politics* (New York: Columbia University Press, 2001).

¹¹⁰ Ella Shohat, "Gender and Culture of Empire: Toward a Feminist Ethnography of the Cinema," *Quarterly Review of Film & Video* 13, no. 1.3 (1991): 45-84.

defined as feminized vis-a-vis the colonial power to reinforce the domination of the country. Colonialism also changed expectations in postcolonial societies, making it impossible for men to “measure up” to the narrow colonial definition of masculinity.¹¹¹ Due in part to these historical factors, colonial men continue to face issues including poverty, disease, and social unrest which impact their perception of their masculinity both at home and abroad.¹¹²

America constructs Asian males as feminine outside of the exotic masculinity of martial arts. Shek Yen Ling suggests that Asian masculinity within America is situated within a hegemonic (dominant and ideal) white masculinity and is considered subordinate to that masculinity.¹¹³ Similarly, Gina Marchetti argues that films featuring Asians in America have struggled to reconcile America’s purported democratic ideals with their insistence on the dominance of white male.¹¹⁴ This narrative developed out of anxiety over the immigration of male Asian laborers and a desire to express economic and military power over an emasculated Asian Other.¹¹⁵ The perceived “emasculatation” of the Asian American male has been “a vexatious issue to the community.”¹¹⁶

A “stronger” nationalism is often constructed in response to the Other’s masculinity. Many Chinese and Japanese works have responded to the masculinity of America—or each other—with their own images of collective masculinity. Dibyesh Anand, in a much-cited study,

¹¹¹ Margrethe Silberschmidt, “*Women Forget that Men are the Masters*”: *Gender Antagonism and Socio-economic Change in Kisii District, Kenya*, Nordic Africa Institute, 1999.

¹¹² Robert Morrell and Sandra Swart, “Men in the Third World: Postcolonial Perspectives on Masculinity,” in *Handbook of Studies on Men & Masculinities*, edited by Michael Kimmell et al. (London: Sage, 2005): 90.

¹¹³ Shek Yen Ling, “Asian American Masculinity: A Review of the Literature,” *The Journal of Men's Studies* 14.3 (2006): 379-391.

¹¹⁴ Gina Marchetti, *Romance and the ‘Yellow Peril’: Race, Sex, and Discursive Strategies in Hollywood Fiction* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1993): 218.

¹¹⁵ Ling Jinqi, “Identity Crisis and Gender Politics: Reappropriating Asian American Masculinity,” in *An Interethnic Companion to Asian American Literature* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1997): 314.

¹¹⁶ Ling, “Identity Crisis,” 313.

reads violent Hindu nationalism in part as a response to the construction of an imagined Muslim masculinity. According to his analysis, Hindu men imagine themselves as emasculated by a “dangerously virile Muslim masculinity” and the peaceful personas of Buddha and Gandhi.”¹¹⁷ Such imaginings of emasculation at the hands of a (more) masculine Other sometimes prompt a re-imagining of the Self. China and Japan have responded to the hegemonic masculinity of America with their own images of masculinity.

Japanese masculine nationalism has been constructed in opposition to the West. Karlin argues that two forms of masculinity emerged in Meiji Japan—one “feminine” masculinity based on the European dandy, one “masculine” version based on nativism and imperialism. Both were ultimately a response to the foreign influence of modernity.¹¹⁸ Meanwhile, Igarashi calls the “foundational narrative” of the US-Japan postwar narrative until the 1980s the idea that the male US saved the female Japan.¹¹⁹ This is embodied in the famous MacArthur and Hirohito “wedding photo,” wherein the tall, relaxed masculine General towers over the short, formal emperor (Figure 4).¹²⁰ This relationship has been complicated by the US-Japan alliance, which remains the cornerstone of Japanese security and one of the main reasons Japanese could suppress memories of war until the end of the Cold War.

Meanwhile, Chinese masculinity and nationalism are constructed in opposition to both Japan and the West. The early post-Mao era prompted a “search for men” (*nanzihan*, manly men) in response to the new transnational economy. In popular media, Chinese masculinity was used as a metaphor for successful Chinese globalization, with the fantasy image of the Chinese

¹¹⁷ Dibyesh Ananda, “Anxious Sexualities: Masculinity, Nationalism and Violence.” *The British Journal of Politics & International Relations* 9.2 (2007): 260.

¹¹⁸ Jason G. Karlin, “The Gender of Nationalism: Competing Masculinities in Meiji Japan.” *Journal of Japanese Studies* 28, no. 1 (2002): 41-77.

¹¹⁹ Yoshikuni Igarashi, *Bodies of Memory: Narratives of War in Postwar Japanese Culture, 1945-1970* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2000): 20.

¹²⁰ Igarashi, *Bodies of Memory*, 30.

male/caucasian female romance a popular mid-nineties 1990s trope.¹²¹ *A Beijinger in New York* (Beijingren zai niuyue, 1993) features an infamous scene wherein Chinese star Jiang Wen forces a white American prostitute to repeat “I love you” as he showers her with dollar bills. As Sheldon Lu (2002) suggests, the “...victory that Chinese men are able to score with foreign women symbolizes not only the resurrection of Chinese masculinity but also a triumph of the Chinese nation itself.”¹²² More recently, the “100 years of humiliation” nationalist campaign might be seen as a narrative of Chinese emasculation at the hands of European, American and particularly Japanese powers. A well-known phrase used to describe the politically weak China during the 18th and 19th centuries from that era—“sick man of Asia” (*dongya bingfu*)—still resonates as an emasculating insult today. Japanese imperialism was largely based on the idealization of the racial superiority of the Japanese race over the rest of Asia, a perception many Chinese find emasculating and humiliating.¹²³ Unsurprisingly, recent Chinese discourse jockeys for more respect internationally, ironically by reproducing such narratives of racial superiority.

Women often have different symbolic roles in the construction of nation. One of the main differences in how men and women are represented in texts on nationalism is in terms of action. As Rick Wilford notes, “Women...are commonly constructed as the symbolic form of the nation whereas men are invariably presented as its chief agents and, with statehood achieved, emerge as its major beneficiaries.”¹²⁴ As the “national state is essentially a masculine institution,” women act as supporting players in roles designed to “reflect masculinist notions of femininity and of

¹²¹ Sheldon H. Lu, “Soap Opera in China: The Transnational Politics of Visuality, Sexuality, and Masculinity.” *Cinema Journal* 40, no. 1 (2000): 25-47.

¹²² Lu, “Soap opera in China,” 25-47.

¹²³ Yoshiharu Tezuka claims that much Japanese cinema until the ‘80s was made with the notion that Japan was “above” the rest of Asia. Yoshiharu Tezuka, *Japanese Cinema Goes Global* (Hong Kong: Hong Kong University Press, 2011): 171.

¹²⁴ Rick Wilford, “Women, Ethnicity and Nationalism: Surveying the Ground” in *Women, Ethnicity and Nationalism: The Politics of Transition*, edited by Robert E. Miller et al. (London: Routledge, 1998): 1.

women's proper 'place.'"¹²⁵ Women are frequently enlisted in national struggles, only to be removed from leadership once the nation is established.¹²⁶ Thus, if men are represented as the nation's brain and brawn, then women are its heart and womb: she is the home the soldier nostalgically reminisces, the mother he calls for when wounded, the girl he has left behind, and the land that he protects. As the passive Motherland and victim of war, women are often purported to be "why we fight."

As Mathew Evangelista argues, terms like "Motherland," "mother tongue," and "the birth of the nation" reveal the ways in which women are enlisted in the imagining of the nation.¹²⁷ Women give birth to the nation's "ethnic collectivities," they represent the "boundaries of the symbolic identity of their group," they are "cultural carriers" of their collective's symbols, and they represent difference from other collectivities.¹²⁸ This is the "vocabulary of kinship" which unites the nation through the affective language of family ties.¹²⁹ In countries which define themselves by their ethnicity, the birthrate of the dominant ethnic group becomes a question of survival. Seen in this light, Japan's "birthrate problem" is based on anxieties of reproducing the desired "Yamato race."

How men treat women from another nation is likewise a marker of their own national identity. The "white knights" in American films of the '50s and '60s "saved" Asian women from their "backwards," "threatening" culture, thereby emphasizing American cultural superiority.¹³⁰ Wartime rape also represents the loss of control among a nation's armed forces. As such,

¹²⁵ Joane Nagel, "Masculinity and Nationalism: Gender and Sexuality in the Making of Nations," *Ethnic and Racial Studies* 21, no. 2 (1998): 243-251.

¹²⁶ Cynthia Enloe, *Bananas, Beaches and Bases: Making Feminist Sense of International Politics* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1989): 62.

¹²⁷ Matthew Evangelista, *Gender, Nationalism, and War: Conflict on the Movie Screen* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2011): 1.

¹²⁸ Floya Anthias and Nira Yuval-Davis, *Woman-Nation-State* (New York: Macmillan, 1989): 8-11.

¹²⁹ Anderson, *Imagined Communities*, 143.

¹³⁰ Marchetti, *Romance and the 'Yellow Peril.'*

discourses on the Nanjing Massacre and sexual slavery problematize Japanese narratives of the right, which are based on myths of Yamato superiority and disciplined military masculinity. This is part of the reason that the right responds so vociferously to the accounts of female survivors. Thus, gender and race, as “fundamental” identities that frequently—though not always—“operate through visual markers on the body,” are important signifiers of difference in these films.¹³¹

Overview of Methodology and Chapters

In terms of methodology, this dissertation employs a mixture of textual analysis and discourse analysis, the analysis of the film text within its historical/cultural context. For textual analysis, I analyze the films in terms of visual representation (framing, mise-en-scene, costumes, make-up, camera movement, editing), audio (music, sound effects), and narrative structure (plot, heroes, victims, conflict, resolution), drawing inspiration from the work of David Bordwell and Jaques Aumont, among others.¹³² I also employ discourse analysis to analyze the film within its context.

