

*Georgetown School of Continuing Studies*  
*Graduate Liberal Studies Program*

**War Memories, Justice and Reconciliation:  
The Case of China and Japan  
LSHV-519-01  
Syllabus**

Instructor: Paula Harrell, Ph.D.  
*Adjunct Professor of Liberal Studies*  
E-mail: [psh24@georgetown.edu](mailto:psh24@georgetown.edu)  
Tel: 301-980-7748  
Office hours: by appointment

Thursdays  
Sept 10 – Dec 10  
6:30 PM – 8:30 PM

**Course Description and Objectives:** Like the mass killings at Auschwitz, the Nanjing Atrocity has become a marker for the central ethical question of the post-war era: how to account for and atone for large-scale acts of violence and inhumanity. In the case of Nanjing, as in other instances of Japanese military brutality during the war with China, differing memories, differing perceptions continue to be the source of bitter disputes between China and Japan, damaging a relationship central to Asia's future. This course takes Nanjing as the historical pivot point from which to consider whether war was inevitable and whether, with war atrocities deeply etched in Chinese minds, reconciliation is possible.

The course is organized along the lines suggested by historian Paul Cohen in his study of the Boxer uprising: history as event, experience, and myth. The "history as event" section highlights the commonly accepted narrative of conflict and cooperation in the relationship between China and Japan from the mid-19<sup>th</sup> century to the 1930s, exploring the issues and choices that led to war and Nanjing. "History as experience" tries to reconstruct what actually happened in Nanjing in 1937 based on firsthand accounts and film and photo documentation. The third section, "history as myth" examines how Chinese and Japanese have revalued and reinterpreted the meaning of Nanjing in light of shifts in internal politics in the seventy years since the war. The objectives of the course are both China and Japan specific—to help students understand major moments in the two nations' modern histories—and more globally related—to sharpen student awareness of the uses of history in current discourse generally and the relative place of justice, ethics, and pragmatic politics in efforts to reconcile national grievances as they occur in all settings around the world.

**Teaching Method and Requirements:** Material will be presented through lectures, student-led discussions, videos and occasional guest speakers. The course will place heavy emphasis on student participation in each and every class but particularly in the

history as myth section where students will be assigned to take different positions in debates—for example, on Pal’s dissenting opinion in the Tokyo Trial or on the question of who should write a nation’s history textbooks. Class participation will account for 30% of the final grade with 70% based on a research paper (15-20 pages) and three short (4-5 page) essays.

**Required books:**

- Buruma, Ian. *The Wages of Guilt: Memories of War in Germany and Japan* (New York: Penguin, 1995)
- Li Fei Fei, Robert Sabella, David Liu eds. *Nanking 1937: Memory and Healing* (New York: M.E. Sharpe, 2002)
- Rabe, John. *The Good Man of Nanking: The Diaries of John Rabe*, ed., Erwin Wickert, trans. John E. Woods (New York: Knopf, 1998).
- Rose, Caroline. *Sino-Japanese Relations: Facing the Past, Looking to the Future?* (New York: Routledge, 2005)
- Wakabayashi, Bob Tadashi. *The Nanking Atrocity 1937-38: Complicating the Picture* (New York: Berghahn Books, 2008)
- Yoshida, Takashi. *The Making of the “Rape of Nanking”* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2006)

**Recommended Books:**

- Brook, Timothy ed. *Documents on the Rape of Nanking* (Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Press, 1999)
- Chang, Iris. *The Rape of Nanking: The Forgotten Holocaust of World War II* (New York: Basic Books, 1997)
- Fogel, Joshua A. ed. *The Nanjing Massacre in History and Historiography* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 2000)
- Miller, John H. *Modern East Asia: An Introductory History* (New York: M.E. Sharpe, 2007).

**Class Schedule:**

**Introduction**

**Session 1:** Discussion of course objectives, requirements, syllabus

**Session 2:** Patterns of reconciliation in today’s world/defining the ‘history problem’ between China and Japan

- Rigby, Andrew, *Justice and Reconciliation: After the Violence*, 1-15
- Caroline Rose, *Sino-Japanese Relations: Facing the Past, Looking to the Future?* (2005), 1-33
- Daqing Yang, “Mirror for the Future or History Card?” in *Sino-Japanese Relations in the 21<sup>st</sup> Century* (2002), Marie Soderberg, ed., 10-31
- Perry Link, Foreword, in *Nanking 1937: Memory and Healing* (2002), ix-xx

## **History as Event: Narratives of Conflict and Cooperation**

### **Session 3: Late 19<sup>th</sup> Century China and Japan in the Global Context**

Film: NOVA “The Genius That Was China: The Threat from Japan”

Miller, *East Asia*, 44-103

### **Session 4: Early 20<sup>th</sup> Century Japan in Chinese Eyes: The Attractive Power of an Asian Development Model**

Eleanor Westney, *Imitation and Innovation: The Transfer of Western Organizational Patterns to Meiji Japan*, 1-32

Paula Harrell, *Chinese Students, Japanese Teachers, 1895-1905* (1992), 183-208

Harrell, “Guiding Hand: Hattori Unokichi in Beijing,” in *Crossing the Yellow Sea: Sino-Japanese Cultural Contacts, 1600-1950*, Joshua Fogel, ed. (2007), 183-192

