



THE COLLEGE OF
WOOSTER

PROJECTING CHINA'S NATIONAL IDENTITY: A VISUAL RHETORICAL ANALYSIS
OF THE 2017 NANJING MASSACRE COMMEMORATION

by
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An Independent Study Thesis
Presented in Partial Fulfillment of the Course Requirements for
Senior Independent Study: The Department of Communication

March 24, 2019

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ABSTRACT

From December 1937 to January 1938, Japanese forces carried out a series of brutal attacks on the city of Nanking, then the capital of the Republic of China. The event, whose estimated death toll reaches 300,000 according to some sources, became known as the Nanjing Massacre. The massacre has caused tensions in Sino-Japanese relations for years. China and Japan's collective memories of the massacre are different: China believes while Japan denies the events. To form a collective memory, a nation uses rhetoric to construct meaning for their people. While rhetorical messages are often constructed through writing and speech, visual artifacts such as memorial structures and commemoration ceremonies can also function rhetorically to evoke meaning and create national identities. for others too. This I.S. studies the link between a nation's collective memory of a traumatic event and rhetorical constructions of its national identity. Specifically, I examine China's 2017 commemoration ceremony of the Nanjing Massacre using a visual rhetorical analysis. My analysis uncovers three different themes that show how China's commemoration of this event projects three views of China as a nation (i) Textures of Power: Hard and Soft, (ii) China: Frozen in Time and Moving Forward, and (iii) The One and the Many. Each theme creates a yin and yang effect for the viewer; placing opposites together to construct and project a Chinese national identity rooted in the perpetual confluence and embodiment of paradoxes.

ACKNOWLEDGMENTS

There are two people I would like to thank for my project, my mom and my advisor, Professor Singh. Without these two people in my life to push me forward through my research I don't think I would have finished. Thank you both for all you've done for me.

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CHAPTER I: INTRODUCTION

It is a cold 2017 December day in Nanjing, China. Thousands of Chinese people gather inside the Nanjing memorial hall to honor those who lost their lives during the Nanjing Massacre. Chinese people from every walk of life have assembled to witness the commemoration as a reminder of the atrocity that occurred eighty years before. The Chinese government records and edits a video of the commemoration for western audiences, thus projecting an image of itself to the rest of the world. This is an image shaped by China's practices of remembering, its public expression of collective memory of the Nanjing massacre. The way China has chosen to remember this event says something about how this nation sees itself, and how it wants others to see it. A nation is an all-encompassing group affiliation that spans time and space. The state constructs these group affiliations and rules over the nation. But what is a nation? How is an identity constructed through the nation? And how does memory help construct a national identity, or a sense of who the nation is? These questions are central to my study of the Nanjing Massacre and how this traumatic event is used to construct China's national identity. In this chapter I state the purpose of my study, provide rationales, give important definitions, and describe my method.

Purpose

The purpose of my study is to examine how the Chinese government uses collective memory to construct national identity. Specifically, I ask how its 2017 commemoration of the Nanjing Massacre reveals the ways it constructs a Chinese national identity. State sponsored events such as public commemorations, parades or national days construct a national identity by giving a sense of togetherness to the people by uniting them in remembering a historic past event. Alongside speeches by public figures, such events often construct a unified national

identity by appealing to national pride and patriotism through visual and aural elements such as songs, marches, flags and other national symbols. My study aims to discover how visual elements, songs, and speeches of the 2017 Nanjing commemoration created an image of the Chinese nation that was projected to the rest of the world.

Rationales

The first rationale for my study is that it addresses a gap in the research on the relationship between the commemoration of the Nanjing Massacre and China's national identity. The massacre defines Sino-Japanese relations to this day, so it is important to study how memories of the event have been constructed to inspire a sense of nation. Not many scholars have analyzed the link between commemorations of the massacre and China's national identity. The difference between the memorial and commemoration event is presentation. The memorial stands day after day in the same spot to hold a place of memory for those who visit. The commemoration event is a planned social gathering at the monument that occurs annually. The commemoration brings China's political leaders to the forefront in discussing the importance the memorial serves to its people. Two scholars, Patrizia Violi and Yuki Miyamoto, have looked at the memorial site, which is one in religious lens and one through a communication lens. These scholars both touch on the point of national identity construction. According to Violi, "Resurgent visions of patriotic national pride and hegemonic nationalism, and is also functional, helping build China's new economic, political, and moral leadership in Asia and the rest of the world" (43). Violi discusses how the memorial site of the Nanjing massacre has helped the Chinese government breed a unified national pride through victimization. The economic gap of Chinese citizens is ever growing, and to counter this, the government is creating national cohesiveness through depicting a perpetrator in the Japanese (43). Miyamoto takes a different route toward

explaining the memorial site's usage. Miyamoto states that commemoration is a religious practice because it is the living exchange of emotions, thoughts, and time with the dead (34). Spectators can feel a sense of national pride through the remembering those victims. Miyamoto argues that the site "[uses] religion in promoting nationalistic aims by a religious institution" (36). This means that by using commemoration, a religious performance, Chinese citizens are understanding the victimization of the massacre through commemoration of the dead. Violi and Miyamoto's works offer useful insight in thinking about the role of the Nanjing Memorial site in shaping China's national identity. I seek to extend such work by considering a different aspect of the memory of the massacre, one that has not yet been examined: namely, the video of the 2017 commemoration.

My second rationale is to raise awareness by expanding scholarship about the Nanjing Massacre to a Western audience. In the West, there has been much discourse about the inhumanity of the Holocaust but not as much about the Nanjing Massacre (Lu *They were in 2*). The knowledge of the massacre in the West is limited, and because of that, I hope that my study will open the eyes of those who have never heard of the event. During the massacre, over 300,000 Chinese citizens, including children, and soldiers were brutally murdered in a matter of six weeks (Lu *They were in 273*). The Nanjing Massacre is an event that should be known around the world. It is one of many horrific events that occurred in China, and it still impacts economic and social relationships with China's most powerful neighbor, Japan, which has global consequences. Raising awareness will help the West understand the Sino-Japanese tensions.

Third, my project sheds light on an important event which needs to be understood by those in the West because of the implications this will have for Western foreign policy toward China. China is one of the global powerhouses in terms of economy, population, and clean

energy (Bruce-Lockhart). Understanding more about their history will help the West in its cooperation efforts with China. The knowledge of the motives that drive China are hidden within its history, and by understanding that history it will hopefully help better the relations between the West and China.

My fourth rationale is the limited research on Chinese public rhetoric. The West is the primary actor when speaking about Chinese public rhetoric. The East is rarely the main actor; instead, rhetoric is more often studied through the lens of Western public figures and their interactions with China. For example, Denise Bostdorff and Michelle Yang both examined Nixon's trip to China through a Western lens. Both scholars point out the importance of the United States' actions in China, such as Richard Nixon making political waves throughout the Communist Countries and East Asia but still the United States was the focal point of the article. According to Bostborff, there were two questions that were answered from her study, how Nixon's rhetoric changed throughout the trip and why the trip was such a shock to those around the world (32). The main point is still Nixon and not about the view of China. Yang does a similar action, "to forge relations between two nations that had been bitter enemies for two decades, Nixon faced a rhetorical minefield (2). These both show Nixon as the main point of the study and not about the Chinese. My study will instead make China the primary actor by looking at their commemoration video. Giving China the center stage will help add to the sparse rhetorical work on China.

Definitions

There are many terms important to my study. A *nation* is any two or more people who view themselves as being a part of the same culture, meaning that the people identify with the same ideas, symbols, and communication styles (Gellner 7; Anderson 6; Smith 10). Culture is one of

the foundations of a nation, but there is a difference between the former and latter. A culture involves elements such as a spoken language and beliefs that shape a person. A nation is different because the people within a nation share a common interest for their group (Seton-Watson 1). Not everyone who is a part of a culture has similar interests, but those in a nation are assumed to share an interest. In addition, the nation is an imagined group (Anderson 6). The imagined group is formed through connections that one has with someone else, but it is through ideological beliefs that can span any barrier. An example of this would be being a part of the same religion. Two people both believe in a set of ideologies, but those ideas are abstract; one cannot touch or grab them, but they are within the mind of each person of that group. One can then make a connection with the other people who believe in those same concepts. For example, the Muslim religion refers to their imagined community as the ummah (Castells 15). The ummah is the idea that there is a nation of Islamic believers even if they are in different nation-states. The nation is confused with another concept known as the country. These concepts mean two different things. There is the definition that would be given from someone off the street, saying the nation is a country. However, what the person on the street is describing is closer to the concept of a state. A state refers to the institutions that individuals of the nation allow to govern them. Examples of state institutions are: The Department of Defense, Federal Reserve, and The Department of Agriculture. Not every nation has a state, because not all nations need or possess a governing body.

National identity is a hard concept to pin down. Essentially, national identity is the sense of who the nation is, what it stands for, and how it is different from other nations. Those who have shared ideologies, ancestry, and tradition and see themselves as a part of a larger whole because of these thoughts have a national identity (Smith 20; Anderson 6). An example of

national identity is pledging allegiance to the flag of one's country and not another country; this public display of allegiance to one group over another represents a performance of national identity. National identity is something that is constructed and intangible; it is not something one can buy at the store. Nations must decide what their national identity is through the various messages that are communicated. These messages help people to understand that they are a part of a certain group that is different from others. For example, one can drape the Mexican flag over their shoulders during a soccer match to show that they are from Mexico while also communicating that they do not identify with any other nation. A term closely related to national identity is nationalism.

Nationalism is an organized political movement that invents a nation's self-awareness and furthers the power of a single nation within a state (Seton-Watson 3; Anderson 6). Nationalism helps a group invent and unite others behind the same political cause. The two main purposes of nationalism have been to gain independence, which through a state can be created and establish an autonomous national identity (Seton-Watson 3). An example would be the national struggle of Communist and Democratic political parties within China. These two parties both used forms of nationalism to inspire the people of the nation of China to align with their political beliefs. The nationalism constructed by the Communist party of China resonated more with the people of China. Because the nation aligned with those beliefs, this created the Communist state of China. A key force in the creation of a national identity and the exercise of nationalism is memory.

Collective memory is the use of past events to shape the current agenda of a group and to create shared identity between members of the group. Collective memory is constructed through symbolic action, be it sponsored by a community, region, or state. Some examples of

artifacts and events that construct a collective memory are: monuments, memorials, parades, and national days (Yang and Yue 1; Dickinson et al. 6; Phillips 190). An example of symbolic action is flying the United States flag over sporting events because it is a constant reminder of the nation having a presence within American life. Commemoration is the process of remembering, celebrating, or mourning a past event that is important to a nation or group. An example is the Iwo Jima memorial in Washington, D.C., which honors the memory of the U.S. military conquering an enemy and placing the flag of their nation on top of the enemy's stronghold. The memorial evokes the collective memory of how U.S. soldiers were against extraordinary odds to capture the island of Iwo Jima and thus inspires pride for the U.S. military.

Epideictic rhetoric is used at commemorative events. It is the usage of language, space, and time to construct a message that celebrates and memorializes an event (Lauer 11). Epideictic speakers use memory to shape a perception in the present. Epideictic rhetoric is used to celebrate and mourn past events (Lauer 9). It is also used to explain tragic events. In a time of crisis and need, people of a community look to their leaders to give meaning to the traumatic event (Bostdorff "Epideictic" 299). Meaning is constructed by a selection of memories throughout speech (Bostdorff "Epideictic" 300). The 2017 Nanjing massacre commemoration is a rhetorical act of praise for the victims of the massacre and a traumatic event that many Chinese citizens need to acquire an understanding of and which they continue to mourn.