Among linguists, discourse analysis is described as “an approach to the analysis of language that looks at patterns of language across texts as well as the social and cultural contexts in which the texts occur.”¹³³ This includes how language is used in different social situations, different eras, and different cultures. Such social/cultural situations include implications about gender, race, and class, since communication changes depending on the identity of the speaker

¹³¹ Linda Martin Alcoff, *Visible Identities: Race, Gender, and the Self* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2005): 3.

¹³² See: David Bordwell, *Narration in the Fiction Film* (New York: Routledge, 2013) and Jacques Aumont, ed. *Aesthetics of Film* (Austin: University of Texas Press, 1992).

¹³³ Brian Paltridge, *Discourse Analysis: An Introduction* (London: Bloomsbury Publishing, 2012).

and the identity of the person to whom they are speaking.¹³⁴ My approach to discourse draws primarily from multimodal discourse analysis.¹³⁵ Unlike linguistic-focused methodological approaches, multimodal discourse analysis does not view language performance as the central feature of communication. Rather, discourse is any form of human communication, including “gestures, posture, proxemics, visual images, document layout, music and architectural design...”¹³⁶ Moreover, within multimodal discourse analysis, silence is a form of communication as poignant as speaking. This is useful to consider when we examine the pointed silence of Japanese media on the subject of colonialism and atrocities.

In particular, I found Astrid Erll’s framework, which divides “film as memory” into what she terms the intra, inter, and pluri layers, useful in guiding my textual and discursive analysis. The inter layer refers to the narrative inside the film, or the text. The intra layer is the interaction between texts, such as premediation (genre conventions, previous literatures) and remediation (how the film is represented again and again in other contexts and through other texts). The final layer is the pluri layer, the context around the film such as academic controversies and awards ceremonies.¹³⁷ These filmic texts are further mediated by the pluri layers of the individual and collective identities of the filmmakers and the governmental and market constraints.

¹³⁴ Specific methodologies include Critical Discourse Analysis (CDA) which is the politically motivated analysis of the performance of written/spoken language, i.e, analysis with an intent to affect social change; corpus linguistics, the analysis of textual samples; mediated discourse analysis (MDA), which focuses on the relationship of discourse and action as part of a “nexus of multiple social practices,” and so on. Discourse analysis has been applied widely across the social sciences to be used in narrative analysis, argument analysis, communication ethnographies, among other fields. Rodney H. Jones and Sigrid Norris, *Discourse in Action: Introducing Mediated Discourse Analysis* (New York: Routledge, 2005): 4.

¹³⁵ Gunther Kress and Theo Van Leeuwen, *Multimodal Discourse* (London: Arnold, 2001); Sigrid Norris, *Analyzing Multimodal Interaction: A Methodological Framework*, (New York: Routledge, 2004).

¹³⁶ Vijay Bhatia et al. “Approaches to Discourse Analysis” in *Advances in Discourse Studies*, Vijay K. Bhatia et al., eds. 1-18 (New York: Routledge, 2008): 1.

¹³⁷ Astrid Erll and Ann Rigney, eds. *Mediation, Remediation, and the Dynamics of Cultural Memory* (Berlin: Walter de Gruyter, 2009).

Overall, this dissertation is a diachronic and cross-cultural comparative study in which I compare Chinese and Japanese films within their respective cultures and to each other. I approach these texts from four perspectives: the historical context, such as whether the film was produced during a period of Sino-Japanese normalization or during a period of regional tension; the context of the production, such as whether it a co-production, produced by a right wing group, successful or unsuccessful; narrative analysis, such as the focus of the narrative, how it represents heroism, victimhood, and guilt; and finally, comparison to previous versions—how recent adaptations depart from the original, and what this suggests about changing historical discourse. The narrative of these films, as well as their production and reception, reveals the interplay of local, national, and cosmopolitan processes of memory. Through their intra-national, intra-generational and transnational dimensions, we can explore individual, communicative, and cultural intersections of memory.

My selection of films centered on the popular and contemporary, as I aimed to discover recent dominant trends of remembrance. I selected films on the basis of their popularity or ubiquity, such as how well they performed at the box office or if they played on a major television network or were widely advertised. In addition, because the discourse is more “fractured” in Japan among right, left, and mainstream, I juxtaposed popular Japanese films against less popular films from the right or left to discuss the differences between mainstream and more right or left wing discourses. In Chapter Four, since there are no recent mainstream Japanese films on the Nanjing Massacre, I discussed how rape is represented in right and left wing discourses. While I mention international art films like *Devils on the Doorstep* (Guizi lai le, 2000), *Lust, Caution* (Se, jie, 2007), and *The Emperor’s Naked Army Marches On* (Yuki yukite

shingun, 1987) briefly, my central focus was on the films that reached the widest audience domestically.

I begin my analysis in Chapter Two by discussing how Chinese and Japanese films reject the perceived “foundational narrative” of the war as established at the postwar International Military Tribunal for the Far East or Tokyo Trial (1946-1948). The “Tokyo Trial” narrative positions the United States as hero, Japan as perpetrator, and China as victim. The popular Chinese film *Tokyo Trial* (2006) challenges both this narrative, portrayed as American “meddling,” and the Japanese revisionist narrative, which is presented as the sole Japanese perspective on the war. Meanwhile, Japanese films demonstrate two trends. Mainstream films focus on victimhood while concurrently retaining aspects of the foundational narrative; right wing films appeal to heroism, ignore East Asia, and argue for a more equitable US-Japan relationship. While the victimhood narrative is still the dominant narrative, the heroic narrative, appearing at a time when heroic narratives are more prominent in Japan, is significant.

Chapter Three explores the rise of new masculinities in Chinese and Japanese combat films as further evidence of Chinese and Japanese challenges to the so-called “Tokyo Trial” narrative of the war. In combat films, the memory dispute is imagined as the competition of masculinities. New Chinese heroes show an increasingly aggressive challenge to Japanese revisionism through the clash of Chinese and Japanese cultural tropes (*karate vs wushu*; Chinese machetes and “drawing sword spirit” versus Japanese *katana*) and a changing relationship with Taiwan, as the *Hanjian* (Chinese collaborators) are subtly rehabilitated. Mainstream Japanese films show a problematic victim-hero and the softening of the upper levels of the military. Right wing films portray the unambiguous veneration of military sacrifice and a desire for normalization.

Chapter Four discusses the problematic representation of the Nanjing Massacre and so-called “comfort women,” a euphemism for sexual slavery during the war. More than any other discourse, these films display the most diverse and problematic responses to war memory and highlight the uneasy overlapping of Chinese, American, and Japanese memory discourses. Chinese and Japanese films on wartime rape—often via dialogue with equally problematic narratives in America—tend to obscure the trauma of individual women in order to support collective national narratives. Many Chinese films struggle to narrate an “emasculated” past, whereas Japanese right and left wing films on Nanjing tend to battle over the national honor/dignity of the Japanese soldier and broader issues of national identity.

Chapter Five examines Sino-Japanese remembrance outside of the American gaze. This chapter discusses attempts in popular media to build a narrative beyond the Tokyo Trial. Tracing different stages of reconciliation narratives, it argues that there has been the slow disappearance of reconciliation in China and Japan both outside the narrative (via co-productions) and inside the narrative (via the image of familial reconciliation). Recent narratives even twist the Sino-Japanese family—originally a symbol of national reconciliation—into a vehicle for nationalism.

By approaching war films as a national site-of-memory through theories of gender and race, this study has four intended contributions. First, I contribute to film studies by examining works that have received little attention in English-language literature. Other than the research done by Kinnia Yau and Aaron Gerow, there has been very limited discussion of combat narratives and television series in China and Japan. As “low culture” viewed as unabashedly nationalistic, there tends to be less scholarship on such narratives, despite their ubiquity and importance.¹³⁸ Second, by elaborating on the gender dimensions of these films, I contribute to

¹³⁸ Kinnia Yau Shuk-ting, “Meanings of the Imagined Friends,” in *Imagining Japan in Post-war East Asia: Identity Politics, Schooling and Popular Culture*, ed. Paul Morris et al. (Routledge: New York,

gender studies by revealing alternative readings to these narratives. My conclusions depart from Kinnia Yau's work on Japanese friendship and Timothy Y. Tsu's work on reconciliation because, when seen within the context of gender and power, most recent representations of Sino-Japanese friendship are very problematic.¹³⁹ Third, I contribute to postcolonial studies by exploring how national identities are formed in response to the Other's racial/gendered gaze (i.e. through concepts like the third eye and colonial masculinities). Unlike other works that focus on how China views Japan or how Japan views the United States, I explore the China-Japan relationship and how it is mediated by perceptions of each other and America.¹⁴⁰ Finally, through the in-depth analysis of film and television as a site of national memory and by maintaining the importance of film as national memory, I contribute to memory studies.

This dissertation argues that the promotion of nationalism in China and Japan has not been promoted as much by "state nationalism" as by "cultural nationalism," such as debates in academic journals and popular media (magazines, television, manga) over the issue of war remembrance (though state nationalism remains an important factor, particularly in China).¹⁴¹ Although nationalism is often represented in news media as a "hypodermic needle" model of brainwashing from above, in reality these expressions of popular nationalism have emerged as much from mass movements and capitalism as from governmental influence. For example,

2014); Aaron Gerow, "War and Nationalism in Yamato: Trauma and Forgetting the Postwar," *The Asia-Pacific Journal* 9.24 vol. 1 (2011): <http://japanfocus.org/-Aaron-Gerow/3545>; Aaron Gerow, "Fantasies of War and Nation in Recent Japanese Cinema." *Japan Focus* (2006): <http://www.japanfocus.org/-Aaron-Gerow/1707>.

