Trauma and Cinema

Cross-Cultural Explorations

Edited by

E. Ann Kaplan and **Ban Wang**

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— Britta Erickson, *The Art of Xu Bing*

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Introduction
From Traumatic Paralysis to the Force Field of Modernity

E. Ann Kaplan and Ban Wang

Agency in History

The fundamental event of the modern age, Martin Heidegger declares, is "the conquest of the world as picture." This description has been borne out again and again by the much talked-about theory of the decline of history and politics in the global display of simulacra. Rescuing a bit of historical lesson from *Forrest Gump*, Vivian Sobchack tells us in a volume devoted to the trauma of the modern event, that this jocular film nevertheless shows that even an historically absentminded, dimwitted person can be "in history, make history." This is due to the fact that "shit happens" all the time, that falling out of the previous rational appointment and narrative, each individual is to make up his or her own piece of history by some self-responsible, self-serving act. Digitally inserting the dramatic hero into documentary footage featuring real historical figures, the film affirms the postmodern capacity of digital and visual media in manipulating and playing tricks on history. Sobchack would like us to think favorably of a widely dispersed populist readiness for history, which may be derived from, as well as serve as an antidote to, the digitally mastered, commercially oriented, widely circulated Disney images of history. The principle of mainstream media representation,

however, turns varied and rugged historical trajectories into spectacle. It is summed up by the motto of the History Channel of US television that advertises one-stop shopping: "All of History. All in One Place." Is this readiness a flight from history or an engagement with it?[1]

The "readiness" for fragmented and digitized histories implies a wish for a randomly acquired capacity on the part of the individual to shape history to his or her liking, as if the ruse of history could ultimately work, in *deus ex machina* fashion, toward numerous rationally reinvented, atomistic narratives and self-understanding, after myriads of chaos and irrationality in the condition of postmodernity. The character Forrest Gump in this account would seem an agent of history, however tossed around he is by external forces, with a diminished but still valuable ability to master his fate and do some deconstructive academic work on the side. But the question arises as to whether this "agent" of history may be able to exercise agency when the ubiquitous and far-reaching operation of the digital media, driven by transnational cultural industry, capital, and the ideological apparatus of the state, is fashioning history in the image of capital and turning it more and more into a picture to look at in a moment of mindless distraction.

If the fragmentation of rationally conceived history corresponds to the breakdown of the sovereign consciousness we have inherited from the Enlightenment, there is a striking contradiction: in the alleged decline of history, no transcendent being or consciousness can be invoked to survey diverse geographies in a single glance and propel different temporalities in a single direction. Everyone seems obliged to look at the mirror of his or her own making. In the most venerable humanistic notion of history represented by Giambattista Vico, history is a mirror of collective self-design, self-fashioning, and self-understanding, and in this sense the imaginary mirror is more than a fitting metaphor. The fashioning of self-image corresponds to the making of history.[2] Now, the "pre-modern" self-regarding, self-affirming mirrors that projected lengthened shadows of humanity were shattered with the advent of modernity, a shattering that has been viewed as the fundamental trauma for at least the modern industrial West since the Enlightenment.

Freud is probably the first writer to have brought into focus this dual breakdown of humanity's centering in history and consciousness.

In an introductory lecture, Freud spoke of three destructive traumas that had inflicted human self-love and rational knowledge. The first is the discovery that the earth, the homeland of humans, is but "a tiny fragment of a cosmic system of scarcely imaginable vastness," a humiliating blow associated with the name of Copernicus. The second is the devastating knowledge that God-like and God-creating humans are but descendents from the monkeys. The third blow c`ue from the revelation of psychoanalysis, namely that the ego is not the "master of its own house," but must content itself with whatever little it can glimpse from the depths of itself.[3]

In retrospect and especially after the disasters of September 11, 2001, the trauma of modernity has gone from push to shove. It simply boggles the mind or risks banalization to run down the list of all the major traumas of the modern world — all of which came in the wake of the three fundamental traumas associated with the loss of the absolute in the experience of modernity. While the twentieth century witnessed a climax of all the traumatic blows within the frame that Freud spoke of, the new millennium has run headlong into unthinkable catastrophes and forebodes more to come.

Freud's description of three traumas can be further extended to refer to the self-dismantling forces of modernity in the rapid generation of science, technology, economic expansion, in the colonization of the world driven by imperial centers, and in the tendency of the global mass media to turn history into simulacra. Much has been written on the links of altered visuality through technology and modernity.[4] Much has also been written on traumas of various modern events.[5] But the links between trauma, visual media, and modernity are not clear, or not clear enough in a global, multicultural context. It is therefore the purpose of this volume to enquire into the multiple connections and problems in this entangled matrix of modernity, trauma and transnational visual media.

