

實事求是還原歷史

致習近平主席的一封信

習近平主席：你好！

我是您家鄉陝西省西安市西北大學一位教師名叫張恆，工作致力於中國近現代史的抗日戰爭正面戰場歷史研究，研究方向是——陝軍抗戰歷史等。

今年是抗戰勝利七十周年，多年的抗戰歷史研究，使我對中國人民抗戰歷史和陝軍包括國民黨正面戰場抗戰歷史，有了比較清晰的瞭解。在工作中我發現我黨和政府對待國民黨抗日部隊的歷史認識，存在著偏頗，政府作為有失公允。我希望在抗戰勝利七十周年之際，黨和政府應梳理一下對國民黨抗戰歷史不要認識、作為，它關係到黨和政府的形象、公信力和執政影響，甚至關係到後續台海統一大業進程。我現在給您談一點民眾反響和我的一些感受。

1、實事求是與主旋律的問題——

在抗戰歷史問題上宣傳，“實事求是”是執政黨的行為準則。然而，當前對待七十年前的全民族抗戰，以往在宣傳上強調我黨在抗戰中的主導，以突出共產黨主導來走抗戰宣傳調子，其實這是不符合歷史事實的。老百姓心知肚明，八年抗戰是如何打的？國民黨330萬官兵的為國戰死沙場數位，已經給了明確的答案。歷史是無法複製，也不可能因為“裝飾打扮”而改變，歷史就是歷史，它不可能因偏頗的宣傳而成為歷史。抗日戰爭宣傳以弘揚“主旋律”，也必須事實求實尊重歷史。當年的真實的抗戰，正面戰場是主要的戰場，包括敵後戰場，也主要是在國民政府領導下的進行的。《第十八集團軍》、《八路軍、敵後遊擊戰》，只能說是在國民政府領導下全民抗戰的一個小小縮影，不能過度宣揚、拔高八路軍抗戰。突出敵後戰場諸如：“地雷戰”、“地道戰”、及類似子虛烏有的“小兵張嘎”類的抗戰文學歷史的宣傳，它並不能說服廣大公眾。作為國家武裝力量體現的國民革命軍有很多抗戰戰役、戰鬥，波瀾壯闊，可歌可泣（包括軍統的敵後抗戰歷史）至今仍為廣大民眾所口碑傳頌！目前中國的抗戰歷史是一部不完整的中國抗日戰場歷史，有必要重新修改、撰寫。要搶救、宣傳真實的中國軍民抗日戰爭歷史。要做到這一點首先要挑戰對國民黨抗戰歷史漠視及傳統意識上的思維模式，突破“主旋律”的“紅線”，糾正在意識形態上的偏頗

作為，為子孫後代留下真實的民族抗戰歷史，以彰顯執政黨的求真、包容的風度。

例如：您父親習仲勳前輩，當年所在的陝西警備旅部隊（後屬第四集團軍陝軍序列），該部在1939年6月6日山西中條山保衛戰的六、六戰役中，陝軍（陝西籍國民黨軍隊）在山西中條山被日軍包圍在黃河北岸，3000壯士彈盡援絕，寧死不降，跳黃河殉國，就應當大力宣傳。但由於“主旋律”的要求，當地政府不能宣傳。據此，山西省把它改編成穿著八路軍服裝“敢死隊”跳入黃河的電影《咆哮無聲》，才使得獲得播出權，雖滿足了“主旋律”要求，而歷史被完全顛倒，您作為陝西人不知有何感想……？

又如：每年的“南京大屠殺紀念日”，不應僅僅憑弔的是被日軍殘暴屠殺的南京市民，還應該紀念在“南京保衛戰”犧牲的國民黨抗日官兵。應將《南京保衛戰》抗戰真實戰況公佈於世。我認為，弘揚主旋律，不能誤導、回避、切割歷史，黨和國家要對民族記憶負責，否則就是對民族歷史傳承的犯罪。由於大眾媒體的“長期封鎖”公眾到目前並不為所知曉很多真實的正面戰場抗戰戰史，抹殺共產黨抗戰不應該，過度拔高共產黨在抗戰的主導作用也是不正確唯物主義歷史觀，“揠苗助長”只能起到反作用。低調國民黨抗戰歷史，淡化國民黨正面戰場抗戰歷史功績和作用，是違背黨的事實求是的原則的。