¹³⁹ Timothy Y. Tsu, "Reconciliation Onscreen: The Second Sino-Japanese War in Chinese Movies," in *East Asia Beyond the History Wars: Reconciliation as Method*, ed. Tessa Morris-Suzuki et al. (Routledge: New York, 2013): 60-86.

¹⁴⁰ Although Yau discusses combat films in Japan, she does not place this into a transnational context, i.e., the ways in which these films are having a dialogue with regional politics. Kinnia Yau Shuk-Ting, "The Loyal 47 Rōnin Never Die," in *East Asian Cinema and Cultural Heritage: From China, Hong Kong, Taiwan to Japan and South Korea*, edited by Kinnia Yau (London: Palgrave Macmillan, 2011).

¹⁴¹ Caroline Rose, "'Patriotism is not Taboo': Nationalism in China and Japan and Implications for Sino-Japanese relations" in *Japan Forum* vol. 12 no. 2 (1998): 169-181.

popular war films in China do not always toe the government line: increasingly savvy audiences are becoming more demanding, and it is often their desire for more complexity that creates the impetus for new kinds of heroes. In Japan, meanwhile, the rise of ambiguous war narratives and decline in anti-war films may have more to do with a desire of producers to appeal to the largest possible audience than with the rise of conservative politicians like Abe Shinzō.

Overall, the conflict of memory during this period of global visibility reveals the new intersections of memory and of power in the Pacific. The war films I explore suggest an intensification of the post-1989 transformation of Chinese and Japanese domestic identity and shift in US-China-Japan relations. Not only do these films demonstrate changes in terms of how both nations view their relationship with America, positioning in the Pacific region, and role in global society, but they also demonstrate the tension of narrating collective pasts in a global era. Throughout, we are reminded that remembrance is itself a battle.

6. Conclusion

Don't forget the stench of blood that covered the earth!

Don't forget the smell of burnt flesh!

We must not forget... for this is what war is.¹

Michel Foucault, in an interview with *Cahiers du Cinema*, saw cinema as an apparatus that “obstruct[s] the flow of popular memory” wherein “people are shown not what they were, but what they must remember having been.”² As a technology of remembrance, Chinese and Japanese war films construct prosthetic memory or “history as identification,” identification which is importantly placed within the framework of national memory.³ I have argued that the prosthetic memory produced by these films—particularly films made after 1989—marks a major change in postwar memory and national identity. This is a shift that has been intensifying in recent years in response to changing memory dynamics in East Asia, such as the end of the Cold War, the death of the war generation, a shift in the American role in the Pacific region, and the

¹ Wakamatsu Kōji, “Director’s Statement,” *Press Materials for Caterpillar*, accessed November 4, 2014, <http://www.kinolorber.com/press-detail.php?id=1195>.

² Michel Foucault, “From ‘Film in Popular Memory: An Interview with Michel Foucault,’” in *The Collective Memory Reader*, edited by Jeffrey K. Olick et al. (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2011): 252-253. Robert Rosenstone also discusses how the guided gaze of the camera only offers one narrative of the past. Robert A. Rosenstone, “History in Images/History in Words: Reflections on the Possibility of Really Putting History onto Film,” *The American Historical Review* (1988): 1173-1185.

³ As mentioned in the introduction, films as a site of memory are different from other sites of memory due to their manipulation of time/space and affect. Through their three-dimensional diegetic world of immersive sound, image, and movement, they create a universe of the past *in the present*. Further, through the moving consciousness of the screen, there is a feeling of “being there” and of accessing a world that is not dead, a process called “prosthetic memory.” By following the psychological interiority of a nationally situated character, these films enforce the notion of national identity and create a sympathetic view of that character’s experience of the war. Alison Landsberg, *Prosthetic Memory: The Transformation of American Remembrance in the Age of Mass Culture* (New York: Columbia University Press, 2004). For more on “history as identification,” see: Tessa Morris-Suzuki, *The Past Within Us: Media, Memory, History* (London: Verso, 2005): 22-23.

emergence of new modes of production and distribution. Moreover, produced in an era wherein national narratives have come under increasing global scrutiny, as well as amidst a growing trend in transnational film production and consumption, they demonstrate increasing concern with opposing or supporting national narratives.

Perhaps most strikingly, the prosthetic memory constructed by Chinese and Japanese films is fundamentally different not only in terms of narrative content, but also in terms of the temporal and emotional proximity they delineate for their audiences. Mainstream Chinese films depict *Han* heroes who combat Japanese revisionism and American power by avenging the nation's emasculated past; mainstream Japanese films center on the feminine or masculine *Yamato* hero-victim who is persecuted by a murky enemy or "victor's history." Such narratives elicit disparate feelings about the past and construct different kinds of national identities for each audience. In addition, these films are broadcast and remediated in ways that render the war more or less "visible" and thus temporally/emotionally close or distant. As a result, the prosthetic memories experienced by the two national audiences diverge, with a strong tendency towards clarity/immediacy in China and ambiguity/distance in Japan. These differences, emerging in large part from the different historical and political positioning of the two countries, are one of the main reasons why Chinese and Japanese public opinion on war remembrance deviate increasingly as time goes on. In this final chapter I will explore some of my conclusions concerning the experience of prosthetic memory in contemporary Chinese and Japanese war films, finishing with some thoughts on the future of remembrance in the Pacific.

“Tears of Rage”

Chinese films after the '90s reproduce the political narrative of “national humiliation” through the figure of the masculine *Han* hero avenging a feminized Chinese past. The saturation, clarity, and continuity of these narratives compress the sense of time for Chinese audiences, fomenting an urgent desire for a strong response to perceived attacks on the nation. In other words, the increasing visibility of such texts, the mixture of such texts with contemporary discourse, and the unity of these narratives produce a communal sense of humiliation and anger for Chinese audiences and the feeling that the past is still alive.

In terms of visibility, Chinese war films and television shows have high broadcast rates on television and in theaters and, as mentioned in the case of *Little Soldier Zhang Ga* (Xiaobing zhangga, 1963) in Chapter Three, are occasionally taught in schools. Many of these films are also uploaded freely to the internet, thereby exposing a large portion of the country to narratives of the war. Broadcasting of such narratives has accelerated in post-Tiananmen China due to post-'80s economic development (which has allowed Chinese audiences access to more media through TV, cinema, and the Internet), the post-1990s humiliation campaign (which has encouraged producers to film “safe” topics like the war), and the increasing “marketization” of Chinese television (which aims to capitalize on the popularity of the war genre). As a result, on television, computer, and film screens across the nation, Japanese soldiers continue to charge into Chinese villages daily. Furthermore, like Hollywood WWII films, the vast amount of television programs and films produced on the war has developed into a genre and industry. In addition to disseminating easily recognizable archetypal characters such as the comedic Japanese soldier and the indefatigable Chinese hero, the Chinese war film has evolved into numerous subgenres including Red Classic remakes, “marketized” narratives, comedic war films, and

wuxia war films, among others. Chinese audiences are thus exposed to images of the war across multiple platforms yet in a somewhat standardized and regulated genre format. This has created an oversaturation of anti-Japanese hero narratives. As author Yu Hua sardonically notes, “There’s a joke that more Japanese have been ‘killed’ at Hengdian (a film studio in Zhejiang that specialized in war dramas) than at all the actual battlefields put together. More, even, than the total population of Japan.”⁴

The ways that these films interact with the contemporary discourse outside the narrative has also heightened the sense of immediacy in China. Television shows dramatize stories of past Japanese invasions through narrative while news reports focus on “real life” Japanese revisionism or Japanese claims to the Senkaku/Diaoyu islands. Such broadcasting creates a sense of continuity by mixing remembrance of the past with issues of the present. Many Chinese films also blend the past and present within their narratives, citing crimes of the past alongside contemporary disputes. This is seen in the WWII comedy *Hands Up! 2* (*Juqi shou lai 2*), which ends with a Chinese farmer proudly protecting the Senkaku/Diaoyu islands from a hapless Japanese soldier. In the worst case, this diegetic world’s sense of immediacy—and its overlap with news and other stories from reality—creates a sense of national peril. Indeed, the impression of a continuous historical stream of Japanese wrongs is thus a dominant trope in Chinese films and defining feature of Chinese nationalism.

Thirdly, Chinese war films demonstrate a clear narrative of the past that underscores the unity of the discourse. Chinese films, as opposed to mainstream Japanese films, appeal to historical truth. Films like *Tokyo Trial* (*Dongjing shenpan*, 2006), *Massacre in Nanjing* (*Tucheng xuezheng*, 1987), and *City of Life and Death* (*Nanjing! Nanjing!* 2009) often

⁴ Yu Hua, “China Waits for an Apology,” *The New York Times*, April 9, 2014, accessed April 15, 2014, http://www.nytimes.com/2014/04/10/opinion/yu-hua-cultural-revolution-nostalgia.html?_r=0.

emphasize evidence/testimony and are advertised as reenactments of the “true” historical past; for instance, director Lu Chuan repeatedly cited the phrase “historical truth” as he made the rounds promoting *City*.⁵ In part, this is due to the subject positioning of the nation. Many Chinese people, as citizens of the invaded/colonized nation and descendants of the war’s victims, rightly regard historical remembrance of victimization as an issue of paramount collective importance. This is also partially due to censorship. Television series that deviate from collectively approved narratives have been censured by the government for being seen as making light of a serious topic.⁶ Moreover, when Chinese war narratives veer too far away from being what audiences and critics regard as “truthful,” they are criticized for their lack of historical authenticity or the directors are lambasted as “traitor directors.”⁷ Remembrance of past wrongs inspires solidarity, and since such censorship and policing silences or limits the distribution of many narratives, there is a far more unified expression of the war being disseminated in China than in Japan.