From Traumatic Paralysis to Historical Force Field

The focus of our volume on the matrix of trauma, visual media and modernity seeks to engage and go beyond current tendencies in trauma studies. Academic studies and popular opinion tend to focus

on the traumatic event, its impact and the horrifying symptoms of the victim. This is especially the case in the many observations on the traumas of September 11. This isolation of a self-contained event and its trauma ignores the larger issues of systemic proportions and forces at work over a long stretch of history. There is much asking of what happened and how, but too few probes into why. The lack of historical perspective seems to underlie a major tendency that has varied manifestations in the academic study of trauma. This is the fixation on trauma as the ultimate limit of representation. Most influential among literary and film scholars, the work of Cathy Caruth and her colleagues exhibits a very sophisticated analysis of the inner workings of trauma. Their predominant view is that "massive trauma precludes all representation because the ordinary mechanisms of consciousness and memory are temporally destroyed."[6] It insists on a "literal registration of the traumatic event" or encounter that is inaccessible to understanding and imagery. Obsessed with nightmares and the literal truth of the traumatic impact, this view valorizes a whole series of features in the traumatic experience: the unthinkable, lack of witnessing, numbing, the unrepresentable, the absence of narrative, and failures in language. Quoting Dori Laub, Caruth proclaims that in traumatic experience history takes place "with no witness." It is little surprise that this deconstructive approach has had a wide appeal for humanists and literary scholars ready to detect the material impasses in representation and to make use of deconstructive possibilities — the breakdowns of language and representation.[7]

This focus on the irredeemable breakdown in the psyche, representation, and language can be traced back to the dissociation model advanced by Freud. One aspect of Freud's theory of trauma stresses the split in the psyche's symbolic function without considering the configuration of historical conditions. The dissociation model obviously provides justification for the biological and neurological approaches that represent the positivistic, scientific tendency in trauma research. Shoshana Felman and Dori Laub's 1992 co-edited volume, *Testimony*, discusses different traumatic events but stresses the paralyzed state of disconnection in the victim, one remarkable symptom being the loss of language. Cathy Caruth's edited volume, following her *Unclaimed Experience*, also privileges the

dissociated type of trauma. Caruth describes trauma as a response, sometimes delayed, to an overwhelming event or set of events, which takes the form of repeated, intrusive hallucinations, dreams, thoughts or behaviors. "The pathology," she notes, "consists solely in the structure of the experience or reception: the event is not assimilated or experienced fully at the time, but only belatedly in its repeated possession of the one who experiences it. To be traumatized is precisely to be possessed by an image or event."[8] Van der Kolk and Van der Hart give a vivid description of the dissociated definition of trauma in the volume. Working with neuroscientists, they show brain mechanisms that support the thesis of trauma-induced, dissociated selves. In their notion of trauma as a special form of memory, the traumatic experience has affect only, not meaning. It produces emotions — terror, fear, shock, and above all disruption of the normal feeling of comfort. Only the sensation sector of the brain is active during trauma. The meaning-making faculty — rational thought and cognitive processing, namely, the cerebral cortex — remains shut down because the affect is too much to be registered cognitively in the brain. Since the experience has not been given meaning, the subject is continually haunted by it in dreams, flashbacks and hallucinations.[9]

In this theory, then, trauma is a debilitating kind of memory. It is engraved on the body, precisely because the original experience was too overwhelming to be processed by the mind. To be repressed, a memory would have to be cognitively processed, and then forgotten. Thus trauma is viewed as a special form of bodily memory. The memory tries to find a way into consciousness, but ends up only leaking its disturbing and ambivalent traces in the typical traumatic symptoms of flashbacks, hallucinations, phobias, and nightmares.

This paradigm had much appeal to humanists in the 1990s. By retreating into a focus on the impasse of the psyche and on the paralysis of the subject, this approach reveals itself as a symptom of withdrawal from the social field and is at risk of ignoring the possibilities of working through and historical change. Dominick LaCapra challenges this notion of psychic paralysis by examining the distinction between acting out and working through. The contributors of this volume stage a similar critique. Acting out is a melancholy possession of the subject by the repressed past, on the model of the

dissociated self. Dialectically, working through is an attempt of breakout, not by completely freeing oneself from the trauma, but in facilitating the subject's freedom by offering "a measure of critical purchase on problems and responsible control in action which would permit desirable change."[10] LaCapra speaks of the fixation on the paralysis of trauma as stemming from a narrowly therapeutic framework. This focus, as exemplified by Lacan and Žižek, takes account of a delusional, immolating ego besieged by fantasies of dismemberment. "The Symbolic itself often seems to be sucked into the vortex of the Imaginary and the Real insofar as agency is evacuated and misrecognition or self-deluded speech becomes the uncontrollable force radically destabilizing, if not obliterating, the distinctions among the three 'orders.'" In this symbolic paralysis, which is also a psychic breakdown, it is difficult, warns LaCapra, to find "a place for critical, responsible agency within a noninvidious normative framework."[11]