Finally, the Nanjing Massacre refers to the 1937 Japanese occupation of Nanjing, a Chinese city, during World War II. The occupation claimed the lives of 300,000 of China's women, children, and men (Lu *They Were* 2). The Chinese were brutally raped and murdered, although the Japanese told the Allied powers that no one would be harmed. On the seventieth anniversary of the event, December 13th, 2007, the Chinese government opened a monument to

the public honoring those who died and memorializing the event (Violi 44). The annual commemoration of the event did not start until 2014 (“China Holds First”). I will be analyzing video footage of the third annual commemoration, which took place on December 12, 2017.

Method

This study performs a visual rhetorical criticism. I use this method to visually analyze the 2017 Nanjing Massacre commemoration. Visuals are like language; they both require systems of codes to understand a message (Birdsell and Groake 105). Visuals can construct a message by using a set of cultural images that resonant with a group. In visual analysis: images, colors, and symbols are looked at in a closer way, seeing how these elements combine to present a particular point of view (Hill and Helmers 4). Using this method will allow me to discover patterns in the usage of visual rhetoric to understand how the Chinese government constructed a national identity through the system of symbols they chose in this commemoration. Each sculpture, symbol, speech, and writing all influence the audience’s perception of the nation or national identity of China, thus making it an important piece to understand rhetorically.

Conclusion

In this chapter I offered the purpose for the study. Then I presented my rationales, in which I argued that there is limited research on the commemoration video and that it is important for the West to recognize these traumatic events to understand the motives of China. The important definitions for the study were presented: the concepts of the nation, nationalism, national identity, epideictic rhetoric, and collective memory. I described my method and showed how using rhetorical analysis was the appropriate way to conduct the study. In the next chapter, I will explore deeper the concepts that guide my study, such as nation, collective memory, and commemoration.

CHAPTER II: LITERATURE REVIEW

In this literature review chapter, I delve into the scholarly research on nation, memory, and epideictic rhetoric to lay the ground for my study of the 2017 Nanjing Memorial commemoration and its role in the creation of a Chinese national identity. I will review the literature on the concepts of nation, national identity, and nationalism. The next section will be about collective memory and its role in shaping national identity. The final section will deal with the Nanjing Massacre and how it affects Sino-Japanese relations.

National Identity

To understand national identity, and how it is constructed, we need to begin by understanding what the nation is. Rogers Brubaker defines a nation as comprising “substantial, enduring collectives” (qtd. in Smith10). This definition helps make sense of the nation being a collective, meaning those who come together to form a collective--a community--out of individuals. Benedict Anderson argues that the nation is “an imagined political community and imagined as both inherently limited and sovereign” (6). The imagined part of this definition helps us make sense of what a nation is at its core: it is created by and through the thought of others. According to Benedict Anderson the nation, “is imagined because even those of a tiny nation will never meet all of their fellow countrymen, but they are all still tied together in the same ‘community’” (6). An example of an imagined community could be a religious one. There are Christians that live across the world, all connected by a set of ideologies but may not ever meet. There is still a bond that is shared regardless of space, time, or any boundary. When there is a community of people, they all connect through the socially constructed, or imagined group and this affiliation with others creates a vision of togetherness.

According to Hugh Seton-Watson a nation is, “a community of people, whose members are bound together by a sense of solidarity, a common culture, a national consciousness” (1). Thus, a nation is different from a culture. Cultures are united by elements like spoken language and belief systems while a nation evokes political affiliations and allegiances. Thus, those who are in the same nation may not all share the same culture while people of the same culture can reside in different nations. An example of people from the same nation but different cultures are the factions of the U.S. Civil War. The two factions of the North and South shared a language and political affiliations as U.S. Americans but did not share common beliefs because one side wanted slavery and the other did not. Thus, two cultures went to war over which interest would be served by the state that was created. In another example, religion is a facet of culture but not a national identifier. There are Muslims in the bordering nations of India and Pakistan. These people share a same set of religious beliefs but do not see themselves as part of the same sovereign nation.

The nation and the state are two concepts that have become intertwined but need to be separated. The nation is the shared common interest of the group, along with an awareness that the group exists, and the individual is a member of it (Seton-Watson 1). However, the everyday person tends to think of a nation in terms of their country, or nation-state. This is different from nation; the state actually refers to those bodies of government and institutions that the nation allows to govern it. Examples of state institutions are the Departments of Agriculture, Commerce, and Defense. These separate governing bodies rule over these sections of U.S. American life. Yet, the concept of the nation and the apparatuses of the state are connected because the state plays a key role in constructing national identity. For example, the Department of Defense constructs a national identity because of the branches of military that are a part of it.

These different branches help give meaning to what it is to be an American citizen, these are the people who fight to give freedom to their own countrymen and women. There are many different symbols that connect to this idea that is brought forth by the Department of Defense such as: the eagle, globe, and anchor. These symbols represent the military power of the United States and the spreading of freedom.

To construct a national identity the concept of ‘shared origin’ must be instilled within a group of individuals. Thus, the nation is created only through the shared community of a set of ideologies. These ideologies are formed by giving the individual an idea that they are part of a bigger whole. This connection has its boundaries, and that is why the nation is seen as territorial (Anderson 9). In constructing these boundaries, each nation forms a sense of its national identity—a unique identity that sets it apart from other nations. The idea of identification is about the idea of division. According to Kenneth Burke, “identification is compensatory to division. If men were not apart from one another, there would be no need for rhetorician to proclaim their unity” (22). Burke means having a certain identity, one is at the same time separating oneself from the ‘other’. One can claim that they are Argentinian thus, adapting that identity within that person. This also divides them from being Russian. For persons to connect to an identity they must ‘slay’ the other identity possibilities from which to choose. Kenneth Burke explains this point further, saying “the slaying of an idea or object transforms it either from living or dead and the same happens with identification” (20). One must rid their person of the identity of the old and make way for the new form that has been picked. A person must pledge to one nation over another. Thus, creating and destroying identity all at one time. This rhetorical process is never ending because there is change happening all around, one must continue to identify with their

nation and thus the nation is continually defining and redefining what it is, and what it stands for. This brings us to the question of a national identity.

In *Nationalism*, Anthony Smith defines national identity as:

the continuous reproduction and reinterpretation by the members of a national community of the pattern of symbols, values, myths, memories and traditions that compose the distinctive heritage of nations, and the variable identification of individual members of that community with that heritage and its cultural elements. (20)

The definition above shows us that there are many things that go into creating a national identity; let's break down each part of the definition. First, "continuous reproduction and reinterpretation" mean that the creation of a national identity is a never-ending process. Identity is always being shaped because it uses memory to construct it. If a group decides to move on from a memory, then that portion of their identity is lost because it is not being reproduced or reinterpreted for a new generation. The event is then dead because there is no one continuing the sense that the event is important to the identity of the group. To create a sense of identity the ideologies must continue to adapt to the present. A group remembers certain events to help define it as unique compared to others. This means that nationalism for Japan looks different from German nationalism. Each involves different understandings of what it means to be a part of that nation. A person from Germany would be able to recite their national anthem but would not understand what the Japanese anthem was saying. In addition, people from Japan and Germany draw on different unique elements of their history, achievements, and symbols to define themselves as members of that nation and to express what it means to be German or Japanese, which takes us to the second part of Smith's definition of the process of creating national identity: "symbols, values, and myths."

Second, symbols, values, and myths represent particular ideologies and desired national traits. For example, the American bald eagle is a symbol of American strength. The eagle is a powerful animal, instilling within the nation of the United States the notion of superiority over other nations. The sickle and hammer are a symbol for the Chinese nation and distinguishes it from other nations. This symbol shows the communist governing body and philosophy of the Chinese state. Sets of messages, histories, and memories are used to show that one belongs to a particular imagined community and not another one. Traditions and memories work into the creation of a national identity. National identity is fueled by which traditions and memories are recreated year after year. These ideologies help give meaning, for example Pearl Harbor day for U.S. America. Every year Americans have a day dedicated to the Pearl Harbor bombings, to honor the memory of those lost on that day. Pearl Harbor also can give meaning to the present and could be interpreted as one of the first terrorist attacks on U.S. America. The feeling of being hopeless in the face of an invader, gave citizens of the United States a memory of the tragedy that they never wanted to relive.

The sense of community can cross all physical boundaries created in the world. This means that one can have a shared origin with other he/she may never know and that is the power of the national identity (Anderson 9). For example, people of 'lacrosse nation' can instantly have an identifier in a conversation. Each person loves the sports of lacrosse but could be from different parts of the world. They would share language that is unique to that nation, meaning both could talk about the sport even with different sets of languages. No matter the boundary the set of ideologies taught through the sport makes for an identity that can cross any nation-state boundary. National identity is an idea, intangible, but powerful.

What is used to create the national identity can all be labeled under the term that is known as nationalism, which according to Smith is, “An ideological movement for attaining and maintain autonomy, unity, and identity for a population which some of its members deem to constitute an actual or potential ‘nation’” (9). The definition states that it is a movement which means that nationalism is a continued process that must always go on for the national identity to stay alive.

One of the first things that nationalism does is to create a formal name for the community that has been tied together through past culture. By naming the imagined community it creates a shared identity amongst the people of that culture or nation. For instance, before the country of Germany became its own nation the people that were scattered throughout the Western European region were known as the Franks. Once their shared origin and history tied them all together, they become the German people. Once the Franks established their nation, they needed to create symbols to show unity among the other members. These symbols helped to identify this new group with one another as a flag would. Giving a country a flag gives it a symbol that can be put on display. The showing of a flag shows the unique nature of the imagined community that millions of people all view as their own (Smith 8). The creation of a national anthem is another layer that nationalism creates for the imagined community. This is important because once again it shows the faction that one can belong to and marks it as different from others. Nationalism is the building block of national identity because it gives a name and meaning to the symbols that are used to represent a national identity.

Some typical expressions of nationalism are rallies, parades, and protests to assert the sovereignty of a nation. The Ukrainian independence movement of 2013 and 2014 is a recent example of nationalism (Winter on Fire). The Ukrainian people have been fighting against the

Russian government that is trying to become their puppet master, again (Winter on Fire). To fight back against Russian imperialism, the Ukrainian people held public events that reinforced Ukrainian national pride. They had rallies and speeches that were pro-Ukraine as an independent nation. These events also included singing the Ukrainian national anthem, protesting current Ukrainian policy toward Russia, and arguing for Ukraine to be its own separate state. There were many Ukrainians who died for this cause, dying for what they thought to be their nation (Winter on Fire). Fans do similar actions when they are passionate about identifying with a team. For instance, when an individual is a Cleveland Browns fan, they are a part of the Browns nation. Fans will discuss history of the team through fabled players, games, and failures. The fan will argue with other fans who are not a part of his team or nation. There are rallies, parades, and public events made to inspire faith and love for the team. Becoming a fan gives you another part to your identity. National identity is nothing without nationalism; the two play an important role in creating the nation and its boundaries that are seen by other nations.

Nationalism is, finally, the idea of rediscovering the past of a culture (Smith 6). The past culture of a community becomes important when used to inspire a national identity. The past culture is what had defined the nation, it is something that is valued amongst the nation's members. Past symbols are used to create the past culture for the current nation. These ideas are strategically used to reproduce the sense of identity felt by group members. Each recreation can reinterpret the meaning of a memory to help serve a current group's stance on a matter. A past hero could be a model citizen, when reinterpreted by present/future circumstances could be then seen as a villain. National identity is needed in order to create a collective memory for a group. Those in a group need to be able to identify with a certain memory to form a connection to an

identity. The usage of shared origin and choosing what to remember is the bridge that gaps these two ideas together.