### **Session 5: Japanese Expansionism/Chinese Revolution and Civil War**

Ian Nish, “Some Thoughts on Japanese Expansion,” in *Imperialism and After: Continuities and Discontinuities*, ed Wolfgang Mommsen, 85-89

Miller, *East Asia*, 104-124

John Dower, “The Other Japanese Occupation,” *The Nation* (July 7, 2003)

Yamamuro Shinichi, *Manchuria under Japanese Domination*, Joshua Fogel, translator (2006), 1-8

### **Session 6: Japanese Aggression in China: Nanjing as the Archetype of Atrocity**

Ian Buruma, *The Wages of Guilt*, 112-135

Takashi Yoshida, *The Making of the “Rape of Nanking,”* 27-36

## **History as Experience: Witnesses, Perpetrators, Victims in Nanjing 1937-1938**

### **Session 7: Western Residents in Nanjing**

David Askew, “Westerners in Occupied Nanking: December 1937 to February 1938,” *The Nanking Atrocity*, 227-247

*The Good Man of Nanking: The Diaries of John Rabe* (1998), 51-88, 209-216

Letters of Dr. Robert Wilson in *Documents on the Rape of Nanking* (1999)

Timothy Brook, ed., 207-227

Miner S. Bates, Testimony at the Tokyo Trial, *Eyewitnesses to Massacre: American Missionaries Bear Witness to Japanese Atrocities in Nanjing*, Zhang Kaiyuan, ed., 60-81

### **Session 8: Japanese in Nanjing**

Haruko and Theodore Cook, *Japan at War: An Oral History*, 29-40

Amano Saburō, “Letters from a Reserve Officer Conscripted to Nanking,” in *The Nanking Atrocity, 1937-38: Complicating the Picture* (2007), Bob Tadashi Wakabayashi, ed., 181-195

Haruko Cook, "Lives of Living Soldiers: Ishikawa Tasuzō and Japan's War in Asia," in *War, Occupation and Creativity*, Marlene Mayo, ed.

Takashi Yoshida, "Japan: Mobilizing the Nation, Sanitizing Aggression," *The Making of the 'Rape of Nanking'* (2006), 11-26

**Session 9:** Chinese victims: film/photo evidence

Film: "In the Name of the Emperor"

Bob Wakabayashi, "The Messiness of Historical Reality," in *The Nanking Atrocity*, 3-28, 58-59, 68-69

Timothy Brook, "Chinese Collaboration in Nanking," in *The Nanking Atrocity*, 196-226

**History as Myth: Changing Contexts, Changing Perceptions**

**Session 10:** The Tokyo Trial: Justice and Truth?

Buruma, *The Wages of Guilt*, 159-176

John Dower, "Victor's Justice, Loser's Justice," *Embracing Defeat: Japan in the Wake of World War II* (1999), 443-484, 504-508

Justice Radhabinod Pal's dissenting opinion in *Documents on the Rape of Nanking*, Timothy Brook, ed., 269-297

Rose, *Sino-Japanese Relations*, 34-49

**Session 11:** China's New Nationalism and the Emergence of Victim Politics

Buruma, "The Nanjing Massacre as a Historical Symbol," in *Nanjing 1937: Memory and Healing*, 3-9

Parks Coble, "China's 'New Remembering' of the Anti-Japanese War of Resistance, 1937-1945," *The China Quarterly*, 394-410

Caroline Rose, *Interpreting History in Sino-Japanese Relations: A Case Study in Political Decision-making*, (2002), 50-59

Yoshida, "Japan: From 'Victim Consciousness' to 'Victimizer Consciousness' and 'China: Nationalizing Memory of the Nanjing Massacre,'" *The Making of the 'Rape of Nanking,'* 81-113

Peter Gries, *China's New Nationalism: Pride, Politics, and Diplomacy*, 69-115

**Session 12:** The Textbook Controversy: Who Should Write a Nation's History Texts?

Buruma, *Wages of Guilt*, 189-201

Rose, *Sino-Japanese Relations*, 51-67

Rose, *Interpreting History*, 22-41

Yoshida, "China: The Nanjing Massacre and Patriotic Education," *The Making of the 'Rape of Nanking,'* 154-164

Haruko and Theodore Cook, *Japan at War: An Oral History*, 441-447

**Session 13:** Managing the History Problem: the Primacy of Pragmatism

Rose, *Sino-Japanese Relations*, 69-98

Rose, "Re-assessing the Sino-Japanese Axis in the New Strategic Triangle," in *Contemporary China: The Dynamics of Change at the Start of the New Millennium* (2003), 242-259

**Session 14: Overcoming the History Problem: Paths to Reconciliation?**

Rigby, Andrew, *Justice and Reconciliation: After the Violence*, 183-193

Rose, *Sino-Japanese Relations*, 99-127

Zhu Jianrong, "The Real Reasons for the Anti-Japanese Outburst," *Japan Echo* (August 2005), 14-17

Joshua Fogel, "The Nanking Atrocity and Chinese Historical Memory," in *The Nanking Atrocity, 1937-38*, 267-284

**Session 15: Reflections: Ethics, Politics, and the Writing of History**

Yang Daqing, "Toward a Common Historical Understanding: The Nanking Massacre as a Challenge of Transnational History," in *Nanking 1937*, 236-260

Japan-China Joint History Research Project: statements by co-chairmen, Bu Ping (Chinese Academy of Social Sciences) and Kitaoka Shinichi (Tokyo University)