Although dissociation is the more obvious model in his writings, Freud oscillated between an internal and an external approach. This oscillation has implications for our understanding of trauma and socio-historical forces of modernity. Across the range of his work, Freud alternates between seeing trauma as the result of an external event, such as a train accident, war, or family abuse, leading to dissociation; and treating trauma as caused by an internal assault on the ego, stemming from the Oedipal crisis (including fantasies of sex with parents or relatives, and narcissistic impulses); or from internalized loss of a loved one, as in melancholia, and so on. If the first kind of trauma results in the dissociated self, the latter comes closer to the phenomena of psychic conflict that characterizes neuroses. Freud adopted the dissociated view in his early studies on hypnosis with Breuer, before he understood the talking cure. He picked it up again in *Beyond the Pleasure Principle* in the 1920s in trying to understand the belated response to the famous train accident (the injured man left the train wreck apparently unharmed, only to have psychic symptoms, such as nightmares, emerge unheralded later on). In the same volume, however, Freud developed the concept of infantile trauma — something more or less inevitable within at least Western culture's nuclear family. Infantile trauma involved both the child's terrified reaction to the absence of the mother, and the Oedipal conflict that came later. It is in *Beyond the Pleasure Principle* that

Freud develops his notion of how the child deals with loss in his discussion of the *fort-da* game as a way the child tries to re-establish control. At this point, Freud does not link what happens in the accident to an earlier traumatic absence of the mother.[12]

Significantly, it is in his reflections on war neuroses that Freud began to question the difference between an external and an internal assault on the ego. He showed that the difference in soldiers' reactions to similar war traumas might depend on how far the war situation triggered prior internal conflicts. In war, such internal conflicts together with intense fear for one's life or that of close ones, threaten identity and hence the dizzy panic that ensues. But Freud's most significant, and most complete discussion of trauma occurs, not incidentally, at the end of his life, in *Moses and Monotheism*, when Freud was forced to leave his homeland and take up exile in England. It is not too much of a stretch to conclude that Freud's renewed interest in his prolonged concerns with Moses came at a time when he was personally experiencing the traumas of aging and serious illness, loss of homeland, and cross-cultural clash (extreme Nazi anti-Semitism).

Thus, at the end of *Moses and Monotheism*, Freud repeats his well-known theories about the etiology of the neuroses, only now in a way never quite articulated before he specifically includes the issue of trauma. He links what he calls infant traumata to the latency phenomenon. But not everyone responds in the same way to similar experiences, so Freud conceives of a sliding scale and slow series of developments that result in trauma symptoms. Dissociation is thus not a sort of cleavage that neuroscience theories infer: it rather involves a delay in attention to the event, and then a process of revision of memories linked with fantasy.[13] But most important for our effort to focus on cultural traumatic memory rather than on the individual, Freud likens the survivor of the train accident to the "forgetting" of monotheism. Like the latency of the man who walks away from the train accident apparently unharmed, only later to develop psychical and motor symptoms, the forgetting of monotheism occurred in the Jewish religion, only to have it return later as something insistent. Cultures too can split off what cannot be dealt with at a specific historical moment.

The shuffling between individual psychic trauma and historical

shocks (suggested by Freud) needs to be read as symptomatic of the modern process in which the individual is atomized, cut off from an active role and stripped of agency in history. The rational overhaul of the fundamental social structures in modern times turned men and women in capitalist society into self-centered monads pursuing their self-interest. The rise of the psyche as an object or thing in itself points to its distance from culture and the consciousness of others. As the narrowing space of the psyche became fragmented and deprived of human purpose and interaction, the common good of communities was surrendered to the hands of ideologues, demagogues, bureaucrats, and fanatic political forces. This split between individual psyche and culture, between private and public is very much with us today. The disassociation model in trauma studies reinforces this split and, with its insistence on the inaccessibility of trauma, shuts history out from the psyche. A more innovative approach is to re-insert history into the psyche, as Freud tried to do, so as to understand trauma as an historical and cultural phenomenon. This brings us to the inquiry into what we term "traumatic history" in the context of modernity.

To Represent or Not to Represent: That Is the Question

Fixation on trauma leads to profound doubts about the viability of historical writing and its vehicles: narrative and image. Narratives and images designed to represent traumas are viewed with suspicion, for they seem to have the seductive power to gloss over the horrendous fact and to distort the literal truth of trauma. As trauma implies a shattering of a culture's meaning-making scheme and representational modes, it is, as many critics insist, beyond the reach of representation.

Without denying the singularity and the unrepresentable character of trauma, it is necessary to see that such an emphasis may push trauma into the mystified circle of the occult, something untouchable and unreachable. The concept of trauma is considerably impoverished as a tool of critical historical analysis by being relegated to an exclusive, ineffable privacy on one hand, and to the mystery of fate on the other. It also becomes poorer when employed to enflame identity politics. It is true that some conventions of narrative and

imagery, with their sensationalized, clichéd emotional patterns often tend to dilute and "forget" the unutterable pain and horror of traumatic experience. But mainstream narrative or imagistic interpretations of trauma, however, merit more than a simplistic negative judgment.