Collective Memory

The concept of memory plays an important role in teaching people what to remember and *how* to remember it. Memory is thus seen as recalling information, and then using it at the correct times for the correct context (Vivian 28). Remembering is useful because this allows humans to draw on information from the past to be able to judge the present and future. Those in power can manipulate what is remembered by the masses. According to David Lowenthal they can, “select, distil, distort, and transform the past, accommodating things remembered to the needs of the present” (qtd in Dickinson et al. 7). That is why the past comes to be important, because the past shapes how others will interpret the present. Memory, commemoration, and epideictic rhetoric are all parts of collective memory that influence the construction of national identity. These concepts will be highlighted in the following section.

Memory is a socially constructed idea. By this I mean that members of a group must learn about their past through the memories that have been shared from generation to generation. When memories are shared there must be a common interest between those who are sharing the memory and who are listening to it, “positioned in some kind of relationship of mutuality that implicates their common interests investments, or destinies, with profound political implications” (Dickinson et al. 6). What Dickinson et al. mean here is that memory, like the nation, is a collective force. Those who have a certain relationship whether that be family, siblings, or teammates, share a memory together. Those who are a part of the same group hold the same interests, investments, and destinies when they work together. Having a group allows individual

memories to continue, because without another person there to remember the information, it is lost (Phillips 1).

Groups can take memory and use it to learn from the past. Collective memory can keep the heritage of a certain community stable (Phillips 190). For example, family heirlooms are a symbol of memory used to remember an ancestor. The item that has been passed down sends a message to future generations about what is important to the family. Collective memory helps give a certain feeling of identity to the group and the individual within the group. Remembering an event on your own can be a tough task, but with the help of others, collective memory can help serve an even greater purpose to the whole.

Groups engage in particular practices to preserve and evoke memories. According to Guobin Yang and Ming-Bao Yue, “collective memory refers to mnemonic practices carried out by social actors in symbolic forms such as narrative, images, and sounds” (1). I would take this definition a step further, and say that collective memory is any sort of community, region, or state-sponsored symbolic action: books, films, monuments, memorials, national day celebrations, historical re-enactments etc. The action taken by the state is what makes the collective memory powerful as it involves an entire group of people deciding that an event is too important to never forget. Those in power can use the social nature of collective memory and share the memory as they see fit.

Memories always take the form of the presenter, which means it is never the same once it is shared by multiple parties (Phillips 190). To help explain this, I will discuss the game of telephone to highlight how memory sharing works. Telephone is a game where there are people either in a line or in a circle and one person tells another person a set of sentences. This person must remember what is said and then pass it along to the next person. What ends up happening

most of the time is that the same message is skewed because it is being shared so many times. Collective memory works in similar fashion because as memories are shared within the group, the memory is shared in different ways. The reason it is shared differently throughout the group is because the memory reflects the interests of the person evoking it.

Let's consider an example. Sino-Japanese relations have never been the same since World War II. China was won by the communists and in turn signed a security agreement with the USSR during the Cold War (He 1177). Japan went in the opposite direction and sided with the U.S. The Japanese conservative elites created certain collective memories that would help influence their ties with the West (He 1177). For example, the Japanese were apologetic to the West after conflicting with them; but did not acknowledge the atrocities that were directed toward the Chinese (He 1177). The Japanese wanted these apologetic collective memories to flourish in the population to gain a stronger public opinion toward the West. The Chinese created a different memory for their people. The Chinese faced many atrocities by the Japanese: rape, murder, and being sold into sex slavery (He 1177). The Chinese used victimization of their people as the memory of the war. The Communist party was a driving force behind the memory of victimization (He 1176). Since the Japanese sided with the West and never fully acknowledged the atrocities, it created an entire generation of Chinese citizens that remembered only brutal acts of the Japanese. This created a pro-Soviet state within China, meaning the two biggest enemies of the state were the West and Japan. Chinese and Japanese collective memory construction led to the further souring of their relationship.

Like expressions of national identity, the memory of groups gives them a specific identity separate from another group. Memory is used to form a common identity between group members, and to establish a group affiliation (Dickinson et al. 7). Memory is rhetorically

constructed to be used to form a common ground among different people. For example, when two sports teams become known as rivals there is usually a shared memory between the two groups. Within those teams there are memories of close games, hated players, and close calls. This leads to constructing the identity of a rival. What is remembered by those group is also important. Memory serves those who are in the present, because it is not saying that memory is a lie, but it is used for the present needs (Dickinson et al. 13). This means that the present context shapes the way the memory is offered. For instance, imagine a fight between two brothers. If one brother needed to persuade the other to help him out, he might share the memory of the fight in a more positive light to help his cause of persuasion. The brother might say, "Oh it was just a small fight and plus I think I remember you winning last time." The brother can manipulate the memory for his present needs. The ability to manipulate memory is the reason it is a rhetorical choice.

Collective memory is a game of choices and with every choice, memory is preserved and lost. Some groups tend to remember certain events, forget others, and hail some individuals and hate others. Thus, what a group chooses to remember will say something about that group (Dickinson et al. 7). The choice making of collective memory is the shaping of what events, people, and ideas get passed along to the future. When a memory is forgotten it is given death, because memories are what make a society whole, and through the different nuances of daily life memory is made into that whole of society (Phillips 2).

Collective memory of a group is lived every day that the individual is a part of a group. An example of this is the appreciation that many Americans have for the veterans. Memories of war that are generated for the collective such as, Revolutionary war, Civil war, and World War II

have created a sense of utmost respect for those who serve the country. These memories give reason for the immense respect and care veterans receive.

Memory is not only the past but serves those in the future as groups talk about their past inside and outside the group to give a better awareness of the current situation (Dickinson et al. 6). These memories fuel motives that a group has based off the reality that is shaped by its remembered events. A collective uses its memories to help explain to other groups where they are coming from, helping groups that are in communication with each other to understand why the group chose to do what it did. For instance, to understand why Russia and the United States do not always get along we need to address and recall the Cold War. The memories of nuclear war, the rise of Communism, and Russia becoming a superior nation to the United States all are memories that cause tension between the nations. Memory served as a weapon to persuade the American public that Russian communism was the number one enemy. These same memories have been used around the world to help guide the aggressive foreign policy of the United States against the spread of communism. Creating an enemy from the memories shows the power that memory can have on the influence of action. The way in which a memory is served to the people of a nation is depended on how those in political power choose to commemorate the idea.

Commemoration

Commemoration is the process of using collective memory. According to Dickinson et al., “society thus commemorates and monumentalizes these traces as a means to perpetuate its lost tradition and maintain collective identity” (12). The action of creating an event to remember a memory is important to the collective. Commemoration helps to establish the tradition of how the collective will handle a certain situation. Tradition gives importance to a group; performing an event for a long time in a particular way helps the current members feel a connection to those

who have come before them. Tradition creates a common ground between the current group and the past group, bringing a togetherness between time. Tradition creates a national ritual for all those who are a part of the nation. An example of this is the Fourth of July. If the United States did not continually celebrate the Fourth of July every year, then the memory of the creation of our nation would not be perpetuated to current and future generations. The moment in history would be forever lost without the importance it is given as a national holiday. Where the tradition takes place is as important as what is said.

Place and space are the foundation of commemorative events. Place and space are two ideas that are usually seen as similar but are different. According to Endres and Senda-Cook, place “refers to particular locations that are semi-bound, a combination of material and symbolic qualities, and embodied” (259). The reason that place is semi-bound is because there is no place that stays constant for all of time. For instance, geopolitical lines have constantly been redrawn all throughout human history. A place has material and symbolic qualities because of the structures that are stationed within the boundaries. Statues, roads, and famous buildings are all materials and give symbolic meaning to the place they inhabit. Places are embodied because they incorporate the symbols and materials that make up the current state of the location.

Space is another term that is used when talking about commemoration sites. Endres and Senda-Cook suggest that space is “a more general notion of how society and social practice are regulated by spatial thinking” (259). Space is socially constructed, destroyed, and given new meaning by those that use it. For instance, the 2000 Olympics held in Sydney, Australia had two purposes: to create a ceremony to heal the wounds of Aborigines and European relations and show the world that Australia is an inclusive nation (Housel 450). An Olympic ceremony is a space because it is socially constructed for the Olympic games. It is a ceremony in motion,

creating the space that an audience sees as it develops throughout the performance. Creating a history before the audience on a global scale (Housel 451). The Olympic ceremony is also a space because for that current time it sends a message about what is important to that nation to display to the world. Place and space work together as platform that can be shaped for the meaning of the message that is trying to be conveyed by the rhetor (Endres and Senda-Cook 260). Rhetors can use a place for a performance, but a place is not static because place also performs a message to its audience (Endres and Senda-Cook 258). Where the rhetor chooses to hold a commemoration or give a speech can tell his/her audience a lot about the intended message they are trying to convey.

Ronald Reagan's 1984 speech at Point Du Hoc for the fortieth anniversary of D-Day shows how place plays an important role in a rhetorical act. Ronald Reagan was on a European trip, mainly to build relations between the Soviets and the West. Reagan used the honoring of the men of Pointe Du Hoc to fulfill the need of acknowledging the anniversary but to also tie the past in with the present time of stopping the spread of communism (Prasch 254). This type of epideictic rhetoric worked to mold the audiences of the speech to recognize that when democracy works together, it can stop the world's greatest threats. According to Allison Prasch, choosing to give the speech at Pointe Du Hoc played a pivot role in making that connection, because "These cliffs and these men were the physical, tangible, touchable link connecting the past with the present" (267). Place enables the audience an arena to imagine, feel, and realize the importance of the event and the physical place one is situated in. This effect creates an all-encompassing rhetorical vision for the audience and one that reinforces the ideas by the speaker. In the case of the Reagan's speech, it reaffirmed the World War II narrative of Western allies coming together to stop the world's evil (Prasch 251).

One of the most typical acts of commemoration is to remember those who have fallen for the nation, or those who have been attacked. The way that a nation remembers its horrific events comes in the form of monuments. Monuments are constructed as a place to always remember a particular event; places are paused, and thus are areas where memory is recalled (Dickinson et al. 24). Place gives memory a continuing area to remember because it does not move. No matter where a person goes within space or time, the physical space of a monument will always do the same thing, which is to perpetuate the memory associated with that monument. The place creates a connection through time for the individual. The place of memory accumulates a feeling of past and present connection that gives a sense of identity to a group that is involved in the place (Dickinson et al. 27). This feeling is known as atmosphere of a space. The atmosphere of a space is a way to describe the vague feeling that is created whenever a person travels to a place of memory. The usage of the knowledge of the event, the structures, the importance of the place, the narrative of the space, and the feeling that is generated all form the atmosphere (Sumartojo 545). The reason that atmosphere is important to note is because different places create different atmospheres. For example, a bowling alley has a different set of knowledge, structures, and overall feeling than a cemetery. One would not have the same emotions acting on them as in the bowling alley. The atmosphere helps to shape the feeling one gets when they think, enter, or leave a space.

There are two distinct ways that an audience can look at a memorial site: aesthetic and rhetorical. When a person begins to look at a memorial site they will notice the aesthetics, colors, textures, and designs (Foss 329). An individual enjoys the piece by focusing on the aesthetics that have been put into place by the creator. When the individual attaches the aesthetics to a deeper meaning, they are viewing the monument rhetorically. The usage of a rhetorical lens

helps an individual interpret the colors, symbols, and placement to understand the meaning behind the message (Foss 329). For example, the placement of U.S. flags at sporting events shows that the nation is honored before every game because the soldiers who fought for the right of citizens to play sports in a free country can never be forgotten. When audiences interpret a monument, there is no right answer to the meaning because the individual creates their own meaning through their values, experiences, beliefs (Foss 330). The interpretations of a monument however cannot be out of nowhere; one can only interpret the monument limited to its physical structures (Foss 330). Memory sites help others do more than interpret the physical structure, these sites also help recall memories.