實踐中為了突出“主旋律”，抗戰宣傳一般要“剔除”國民黨抗戰主題，否則notpass（不能通過）審查。面對國民黨很多抗戰戰史，大眾傳播媒介一般都不敢報導，因為各地傳宣傳主管上級、主管領導，是不會同意刊播的。因此，真實的民族抗戰歷史被割裂、淡化，國民黨在抗戰功績、正面戰場戰史被“邊緣化”甚至消失。所有素材必須服從以“主旋律”的需要，抗戰歷史宣傳被政治“紅線”“扭曲”“鎖定”，宣傳上有一點“文革的強制政治色彩”之感。

由於長期的向左看的“政治慣性”，各級政府的抗戰紀念活動均以“主旋律”定調，甚至有國民黨內容色彩的抗戰紀念活動，統戰部門、政府部門官方，一般不願意出席。參加活動也是退了休或者以個人身份自發參加的公職人員，而在職政府的官員和領導一般不敢出席。社會對國民黨抗戰歷史宣傳是“斗膽打擦邊球”或“戴著鐐銬在跳舞”。民眾真實的愛國舉動被

“主旋律”遮罩、束縛，這是極為不正常的歷史觀心態，是對實現祖國統一大業，是對民族復興，極為不利的政府作為。它是對中國近現代歷史、中華民族抗爭歷史繼承的蔑視和不尊重，使子孫後代缺少了的愛國主義精神食量 and 傳統教育的素材。

習主席我讚賞您2014年在盧溝橋抗戰紀念活動中，您帶領國共兩位抗戰老兵，在盧溝橋畔為中國人民抗日紀念館“獨立自由勳章”雕塑揭幕的舉動。您用行動向國人告知，抗戰是全民族的偉大勝利。希望您在今年抗戰勝利七十周年到來之際，要求各執政級黨和政府組織，實事求是的看待國民黨抗戰歷史，“解脫枷鎖”，順應民意，尊重歷史事實，大膽面對真實抗戰歷史。

2、民政部問題——

公正對待國民黨抗戰歷史，民政部態度是我黨是否實事求是取信於民的視窗和風向標。就民政部而言，當前抗日戰爭中犧牲的國民黨人士追授烈士榮譽，仍然沿用1951年解放初期《原內務部一九五一年四月二十九日內優字第69號檔規定》、1980年6月4日國務院發佈《革命烈士褒揚條例》和《民政部(1983)優46號關於對辛亥革命、北伐戰爭、抗日戰爭中犧牲的國民黨和其他愛國人士追認為革命烈士問題的通知》。這些檔且不說時間久遠，最早的達六十餘年仍然在使用。尤其是1980年國務院發佈《革命烈士褒揚條例》中根本就未提及承認國民黨在抗日犧牲官兵為革命烈士。即使最近民政部民(1983)優46號的一紙“通知”，也達三十多年沒有與時俱進，且民政部(1983)優46號的通知還附加提出要求：“國民黨抗日追授烈士問題不宜進行全面清理，內部掌握，對外不作宣傳”在操作細則上還限定必須是直系親屬提出（侄、孫兒輩無權提出申烈），實踐中大多民政部還百般推諉責難，完全沒有顧忌100多年前辛亥革命時期的烈士直系親屬基本已經“作古”，且廣大抗戰犧牲的國民黨官兵大多抗戰前並沒有結婚生子，沒有後代事實。以陝西為例：當年在大半個國土淪陷，陝西是抗戰兵源最大的出處地之一，在您習主席的老家陝西渭南、富平、蒲城，就有很多抗戰時犧牲的國民黨官兵任、孫輩，為先輩申烈、追烈被當地民政部門拒之門外。烈士家嗣後代們怨聲載道，極為不平！烈士後代他們沒有向國家提出民政撫恤，只希望親人為國捐軀，政府有個榮譽認可就滿足了啊！難道一旦發生衛國戰爭，