It may be useful, here, to pause briefly to discuss the complexity of representation of trauma. For, even thinking only of cinema, there are many different kinds of film dealing with trauma, each of which performs differently and produces different effects. As essays in our volume show, scholars have discussed various films in connection with trauma, beginning most obviously with those about the Holocaust, but also war movies, horror film, female autobiography and independent women's cinema dealing with loss, abandonment and cross-cultural clash. But, while discussing a specific film, scholars do not usually isolate and define which films would constitute "trauma cinema," or, if they do so, they do not necessarily think about a film's impact on the viewer as this may be pertinent to its belonging or not under the rubric of "trauma film."[14] We are less interested in developing a new genre of trauma cinema than in addressing what is most important about, and defining of, trauma — namely, how it marks, not the cinema itself but the viewer. We suggest the following four main positions for viewers of trauma film, according to differing cinematic strategies.

First, the postion of being introduced to trauma through a film's themes and techniques, but where the film ends with a comforting "cure." Usually mainstream melodramas, such works posit trauma (against its reality) as a discrete past event, locatable, representable and curable (e.g. Hitchcock's *Spellbound* or *Marnie*). Melodrama, at least in its Hollywood variety, is a symptom of a culture's need to "forget" traumatic events while representing them in an oblique form. In trying to forget and dissolve, the form, in spite of itself, may reveal what it is that needs to be forgotten, thus betraying the remainders of trauma. The task for critics is how to read against the grain of manifest narratives and imagery for symptoms of deeper-lying, latent processes, not to dismiss them as sheer mindless sensationalism.

Second, the position of being vicariously traumatized (e.g. Cronenberg's *The Brood* or *The Fly*) — a potentially negative result, although at crucial moments able productively to "shock" audiences

(as in the case of some Holocaust films). The effect may be negative if the impact is so great that the viewer turns away, runs from the images, instead of learning through them. On the other hand, a degree of vicarious or secondary trauma may shock a viewer into wanting to know more and perhaps do something about what he/she has seen.

Third, the position of being a voyeur (routine TV news images of catastrophes such as airplane crashes, deaths of famous people, ethnic wars and starving people globally; or series like *Holocaust*); voyeurism is dangerous because it exploits the victims and secretly offers a sort of subversive pleasure in horror one would not want to encourage.

Finally, the position of being a witness, arguably the most politically useful position of the four (e.g. Resnais's *Night and Fog,* Duras/Resnais's *Hiroshima, mon amour*, Deren's *Meshes of an Afternoon* or Tracey Moffatt's *Night Cries*).[15] This position of "witness" may open up a space for transformation of the viewer through empathic identification without vicarious traumatization — an identification which allows the spectator to enter into the victim's experience through a work's narration. It is the unusual, anti-*narrative* process of the narration that is itself transformative in inviting the viewer to at once *be there emotionally* (and often powerfully moved), but also to keep a cognitive distance and awareness denied to the victim by the traumatic process. The victim in the narration bears witness to the catastrophe, but the viewer becomes the point of communication that, as Dori Laub and Robert Lifton both argue, reasserts continuity and humanity.[16] It is this triangular structure — i.e. the structure of the horror, the victim and the listener/viewer — that witnessing involves and which may promote inter-cultural compassion and understanding.

The objection to representation in the face of the unrepresentatable character of trauma has two legitimate concerns in the history of modernity. One is the aestheticization of politics, which is a fascist and authoritarian strategy by the modern state to stage its self-representation and collective identification by borrowing narratives, myths, techniques, and the mise-en-scène from the cinema and the culture industry. The traumatic experience of modern wars and the frenzy of collective mobilization are elevated into a spectacle for emulation and consumption. This leads to the customary view of the correlation between fascism and cinema.[17] Another concern is

the more recent phenomenon of aestheticization of trauma-ridden histories and cultures by the transnational culture industry and media. The tendency is to write them off as being exotic or as representing a regressive episode in universal history.[18] It is obvious that this aestheticization of the other does not simply render traumatic history into images, but in its obsession with violence and trauma, it flattens difference, history, memory, and the body into an abstract, pleasing mold. The distaste against the aestheticization of modern media conglomerates in the act of "thinning" down the "thick" traumas of heterogeneous histories is linked to the still operative divide between an aesthetics of stark understatement in documentary sobriety and Hollywood sensationalism; between modernism and postmodernism; high and low cultures; or in Elsaesser's shorthand, between *Shoah* and *Schindler's List*.[19]

These two legitimate concerns — aestheticization of history and trivializing media representations — emerge from worries about showing the supposed closure of meaning in the representation of trauma. While the obsession with the meaning-defying dimensions of trauma and *mise-en-abîme* may offer stark or provocative aesthetics, such an obsession risks becoming a closure in its own turn, a fetishized taboo sealing off a domain of non-meaning and nonsense. It closes down further discussion and exploration by pronouncing an early death sentence for representation.