Due to the mixing of thoughts that is created by a place of memory, the individual can understand the memory and connect it to the present and future. An example of connecting the thoughts for the future is using the Holocaust museum on the National Mall in Washington D.C. The museum acts as a place where the memory of the Holocaust is preserved. This is where individuals can go to view those memories and in doing so, reinforce the hope that an event as horrific as that should never happen again. The commemoration of traumatic events helps to guide a country in its darkest hour. The way the event is commemorated creates a path for future generations to follow. This is how one's nation remembers the horrendous event and how 'we' will handle them in the future. The language that is used to create these messages is epideictic rhetoric.

Epideictic Rhetoric

Language that is used to praise, blame, celebrate, or mourn is epideictic rhetoric. This type of rhetoric uses language, space, and time to construct a message that memorializes an event (Lauer 11). Examples of epideictic rhetoric are eulogies, commencement addresses, inaugural

addresses, and ceremonial events. These types of speeches are epideictic in nature because of their meshing of time and space, construction of memory, and building of rhetorical vision for the audience. The reason that these types of speeches call on epideictic rhetoric is because of the influence the rhetoric has over memory. These events evoke memory and a way to understand to move forward from it. The past, present, and future play an important role in these types of events. The rhetor can then construct a memory from using these ingredients to build a vision for the audience. Memory shaping is the most important aspect of epideictic rhetoric and it helps to provide meaning when there none that can be offered.

When an event is memorialized it is given importance within a group. Epideictic rhetoric functions to give meaning to events that have devastated a group. In times of extreme duress leaders are looked to provide meaning to the events that have just taken place (Bostdorff “Epideictic” 299). To perform an appropriate message, leaders look to epideictic rhetoric to help serve their people. Events that are catastrophic help to create an identity of a group because the event is challenging the core of these individuals. Bostdorff argues, “epideictic rhetoric helps bind the community together through an affirmation of shared values that serves to reinvigorate civil religion” (299). The definition helps to make sense of the ability of epideictic rhetoric to create common ground among individuals. Rhetors can use the values that keep us together as the seat belt that will continue to hold us in place even in the worst car accidents.

Epideictic rhetoric can be used to form new ideas. The forming of new ideas creates a new reality for the audience. Epideictic rhetoric ties together the past, present, and future to build a vision that the rhetor wants their audience to see and live by. This term is called epideictic progression, this is the rhetor using collective memory, setting, and time to create the reality that he/she wants to build for the audience (Bostdorff and Ferris 408). The speaker must influence

the audience before a vision can take form. According to Bostdorff and Ferris “with the first perceptual shift requiring explanation for acceptance before the subsequent one can be acknowledged as legitimate” (408). This means that the speaker is first explaining their point of view, infusing all the different elements and make it a reality for the audience. When the form of an idea is generated it must take the place of another. An example of this would be JFK’s construction of ‘genuine peace’ in his speech at American University during the missile crisis with the USSR (Bostdorff and Ferris 416). JFK was creating a new definition of peace for his audience. This is because meaning of words can change from generation to generation. Thus, JFK would help influence the idea of genuine peace with the current generation by making it seem attainable with the USSR (Bostdorff and Ferris 416). JFK was able to offer a new way peace was envisioned by the audience and thus, creating a mold for the USSR to fit into as a nation that the United States could have genuine peace with. The construction of the idea of peace created the reality that these two different nations could come together in support of a genuine world peace with their greatest enemy.

Epidictic rhetoric helps the audience reflect on memories, and since memories are constructed by the speaker, the audience is influenced by the form of the message. Epidictic is the rhetoric of belief and desire because of the way that it builds opinions rather than using strictly logic (Walker 10). Opinions help others reflect on their own beliefs and this is the first step to shaping a new view for an audience. Epidictic rhetoric starts this process; from the usage of collective memory, time, and space. The setting of epidictic rhetoric plays a role in its effectiveness. During eulogies, national days, commemoration events, parades etc. these events allow the audience to put their rhetorical guard down (Bostdorff “Epidictic” 297). The arena that the rhetor situates themselves in helps to build a trust between them and the audience.

Audiences that listen to epideictic rhetoric are not there to decide if the speech is right or wrong but instead create an opinion on it and can even be offered the vision of the rhetoric (Walker 9). This means that the audience is not anticipating the rhetor to persuade them on their values and beliefs but instead give thoughts on an event. This rhetoric marries time together into a single moment, that then can be delivered to the audience for a new reality in which was offered by the rhetor. For example, The Nanjing Memorial Massacre commemoration event is about the victims who suffered during the occupation. The event also gives way to another message, world peace. Thus, using this platform to change ideologies of the Chinese citizens about Sino-Japanese relations and the world.

Epideictic is a powerful tool that spreads its roots throughout a culture and then influences the decisions that are later made because of the bringing together of time: past, present, and future (Walker 9). Epideictic speakers are philosophers or ambassadors that are taking the audience on a rhetorical journey, one that forms a new perspective on a topic (Bostdorff and Ferris 409). Therefore, epideictic rhetoric is used so frequently by political leaders, it is a way that the rhetor can become a teacher not an enforcer. Epideictic rhetoric allows the rhetor to give ownership to an event across a nation (Bostdorff and Ferris 410). The language that is used by the rhetor gives ownership to the audience. In Ronald Regan's speech at Point Du Hoc one can see his usage of ownership language such as 'we' and 'our', "The strength of America's allies is vital to the United States, and the American security guarantee is essential to the continued freedom of Europe's democracy. We were with you then; we are with you now. Your hopes are our hopes, and your destiny is our destiny" (Prasch 266). This creates the sense that not only the speaker but everyone person in the nation has a responsibility for the conflicts, rewards, and prosperity of that nation's future. This allows the speaker to become on the same

level as the audience, he/she is no longer above them (Bostdorff and Ferris 410). Giving the power of responsibility to the citizens of a nation is praising the strength and courage of those people who suffered for a cause greater than themselves. Epideictic rhetoric creates a sense of national pride, remembering those who came before, to inspire those who are in the present, for those in the future. Collective memory, commemoration, and epideictic rhetoric are concepts that help one another. If these three concepts were put on a Venn diagram, one side would be collective memory. The middle would be epideictic rhetoric and the other side would be commemoration. Collective memory forms the idea of how a nation wants to think about an event. Commemoration is the way a group projects its memory of an event. The epideictic rhetoric is the message that is created to combine the two parts. Also, epideictic rhetoric shapes both collective memory and commemoration of an event.

Sino-Japanese Relations

The Chinese and Japanese have a long and conflicted relationship. There are two defining moments in twentieth-century Sino-Japanese relations: the first Sino-Japanese war and the second. The second Sino-Japanese war is what shaped the East Asian region as we know today. The start of the conflict came in 1921 after the first world war. The Japanese acquired leaseholds from Russia within Manchuria and wanted to extend these for another 100 years (Minoru and Lin 27). The diplomatic aggression of the Japanese infuriated the Republic of China (ROC). The ROC was upset with the Japanese because the Chinese public would have been upset if the government rolled over that easy for the Japanese (Minoru and Lin 27). While the ROC was negotiating with the Japanese over the leaseholds in Manchuria there were two other factions of political influence that were taking over the public eye of China.

This was the Nationalists party, which held its first congress in January 1924 in Guangzhou (Minoru and Lin 28). The Nationalists had invited USSR military and political advisors to the congress, at the end of the event the Nationalists decided to ally themselves with the Chinese Communist Party (CCP), creating The First United Front (Minoru and Lin 28). The Nationalists and Communists wanted to oust the ROC in Beijing but went about it in two different ways. The Nationalists, led by Chiang Kai-shek, started a revolution of all people in China (Minoru and Lin 28). This led to the unification of the National Revolutionary Army (NRA) and the North Expedition unifying China under the Nationalists. The CCP took a different route. They wanted to start a class struggle to gain power (Minoru and Lin 28). The two different strategies of The First Unified Front finally made the groups split and a civil war in China begun (Minoru and Lin 28).

The Japanese still had their leaseholds within Manchuria and the Nationalists were starting to engage the Japanese militarily. On September 18, 1931 the Japanese Kwangtuang Army detonated dynamite on the section of the railway owned by the Japanese (Qingqing 194). The event is known as the Mukden incident (Minoru and Lin 30). The Japanese instantly blamed the NRA and began to attack the Chinese forces. The Japanese ousted the NRA from Manchuria and established a puppet state known as Manzhouguo (Minoru and Lin 34). The Japanese control of Manchuria enraged both the NRA and CCP. Chiang Kai-shek the leader of the NRA had a plan to gain internal peace and in turn out the external force of Japan (Minoru and Lin 39). This led to the Xi'an incident, in which NRA forces held Chiang Kai-shek captive until he agreed to stop attacking the CCP and to focus on expelling Japan from the continent (Minoru and Lin 42). The first incidence that led to war was the Marco Polo incident, which occurred on July 7, 1937 (D. Lu 16). This event was handled with a truce between the NRA and Japanese officials but the

truce only lasted two days (D. Lu 16). The Japanese started to become impatient with the NRA, the Japanese wanted to make a truce but instead the NRA had other plans. NRA sentries killed a Japanese Marine Corps officer and his driver who were on their way to initiate peace talks (D. Lu 18). The vicious attacks by the NRA opted the Japanese to assault the two major cities held by the NRA, Shanghai and Nanjing (D. Lu 21). This led to the traumatic event known as the Nanjing Massacre.

The Nanjing Massacre

The Nanjing Massacre is an event that to this day still is a fresh wound on the Sino-Japanese relations. He points out that “Chinese memory of traumatic war with Japan remains vivid” (2). During the year of 1937 China was in a battle amongst themselves. This battle was headed by two factions, Communists and Nationalists. The Japanese became involved in the conflict because the nation was trying to take over China. The fall of the Marco Polo bridge in Beijing was on 7 July 1937 (Lu *They Were In Nanjing* 11). The Marco Polo bridge attack was important because it sparked the second Sino-Japanese war, and this led to the Japanese attack on Nanjing (Lu *They Were In Nanjing* 11). After the fall of the bridge, total war broke out and the Japanese took over Shanghai (Lu *They Were In Nanjing* 11). The destruction of Shanghai left the Chinese nationalist government scrambling to find another place to congregate. The Nationalists decided to change their capital to the western city of Nanjing (Lu *They Were In Nanjing* 11). However, the movement of the capital did not buy the Chinese nationalist government time from the Japanese and Nanjing became the site of an all-out Japanese invasion.

On December 10th, 1937, Japanese forces attacked Nanjing and in three days the city fell under Japanese control (Lu *A Mission Under Duress* 8). What happened next to the city will forever be ingrained within the mind of the world. The Japanese army came into the city and

started to loot and ravage everything in sight. There were many cases of rape and murder (Lu *Mission in 8*). The deaths of many came from either those resisting rape or family members trying to save their loved ones (Lu *A Mission Under Duress 8*). The numbers are staggering, somewhere around 200,000 deaths were first totaled (Lu *A Mission Under Duress 8*). Later 155,000 bodies were discovered by the Military Tribunal of the Far East and these did not account for the bodies burned or thrown into the Yangzi River (Lu *A Mission Under Duress 8*). The Chinese government today claims that there were 300,000 deaths accounted for by the massacre (“Nanjing Massacre”).

Conclusion

National identity is a powerful tool that allows groups to come together to form a bond. Memory can form different ways that identity is remembered. The rhetorical choices that a person, nation, and state make to construct the identity that is fit for their imagined community. Geopolitical relations are a driving force behind what is remembered to create an identity for a group because of the impact relations have on others. Commemoration is one form of nation creation that the state uses. In the following chapter, I will discuss my method for analyzing the 2017 Nanjing Massacre commemoration.

CHAPTER III: METHOD

For this study I will apply visual rhetorical analysis to a video of the 2017 Nanjing Massacre commemoration. Specifically, I will be looking at how the video constructs a national identity for the people of China and projects an image to the west of China's identity. In this chapter I will provide the justification for this method, describe the artifact I chose to analyze, and outline my methodological steps.