Chinese films also extend this unified narrative across the “three Chinas.” Many WWII films employ stars from Taiwan, Mainland China, and Hong Kong, uniting contested areas of China under the umbrella of one memory. In one way, this is an unintentional side effect of transnational filmmaking, as Hong Kong and Taiwanese producers aim for Mainland funding and markets. In another, this demonstrates a shift in the CCP narrative, which previously avoided war narratives showing the Kuomintang (KMT) in a positive light. Especially after 2000, such

⁵ “Lu chuan tan nanjing: Xifang zhuliu meiti guanzhu dechu hu yiliao,” *Zhongguo Xinwenwang*, October 30, 2009, accessed November 4, 2014, <http://media.people.com.cn/GB/40606/10289472.html>.

⁶ “China Embarks on Regulating Far-fetched Anti-Japanese TV Dramas,” *The Asahi Shimbun*, accessed October 9, 2013, <http://ajw.asahi.com/article/asia/AJ201307090012> and Philip J. Cunningham, “China’s TV War Machine,” *The New York Times*, September 11, 2014, accessed Nov 4, 2014, http://www.nytimes.com/2014/09/12/opinion/chinas-tv-war-on-japan.html?_r=0.

⁷ “China Embarks on Regulating Far-fetched Anti-Japanese TV Dramas,” *The Asahi Shimbun*, accessed October 9, 2013, <http://ajw.asahi.com/article/asia/AJ201307090012>.

films have served to smooth over the Taiwanese-Mainland conflict through narratives highlighting CCP/KMT collaboration in the fight against Japanese aggression. Like Hirsch's process of postmemory, which transmits traumatic memory from the older generation to the younger via the family photo, the transnational movie or television screen is a window into remembering a unified Chinese past.⁸ The humiliation/"never forget" narrative has become a way to unite pan-Asian Chinese diasporas, and in particular the three Chinas, through the solidarity of remembrance.

The Chinese have a saying: "*Luohou jiu yao ai da*" ("If you are backward, you will be beaten⁹"). In the rise of popular nationalism from the '80s to '90s, this has emerged as a saying to mark the "lesson" of Japanese imperialism—the "lack of resolution provides justification enough to strengthen China economically and militarily."¹⁰ To be certain, the pervasive image of the unapologetic Japanese perpetrator committing continued wrongs inspires anger in many Chinese and prompts responses in real life. Although China's humiliation campaign was originally intended to fill the void left by the decline in dogmatic Maoist socialism and focus the traumatic outpour of the '80s away from the government, the media produced in its aftermath has also resulted in unintended consequences. A group often derogatorily referred to as *fenqing* or "angry youths" express their Chinese nationalism virulently on the Internet;¹¹ Chinese boats rush en masse towards the Senkaku/Diaoyu island (sudden mass migration that is not entirely

⁸ Marianne Hirsch, *Family Frames: Photography, Narrative, and Postmemory*, (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1997).

⁹ Yang Daqing, "Reconciliation between Japan and China: Problems and Prospects," in *Reconciliation in the Asia-Pacific*, ed. Yōichi Funabashi (US Institute of Peace Press: Washington D.C., 2003), 66.

¹⁰ Yang Daqing, "Reconciliation between Japan and China," 66.

¹¹ Wu Xu, *Chinese Cyber Nationalism: Evolution, Characteristics, and Implications* (Lanham: Lexington Books), 2007.

welcome in a country that micromanaged population movement just twenty years ago);¹² a Chinese man was brutally assaulted for owning a Toyota during the 2012 anti-Japanese riots.¹³ In sum, many Chinese citizens feel visceral anger even 70 years after the war, a product of the prosthetic memory produced by these media depictions: “We hate Japan. We've always hated Japan. Japan invaded China and killed a lot of Chinese. We will never forget.”¹⁴

Thus, produced after the rise in “national humiliation” narratives after Tiananmen—a rise due to both encouragement from the top and civilian redress movements from below—Chinese films show a turn towards increasingly bombastic heroic narratives which demonstrate a profound sense of urgency and continuity. The narrative is as follows: China as a nation was abused by numerous foreign powers for over 100 years; this abuse of national sovereignty is crystallized by the emasculation of the Nanjing Massacre and current Japanese revisionism; now, China will heroically challenge American hegemony and Japanese power to avoid being humiliated again. Like Li Yunlong, who sacrifices his wife for the Chinese nation in *Drawing Sword* (Liang Jian, 2005), or Mei Ru’ao, who avenges the Chinese nation on the global stage in *Tokyo Trial* (Dongjing Shenpan, 2006), victimization of the past is often the justification for a strong expression of Chinese nationalism in the present. Chinese war films thusly compress the sense of time/space for Chinese audiences and produce a sense of immediacy and danger—the threat of victimization, or victimization gone unpunished—which can serve as the foundation for

¹² The “hukou” or household registration system has been explored as a policy that regulated Chinese movement. Chan Kam Wing and Li Zhang, “The Hukou System and Rural-Urban Migration in China: Processes and Changes,” *The China Quarterly* 160 (1999): 818-855.

¹³ Amy Qin and Edward Wong, “Smashed Skull Serves as Grim Symbol of Seething Patriotism,” *The New York Times*, October 10, 2012, accessed April 13, 2014, <http://www.nytimes.com/2012/10/11/world/asia/xian-beating-becomes-symbol-of-nationalism-gone-awry.html>.

¹⁴ Sui-Wei Lee and Maxim Duncan, “Anti-Japan Protests Erupt in China Over Islands Row,” *Reuter*, September 15, 2012, accessed November 4, 2014, <http://www.reuters.com/article/2012/09/15/us-china-japan-idUSBRE88E01I20120915>.

aggressive and angry nationalism. These narratives, in effect, produce “tears of rage,” which are magnified and extended through the film image’s visibility, continuity, and clarity.¹⁵

“I Am Me, He is Him”

While Chinese war films demonstrate a clear narrative of the war, Japanese films tend towards solipsism, ambiguity, and divisiveness, as seen in the disparate depictions of the feminized victim-soldier and idealized *Yamato* hero. The sense of time delineated by Japanese films is also more distant from the past. These narratives thus indicate temporal distance, a lack of clarity, and a lack of unity, which allows for a range of audience interpretations across the political spectrum. This also has the consequence, intended or not, of eliding wartime responsibility and of potentially paving the way towards military normalization.

To begin, as opposed to the non-stop visibility of Chinese films, recent Japanese war films are almost exclusively broadcast around major anniversaries, such as the anniversaries of Sino-Japanese normalization and the end of the war. Both of these trends increased through the ‘90s as a framing device to link younger viewers to the past, though such broadcasting trends mark remembrance of the war as a special occasion and not an ever-present reality, as it is represented in China. Many Japanese narratives produced after 1990 also contain a flashback or past/present framing device which isolates contemporary audiences from the past. Movies like *Yamato* (*Otokotachi no yamato*, 2005), the film *Winds of God* (*Za uinzu obu goddo*, 1995) and the blockbuster *The Eternal Zero* (*Eien no zero*, 2014) begin and end with a framing story in the present or, in the case of *Winds*, time travel. Even in dramas like *The Pioneers* (*Kaitakushatachi*, 2012), the audience is reminded that they are contemporary viewers witnessing the past as a

¹⁵ I take this title from the Peter Gries article: Peter Hays Gries, “Tears of Rage: Chinese Nationalist Reactions to the Belgrade Embassy Bombing,” *The China Journal* 46 (2001): 25-43.

framing documentary shows the main actress, Mitsushima Hikari, visiting the real locations depicted in the film. The flashback, framing documentary, or anniversary screening in fact separates Japanese audiences from the past. The framing device creates a border between the two worlds by creating a filmic “present tense” and “past tense.” In Chinese films, by contrast, there is no border between the past and the present. Everything occurs in “present tense,” transporting the viewer to the past with no demarcation separating the past from the present. Japanese films thus make it clear that Japan of the present is not entirely the same as Japan of the past—there is a rupture in this continuity. While this is partially done to appeal to contemporary Japanese who do not feel a sense of connection to their past, at the same time, it detaches Japanese audiences from the past and creates a feeling of distance from wartime Japan.

Furthermore, Japanese narratives lack the clarity of Chinese narratives. First, Japanese films appeal to relative truth rather than absolute truth. Films like *Best Wishes for Tomorrow* (*Ashita e no yuigon*, 2008) and *I Want to Be a Shellfish* (*Watashi wa kai ni naritai*, 2007) propose the “I am me, he is him” narrative, wherein America has America’s point of view, and Japan has Japan’s point of view.¹⁶ Second, mainstream films tend to focus on the victimized Japanese victim-soldier, a figure who can be interpreted as anti-war or pro-military depending on the political leaning of the viewer, as discussed in Chapters Two and Three. Third, many Japanese narratives emphasize subjective emotional experience over objective historical reality. TV shows like *Distant Bonds* (*Harukanaru kizuna*, 2009) are based on autobiographies of children remembering their parents; in an interview promoting *The Eternal Zero* (2013), the author framed his story in terms of his connection to his father and grandfather’s memory.¹⁷ Such

¹⁶ Makino Hiromichi and Hongō Yoshinori, “Hokori to sekinin kan sōshitsu no jidai ni eiga ashita e no yuigon o kyōō ni kizamu,” *Seiron* 433 (2008): 144-151.