As a cultural memory bearing witness to the structure of domination and violence, the traumatic experience may perform a critical, demystifying function against sensationalist or ideological closure. But such cultural memory is being subjected to relentless erasure by the transnational media driven by the logic of commodity and consumption. The transnational media, with their soap operas, talk shows, disaster stories, glamorous geography, and historical dramas, are erasing traumatic memories of oppression, violence, and injustice in both metropolitan centers and developing countries. The culture of consumption now finds in history a new toy, a fashionable consumer item. This intensifies the shrinking of historical consciousness by rendering past traumas into spectacles and thrills: a form of numbing through small doses of daily-ritualized violence.[20] Corporate-sponsored globalization is blurring the distinctive traditions and eroding native cultural heritages. One casualty is a critical

measure of historical consciousness that needs to be grounded in certain figurations of trauma. Fewer and fewer young people know much about the Holocaust, Hiroshima, the Rape of Nanking or the Chinese Cultural Revolution. The greater danger is the visual and aesthetic sanitation of traumatic traces rather than the attempt to engage traumatic histories by resorting to narrative and imagery, on which the theory of unrepresentatable trauma would shut the door.

It is a mistake to think that investment in the abysmal, unrepresentable quality of trauma is the only way to be fair to the traumatized and injured, or the proper way to remain open-ended and to defy metaphysical, sensationalist or ideological closure. This view privileges the epistemological quagmire provoked by trauma and ignores the practical question of why we need to remember historical trauma in a broader context, namely, modernity at large. It is equally misguided to look for a close fit in representation between an image and an imputed traumatic event. The crucial question, rather, is whether a culture is able to understand trauma as an episode in a longer chain of the structural mutations in modern systems that have accumulated a record of violence, suffering, and misery. It is overhasty to dismiss representation and narrative on grounds of inadequacy and failure. History has shown that intensely traumatic periods spawned more narratives and images, rather than less. For, as the essays in our volume demonstrate, these are necessary responses to traumatic events, not the attempt to record them mimetically. Narratives and images are indexes to the still unfolding traumas of a history — the history of modernity — that has become synonymous with trauma and shocks. To come to terms with traumatic memory, and more importantly, to make a critical use of it to shed light on the chronically trauma-producing social structures so as to forge the will to change them, it is necessary that a choice be made between inadequate telling and relegating of trauma to a mystified silence.[21]

As trauma consists in the unmaking of the world, the prohibition against representation blocks the way to the re-making of the world. While it shatters the culture's symbolic resources, trauma also points to the urgent necessity of reconfiguring and transforming the broken repertoire of meaning and expression. This involves imagining on an historical and social scale. Traumatic pain, as Elaine Scarry convincingly argues, is bound up with imaging. The "complete

absence of referential content" of pain also renders it resistant to, even destructive, of language or any pre-existing representational form. Imaging, on the other hand, is filled with objects. While the body in pain suffers the gap between the self and self-extension, and is thus passive and helpless, it also strains to enter into relation with the "objectifying power of the imagination: through that relation, pain will be transformed from a wholly passive and helpless occurrence into a self-modifying and, when most successful, self-eliminating one."[22]

Scarry's remark points to an attempt to close the gap between private trauma and the community's attempt to redress that trauma. To externalize the trauma is not a matter of representation, but a struggle by the wounded body to first imagine and then create a less traumatic, less painful environment. What appears to be personal imagination is social imaginary: for, as we suggested earlier, history is a process of humanity's self-fashioning, through creating institutions, languages, structures, and relations. Trauma is a product of history precisely because it is man-made and self-inflicted, and hence can be understood and altered by self-conscious human acts. These acts for making change, for working through traumas, are imaginary, because given the depleted and exhausted cultural resources, little but the imagination is readily available for the reinvention of new narratives, new social forms.

Hence the need to bestow a new form — narrative or image — upon the obscure traumatized state through imaging, as well as to read against the grain of forms like melodrama to discover traces of historical traumas. Although the pre-existing cultural resources fail to provide "fitting" objects or images for its representation and resolution, yet "beyond the expansive ground of ordinarily, naturally occurring objects is the narrow extra ground of imagined objects." The socio-historical imagination is the last resort, the last hope that is always there, "on an emergency stand-by basis" to provide the capacity for self-imaging and consequently for creating new sets of objects in the world.[23] The new sets of objects are reflected in the imaginary re-institution of society that re-asserts the non-traumatic relation between human action and the world, between individual and public life, between one nation and another.[24] The shattering of this desirable integrity is manifest in pain, oppression, depredation

and domination, where the body is thwarted by its environment. In the abyss of trauma, the imagination strains to re-endow the void with images that "correspond" to the inner, objectless, invisible state. The imagination's work is:

> . . . [the name] given to the phenomena of pain and the imagination as they begin to move from being a self-contained loop within the body to becoming the equivalent loop now projected into the external world. It is through this movement out into the world that the extreme privacy of the occurrence (both pain and imagination are invisible to anyone outside the boundaries of the person's body) begins to be sharable, that sentience becomes social and thus acquires its distinctly human form.[25]

Scarry's argument suggests that trauma is not something that representation falls short of, not the absolute undoing of the symbolic. On the contrary, trauma intensifies the urgency of re-symbolization and reveals the bankruptcy of the prior symbolization. Trauma may provide opportunities to tap into a driving force that enables new symbolic expressions.