Justification of Method

Rhetoricians have studied the powerful effects of verbal messages, but communication is more than just verbal. Images create a similar form of rhetoric and one that is just as influential as verbal rhetoric. According to Foss, visual pieces “may be considered rhetoric in that they produce effects and are intentional and purposive objects” (329). A piece of visual rhetoric, especially one that is state constructed, is created to help those in a nation to understand who they are and what group they are a part of. This process helps to build a bond with the imagined community because citizens from around the nation can share a constructed image that means the same thing with people that may never meet. Visual pieces also allow nations with different languages to project an idea onto another nation. For example, the Olympic Games is a huge way that visual messaging works to project the host nation’s idea of itself to participating nations. A visual piece can also establish a common symbol between who one can see as friend and a foe.

Visual rhetoric is a concept that is defined in many ways. For this analysis, visual rhetoric will be defined as any visual work that can produce a verbal argument, provoke thought, create a narrative, and shape identity (Hill and Helmers 46, 48, 51). First, a visual work is any structure, digital or physical symbol, image, and video. To unpack this definition further one can see that images can create an argument. For instance, the Confederate Flag has carried decades of

argument provoking symbolism. Some believe that the flag represents heritage, while others believe it represents racism. Next, when one views a visual work, it will provoke thought. For instance, the image of a battlefield can produce different thoughts for different people. Who was fighting? Why did the artist choose to depict the battlefield instead of an individual soldier? The producers of the visual piece construct their work to influence viewers, but audiences do not always reach the same interpretation. Visual works also produce a story, for example, a picture of a fabled hero can conjure a story telling moment. Finally, visual works can shape identity through symbols that represent groups. If one is part of the Republican Party, a picture of a red elephant can symbolize that group's identity and what it means to be a republican.

In the 21st century there has been a rise of commemoration and memorialization practices that are dedicated to traumatic past events. Memorial sites are spaces where symbols, structures, and rituals come to life to create meaning out of these horrific events. Visual rhetorical analysis works perfectly to suggest exactly what these memorializing messages project to those who view them and how these messages can shape a nation. To build a memorializing message though one must tap into another function of visual rhetoric, which is the concept of atmosphere. Visual works act rhetorically to create a certain atmosphere around a commemoration. Sumartojo argues that atmosphere is made up of previous knowledge, constructed places that give audiences symbols to rally behind, rituals that use stories that are state constructed, and an annual memorialization that drives the connection for the audience with the commemoration (545). Together these ingredients of commemoration can conjure an aura around the memorialization space. A critic sees these aspects of visual works through a visual rhetorical lens that provides them tools to analyze the message the visual work communicates.

Visual rhetorical analysis also provides the critic the instruments to decipher the meaning of the architecture of a memorial site. Critics use architecture as a verb, because the action of relaying a message through structure is communicating an idea to others (Blair et al. 267). Architecture is an important piece within commemoration because structures can influence many aspects of visual rhetoric. One can interpret the symbols, style, and pluralism of the architecture (Blair et al. 269). That is why visual rhetorical analysis can help one to provide what these structures within the video communicate to the audience. Thus, helping one to dive deeper into what the state-built architecture communicates to the people of China and the world.

Finally, semiotics is an important part to any visual work. These are the symbols that are positioned at commemorative events that can project ideas to the audience. Visual rhetoric helps to provide meaning to these symbols. For instance, Violi argues that, “Nanjing memorial is semiotically configured as a monument to nationhood, as an important step in building of a modern national identity, a veritable discourse for and about nationalism as a way of conceiving of oneself and others” (45). Visual rhetoric can distinguish what symbols are placed where to suggest the influence these symbols have on the spectator.

Artifact

The name of the memorial site is the Memorial Hall for Victims of the Nanjing Massacre by the Japanese Invaders (Violi 44). This study analyzes the video of the 2017 Nanjing Massacre commemoration. Several Chinese news outlets published the video. I will be analyzing New China Tv’s version of the broadcast (“Live”). I chose this broadcast because of its length, allowing my analysis to view a large portion of the event. Additionally, the video has English dubs and that allows me to watch the video without translation. During the video, there are several key areas of the memorial site that are shown to the viewer. For instance, areas that are

filmed are: The Square of Assembly, The Cross, Bell of Peace, Wall of Calamity, metal statues, children's choir and the diverse audience ("Live").

The video shows three different metal statues of victims. These consist of a dead mother with her child who has also been killed lying on top of her. The next metal statue is a middle-aged man carrying a body over his shoulder; the body looks lifeless. The final statue is an old man that carries a baby's body wrapped in a cloth. The next important feature of the piece that the video frequently shows is The Square of Assembly (Violi 49). This is a massive open space; on the right side there are granite pillars that have Chinese writing on them (Violi 50). To the left of the pillars, there is a bright blue stage that has white Chinese letters on it. This is where the choir of young children is singing in all white at different points throughout the commemoration event. To the right of the choir is where the Wall of Calamity is situated (Violi 50). The Wall of Calamity is a reflective granite wall that has white letters of eleven different languages and they all say 300,000 victims (Violi 50). The wall is on top the stage, which situates a massive grey stone cross to the left of it. This cross has the start and end date of the massacre and the number of those killed in the massacre, 300,000. The Wall of Calamity also holds the Bell of Peace, which is a huge bronze bell in the center of the stage in front of the wall (Violi 50). The Bell of Peace is inscribed with Chinese writing on it (Violi 50). The bell was created for the memorial site because of its local meaning. The bell is a symbol of Confucianism and Buddhism which are very important religions for the people of China (Violi 50).

The commemoration shows thousands of Chinese males all wearing black uniforms standing in a military formation ("Live"). This is followed by the more powerful Chinese political figures, foreign diplomats, and survivors sitting in front of the gigantic militarized male formation. To the left of them is the children's choir, dressed in all white outfits. The choir is on

a stage that has a colorful backdrop. Throughout the video the children sing songs of peace and universalism. Each group is facing toward a podium that is faced outward toward the crowd. In front of the podium lays a giant steel flag pole with the Chinese flag flying high (“Live”).

Methodological Steps

To conduct my visual rhetorical analysis, I plan to analyze short clips and specific screenshots from the commemoration video. I intend to construct my visual rhetorical analysis this way because it will give me moving pictures and still shots so that I can analyze both the New China Tv version and the elements of the commemoration that seem most significant. For the next step, I will use the video’s color, lighting, structures, environment, and symbols to build a visual rhetorical analysis. Finally, I will use the concepts of visual culture and visual context to suggest certain culture differences that China wants to project (Birdsell and Groarke 7). In addition, the visual context will help me to provide context of the screenshots (Birdsell and Groarke 6). These elements of the visual rhetorical analysis will help me to understand how the Chinese state constructs a national identity, projects their idea of themselves to the west, and how this message impacts Sino-Japanese relations. There are several questions I will use to help guide my study. How does collective memory play a role in the creation of the film? What elements of nationalism are used to convey the importance of the event to the Chinese and the West? How does the space, place, and atmosphere of the event shape the message projected to the West? What other messages about China does the massive event say to the nation and the world? These questions and many more will provide me with the ability to gain a deeper understand about the screenshots of the commemoration.

Conclusion

In this chapter, I explained the justification for my method, the artifact analyzed, and the methodological steps for a visual rhetorical analysis. I chose a visual rhetorical analysis because of its emphasis on visual works and how they communicate messages of a group. In chapter IV, I plan to analyze the commemoration video to gain a better understanding of the creation of a national identity for the Chinese people, projecting ideas of the west, and the Sino-Japanese relations.

CHAPTER IV: ANALYSIS

In this section I will discuss the following: context for my artifact and the themes that emerged during my visual rhetorical analysis. The artifact that I used for my analysis was the 2017 Nanjing Memorial Massacre commemoration day video. The video was uploaded to *YouTube* on December 12, 2017. The video was constructed for a Western audience because there is an English translator that has dubbed her voice over that of all who speaks at the event. During the video, there is a moment of silence, a children's choir, and a key note speaker. This event helps to suggest what projection; internally and externally what it means to identify as a Chinese national. There are three themes that have emerged: Textures: Hard and Soft, China: Frozen in Time and Moving Forward, China: The One and the Many and each tells us how the video helps to construct these ideas of China.

Context

There are two defining moments that lead up to the Nanjing Massacre. These are the first and second Sino-Japanese wars. The second Sino-Japanese war is what led to the horrific event of the Nanjing Massacre. The outcomes of the second Sino-Japanese war led to the tension that is felt today in East Asia. The tension of Sino-Japanese relations led to the importance of the Nanjing Massacre to Xi Jinping.

The Chinese government decided, with the support of Xi Jinping, to create Nanjing Memorial Day on December 13, 2014. During this time Japan and China were in a maritime dispute ("China Holds"). These islands were in the East China sea and were important to both China and Japan as territories ("China Holds"). What increased the tensions between the two nations was that Japanese officials also visited their Yasukuni shrine, which is a shrine that commemorates Japanese World War II dead ("China Holds"). This shrine also contains the lives

of the war criminals that fueled the Nanjing Massacre. Xi Jinping explains why the day is so important, “Anyone who tries to deny the massacre will not be allowed by history, the souls of the 300,000 deceased victims, 1.3 billion Chinese people and all people loving peace and justice in the world” (“China Holds”). These two events led to the creation of the Nanjing Massacre national day. The first one occurred in 2014, and I am analyzing the 2017 edition of the commemoration video. The method that I am using for my analysis is a visual rhetorical analysis. Language is usually seen as message that can construct an argument. Visuals, however, can also make arguments about an idea. Through the visual rhetorical analysis, I plan to look at how the filming, structures, speakers, and audience all play a role in suggesting a national identity for China.

Analysis

In the analysis section I will discuss three different themes that emerge from the video. The three themes are Texture of Power: Hard and Soft, China: Frozen in Time and Moving Forward, and China: The One and the Many. Texture of Power suggests how the video uses two different powers, hard and soft, to project Chinese identity. Frozen in time and moving forward alludes to the display of frozen objects, which means remembering. Frozen is juxtaposition to moving scenes that suggest progress for the nation. Finally, the one and the many, suggests how the video uses size to show power of the China state while also showing individuals. Each theme is shown in a paradox; creating two messages simultaneously for the viewer.

Texture of Power: Hard and Soft



Image 1: Texture of Power: Hard and Soft

Caption: (Left) The children's choir performing their peace manifesto.;(Right) The soldiers are walking the peace wreaths out in front of the cross and Wall of Calamity.

The theme of a texture of power hard and soft is the idea of the video using sharp objects up against soft ones. The paradoxical nature of hard and soft is showing two different sides of the nation of China within one video. The Nanjing Massacre memorial hall shows multiple different sharp textures that display a hard power. Minute Marker 2:28 shows the entire memorial hall from the back. The shot shows the audience, Wall of Calamity, the cross, borders of the memorial hall, buildings, and other structures within the memorial hall. The structures that are in the memorial hall are all constructed of stone, granite, or steel. These all are durable materials that show strength.

The hard textures within the scene start with the Wall of Calamity. The wall is made of granite and has sharp edges. Granite is a sturdy rock that forms sharp edges. One can see that the wall is cut perfectly to show crisp edges. The cross has hard edges because it is stone. The cross also is thick. The combination of thickness and stone makes the cross both sharp and robust

looking as if it can never be toppled over. The border walls are stone on both the left and right. These walls are sharp because of the angle of each wall. The one on the left of the screen has the flags, which are black with silver letterings. The flags on the left wall are a sharp right angle. The wall in front of the flag wall is two pieces of stone cut at a sharp angle. Here one can see that these sharp angles are at a precise point, almost looking like the point of a sword. The right border is a massive edge of stone that has a pointed end to it. The sharp angle of the edge is pointing into the crowd. Beyond the memorial hall but still, in the shot, there are the buildings of Nanjing. These builds are made of steel and are dominating what is in the background of the shot. The builds do show the hard textures that even surround the memorial hall.