¹⁷ “Okubyōna reisen sōjū shi ni kometa omoi hyakuta naoki san ni kiku eiga eien no zero gensakusha,” *Nikkei*, December 20, 2013, accessed November 4, 2014, <http://www.nikkei.com/article/DGXBZO6>

personal narratives appeal to audiences who want to remember their forebears without addressing difficult questions of collective guilt and responsibility. These highly subjective narratives also avoid constructing a comprehensive national narrative of the war.

This ambiguity is compounded by solipsistic representation. In the majority of Japanese war films, the rest of Asia is primarily invisible, the enemy is unclear, and only suffering Japanese characters are visible. Although viewers can experience the blue skies and white clouds of flying kamikaze pilots and blue seas of the Yamato in an increasingly visceral way, these are also abstract images with no clear referent. The war takes place for unknown reasons against unclear enemies in the immaterial space of the skies and sea. This is possibly due to the desire to avoid offending a divided audience—by the 2000s, mainstream films no longer made clear claims about the Japanese military or the country's wartime legacy.¹⁸

The rise in ambiguity is also in large part due to the divisive nature of remembrance in Japan. In the '90s, as Japanese soldiers became rapists and revisionists in Western imagination and the country slumped into a recession, there was a backlash among elites who termed memories of Japanese atrocities “masochistic history”; this movement was supplemented by the increase in neonationalism online among young people with only vicarious memories of the war. However, although Japanese surveys show a popular trend towards constitutional change, revision of Article 9 continues to be controversial. Only 38% of respondents of a Nikkei survey in 2013 argued that that provision should be re-written.¹⁹ Also, in April 2014, thousands of

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¹⁸ Aaron Gerow makes a similar point about the “watering down” of narratives. Aaron Gerow, “War and Nationalism in Yamato: Trauma and Forgetting the Postwar,” *The Asia-Pacific Journal* 9.24 vol. 1 (2011): <http://japanfocus.org/-Aaron-Gerow/3545>. The “softening” image of the military has been compounded by the “idolization” of the soldier, as Okada Jun’ichi and Nakai Masahiro bring their innocuous boy-band images to their performances as kamikaze pilots and war criminals.

¹⁹ Mochizuki Takashi, “Most Japanese Support Change to Postwar Charter,” *The Wall Street Journal*, May 5, 2013, accessed April 13, 2014, <http://online.wsj.com/news/articles/SB10001424127887323372>

protestors including the Nobel Prize winner Ōe Kenzaburō contested what they perceive as dangerous moves towards militarization, including Prime Minister Abe Shinzo's intension to change Article 9 of the Japanese Constitution. At the protest, Ōe warned, "I'm afraid that Japan's spirit is approaching the most dangerous stage over the past 100 years."²⁰ Yet although it has been a continuous project among the right since the beginning of the postwar, the Japanese military still remain "uneasy warriors" both in terms of filmic representation and real life.²¹

In sum, the closed and ambiguous narrative of Japanese war films creates an unclear war memory and an indistinct relationship with the past that is epitomized by the figure of the feminized victim-soldier who is isolated from the present in flashback. The suffering and death of these victim-soldiers, and their framing within sentimental stories in abstract locations, creates an open text that can be filled by the political orientation of the viewer. This ambiguity and its lack of continuity obscures remembrance of the suffering Japan inflicted on the rest of Asia and relieves Japan of its uncomfortable sense of wartime guilt.²² Alleviating this guilt and rejecting the label of perpetrator may help galvanize more popular support for normalization of the military, and undeniably contributes to the intensifying chasm between Japan and the rest of Asia in terms of war memory.

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²⁰ "Pacifists Rally as Poll Shows Japan is Uneasy over Abe's Military Aims," April 8, 2014, accessed April 13, 2014, <http://www.japantimes.co.jp/news/2014/04/08/national/pacifists-rally-as-poll-shows-japan-is-uneasy-over-abes-military-aims/#.U0n22cdGEWU>.

²¹ See: Franziska Seraphim, *War Memory and Social Politics in Japan, 1945-2005*, (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 2006); Sabine Frühstück, *Uneasy Warriors: Gender, Memory, and Popular Culture in the Japanese Army* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 2007).

²² Toba Kōji, 'Eizō no sugamo purizun: Kabe atsuki heya to watashi wa kai ni naritai,' *Gendai Shisō* 35, no. 10 (2007): 124 - 137.

The Future of Remembrance

Popular memory, like Joseph Roach's concept of surrogation, is performed to substitute, to fill in the "actual or perceived vacancies [that] occur in the network of relations that constitutes the social fabric."²³ Similarly, Chinese and Japanese war films are meant to smooth over these transitions, to create a sense of continuity and stability during times of transition. The process is hardly a stable one. "National identity" is a fraught nexus of competing voices, and these popular narratives reveal a tension among the local, the national, and the global. As Aleida Assmann and Sebastian Conrad note, we have moved from eras of stability to motion. Nation-states are still important but the "global audience has an important impact on political action and on the interpretation and evaluation of historical events."²⁴ Locally produced narratives are translated and disseminated globally, creating the potential for either the homogenization of memory or its opposition. However, the globalization of memory appears to have mostly exacerbated national responses, as times of national crisis (such as the threat of historical revisionism or the perception of foreign-imposed "masochistic history") can serve to reinforce national identity.²⁵ Indeed, as has been noted throughout, Chinese and Japanese remembrance reveals a worrying trend towards progressively irreconcilable positions.

Perhaps due to the increasingly global nature of historical discourse, Chinese and Japanese filmmakers not only reinforce national identity through the narratives of their films, but they also show increasing interest in showing their national vision to the world. Of late, many

²³ Joseph Roach, *Cities of the Dead: Circum-Atlantic Performance*, (New York: Columbia University Press, 1996): 2.

²⁴ Aleida Assmann, "Introduction," In *Memory in a Global Age: Discourses, Practices and Trajectories*, edited by Aleida Assmann and Sebastian Conrad. (Houndmills, Palgrave Macmillan, 2010).

²⁵ For more on this, see: Yoshimi Shunya. "Television and Nationalism: Historical Change in the National Domestic TV Formation of Postwar Japan," *European Journal of Cultural Studies* 6, no. 4 (2003): 483.

Chinese directors have announced plans to broadcast their war films globally.²⁶ Moreover, many recent Chinese and Japanese war films have enlisted American production companies and American actors. They face a challenge. Mainstream films like *Yamato*, *The Eternal Zero*, *Tokyo Trial*, and *The Message* were highly successful in China and Japan, but are viewed as average or subpar by critics in other nations,²⁷ possibly because national narratives simply do not travel well.²⁸ The future will tell whether Chinese and Japanese filmmakers are able to take their narratives global.

Would a unified global memory even be possible? Jan Assmann notes “Memory functions in the direction of identity which, in all of its fuzziness, always implies a notion of difference. Globalization, on the other hand, works in the direction of diffusion, blurring all boundaries and bridging all differences.”²⁹ Indeed, cosmopolitan or global memory is homogeneous and “flat”: “...a timeless global culture answers to no living needs and conjures no memories.”³⁰ Rather, it is through the constant questioning of war and nationalism that filmmakers of today might engage in a more useful discussion of the past.

²⁶ See, for example: Chen Lu, “‘Donjing shenpan’ daoyan: Xiwang shiren dou zhidao zhejiang shiqing,” *Nanjing Zhoumo*, August 16, 2006, accessed November 4, 2014, <http://news.sina.com.cn/c/cul/2006-08-16/141510742488.shtml>; “Lu chuan tan nanjing.”

²⁷ Russell Edwards, “Review: ‘Yamato,’” *Variety*, March 28, 2006, accessed November 4, 2014, <http://variety.com/2006/film/reviews/yamato-1200517376/>;

Maggie Lee, “Review: ‘The Eternal Zero,’” *Variety*, April 12, 2014, accessed November 4, 2014, <http://variety.com/2014/film/reviews/film-review-japanese-hit-the-eternal-zero-1201155266/>

²⁸ Russell Edwards, “Review: ‘Yamato,’” *Variety*, March 28, 2006, accessed November 4, 2014, <http://variety.com/2006/film/reviews/yamato-1200517376/>;

Maggie Lee, “Review: ‘The Eternal Zero,’” *Variety*, April 12, 2014, accessed November 4, 2014, <http://variety.com/2014/film/reviews/film-review-japanese-hit-the-eternal-zero-1201155266/>

²⁹ Jan Assmann, “Globalization, Universalism, and the Erosion of Cultural Memory,” in *Memory in a Global Age: Discourses, Practices and Trajectories*, ed. Aleida Assmann et al. (Houndmills; Palgrave Macmillan, 2010): 123.

³⁰ Smith, *Nations and Nationalism*, 22-23.

Foucault wondered, "...how is this particular reality on film to be reactivated as an existing, historically important reality?"³¹ In my opinion, this is only possible through the interrogation of the past and active resistance of frameworks that limit the representation of individual experience. By questioning the dominant ideologies impacting the ways we construct the past, we come closer to understanding why and how such events occur, and what the impact is on the people who experience such events. The quote of the belated Japanese director Wakamatsu at the beginning of this chapter—the staunchly leftist filmmaker who constantly questioned dominant ideologies throughout his lifetime—demands this type of “combative” remembrance.