Cultural reproductions of trauma in the United States, Asia, Africa and many other parts of the world suggest that it is in the retelling and especially in visual representation, that traces of trauma can be preserved and transmitted, however unsatisfactory or even "improper" that representation may be. The trauma-ridden legend about Vietnam has established its own reality, however fanciful, alongside the more "truthful," or less dramatic account.[26] Similarly in the case of China, the revolutionary cinema in the fifties and sixties of the twentieth century offered the traumatic plotlines of the sufferings and oppressions of the Chinese before the founding of the People's Republic. The revolutionary-historical film was chiefly responsible for fleshing out the historical experience of modern China. Its images and scenarios nurtured collective memory and "hardened" into the "history" of the Chinese Revolution. Although frequently in an heroic mode aimed at redeeming a track record of bloodstains, the ideological narrative could not completely sanitize and write off the undercurrent of traumatic experiences. The films dealing with the War of Resistance against the Japanese invasion or the Opium

War are good illustrations. These works have produced and transmitted more than any other medium the traumatic experience of foreign aggression and the misery of the Chinese. Sponsored by Communist ideology, the trauma was invoked to help remember the wounds and stir up patriotic passion. Yet to a mind less indoctrinated and more inclined to read against the grain, the films can offer an occasion to glimpse how traumatic traces of history seep or break through the triumphant, heroic narrative.

Trauma and History: Highlights of This Volume

The growing interest in trauma bears witness to the repeated blows manifest in the horrifying events in the modern world. The study of trauma may confront as well as and evade history. The history of trauma studies is, as Judith Herman puts it, one of "episodic amnesia" — periods of intense investigation alternating with periods of oblivion.[27] The ebb and flow of attention to trauma in America attest to the historical contexts from the Vietnam War, to the feminist movement, on to the postmodern critique of the Enlightenment and to the Holocaust, only to come to the fore in the aftermath of September 11. Trauma research has been important in its attempts to devise clinical cures and engage in theoretical discourse about the psychology of trauma.

It is our belief that the humanistic study of trauma needs to initiate a broader socio-historical understanding of the destructive forces of the modern world. As we have shown above, as a reaction-formation, trauma discourse (especially in the popular media) may degenerate into a signature for victimhood, or an unresolved melancholia mired in injured narcissism or national pride, a melodramatic scenario for self-aggrandizement, a paralysis of the mind and the body, and a failure in language, image, and narrative. The constant attempt to bracket and personalize the destructive forces of history within psychology, medicine, therapy, or popular aesthetic forms reveals even more sharply how irrevocably trauma is bound up with the vicissitudes and fundamental contradictions of modern history.

"The conflict between the will to deny horrible events and the will to proclaim them aloud is the central dialectic of psychological

trauma."[28] This comment by Judith Herman, we might add, also describes the dynamics of trauma within modern history, which has been an unending source of traumatic experience. If mainstream historical narrative is a story of engagement with shocks as well as a venue of flight from them, so is the history of trauma. Numerous writers, psychologists, and historians have pointed out the experience of modernity as traumatic. This truism reasserts that it is modern history, with its secular dethroning of the sacred and the absolute, its aggressive technology and military conflicts, its destructive ideological movements of fascism, totalitarianism, and other fundamentalisms, its expansive world markets, its imperialist conquest and colonization of indigenous peoples, its hubris in the conquest of nature, and its epidemic of homelessness and migration, that has shattered the ontological anchorage, the inherited ground of experience, and the intimate cultural networks of support and trust that humans hitherto relied on for a sense of security and meaningful life.

The interest in a singular event, such as the Holocaust, the Cultural Revolution, the Vietnam War or a horror story of genocide, seems to go with the periodization of trauma. Such short-term periodization is consonant with the truncated view of trauma as a clinical, psychic, and even neurological event, subject to positivist and scientific scrutiny. To understand trauma historically, however, we need to move beyond a short period, beyond the positivistic focus on the events and psychic mechanisms and move on to probe patterns of crisis and the dynamics of social change from a longer historical perspective. Thus our point of departure is to deploy modernity as the framework for configurations of trauma. Our aim is to theorize how cultures too may be traumatized, how traces of traumatic events leave their mark on cultures. Modernity was initially a Euro-American project but it ran into conflict with nonwestern peoples around the globe. The modern process has plunged different cultures and regions into painful, bloody paths of modernization, development and revolution, and forced them to search for alternatives to survive in the modern world. One aspect of modernity that opens up multinational and multiethnic traumatic experiences for investigation is the mass media. Thus the major purpose of this book is to bring together modernity, the traumatic histories of different cultures, and the working out of these experiences in cinema and other visual media.