There are several different soft powers lay within the memorial. One of the soft powers is the audience within the memorial hall. The audience consists of children, adults, religious people, foreigners, political leaders, and military personnel inside the hall. The audience is also all wearing flowers. The children in the choir are wearing black flowers against their white uniforms. These are the opposite of adults; they are all wearing white flowers. The younger children who are not in the children's choir are wearing white flowers like the adults. The flowers on the people are a form of soft power. The flower is a symbol of innocent and tranquility. These two different powers together are a way of showing the seriousness of the moment and the human innocence element of the audience. The juxtaposition of sharp and soft shows that these people are within a hard moment in time; creating an atmosphere of seriousness. According to Sumartojo, the atmosphere can be shaped by the usage of the knowledge of the event, the structures, the importance of the place, and the narrative of the space can create a feeling for someone within a space (545). Here one can see that putting sharp and strong materials together against the soft human bodies creates the idea of being in a dangerous place.

One must be attentive when hard objects are around; just as one must focus at the memorial site to those who lost their lives in a massacre. One must focus on the Chinese state and the importance that it plays within everyday life.

The audience also is a contrast of hard and soft powers. In minute marker 21:30 one can see all the different contrasts of power. There are children next to adults, which shows the softness of the children next to their elders. Then, there is military personnel next to the adults in the audience — the powerful military against the soft power of the Chinese civilian. The military personnel and the political leaders are sandwiching the religious figures within the audience. Putting two hard powers around a soft to show control over their existence in the audience but also life. There are more men in the audience than women; showing the male dominance and power of the nation of China through more male representation than female. There is a section of survivors of the Nanjing Massacre in the front, although they are a soft power, they represent the reason everyone is there. It is making them more potent by situating them at the front of the audience next to the political leaders that are a hard power of the state. The military personnel and political leaders are wearing flowers and showing their hard power with a soft texture on their chest. The flower displays the innocence of the moment against the hard power that represents the power of the Chinese state.

Minute marker 12:56 shows a bronze ancient Chinese cauldron between two wreaths of peace. The cauldron has a long history of symbolizing dynastic rule, wealth, ritual, and control of metal (Birrell 154). The symbolism of the cauldron within Chinese culture was created by Yu the great. Yu the great is a demi-god within Chinese mythology that is the main character in many different myths. Yu is known for being a savior of humankind, benevolent demi-god, and one who believe the community came before the private sector (Birrell 146). The myth of the nine

cauldrons is about Yu creating nine cauldrons from collecting metal from nine different regional stewards (Birrell 155). These nine cauldrons were given to the sovereign power within ancient China to show their dominance over the other peoples of China. The nine cauldrons were a moral weight test of a said dynasty (Birrell 154). For example, when the Chou took the nine cauldrons from the Shang, to move one cauldron it took 90,000 men because the Shang were such benevolent rulers (Birrell 154).

The cauldron within minute marker 12:56 is built with bronze and is a hard power symbol that shows the communist state as the rightful ‘dynasty’ of the time to rule over China. This display of hard power also plays on the Yu the great myth. The cauldron is a symbol of Yu and using him to show the connection between all Chinese is a way the state brings collective memory into focus for those watching the video. The internal audience can find a connection with the cauldron no matter where they are from within China. The cauldron is an identifier for the Chinese people. Commemoration events such as the Nanjing Massacre is the perfect space for the cauldron to bring together the Chinese people. According to Dickinson et al., “society thus commemorates and monumentalizes these traces as a means to perpetuate its lost tradition and maintain collective identity” (12). The symbolic power of the cauldron uses collective memory to bring forth a common identifier and helps to maintain the collective identity of being Chinese.

Minute marker 10:34-14:05 is the peace manifesto performed by a group of middle school students. The children are singing in front of a blue and white background. The blue background has white letterings on it and a faded backdrop of the great wall, The blue is a light blue, giving a calming feel to the performance. The children are lined up like a choir and have a few children in the front at microphones. Each child is wearing a similar outfit which is a white

shirt with black buttons on it. The boys are wearing black pants, and the girls are wearing black dresses. Each child also has a black white on their shirts, which is opposite to their white jackets making their flowers visible. These uniforms are the opposite of what the audience is wearing; with the black jackets with white flowers. The white uniforms allow the children to be innocence, more so than being children. Throughout the ode to peace, they use their position in most culture to spread the idea of peace and forgiveness without the audience questioning it. The audience, internally and externally, can let their guard down because the performers at this moment are children. The children are a soft power and during their manifesto talk about both soft and hard subjects.

However, during the peace manifesto violence is talked about in the form of recalling the events of the Nanjing Massacre. Violence is a hard power that is juxtaposed to the soft power of peace. Minute marker 10:55-12:19 discusses the tragedy of the Nanjing Massacre. The children describe how bodies were covering the fields after the invasion of Nanjing. The Yangzi river was stained blood red because of the mass killings of the Japanese invaders. The children refer to the massacre as “six weeks of purgatory and devastation.” Then the children at the end discuss how the event impacted their nation. They discussed how “weakness and poverty leads to shame and humiliation” as a nation. How the “invasion and separation plagued our motherland.” These words all describe the violence of the Nanjing Massacre; which is an opposite effect of spreading peace.

Minute marker 13:16-13:51 is where the children’s choir shares its reasoning for;

“We wrote this peace manifesto to demonstrate that righteousness and justice will never die, friendliness and harmony lead to prosperity. Peace and development are the themes of the times. National rejuvenation is the dreams for generations.”

During the first sentence, one can see that the camera moves from discussing the colors of the flowers of the wreath to the young men in the crowd wearing black. The camera movement gives the perception that the children are speaking directly to their nation, saying “that righteousness and justice will never die, friendliness and harmony lead to prosperity.” Telling their fellow countrymen that these values are what must come from this traumatic event. Then the camera moves to show Xi Jinping with his fellow political leaders in the background; “Peace and development are the themes of the times. National rejuvenation is the dreams for generations.” By giving credit to the communist party these messages are showing that they believe in peace but also the development of the nation of China. Plus, the new ‘dreams’ of the coming generations and what Xi Jinping will do for the country. Children are instilling the values of peace, harmony, and friendliness while showing the importance of peace internally. These children are generating soft power through the usage of peace. The rhetor in this case, the children, would not be questioned by any crowd and can push forward soft power through talks of peace, justice, and harmony. The soft and hard ideas together show the paradoxical nature of the peace manifesto. The soft power is directed at the citizens while the hard power is the state and military. The Chinese state is giving soft power ideas to its citizens while influencing its state to keep control via the hard power.

Throughout the manifesto, the children connect the Nanjing Massacre to the present day. They also share what the future holds for China. Epideictic rhetoric helps to ties together the past and present to look forward to the future. Bostdorff argues that epideictic rhetoric “helps bind the community together through an affirmation of shared values that serves to reinvigorate civil religion” (299). Epideictic is powerful in building new visions for audiences because of its use of

memory. The children's choir is remembering the Nanjing Massacre and by giving meaning to the massacre are giving values of what should come by commemorating the event.

The hard and soft dichotomy of the video spurs different notions of what the Nanjing Massacre commemoration event means to the Chinese. The balancing act of showing a soft power near, on, and around a hard power shows how Chinese life is a harmonizing of these two separate powers. There is room in Chinese culture for both ends of the spectrum, but each one cannot stand alone. When a soft power is in play, there must be a hard that follows and visa-versa. The display of hard and soft powers shows the influence that the Chinese state has over the country of China. The video shows us that the Chinese are using two different forms of power to project its influence over its citizens. Using the soft power of flowers, humans, and peaceful language the state is gaining influence over its citizens. The display of hard powers such as, political leaders, structures, and military personnel is showing the hard powers of the state. Together, these two powers are used to influence the viewer to understand the state is in total control. The paradoxical nature helps one to understand that each power needs one another to survive and to project the power of the state. If one wants peace, there must be a hard power backing it. One can see this in the structures, audience, and performers together in the memorial hall. The hard and soft powers are what combine to produce the Chinese state that is in command today.

China: Frozen in Time and Moving Forward



Image 2: Frozen in Time and Moving Forward

Caption: (Left) Xi Jinping is standing in focus as the crowd of citizens is behind him.;(Right) Soldiers walking out in front of the Wall of Calamity

China shows another paradox within its commemoration of the Nanjing Massacre. There is this idea of remembering those that are ‘stuck’ in time. Then the following scenes display the movement forward of the country in different ways. The paradox works by using those who are living to counter those who are frozen or dead. Visual moment 2:42-2:48 depicts a line of honor guards walking out in front of the Wall of Calamity. The scene shows green trees that are behind the Wall of Calamity. The Wall of Calamity is on the right side of the screen. The wall is black and silver with the number 300,000 filled in with silver lettering.

Below that number, there are eleven different languages, and each one says the same thing. Each phrase says “300,000 victims,” and this lettering as well is filled in with silver on the black background. One can see the honor guards are wearing navy blue uniforms with gold trimmings around. The differences between the honor guards are some are wearing white hats while others are wearing navy blue hats. The guards are all wearing white gloves, and each is

carrying guns that are all the same. The wall is showing us the lives of the 300,000 victims that died in the massacre. These lives will forever stay frozen on the wall. These victims will only be known together as the 300,000 who died and not as individuals. The 300,000 are a juxtaposition to the walking guards. These guards are the dominant force of the state's military. The frozen are locked within the Wall of Calamity forever, while the guards move forward in the scene.

This scene shows that although the lives of so many Chinese remain preserved in time through the messages on the walls; the guards are the living moving forward for those who no longer can. The guards are moving toward the camera, and it suggests that the country is moving forward in honor of these citizens. The movement forward in a positive direction is the state using the living to counteract the opposite; the 300,000 dead. The usage of memory to shape the national consciousness of the Chinese people is essential in the theme of frozen versus movement. Using events of the past to construct the view of positive forward movement for a nation is the power of choice of memory. David Lowenthal helps to explain the power of memory when used by state power, “[they can] select, distil, distort, and transform the past, accommodating things remembered to the needs of the present” (qtd in Dickinson et al. 7). The nation-state uses memory to fulfill its desires in the present, leading to the future they want to construct for their citizens. Even though the 300,000 that are dead forever will remain frozen in time on the wall, the Chinese must always keep moving, which is to keep commemorating those lives lost.

This trend continues throughout the moment of silence. The visual moment from 4:56 to 6:03 shows the viewer a moment of silence. Several different scenes appear: Xi Jinping, survivors, children, the men in the crowd, three different memorial sites, and a downtown area. During this moment of silence, there is an air raid siren that is turned on. The air raid siren turns

on during the attack on a country; this is a horrifying noise that sounds like a tornado siren. The siren breaks down the barriers of everyday life and freezes the Chinese citizen. At this moment, they will reflect on the 'moment' what it means to them as Chinese. Also, the formation of the massive audience with the air raid siren builds the feeling of being back in Nanjing 1937. This warning siren creates a separation in time, bringing the past and present together into one moment. The atmosphere of the whole event creates a connection with those in the audience internally. The moment of silence brings them together as one, frozen together through this moment. The Chinese, however, use this moment to show their path into a brighter future.