3、統戰、宣傳部門的工作問題——

統戰部門的相關組織工作僅僅停留在聯誼、書畫展覽、座談會、茶話會，遊擊戰、地雷戰的回顧層面，從不涉抗戰中大的“會戰”、“戰役”歷史事實，使國民黨抗戰歷史整理、搶救，缺口欠帳很大。北京《中國抗日戰爭紀念館》內，就沒有當年中國空軍、海軍、抗戰歷史資料，國家投資的抗戰內容場館，也鮮有對國民黨抗戰歷史的宣傳。近年創辦的國民黨抗戰歷史紀念地都是民間、海內外民眾自發集資創辦的。基層政府的專業機構，甚至不知道抗戰時期當地很多著



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推進中美相互瞭解合作 促成海峽兩岸和平統一 倡導和諧平等多元世界

只有先結婚生子人，才敢戰死疆場嗎？不難看出，民政部對國民黨抗戰烈士的政策早已過時效，且政策沒有與時俱進，已不具備可操作性。雖然全國人大、政協代表幾屆都聯名提出設立《革命烈士權益保障法》議案、提案多年，民政部始終沒有舉動。前年民政部頒發了民發2013年198號《民政部關於進一步做好國民黨抗戰老兵救助和國民黨抗戰犧牲人員墓地及紀念設施保護管理工作的通知》下發後各級民政部門大多至今無所作為，且上一級又要求各地民政在實施時，限定對國民黨抗戰老兵的困難補助標準，要低於八路軍抗戰老兵的標準，為什麼抗戰是全民族抗戰，今天卻要厚此薄彼區別對待？為什麼不能給為民族自由獨立犧牲的國民黨抗戰烈士一個國家榮譽和名份？民政部門分明是用歧視的意識形態狹隘思維在施政，最起碼對國民黨抗戰老兵關懷，沒有一視同仁，它反映出黨和政府沒有依法治國，偏執執政根深蒂固。多年來，在大陸的國民黨老兵飽受極左歧視多年，而我們的政府至今還要橫加障礙，難道為民族獨立抗戰國民黨烈士、老兵不能得到國家的尊重嗎？國民黨抗老兵出生入死抗日，還不能獲得一枚國家頒發抗戰榮譽的紀念證書嗎？難道為國家自由獨立而戰死沙場民族烈士的生命，換不來一紙國家的榮譽褒獎證書嗎……？民族歷史記憶拋棄、國家政府的良心何在……？

3、統戰、宣傳部門的工作問題——

統戰部門的相關組織工作僅僅停留在聯誼、書畫展覽、座談會、茶話會，遊擊戰、地雷戰的回顧層面，從不涉抗戰中大的“會戰”、“戰役”歷史事實，使國民黨抗戰歷史整理、搶救，缺口欠帳很大。北京《中國抗日戰爭紀念館》內，就沒有當年中國空軍、海軍、抗戰歷史資料，國家投資的抗戰內容場館，也鮮有對國民黨抗戰歷史的宣傳。近年創辦的國民黨抗戰歷史紀念地都是民間、海內外民眾自發集資創辦的。基層政府的專業機構，甚至不知道抗戰時期當地很多著

名對日作戰正面戰場的戰史和戰役名稱。如：狼崖山五壯士的故事盡人皆知，而陝軍在中條山3000人跳黃河殉國，卻不為人曉……這些都無疑都是政治偏頗的結果。閹割歷史，以政治選擇性使用歷史，都是對中國人民抗爭歷史傳承的不尊重，是一種對民族歷史的犯罪，這是十分令人痛心的事情……

正是由於對國民黨抗戰歷史的不公正對待，使得近幾年民間自發的對“國民黨抗戰老兵關愛組織”形成，這種民間自發組織，各地區、縣都極為普及，已經形成相當大的聲勢，民眾已經走到政府前面，他們用無聲的行動對意識形態不公，發出了吶喊！他們高呼“國民黨抗戰歷史也是中國人用鮮血寫成的歷史，不是寫在紙上的謊言……！”用他們的愛國、善意的行動砥礪著政府的漠視，只有實事求是尊重、仰視歷史，中華民族才能從根本上受到世人的尊重！