Only a few Chinese and Japanese war films have effectively interrogated memory and provide a more reflective gaze at the past. The Japanese documentary *The Emperor's Naked Army Marches On* (Yuki yukite shingun, 1988) challenges the silence of the '80s in a shocking exposé of suppressed wartime secrets. Jiang Wen's *Devils on the Doorstep* (Guizi laile, 2000) presents a biting commentary both on war and nationalism. The Chinese film *Cow* (Douniu, 2009) is a humanistic look at wartime suffering from the perspective of a peasant and a cow. Finally, *The Wind Rises* (Kaze tachinu, 2013) warns the new generation against repeating dangerous mistakes of the past. Critics and academics may fight over the precise meaning or artistic choices of these complex works, but they nonetheless mark intriguing possibilities for a discussion of East Asian memory. Such unique and varied voices can explore remembering in a critical and useful way.

To conclude, I end with an image of such “critical” remembrance. In the independent Chinese film *Cow*, a Chinese peasant is entrusted with a Dutch cow imported to help the Chinese war efforts, a “stranger than fiction” story based on an actual event during the Sino-Japanese

³¹ Foucault, “From ‘Film in Popular Memory,’” 253.

war. His entire village decimated by a Japanese bomb, only the peasant, Niu'er, and the cow, survive. Niu'er decides it is his duty to deliver the cow to the 8th Route Army, traveling across the mountains to find the army. As he makes his journey, Niu'er encounters starving deserters, guerilla soldiers, and other villagers, all of whom attempt to steal his cow. Coming across a wounded Japanese soldier, he decides to carry the injured soldier to safety. A Chinese soldier unexpectedly arrives, leading to a hysterical confrontation. When the chaos subsides, both the Chinese and Japanese soldier dead by the side of the road. Niu'er buries them together in a shallow grave, unceremoniously tossing their bodies into a pit (Figure 59).

Niu'er's rejection of nationalism represents an alternative view of remembrance. This film is both a warning for the future and a commentary on the current state of war remembrance in China and Japan. In this highly charged political atmosphere, filmmakers should question the ideologies upon which their films are based and consider the future paths their narratives will foster. Remembrance is an endless battle over meaning and identity. For humanist narratives of personal trauma and national reconciliation to be heard, they must join this struggle.

Appendix

Glossary

aiguozhuyi jiaoyu 爱国主义教育 patriotic education

Atarashii Kyōkasho o Tsukuru-kai 新しい歴史教科書をつくる会 Japanese Society for
History Textbook Reform

bainian guochi 百年国耻 100 Years of National Humiliation

bushidō 武士道 the way of the warrior

Chūgoku zanryūkoji 中国残留孤児 Japanese orphans left in China after the war

Chogukhaebangŭi nal 조국해방의 날 Liberation of Fatherland Day

daichi no ko 大地の子 child of the earth

Daitōa Kyōeiken 大東亜共栄圏 Greater East Asian Co-prosperity Sphere

douzhidouyong 斗智斗勇 a battle of wits and courage

dongyabingfu 东亚病夫 sick man of Asia

fenqing 愤青 angry youths

fujin 婦人 wife, woman

fu no hīrō 負のヒーロー negative hero

furusato 故郷 hometown

gong'an xiaoshuo 公案小说 crime fiction

gong'an 公案 desk of the magistrate

gunshin 軍神 god of war

Gwangbokjeol 광복절 “Restoration of Light Day”

hanayome 花嫁 bride

Hanjian 汉奸 Chinese traitors

Hanminzu 汉民租 Chinese race

Hanzi 汉字 Chinese characters

Hikiagesha 引揚者 returnee, repatriated person

hinomaru 日の丸 the Japanese flag

houhuiyouqi 后会有期 till we meet again

huaping 花瓶 flower vase, a female character who is pretty but has no impact on the narrative

huise 灰色 gray or politically suspect (when used in reference to political content)

ianfu 慰安婦 comfort women

igo 囲碁 Go

ikiteiru kamisama 生きている神様 living gods

jigyaku shikan 自虐史観 masochistic view of history

kang Ri 抗日 resist Japan

karuyuki-san 唐行き Japanese woman who works as a prostitute in China, literally

“Miss Goes to China”

katana 刀 Japanese sword

koji 孤児 orphan

Luohou jiu yao ai da 落后就要挨打 If you are backwards you will be beaten

minzoku 民族 race, people

nainai 奶奶 grandmother

Nanzihan 男子汉 manly man

Nihon 日本 Japan

panpan パンパン postwar prostitute

Riben guizi 日本鬼子 Japanese devil

seppuku 切腹 ritual suicide

shiatsu 指圧 finger massage

shidōsha sekinin ron 指導者責任論 discourse on the responsibility of leaders

shōdo sakusen 焦土作戦 scorched earth policy

shōsha no sabaki 勝者の裁き victor's justice

Shūsen-kinenbi 終戦記念日 Memorial Day for the End of the War

sokoku 祖国 native country, motherland, fatherland

tennō heika 天皇陛下 His majesty the emperor

tokkōtai 特攻隊 special attack unit, kamikaze unit

tiexue wenxue 铁血文学 iron and blood literature

Tōkyō saiban shikan 東京裁判史観 Tokyo Trial view of history

weiqi 围棋 Go

wen 文 literary

wenyi 文艺 letters and arts, also melodrama

wu 武 martial

wuwang guochi 勿忘国耻 Never Forget National Humiliation

wuxia 武侠 martial arts narrative

xunzhao nanzihan wenxue 寻找男子汉文学 looking for real men literature

Yamato 大和 ancient Japan/Japanese race

Yamato damashī 大和魂 Japanese spirit

Yamato minzoku 大和民族 Japanese race, Yamato race

Yamato nadeshiko 大和撫子 an ideal Japanese woman

yidebaoyuan 以德报怨 return good for evil

yinsheng yangshuai 阴盛阳衰 the rise of the feminine and the decline of the masculine

Zai Nichi Kankokujin or Zai Nichi 在日韓国人 person of Korean descent living in Japan

zanryū koji 残留孤兒 left behind orphans

zanryū Nihonjin 残留日本人 left behind Japanese

zhuxuanlü 主旋律 mainstream melody, a work that upholds the CCP dogma

Film Information

Title: Autumn Rain (Qiu yu, 2004)

Format: Feature Film

Country: China

Director: Sun Tie

Screenwriter: Xue Xiaolu, original screenplay

Actors: Bi Yanjun, Jin Dong, Maeda Chie

Production Company: Zhongguo Dianshitai Dianying Pindao, Beijing Tiegge Huaya Yingshi Wenhua Fazhan Youxian Gongsi, Beijing Chungshiji Yingye Gongsi

Synopsis: A young Japanese woman travels to Beijing to learn Peking Opera. She falls in love with a fellow student; however, their romance is threatened by her grandfather's WWII past.

Title: Bell of Purity Temple (Qingliangsi de zhongsheng, 1991/1992)

Format: Feature Film

Country: China

Director: Xie Jin

Screenwriter: Li Zhun, Li Che; original screenplay

Actors: Kurihara Komaki, Pu Cunxin, Ding Yi

Production Company: Shanghai Dianying Zhipianchang

Synopsis: A Japanese orphan left behind in China during the war becomes a Buddhist monk. He later travels to Japan for a conference and reunites with his Japanese mother.

Title: Best Wishes for Tomorrow (*Ashita e no yuigon*, 2008)

Format: Feature Film

Country: Japan

Director: Koizumi Takashi

Screenwriter: Ooka Shōhei, Koizumi Takashi, Roger Pulvers; based on the novel *Nagai Tabi* by Ooka Shōhei

Actors: Fujita Makoto, Robert Lasser, Aoi Yu

Production Company: Ace Productions, Chubu-nippon Broadcasting Company, Cinema Investment, Sankei Shimbun, Sumitomo Cooperation, T. Y. Limited, TV Tokyo, WoWow, Toho Studios

Synopsis: Japanese General Okada fights against American hypocrisy at the postwar International Tribunal for the Far East.

Title: Caterpillar (*Kyatapirā*, 2010)

Format: Feature Film

Country: Japan

Director: Wakamatsu Kōji

Screenwriter: Kurosawa Hisako, Adachi Masao; original screenplay

Actors: Terajima Shinobu, Kasuya Keigo

Production Company: Skhole Company, Wakamatsu Production

Synopsis: An injured Japanese soldier returns to Japan as a “god of war,” disfigured and disabled. He also returns to his abused wife and with memories of atrocities he committed in China.

Title: City of Life and Death (*Nanjing! Nanjing!*, 2009)

Format: Feature Film

Country: China

Director: Lu Chuan

Screenwriter: Lu Chuan

Actors: Liu Ge, Gao Yuanyuan, Nakaizumi Hideo

Production Company: Media Asia Entertainment Group, China Film Group, Stellar Megamedia Group, Jiangsu Broadcasting System, Chuan Production Film Studio

Synopsis: A view of Nanjing from different perspectives: a Japanese soldier, two Chinese women, a Chinese soldier, and a Chinese collaborator.

Title: Distant Bonds (*Harukanaru kizuna*, 2009)

Format: TV drama

Country: Japan

Director:

Screenwriter: Yoshida Noriko; based on Kido Hisae’s autobiographical novel *Ano sensō kara tōkuhanarete*

Actors: Suzuki An, Gregory Wong, Hu Bing, Katō Kenichi

Production Company: NHK

Synopsis: Kido Hisae travels to China to learn more about her father’s past as an Japanese orphan after the war.

Title: Don't Cry, Nanking (Nanjing 1937, 1995)

Format: Feature Film

Country: China, Taiwan

Director: Wu Ziniu

Screenwriter: Jesse Hung, Liang Xiaosheng, Xu Tiansheng

Actors: Chin Han, Rene Liu

Production Company: Long Shong Pictures

Synopsis: An examination of Nanjing from several perspectives focusing on a Sino-Japanese family.