The next event that takes place is the honor guards walking the white and green wreaths out to the center of the Wall of Calamity. The minute marker is 6:30-6:50; again, we have the scene where honor guards are marching out of the left side of the Wall of Calamity. This time, however, each guard is wearing matching green uniforms, green hats, and white gloves. There is gold trim on the outlines of the military uniforms. The guards are marching out to music that sounds serious. They are carrying wreaths of peace; this is different from the moment of silence which was all about the dead. The Chinese state is putting together opposites to balance its commemoration event. Also, the movement from the soldiers is the following scene after the moment of silence where everyone on screen was motionless; frozen in time to remember. The honor guards walking is the moving forward showing the nation will remember for a moment but then continue to move forward for the future. Again, there is a paradox that forms: reflecting vs. inspiring. These opposite ends of the spectrum give balance to the identity of the Chinese citizen. When there is a traumatic event, there is another positive side counteracting the experience.

Minute marker 11:01-12:01 marks the children's choir talking about the occupation of Nanjing and its effect on the world. Throughout the beginning of the video, three separate statues

appear during the children's choir ode to peace. Each statue is made of bronze and is in pain: mother and child, a man carrying a lifeless body, and an old man carrying a person rolled up in a cloth. These statues help to illustrate for the audience the suffering during the Nanjing

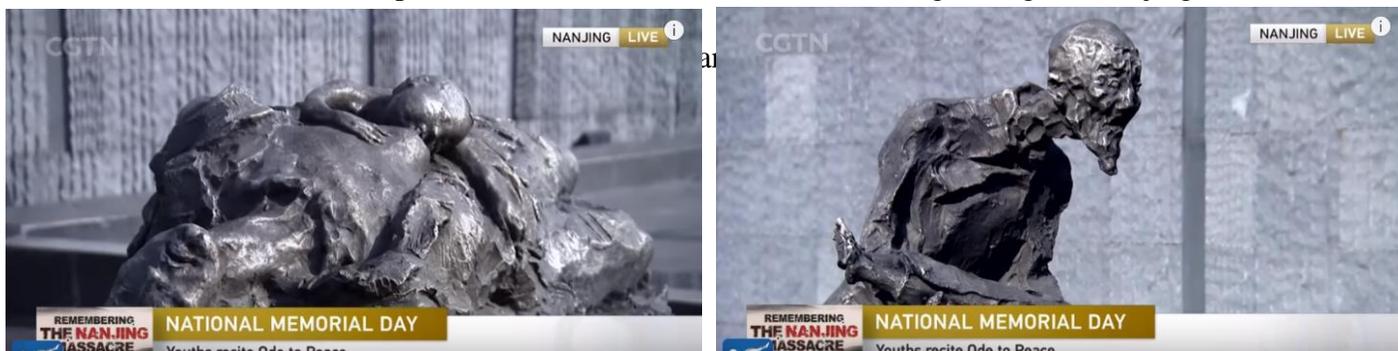


Image 3: The statues

Caption: (Left) A child laying on a mother.;(Right)A man carrying a child in a cloth.:(Bottom) A man carrying another person.

The first statue is of a mother with a child lying on her. The facial features of both statues have detail. The figures in the first statue are both laying with their eyes closed. The child is laying across the stomach of the mother, and the mother is laying down with her knees bent and arms in two different directions. The mother looks mangled, and the child lays on top with its hands draped over her breast. The next statue is the man who is carrying a lifeless body on his back. On this statue, one can see the facial features of the man who is carrying the body. The

person on the back of the man has defined facial features, but the angle of the shot does not show these features. The lifeless body is laying over the man's shoulders on its stomach. The body is clothed, and one can see that this body is dead. The man is looking up toward the sky while he carries the other body and has a sad look on his face. The third statue in the series is one of the old man carrying a body wrapped in cloth. The old man has a wrinkly face to show his age and has a beard. The body that he is carrying looks to be the size of a small child. The angle of the camera does not show the face of the body. The angle does show the feet of the child sticking out of the back half of the cloth. The old man looks forward in horror and is leaning as if he is moving away from the Japanese invaders.

During the series of statues, the children are speaking while each statue comes into view. The children are representative of youth, or movement. While they are speaking over those who are frozen or dead, the children are showing that the nation has been progressing. The children's choir say in this manifesto to combat that this event defines the Chinese. Instead, showing those who are frozen while the children are speaking in the background forms a new thought of progress for the Chinese. This idea can be especially seen when the children are speaking over the scene where the mother and her child lay together. The children can be the next in line, while the other has suffered death. The children show that although one child is frozen or lost, there are still more children who are moving the country forward.

The next scene in the video at minute marker 12:24-12:40 after the shots of the statues is a pan shot of the crowd of Chinese men wearing black jackets. The camera is moving across the crowd, showing the living faces; while the choir discusses the rejuvenation of the people and the lessons that will come from this event. The switching of scenes from statues frozen in time to living humans allows the state to show that there is progress forward for the nation. The audience

is used to spread ideas of prosperity after seeing the frozen statues. The yin and yang of statues and living humans continue the trend of China being alive today. Together these ideas of the frozen statues in pain are countered by the movement of the camera showing citizens of the nation. The camera's movement shows that thousands of Chinese citizens are alive and well today, progressing for those who have been frozen or lost to this tragic event.

In the visual moment 1:31 to 1:40 one can first see the importance that Xi Jinping has to the country of China. The camera is directly on Xi Jinping, and he has the attention of the screen. The background is not in focus, but one can see that the other political leaders, military personnel, and the men in black jackets are all standing behind Xi Jinping. The others in the background close to Xi are moving slightly back and forth just as Xi is. In the distant background, the audience is standing perfectly still, frozen for the presence of the leader Xi. The faces of the audience do not receive the amount of personal time that Xi receives. Xi is the most powerful man in the country and the attention of the camera expresses this idea to the viewer. During the close up of Xi, the entire memorial hall is silent, standing in place. The audience is like the Terracotta Warriors who stood behind the first emperor of China, and Xi Jinping is depicted in the same way. The camera is showing that they are merely the warriors that are there to protect Xi, and most importantly the Communist state. Xi is seen as the one who gives the warriors a motion. With the power that Xi has over his country he is the one that can make the country go. The improvements that he has made for the country started with Xi. Those in the audience are there to protect, serve, and spread the power of Xi and the motion that he gives his nation.

The paradox of frozen to moving within the commemoration video is helping to show the Chinese they are a nation on the rise. Through the counteraction of points of freezing and

movement one can see that the event has not defined the Chinese. Instead, they have used the power of memory, to shape their national conscious of seeing the moving forward that their country has done since this horrific event has taken place. Memories always take the form of the presenter, which means it is never the same once it is shared by multiple parties (Phillips 190). At first, the massacre was a scar on the Chinese national identity. Through the usage of remembering or freezing and then to movement or commemoration, one can see that this event helps to display the onward journey of the Chinese people. The commemoration gives China the power to remember but also show its strength after weakness. The country is looking to build itself into another great world power. By choosing to juxtaposition frozen and movement together builds to this idea of never forget the dark times to build a brighter future. Although there are thousands of citizens that have been frozen or lost to time forever, the Chinese people are still moving forward and becoming a significant world power. The rediscovering of the past to propel the country into the future is the usage of nationalism (Smith 6). This nationalistic ceremony helps to bind together the Chinese, to make them feel proud of who they are, and display the movement forward of the country into the future. Every time the country freezes, it must remember that movement is right around the corner for them. When they move forward together, the national identity will never die.

China: The One and the Many



Image 4

Captions: (Left) The back of the audience.;(Right) A close up of a young girl.

The theme the one and the many describe China's use of its massive population to display its power. Through the massive population, other thoughts are generated about China that are not always positive. Terracotta Warriors are a great example of a large population for China. The idea of size comes into action when shaping a national identity for China. Through the usage of size, the Chinese state is internally and externally projecting to all who view the video that they have a massive number of citizens. The population shows strength in numbers that is an essential facet of national consciousness for the Chinese citizen. During the video, visual moment 1:56 shows us the vast number of Chinese citizens in the audience. This visual moment is a shot from the back of the audience. Within the shot, one can see to the left the flag poles and, on the right, the grey wall that looks like a trapezoid. Each flag pole has a black flag with white letterings on it. Within the borders of the memorial hall, one can see that thousands of Chinese citizens fill the space. The citizens are facing away from the camera, toward the front where the Wall of Calamity is located. The back of the audience's heads is seen; everyone in this shot is male and is wearing a black jacket. The audience is standing in military rows, with their hands to

their sides. The camera angle creates a sense of the many; the sea of citizens is standing together as one giant mass. The many are shown here, as one powerful force united for the massacre.

Visual moment 21:30 shows us again the massive size of the audience. This time we can see the right side of the audience; if one is at the front of the memorial hall. There is a flag pole situated right in the middle of the audience with an enormous Chinese flag on it. In the back of the shot, one can see a massive steel structure that dominates the scene. Once again, one can see the black and white flags that were in the shot before. There are citizens depicted within this scene but also military personnel and religious figures. This time the camera is coming at a more frontal angle than the previous shot. The visual moment gives the audience their faces, where before the back of their heads was only seen. Although we can see faces, there is no individual shot of a face. Instead, the idea of the many is generated through this shot. When the massive size of the population repeatedly is produced, it is shaping the national identity. According to Anthony Smith, national identity is the continuous reproduction of symbols, myths, and memories (20). The visuals of the audience repeat the idea of size and display of power. The audience symbolizes the large Chinese state and its vast population. A Chinese citizen visually can see that thousands of Chinese are a part of this identity. These groups are at the commemoration event to show the importance of the event to the Chinese citizen. The event also shows the theme of the many, which is inspiring those who are Chinese to feel powerful in their numbers.

Numbers continue to be an essential theme when describing the many during the commemoration. Minute marker 1:17 displays several elements that point to the size of China. If one works left to right across the visual moment, they would first see where the children's choir, which is next to the number 300,000. The Wall of Calamity holds the engraving of the number

300,000. To the right of the 300,000 one can see the cross, followed by the flag pole in the center. On the other side of the flag pole again the number 300,000 is shown. The Bell of Peace is to the right of the number 300,000 on the right side. In the shot, one can see the crowd but a little bit closer.

One sees the thousands of civilians and military personnel. Here one would notice that the number 300,000 sits on both sides of the wall. The audience in this scene helps to provide a visual sense of replenishing the number 300,000 that died during the massacre. China can project then to its nation and others that it is a strong nation in the face of such a massive defeat. The placement of the number 300,000 on both sides of the audience then also suggests that the size of the nation has replenished. The two sides of the numbers are the bread, while the citizens in the middle are the filling of the metaphorical sandwich. The lives lost are in constant view of those within the audience; either side can view the number and consider the death of their fellow countrymen. However, the vast number of Chinese attending the commemoration event projects that the country has not failed through such a traumatic loss. Instead, they have risen to a higher point together as a nation with the help of their size.

The one is depicted within the visual moment of 12:31-12:39. In this visual moment, there is a pan shot that goes through the crowd of men all wearing their black jackets. One can make out the faces of these men. The men are wearing a white flower on their left side. From afar, one would think that these men were one massive group, the many. This scene helps to combat the view that is commonly used for China, showing the individuality of their nation. This shot gives agency to the citizens that are participating within the commemoration. Through the shot, the one and the many are both shown. The balance of the shot gives the people of China a human element. While in the background, one can see the many supporting their fellow Chinese.

The effect of the many perpetuates a common belief of the west, and that is that China has a massive population that is all the same. Although the size of China shows its power in numbers, the external projection of national identity to those of the West who are watching continues the narrative of a massive population with no individuality.

China has for thousands of years depicted itself as a vast country with billions of people, but this idea helps to add to the belief the West has about China. This belief stereotypes the people of China as looking all the same. Orientalism is what shapes the view of China as one big mass of people. The continuous reproduction of the idea of the massive population is what continues to root this ideology within the national identity of China from a global perspective.

One can also see this idea stemming from paintings of the first Sino-Japanese war, which show an endless supply of people in the first photo titled Retaking Korea, which was published in 1894 (Anonymous). The Chinese painter shows the vast number of soldiers that are storming the walls of a Korean castle. One can barely make out the faces of the soldiers. Instead, the size is what is most important in this painting. The Chinese have a vast army and are showing that the size of their army will swallow up the Koreans.