In shifting from the psychic closet to trauma as a concept descriptive of cultural and historical processes, we seek to illuminate the two specific fundamental experiences of modernity that closely relate to traumas of the twentieth century: the catastrophic event as symptom of deep-lying contradictions of modernity, and the experience of modernity as living with shocks and suffering. From the trauma of industrial warfare to the Holocaust, from totalitarian atrocities to the annihilating speed of modernization that demolished traditional cultures, from imperialist invasion to colonial subjugation, the visual media have both represented catastrophic realities and been part of that reality. The visual media do not just mirror those experiences; in their courting and staging of violence they are themselves the breeding ground of trauma, as well as a matrix of understanding and experiencing of a world out of joint. The visual media have become a cultural institution in which the traumatic experience of modernity can be recognized, negotiated, and reconfigured.

This volume also addresses the experience of modernity in a more pronounced cross-cultural context of multinational and multiethnic encounters, and the way this experience is re-enacted and represented in the image production of nations caught in transnational media circuits. We explore how the mass media represent national and local histories and discuss how cinema, photography, and other digitally executed imagery deliver shocks and disorientation to traditional, primarily literary cultures. We argue that these forms participate in coping with traumatic encounters between underdeveloped nations and Western metropolises. We explore how indigenous media respond to the leveling effect of global culture and work to preserve traditional culture and assert national identity in the face of the accelerating process of globalization.

Most writers in this volume agree in their perception of trauma as the breakdown of symbolic resources, narrative, and imagery. But this does not bog them down in the doubting of possibilities of re-imagining and reconstruction. Rather it spurs them to seek and discover new ways to generate meaning in traumatic experience, to invent a language and narrative against the seeming abyss and darkness of trauma. The first group of essays address trauma in the condition of cross-cultural encounters, colonialism and

neocolonialism. Sarah L. Lincoln looks at the Truth and Reconciliation Commission in South Africa and assesses the ways the trauma of apartheid afflicted victims and perpetrators in different ways. Drawing on fragments of testimony, personal memory, and video production, she outlines the violence of the apartheid regime against the body and psyche of the victims, who were mutilated, silenced, and isolated from the community. On the other hand, she also analyzes the phenomenon of "false witnessing," a traumatic experience that plagues the perpetrators of barbarous crimes. The Truth and Reconciliation Commission serves as a witness stand for the silenced voice of the victims, as well as an occasion for the perpetrators to work through the burden of their guilt. Thus despite its complex ethical ambiguity, the Truth and Reconciliation Commission is seen as a positive social agency for reinventing, out of the unspeakable trauma, a new historical narrative, and for rebuilding a new community.

E. Ann Kaplan's essay also deals with results of traumatic racial conflict, only now in the context of Australia. Like Lincoln, she is interested in learning how postcolonial cultures can move from trauma to witnessing, mourning and reconciliation. She argues that trauma studies provides psychological tools for thinking about inter- and intra-cultural conflict involving white Australians and the Aborigines. Such tools aid in understanding how the traumatic past blocks contact, freezing both victims and perpetrators into locked positions. Careful not to collapse these two groups — power hierarchies always enable the perpetrators to retain their positions — Kaplan turns to independent and alternative film and photography to study what we can learn about useful models for transcultural exchange. Her four carefully selected and varied textual analyses show how creative productions provide one of the few means through which the oppressed and their oppressors can come to terms with, mourn, as well as repent and repair remaining psychic wounds and damages to the social body.

Moving to the troubled issue of Taiwan's identity in the shifting relations of geopolitics and global interdependence, Robert Chi sees *A City of Sadness* by the Taiwan director Hou Hsiao-hsien as demystifying the "logic of the treasured national wound that has been so prominent in modern Chinese history and elsewhere." Laying out

the film's concrete process of production and circulation, Chi delves into the intricate relation between photography and writing, speech and language, visuality and discourse. In the dialectic interplay between the written language of Chinese and various local dialects, between the visual and written, Chi opens up a critical space where each of these elements may change places and play the role of the other. This creates a vigilance that guards against a particularism based on trauma and against a universalism in tune with strident nationalism and global media circuits. In the process, the essay offers a heterogeneous picture of local identity tied to non-identity and in a volatile process of being made and remade.

The second set of essays deals with the familiar modern phenomena of war, terror, collective death, and catastrophe. Taking up the large historical events more generally dealt with in trauma studies, Joshua Hirsch and Janet Walker in their different ways look at the links between history and memory. Addressing documentaries about the Holocaust, Hirsch, like Kaplan, is interested in the issue of vicarious traumatization and the impact of trauma films on spectators, including a potentially pro-social one.[29] In the films he studies Hirsch sees the trauma discourse less as defined by content than by the attempt to discover a form for presenting that context which mimics some aspects of post-traumatic consciousness itself — to reproduce for the spectator an experience of once again seeing the unthinkable. Using the three concepts of tense, mood and voice, Hirsch analyzes four differing Holocaust documentaries to unravel their varying strategies and varying spectator impacts. He aims to argue for films that at least attempt to discover a form adequate to collective trauma, as is the case for Lanzmann's *Shoah*, the film his paper concludes with.