習近平主席，我希望我們黨、政府及職能部門在抗戰勝利七十周年之際起，要切實做到對兩黨抗戰歷史“實事求是”，以行動取信於民，讓那些為數不多的國民黨抗戰英雄垂暮之年得到一份遲來的尊重！黨要公正對待國民黨的抗戰歷史，修正目前在意識形態上極左做法，取信於民，使我們黨成為偉大光榮正確的領導核心。

以上僅僅是我工作中一些體會和意見，有不妥之處請指正！

西北大學教師張恆上

編者按：
今年是抗戰勝利七十週年，大家要好好回顧一下中國的抗戰史。

中國抗戰從蘆溝橋正式宣戰到南京接受日本投降，都是由國民黨政府主導，共產黨在抗戰中雖然貢獻很大，但頂多只能說是協調輔助的功勞。隨著中共在內戰的全面勝利，中共為了配合其政治上的主旋律，而不惜在抗戰史上動了些“長共產黨志氣，滅國民黨威風”的手腳，這是很遺憾的事。

如今，一位是共產黨員又是歷史學家的張恆教授，在此呼籲習近平主席實事求是，還原歷史，是值得我們海外廣大華人們的響應！

To Apologize or Not To Apologize

Mainstream and Organic Dr. Wordman

If the title question was confronting a public figure, it would generally mean that the person had done a serious misconduct which could have an impact to the society or raised an ethical or moral concern in the public. There are plenty of examples in the news media confronting the title question to celebrities in sports and entertainment arena simply because many of them commit scandals or misdeeds. Yakee's slugger A-Rod (Alex Rodriguez) for taking steroid, NFL Ray Rice for hitting his wife right in the face, Bill Crosby for his sexual misconduct and Jimmy Kimmel of ABC for his racial hate words against the Chinese are recent 'public apology' examples coming to mind. When a national political leader was confronted with such a question, it usually would be more serious. It could be the end of a personal political career or a severe damage to the national interest. The handling of such a question usually would be an agonizing and complicated process than simply making an apologetic or denial statement.

For example, when President Clinton was involved in a sex scandal with a White House intern Ms Lewinsky, the matter nearly cost his presidency but he did say that he was sorry and admitted the occurrence of the affair in many different ways during the investigation. He did survive this moral misconduct, nevertheless. In contrast, Ms Lewinsky suffered more than twenty years of public humiliation. Only recently, was she able to face the public putting her 'love affair' behind her. Her recent public speech on TED was honest, sincere and convincing that she was finally able to have her life back. A quarter century before Clinton's scandal, President Nixon lost his presidency for the Watergate debacle - breaking into the Democratic Party national committee's headquarters in the Watergate complex by the Republican operatives. When Nixon resigned, he did not admit guilt, instead he admitted that some of his judgments were wrong and he lost the support of the Congress, hence, the ability to lead the nation. Ironically, in today's atmosphere, the US President seems to be able to lead the nation despite of losing the support of the Congress. To apologize or not to apologize eventually will dictate the end result of a public figure's fate. In general, it takes courage to admit wrong doing and apologize to the public, but the public seems to be more forgiving to those who made a sincere apology. The New York Governor Elliot Spitzer who apologized and resigned from office for his involvement with 'call girls' and then divorced from his wife of 26 years, is working hard to come back to public office, a case with the jury still being out. On the other hand, the former South Carolina

Governor, Mark Sanford, was elected as a Congressman in a Republican district despite of an exposed extra-marital affair - He was visiting his Argentina mistress on a trip paid by the tax payers. The sex scandal did cost him about 13% votes but it was not enough to tip the election to the Democrat. Interestingly, the 13% figure was claimed, in a study on the Senate elections by Nicholas Chad Long of St. Edward University, as the average impact on votes by sex scandals.