Title: Drawing Sword (Liang jian, 2005)

Format: TV drama

Country: China

Director: Chen Jian, Zhang Qian

Screenwriter: Du Liang, Jiang Jitao, based on the novel by Du Liang

Actors: Li Youbin

Production Company: Hairun Television Productions, Shanghai Film Group, Shanghai Eastern International Culture Film and Television Ltd., Shenyang Military Regional Political Department of Television Arts

Synopsis: Li Yunlong's experiences from World War II to the postwar.

Title: The Flowers of War (Jinling shisanchai 2010)

Format: Feature Film

Country: China

Director: Zhang Yimou

Screenwriter: Liu Heng, based on the novel by Yan Geling

Actors: Christian Bale, Ni Ni

Production Company: EDKO Film, Beijing New Picture Film, New Picture Company

Synopsis: A young American man witnesses Japanese atrocities in Nanjing during WWII.

Title: For Those We Love (Ore wa, kimi no tame ni koso shini ni iku, 2007)

Format: Feature Film

Country: Japan

Director: Shinjo Taku

Screenwriter: Ishiharu Shintarō

Actors: Kubozuka Yōsuke, Tokushige Satoshi, Tsutsui Michikata

Production Company: Nippon Television Network, Toei, Toei Video Company, Yomiuri Telecasting Company

Synopsis: A “kamikaze mother” narrates the tale of young kamikaze pilots training and sacrificing their lives.

Title: The Go Masters (Yi pan meiyou xiawan de qi/Mikan no taikyoku, 1982)

Format: Feature Film

Country: China, Japan

Director: Duan Jishun, Satō Junya

Screenwriter: Ge Tangtong, Li Hongzhou, Ono Yasuko, Konami Fumie

Actors: Mikuni Rentarō, Du Peng, Shen Guanchu, Konno Misako

Production Company: Beijing Film Studio, China Film Co-Production Corporation, Daiei Studios, Mikan No Taikyoku Production Committee, Tokyo Tokuma Co.

Synopsis: A co-production focusing on the trials and tribulations of a Sino-Japanese family from the prewar to the postwar.

Title: I Want to Be a Shellfish (‘Watashi wa kai ni naritai, 1958)

Format: TV film

Country: Japan

Director: Okamoto Yoshihiko

Screenwriter: Hashimoto Shinobu, based on the autobiography by Katō Tetsutarō
Kurueru Senpan Shikeishū

Actors: Frankie Sakai

Production Company: TBS

Synopsis: Shimizu, a low-ranking soldier, is put on trial for the murder of American soldiers.

Title: I Want to Be a Shellfish (Watashi wa kai ni naritai, 1959)

Format: Feature Film

Country: Japan

Director: Hashimoto Shinobu

Screenwriter: Hashimoto Shinobu, based on the autobiography by Katō Tetsutarō

Kurueru Senpan Shikeishū

Actors: Frankie Sakai

Actors: Frankie Sakai

Production Company: Tōhō

Synopsis: Shimizu, a low-ranking soldier, is put on trial for the murder of American soldiers.

Title: I Want to Be a Shellfish (Watashi wa kai ni naritai, 2008)

Format: Feature Film

Country: Japan

Director: Fukuzawa Katsuo

Screenwriter: Hashimoto Shinobu, based on the autobiography by Katō Tetsutarō

Kurueru Senpan Shikeishū

Actors: Nakai Masahiro, Nakama Yukie

Production Company: Tōhō, Asahi Shimbun, Cine Bazar, J Dream, Production Ogi Co., TBS, Tokyo FM

Synopsis: Shimizu, a low-ranking soldier, is put on trial for the murder of American soldiers.

Title: Ip Man (Yip Man, 2008)

Format: Feature Film

Country: China, Hong Kong

Director: Wilson Yip

Screenwriter: Edmund Wong, Chan Taili

Actors: Donnie Yen, Simon Yam, Ikeuchi Hiroyuki

Production Company: Beijing Shengshi Huarei Film Investment and Management, China Film Co-Production Corporation, Mandarin Films Distribution Co., Beijing Starlight, Shanghai Film Group, Time Antaeus Media Group

Synopsis: Ip Man, a kungfu master, fights against Japanese aggressors during WWII.

Title: Iris Chang: The Rape of Nanking (2007)

Format: Documentary Film

Country: United States

Director: Anne Pick, William Spahic

Screenwriter: Michael Betcherman

Actors: Olivia Cheng

Production Company: Real to Reel Productions, Reel Iris Productions, Toronto ALPHA

Synopsis: A docudrama describing Iris Chang's research process in writing her famous book, *The Rape of Nanking*.

Title: The Last Kamikaze (Saigo no tokkōtai, 1970)

Format: Feature Film

Country: Japan

Director: Satō Junya

Screenwriter: Naoi Kinya

Actors: Takakura Ken

Production Company: Toei

Synopsis: A drama examining the different perspectives on the kamikaze.

Title: Little Soldier Zhang Ga (Xiaobing zhangga, 1963)

Format: Feature Film

Country: China

Director: Cui Wei

Screenwriter: Xu Guangyao, based on his novel

Actors: An Jisi, Zhang Ying, Li Jian, Zhang Ping

Production Company: Beijing Film Production Company

Synopsis: A young boy avenges his grandmother's murder at the hands of the Japanese army.

Title: Little Soldier Zhang Ga (Xiaobing zhangga, 2006)

Format: TV drama/comedy

Country: China

Director: Yang Guang, Xu Geng

Screenwriter: Xu Bing, based on the novel by Xu Guangyao

Actors: Xie Mengwei, Du Yu, Zhang Yishan, Wang Shasha

Production Company: Hairun Television Productions Ltd., Shanghai Hai Run Productions Ltd., Bayi Film Production Studio, etc.

Synopsis: A young boy avenges his grandmother's murder at the hands of the Japanese army.

Title: Massacre in Nanjing (Tucheng xuezheng, 1987)

Format: Feature Film

Country: China

Director: Luo Quanqun

Screenwriter: Xie Guangning

Actors: Di Naishe, Chen Daoming, Lei Kesheng, Wu Lijie, Shen Danping, Liu Jiang

Production Company: Fujian Film Production Company, Nanjing Film Production Company

Synopsis: The Nanjing Massacre through a variety of perspectives.

Title: Nanking (2007)

Format: Documentary

Country: United States

Director: Bill Guttentag, Dan Sturman

Screenwriter: Bill Guttentag, Dan Sturman, Michael Jacobs

Actors: Hugo Armstrong, Rosalind Chao, Stephan Dorff, John Getz, Woody Harrelson

Production Company: Fortissimo Films, THINKFilm, CCTV

Synopsis: A docudrama focusing on the Nanjing Massacre.

Title: Pride (Puraidō: Unmei no toki, 1998)

Format: Feature film

Country: Japan

Director: Itō Shunya

Screenwriter: Matsuda Hiroo

Actors: Tsugawa Masahiko, Ishida Ayumi, Ronny Cox, Scott Wilson

Production Company: Toei Company, Tokyo Film Production

Synopsis: A rendition of the Tokyo Trial from the perspective of Tōjō Hideki.

Title: Railway Guerillas (Tiedao Youjihui, 1956)

Country: China

Director: Zhao Ming

Screenwriter: Liu Zhixia; based on his novel

Actors: Cao Huiqu, Qin Yi, Feng Zhe, Feng Xiao, Deng Nan

Production Company: Shanghai Film Production Company

Synopsis: The Chinese resistance fights the Japanese army during WWII.

Title: Railway Guerillas (Tiedao Youjihui, 2005)

Country: China

Director: Wan Xinmin

Screenwriter: Li Shimin, based on the novel by Liu Zhixia

Actors: Zhao Hengxian, Zhang Li, Liu Changchun

Production Company: Unlisted

Synopsis: The Chinese resistance fights the Japanese army during WWII.

Title: Return Home: The Forgotten War Brides (Kyōkō kikoku: Wasuresareta hanayometachi, 2012)

Format: TV docu-drama

Country: Japan

Director: Sanjō Shin'ichi

Screenwriter: Doki Harumi

Actors: Watari Tetsuya, Maeda Atsuko

Production Company: TBS

Synopsis: A former soldier helps to repatriate Japanese women left in China after WWII.

Title: Son of the Good Earth (Daichi no ko, 1995)

Format: TV drama

Country: Japan, China

Director: Matsuoka Kōji, Pan Xiaoyang, Enokido Takayasu

Screenwriter: Okazaki Sakae, based on the novel by Yamazaki Toyoko

Actors: Kamikawa Takaya, Zhu Xu, Nakadai Tatsuya

Production Company: NHK, CCTV

Synopsis: Yixin, a Japanese orphan, reconciles his relationship with his Chinese adoptive father and Japanese biological father.

Title: Tokyo Trial (Dongjing shenpan, 2006)

Format: Feature Film

Country: China

Director: Gao Qunshu

Writer: Hu Kun, Tang Hao, Zhang Chi, Zhang Sitao

Actors: Damian Lau, Ken Chu, Kelly Lin, Eric Tsang

Production Company: Beijing Xianming Yinghua Culture & Media, Jiuiang Changjiang Film TV Production, Shanghai Film Group

Synopsis: Chinese Judge Mei Ru'ao judges Japanese war crimes and represents Chinese grievances on an international stage.