Image 5: Painting

Caption: Anonymous, Retaking Korea

In comparison with Japanese war paintings, one can see that the Japanese usually depict their war scenes with more individuality. The painting is titled *The Great Battle at Port Arthur*, which was published in 1894 (Ginkō). In this painting, one can see the face of the leading officer riding the horse and the other few Japanese soldiers on the right side of the photo. The uniform of the leading officer can be flawlessly seen showing all the detail that is on it. The uniforms of the Japanese foot soldiers are also visible in detail. The Chinese soldiers that the Japanese are firing at are also given detail, even though we cannot see their faces. The scene is much smaller, zoned in on a single part of the battle and not the whole battlefield. This difference is what shows that the Chinese have continually used their gigantic size of the population to show power. Creating visual moments within the commemoration that give individuality to the Chinese helps to combat this ideology of one hegemonic grouping and give the one a chance to show the nation as individuals.



Image 6: Painting

Caption: Adachi Ginkō, *The Great Battle at Port Arthur*

The individual is shown again within visual moment 19:06. The scene shows a group of children standing together. The children are wearing black jackets, red scarves, and shows both boys and girls. In the background, one can see the black and white flags. Also, the grey wall that surrounds those within the memorial hall space. Along with many different photographers all

trying to capture the best shot for the state. The focus of the close-up shot is on a young girl, and she has a stern look on her face. Many other children are within this shot, and their facial features are visible. The young girl and the surrounding children are standing up straight in perfect rows together. They are not focused on the camera but on the event itself. The presentation of these individual children combats the idea of orientalist views of China. Not only is the commemoration event giving agency to adults, but the children as well receive similar treatment. The close-up is vital to giving Chinese a sense of humanization of their nation. The humanizing shot externally combats the ideals of other nations that merely see China as a many and not a one. This shot creates a sense for the Chinese national that these individuals matter and are essential to the greater whole of the mass.

The reoccurring theme of paradoxes is shown here within the projection of the one and the many. Here one can see that the Chinese state continues to show itself as an immense strength. There are thousands of people in the audience displaying the human power that the nation can deploy at a moment notice. The commemoration event also spreads the idea of replenishing the lost number of 300,000 Chinese in the horrific event of the Nanjing Massacre. Each one of these displays of quantitative power comes at a price, which is to perpetuate the ideologies of orientalism. However, in a yin and yang balance, the Chinese state shows the individual faces of its citizens. The visual moment of Chinese helps to guard against the perceptions of those who believe that China does not give agency to its citizens. The paradoxical nature of the commemoration event inspires two opposing ways of viewing China, allowing them to continue current beliefs and spread new ones at the same time. The usage of the Nanjing Massacre memory allows for the state to produce a video that includes both its massive size and a human element. The Chinese citizens receive significant screen time to show to the world that

they have individuals too. It is allowing the Chinese to combat the external view of their national identity of one mass. While in the process, continuing to send the message internally and externally the real power that the state holds. There are thousands of citizens who are the human capital of the state. Each citizen will be connected forever through the commemoration of the Nanjing Massacre.

Conclusion

Three different visual rhetorical themes emerge through the 2017 Nanjing Massacre Memorial Commemoration. First, the usage of hard and soft textures and powers is used to show the importance of the country by providing the viewer with both hard and soft textures and powers. Second, the notion of freezing is to remember; while showing motion is to progress forward as a nation. The Chinese can always remember but must not freeze and instead must always move forward to better their present time. Third, size has always been a way that China can show strength to its citizens but giving individual time to its citizens counteracts stereotypes. Throughout the entire video yin and yang is shown through these three different themes. Each theme calls on a different notion of national identity creation for China. The state is the ultimate hard power that rules over soft or everyday life. China must never forget the Nanjing Massacre but must also not let it define what it means to be a Chinese citizen. They should use the massacre to keep moving forward. Finally, size is a power that helps to define the nation of China, but the individuals also make up the nation because each Chinese is essential to the great mass of the nation.

CHAPTER V: CONCLUSION

The purpose of my study was to suggest how the Chinese government projects its national identity using collective memory through the 2017 Nanjing Massacre commemoration. I used visual rhetorical analysis to analyze the half an hour-long ceremony on YouTube. In this study, I planned to suggest the ways the video projected different ideas of the Chinese national identity. I mainly looked at the structures, audience, background, and performances to form my critique of the video. In this chapter, I will present my major conclusions, implications, limitations, recommendations for future research, and my final thoughts.

Major Conclusions

The completion of this study produced three different proposals on the projection of national identity for the Chinese nation. First, the appearance of hard and soft powers together displays the influence the Chinese government has over the people of the nation. The state pulls from different power sources to show total control over the nation. The usage of sharp monument up against the soft human body is hard vs soft. The audience is also a combination of hard and soft. Civilians are sitting next to military personnel. The balance of power is the impact of control the Chinese state wields over its people. Second, the notion of freezing and moving forward is a paradox to remembering the massacre and to moving forward to a brighter future as a nation. When the Chinese freeze within the video, they remember those who lost their lives in the massacre; the moment of silence and the statues are examples of freezing to recognize. The paradox then shifts to show the rise of the nation of China through the juxtaposition of pan shots of the crowd and children speaking on behalf of the massacre victims. The paradox of freezing and moving allows the Chinese state to inspire its citizens to remember the dreadful times to

make the future a better place for the nation. Together through moving, the Chinese nation does not let the Nanjing Massacre define them but inspire their drive forward to a world superpower. The power of collective memory is the force behind the state using the Nanjing massacre to influence a positive perception for the national identity of China. Third, the one and the many displays the paradox of population size juxtaposition to the individual agency for the Chinese citizen. The massive population of China shows the strength of the nation and this idea formed for thousands of years. The audience and the continual display of 300,000 demonstrate the importance of large quantity to the viewer. The West used the concept of orientalism to form the impression that the Chinese are one hegemonic mass. The state combats the idea, through the different camera shots showing the individual Chinese citizen. The yin and yang of quantitative strength in population and own agency project two different messages from the Chinese state. First, the state has control over the massive population, which perpetuates orientalism. Second, the individual acquires more agency through the close-up shots allowing the state to combat this stereotype. The paradoxical nature of putting two opposing concepts together forms the national identity of the Chinese. The video encompasses multiple ingredients that create a national identity for the Chinese.

Implications

The major conclusions of my project led to several different suggestions. First, the study helped to expand Western audiences to the Nanjing Massacre. This study contributed to bring light to the Nanjing Massacre and to allow westerns to have a better understanding of Sino-Japanese relations. The study helped to explain what Sino-Japanese relations means, the Nanjing Massacre, and how the commemoration constructs a national identity. The global economy that is present today serves those who can understand other cultures. The study will allow one to gain

a better understanding of the current climate of the Sino-Japanese relations by looking at a milestone event in these relations. This knowledge will enable others in the West to contextually understand those within China and Japan when it comes to the Nanjing Massacre. Second, foreign policy could benefit from the study. The Nanjing Massacre is a debated topic, and there are those who believe it never happened. Through the research, one would be able to familiarize themselves with the massacre and properly navigate a situation where this event did arise. The knowledge would allow policymakers the ability to understand certain working relationships in the Sino-Japanese region. China and Japan are economically strong within the global economy. By following their historical context, foreign policymakers can be better in that region.

Finally, creating studies that are central to Chinese public rhetoric benefit the discipline of communication studies. There have been several studies done on how the West's public rhetoric impacts the East but rarely has China been the main actor within the study. When one analyzes China as the main actor, it gives voice to those who lose their voice within Western society. Studying other countries and their rhetoric will open new doors to understanding other cultures. Thus, through my study one can see how commemoration events create different meaning for different people. Some nations will use these days to inspire national identity and faith within their own identity. In the East, public rhetoric is similar but different in certain ways than Western culture. These different perspectives are what brings diversity to a discipline. Variety allows new ideas to form and to gain a better understanding of how others think. This expansion of Chinese public rhetoric helps those in the West understand China differently.

Limitations

There are three limitations to the study. First, I was not able to attend the memorial hall. I only could watch the video clip on YouTube. Going to the memorial hall in Nanjing would have

given the study the ability to understand what the monument meant to the people of China. Instead, while watching the video, the interpretation of buildings, audiences, and importance were all missed. No video is created in a vacuum; several forces act on a production to conjure a message that the director wants to project. That is why going to the memorial site would have allowed my research to expand individually and not through the lens of New China Tv. I believe visiting the memorial site would have allowed me to gain my own idea of what the atmosphere was like around the memorial site. The journey through the site would have given me the ability to gain a better understanding of what the memorial site really means to the people of China.

Second, there were several critical markings on the memorial site that I should have found a way to translate. The ones on the flags, Wall of Calamity, and the children's choir backdrop are just a few that I was unable to understand. If I were able to translate these different words, then it would have opened my eyes to multiple different messages that are projected several times during the video. Especially the Wall of Calamity, there are big white Chinese letterings that I was never able to translate but are shown throughout the video. These letterings are right in the center of the memorial hall and would have benefitted my understanding of the Wall of Calamity.

Finally, I think my study could have included an analysis of the speech of the main speaker of the commemoration event Mr. Zhengsheng. The reason for this is because his speech is more than half of the YouTube clip. Mr. Zhengsheng is vital to the video because of his position as the Chairman of the CCP. Mr. Zhengsheng discusses the Nanjing Massacre and the importance of the event for the Chinese people. I think that this speech would have further helped me suggest what the state was doing with putting paradoxes together to form a national identity. He did take soft power and hard power to shape the national identity of the Chinese

citizen. The speech would have helped my argument of China projecting national identity but visually, analyzing more of the address than what is happening around the expression was not possible. Instead, I was limited to the visuals rather than spoken rhetoric and how that affected the viewer.

Recommendations for Future Research

The limitations of my study helped me to understand where I could have bettered my research. I could not attend the memorial site or translate a few markings on the memorial hall. Also, I was not able to thoroughly analyze the keynote speaker of the commemoration. This opens the door for others to fill in these gaps. Future research on the topic of the Nanjing Massacre could begin with analyzing how the Japanese deny this event that China holds so close to their national identity creation. There are several Japanese that believe this event never occurred, forming an analysis around their denial rhetoric could prove useful in this never-ending debate about the massacre.

The formation of identity in any context is the core of what humans need. I believe that studying autoethnographically a commemoration event would give a better understanding of several aspects of a commemoration event I was not able to find using just a video. One would be able to attend the event, physically understand the structure, and get a better feel of the atmosphere. The atmosphere is essential to understanding how commemoration affects individuals. I believe that this would allow one to gain a deeper understanding of their nation, and what it means to be a part of this group.

Finally, I think analyzing nationalism through different public acts would show a variety of ways the nation is formed and continued. States have the funds to produce beautifully

orchestrated events that wow audiences. There are also many different grass root celebrations that take form in different public displays. These public displays could be through graffiti, political speeches, and local demonstrations. Each one of these holds a unique form of nationalism that binds the national identity of many different groups. Understanding how these groups fit into the whole of the nation would encompass memory, identity, and rhetoric to show how groups in the same nation interact with each other.

Final Thoughts

Studying the creation of nationhood has been very interesting for me. For me, the realization that humans are creatures who want to be a part of something bigger than themselves fascinated me. People will die for causes that they feel have an impact on their lives. The formation of groups is something I will always analyze after this study. I think it is a blessing and a curse. The blessing is the understanding of the broad needs of humans. The evil is over-analyzing what others do. The experience, knowledge, and perspective this project has created for my identity will allow me to think critically about the world around me and about how I fit into different groups and what each of those means for my identity.

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