In today's column, I really want to address the title question to Mr. Abe Shinzo, the current Prime Minister of Japan, about the issue whether he will or will not apologize for Japan's atrocious war crimes committed during WW II, in this special year, the 70th Anniversary of the Ending of WW II. This question is far more important to Abe than the above personalities involved with personal scandals which only affect personal fate. To apologize or not to apologize for Japan's past war crime may cost Abe's Prime Minister position, but far more importantly, it may influence the future of Japan in terms of her relationship with all Asian countries, including, China, Korea, Indonesia, Malaysia, Philippines, Singapore, Vietnam, etc. These bilateral relations will affect Japan's future economy and the welfare of the Japanese people. Furthermore, the title question can really reveal whether Japan is dead serious in pursuing a revisionist policy to revise her history (and constitution) and revive her Imperial mentality which had driven her to aggression resulting in the occurrence of WW II. To apologize for the WW II crime committed by the past Japanese leaders such as Emperor Hirohito and Prime Minister Hideki Tojo should not be as difficult as they themselves apologizing to the world. Tojo was executed for his crime and Hirohito was spared a trial and dead now. Throughout the history from 1950's to 2013, there were many Japanese Prime Ministers, Foreign Ministers and Chief Cabinet Secretaries who did make statements to 'apologize' with various degrees of remorse or regret. This matter could have been laid to rest forever if the apologies were more sincere and no one especially any later Japanese leader would try to rephrase or renege the apologies. The very fact that there were so many versions of 'apology' diminishes any sincerity behind an apology; each new statement seems to open the war scab to cause pain to the victims including Asians and Americans. This 'apology' matter was raised to

the public's attention again this year, in fact, to worldwide attention, by no other person but Abe Shinzo himself.

There is nothing wrong to be a conservative LPP (Liberal Democratic Party) member striving to lead Japan out of economic stagnation and depression, but there is definitely something wrong in Abe's actions and behavior leading Japan into militarism, expansionism and revisionism by revising constitution, building up attack forces and engaging multiple military treaties. These are not slogans against Abe Shinzo but actually serious warnings to the Japanese people who prospered under their Pacifist constitution over the past seven decades. The world (particularly the Americans, Asians and Japanese) should ask, why was Abe Shinzo worshipping at the Yasukuni Shrine where the war criminals memorials were placed? What was Abe's motive, knowing that this was a sensitive issue to the Asian nations victimized by the Japanese Imperial Army and knowing that the controversy had been ignited by previous Prime Ministers when they visited Yasukuni even in a non-official capacity? What was Abe's motive when he denied the comfort women issue and referred Japanese war crimes such as the Nanking Massacre as a historian's concern? Doesn't a Prime Minister need to understand and accept history rather than casting history away as an academic issue? Why is it so difficult for Abe Shinzo to admit the crimes committed by Tojo who had been convicted by the post-war tribunal war court? Why was Abe Shinzo permitting his government to revise Japanese textbooks on subject of the facts about WW II, even letting Japanese officials to request McGraw Hill to revise their history books published in the U.S.? Should Abe Shinzo be surprised that this year, the 70th Anniversary of the Ending of WW II, had become a major memorial event worldwide, from Russia to America and across the entire Asia?!

To Apologize or Not To Apologize about WW II, should be a very simple question to Abe Shinzo and to all Japanese people who really want peace and a clear conscience. The German governments apologized for WW II and the atrocities caused by the German Nazi. Why wouldn't or couldn't Japan make a clear apology once for all? Why would Abe want any Japanese to live in denial and wonder why the world is not forgiving Japan? Bragging Japan's contribution to post-war world economy is not a substitute for an honest and sincere apology to the world on Japan's WW II war crimes! Bataan Death March, Nanking Massacre, Comfort Women, 731unit's human experimentation, etc, etc. will never be forgotten so long Japan denies them and refuses to assume responsibility for them. This sentiment is easy to understand by thinking of an analogy: A murder case will not get a closure (legally and morally) so long the killer is at large denying the killing. When Abe is coming to Washington prior to the 70th Anniversary of the Ending of WW II to address the US Congress, whether his remarks containing a sincere apology or not will cast Japan's future in a very different light!