Title: A Woman and War (Sensō to hitori no onna, 2013)

Format: Feature Film

Country: Japan

Director: Inoue Junichi

Screenwriter: Arai Haruhiko, based on the novel *Sensō to hitori no onna* by Sakaguchi Ango

Actors: Eguchi Noriko, Nagase Masatoshi, Murakami Jun

Production Company: Dogsugar (distribution)

Synopsis: A young woman works as a prostitute in the postwar; a writer falls in love with her; a former Japanese soldier goes on a killing rampage.

Title: Yamato (Otokotachi no yamato, 2007)

Format: Feature film

Country: Japan

Director: Satō Junyami

Screenwriter: Satō Junya, based on the novel *Otokotachi no yamato* by Henmi Jun

Actors: Matsuyama Kenichi, Aoi Yū

Production Company: Toei Company, Toei Animation Company, Nagasaki International Broadcasting Company, TV Asahi, Tokyo FM Broadcasting Company, Hiroshima Home TV, Hokkaido Broadcasting Company, Asahi Shimbun, Chugoku Shimbun

Synopsis: The young men of the Yamato live, train, and die with the ship.

International and US Domestic Box Office for WWII Films Since 1980¹

Rank (Inflated International)	Title	US Box Office	International Box Office	International Inflated for 2012
1	Saving Private Ryan (US)	\$216,540,909.00	\$481,840,909.00	\$673,739,263.52
2	Pearl Harbor (US)	\$198,542,554.00	\$449,220,945.00	\$582,188,328.78
3	Schindler's List (US)	\$96,065,768.00	\$321,306,305.00	\$502,840,845.03
4	Captain America: The First Avenger (US)	\$176,654,505.00	\$368,608,363.00	\$376,349,138.62
5	Inglourious Basterds (US)	\$120,540,719.00	\$321,455,689.00	\$343,127,827.80
6	Life Is Beautiful (Italy)	\$57,563,264.00	\$229,163,264.00	\$320,430,012.95
7	Australia (Australia)	\$49,554,002.00	\$211,342,221.00	\$224,688,285.50
8	Valkyrie (US)	\$83,077,833.00	\$200,276,784.00	\$212,924,076.46
9	U-571 (US)	\$77,122,415.00	\$127,666,415.00	\$168,102,382.53

¹ Data from: ““War: World War 2,” *Box Office Mojo*, accessed November 4, 2014, <http://boxofficemojo.com/genres/chart/?id=worldwar2.htm> and “World War II Movies,” *The Numbers*, accessed November 4, 2014, <http://www.the-numbers.com/keyword/World-War-II>.

10	The Thin Red Line (US)	\$36,400,491.00	\$98,126,565.00	\$137,206,531.03
11	Enemy at the Gates (US)	\$51,401,758.00	\$96,976,270.00	\$125,680,810.73
12	Downfall (Germany)	\$5,509,040.00	\$92,180,910.00	\$107,188,819.49
13	Windtalkers (US)	\$40,914,068.00	\$77,628,265.00	\$98,247,932.69
14	Captain Corelli's Mandolin (US)	\$25,543,895.00	\$62,112,895.00	\$80,498,033.18
15	Letters from Iwo Jima (US)	\$13,756,082.00	\$68,673,228.00	\$77,906,212.90
16	Flags of Our Fathers (US)	\$33,602,376.00	\$65,900,249.00	\$74,760,412.15
17	Defiance (US)	\$28,644,813.00	\$51,155,219.00	\$54,385,623.46
18	Red Tails (US)	\$49,876,377.00	\$50,365,498.00	\$50,365,498.00
19	Memphis Belle (US)	\$27,441,977.00	\$27,441,977.00	\$47,475,425.32
20	Empire of the Sun (US)	\$22,238,696.00	\$22,238,696.00	\$44,240,029.64

ABRIDGED VERSION

21	The Boy in the Striped Pajamas (British/Irish)	\$9,046,156.00	\$40,416,563.00	\$42,968,831.33
22	Hart's War (US)	\$19,077,641.00	\$32,287,044.00	\$40,863,148.57

Chinese and Japanese Box Office²

Chinese Box Office 2013

Rank	Movie Title	Distributor	Gross	Release
1	Journey to the West: Conquering the Demons	n/a	\$196,740,000	2/10
2	Iron Man 3	China Film	\$121,200,000	5/1
3	Personal Tailor	n/a	\$115,520,000	12/19
25	Yi dai zong shi (The Grandmaster)	China Film	\$45,270,000	1/7
26	Chuzi, Xizi, Pizi (The Chef, The Actor, The Scoundrel)	n/a	\$42,970,000	3/29

China Box Office 2009

Rank	Movie Title	Gross	Release
1	2012	\$68,670,540	11/13
2	Transformers: Revenge of the Fallen	\$65,837,290	6/24
3	Chi bi: Xia - Jue zhan tian xia (Red Cliff: Part II)	\$38,043,199	1/7

China Box Office 2008

Rank	Movie Title	Distributor	Gross	Release
1	Chi bi (Red Cliff: Part I)	n/a	\$46,698,967	7/10
2	Fei Cheng Wu Rao (If You Are the One)	n/a	\$45,257,457	12/18
3	Wa pei (Painted Skin)	n/a	\$33,467,300	9/26
9	Mei Lanfang (Forever Enthralled)	n/a	\$16,652,957	12/4
13	Ip Man	n/a	\$13,728,640	12/12
53	The Children of Huang Shi	HuaXia	\$1,627,665	4/3

China Box Office 2007

Rank	Movie Title	Distributor	Gross	Release
1	Transformers	China Film	\$37,218,823	7/11
2	Ji jie hao	China Film	\$34,089,912	12/20

² World War II-related films in bold. Data from Box Office Mojo. Box office data for China in particular is incomplete. Films known to have been financially successful based on news reports—*Tokyo Trial*, *Flowers of War*, and *The Message*—are not included in these statistics.

	(Assembly)			
3	Tau ming chong (The Warlords)	China Film	\$27,601,246	12/12
6	Si jie (Lust, Caution)	China Film	\$17,109,185	11/1
51	Nanking	Hua Xia	\$1,315,650	7/6

Japanese Box Office 2013

Rank	Movie Title	Distributor	Gross	Release
1	Kaze tachinu (The Wind Rises)	Toho	\$119,513,192	7/20
2	Monsters University	Disney	\$90,141,508	7/6
3	Eien no zero	Toho	\$82,652,465	12/21

Japanese Box Office 2012

Rank	Movie Title	Distributor	Gross	Release
1	Umizaru 4	Toho	\$91,331,832	7/13
2	Terumae romae	Toho	\$74,091,903	4/28
3	Odoru Daisôsasen the Final: Aratanaru kibô	Toho	\$72,834,411	9/7

Japanese Box Office 2011

Rank	Movie Title	Distributor	Gross	Release
1	Harry Potter and the Deathly Hallows (Part Two)	WB	\$124,331,909	7/15
2	Pirates of the Caribbean: On Stranger Tides (3D)	Disney	\$108,856,481	5/20
3	Mission: Impossible - Ghost Protocol	PPI	\$69,695,185	12/16
37	Oba: The Last Samurai	Toho	\$17,737,092	2/11

Japanese Box Office 2010

Rank	Movie Title	Distributor	Gross	Release
1	Alice in Wonderland (2010)	Disney	\$133,694,649	4/17
2	Toy Story 3	Disney	\$126,660,533	7/1
3	The Borrowers (Kari-gurashi no Arietti)	Toho	\$110,013,058	7/17

Japanese Box Office 2009

Rank	Movie Title	Distributor	Gross	Release
1	Avatar	Fox	\$171,990,531	12/23
2	Rookies: Sotsugyô	Toho	\$87,999,688	5/30
3	Harry Potter and the Half Blood Prince	WB	\$83,776,293	7/17

Japanese Box Office 2008

Rank	Movie Title	Distributor	Gross	Release
1	Gake no ue no Ponyo (Ponyo on a Cliff)	Toho	\$164,565,997	7/19
2	Hana yori dango: Fainaru (Boys Over Flowers: Final)	Toho	\$70,821,405	6/28
3	Okuribito (Departures)	Shochiku	\$61,010,217	9/13
19	Watashi wa kani ni naritai (I Want to Be a Shellfish)	Toho	\$25,221,446	11/22
82	Ashita e no yuigon (Best Wishes for Tomorrow)	Asmik Ace	\$5,308,952	3/1

Japanese Box Office 2007

Rank	Movie Title	Distributor	Gross	Release
1	Pirates of the Caribbean: At World's End	BVI	\$91,119,039	5/25
2	Harry Potter and the Order of the Phoenix	WB	\$80,564,009	7/20
3	Hero (2007)	Toho	\$73,109,846	9/8
54	Ore wa, kimi no tame ni koso shini ni iku (For Those We Love)	Toei	\$7,769,311	5/12

Japanese Box Office 2006

Rank	Movie Title	Distributor	Gross	Release
1	Pirates of the Caribbean: Dead Man's Chest	BVI	\$84,511,000	7/22
2	The Da Vinci Code	Sony	\$79,343,641	5/20
3	Gedo senki (Tales from Earthsea)	Toho	\$63,786,538	7/29

ABRIDGED VERSION

9	Letters from Iwo Jima	WB	\$42,911,049	12/9
28	Flags of Our Fathers	WB	\$13,100,000	10/28

Japanese Box Office 2005

Rank	Movie Title	Distributor	Gross	Release
1	Harry Potter and the Goblet of Fire	WB	\$91,438,660	11/26
2	Star Wars: Episode III - Revenge of the Sith	Fox	\$82,665,136	7/9
3	War of the Worlds	UIP	\$53,720,172	6/29
5	Otoko-tachi no Yamato	Toei	\$39,287,114	12/17
21	Lorelei	Toho	\$19,787,866	3/5

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