In her analysis of Spielberg's *Saving Private Ryan* and of independent documentaries, Janet Walker revisits many themes found in earlier papers in the volume, only now from the specific perspective of what she calls the vicissitudes of traumatic memory. While she returns us to the relationship between memory and history, Walker focuses more on psychoanalytic notions of the intermingling of memory with fantasy. She argues that the appeal of *Saving Private Ryan* is the operation of traumatic historical memory in life and film, so that veterans watching the film re-experience their actions but may

fill the past with deeds not in fact performed. Reviewing briefly the so-called fraught memory wars, Walker claims that we must find a way to bear memory's vicissitudes. Mistaken memories also testify, albeit in a different voice. Through her analysis of two documentaries, Walker contends that the most politically effective films are those that figure the traumatic past as meaningful and yet as fragmentary, and striated with fantasy constructions.

Adam Lowenstein echoes earlier comments in this introduction about the need for a discussion that attempts, in his words, "to imagine and interpret representations in ways that might answer to the cultural and historical complexity of traumatic events." He argues that Walter Benjamin's concept of the "Jetztzeit" — a risky collision between past and present, an allegorical moment — best offers the possibility for "blasting open the continuum of history." Using Shindo Kaneto's *Onibaba* as his case study, Lowenstein shows how the film represents Hiroshima in such a way that the customary critical binary between "realist" and "allegorical" treatments of the atomic bomb in Japanese cinema is completely recast. Shindo's film interrogates how the discourses about Hiroshima and the Second World War constructed a Japanese national consensus and an identity called "Japan." The film also challenges in its technical modalities as well as historical content the binary between "art" film and popular horror film that emerges from tensions between desires for a "national cinema" and for "national identity."

The third part of this volume deals with the narrative reconstruction of meaning in traumatic memory and history. All of the essays seek to find a new narrative that does not forget trauma but carries its traces forward. Andrew Slade's essay aligns the classical motif of the sublime with twentieth century traumas as exemplified in Marguerite Duras's work. The sublime does not simply threaten the body and psyche with total terror and collapse. Death, as intimated by the sublime, is actually the flip side of life — a will to life. Slade sees the classical aesthetics of the sublime as a way to reconstruct a life-sustaining narrative and to re-imagine a working through that masters traumatic repetitions of paralysis. Slade contends that the sublime "is one way in which the collapse of the symbolic world which gives meaning and significance to human lives, may begin again to gain some critical hold over catastrophic events of

death." The sublime re-activates, in the collapse of the symbolic matrix, a different survival kit that remains to continue the meaning of human life, so that the victims may again gain some force over the catastrophic events of death.

Zhaohui Xiong's analysis of Zhang Yimou's film *To Live* (1994) takes issue with the misconception of the ordinary Chinese as passive sufferers of political violence. The film underscores a hard-won philosophy of survival, a life-affirming world-view that elevates rather than degrades the common people on whom historical catastrophes fall in a seasonal cycle. While Zhang Yimou's film displays the destructive effect of history that fragments and disrupts a smooth narrative, in Xiong's analysis it also struggles against this traumatic history by sticking to a more fundamental, down-to-earth truth of living, as an elementary daily fight against history as the field of death.

Petra Kuppers approaches her topic within very similar theoretical frameworks as authors in the rest of the volume but addresses a more unusual kind of trauma. Like others, Kuppers stresses how in traumatic narrative, the story is not fully there, not fully owned by discourse and is not within the mastery of the individual. Also like other authors, Kuppers stresses the meeting places of life and film, the personal and the public, but she includes also those between a disabled body, a dancing body, and a body in film. From here, Kuppers moves toward linking trauma and disability, now not as so often in commercial films figured as a personal history, but in terms of their mechanisms: trauma is the block that does not allow full narrative; in the main film, *The Fall,* through which Kuppers makes her points, both the disabled body and the narrative are in constant motion. The film allows neither its characters nor its spectator to rest peacefully in one place. The narration recoils, points forward and backward, distrusts itself. Kuppers concludes that this constant movement prevents moments of life from being halted, paralyzed or given meaning. The spectator is kept on her toes. Since this trauma cannot be cured, it remains a block in the reader which allows a private, non-readable other to dance.

Ban Wang considers trauma in relation to visual shocks in modern Chinese literature and film. The motif of visuality has caught much attention recently in the study of modern Chinese culture and been assigned a power of demystification in critiquing the dominant

historical narrative. In Wang's analysis, a project of demystification was traceable not just in the visual experience of trauma, as Rey Chow has argued, but in the theater debate of the May Fourth era. It finds a strong expression in Lu Xun's seminal reflection on a shock induced, trauma-ridden historical understanding and aesthetics. Lu Xun's approach to rewriting history does not pit traumatic visuality against an evasive or redemptive literature, but rather works toward a tragic-traumatic aesthetic that eschews narrative and dramatic enclosures, characterized by melodramatic catharsis and emotional satisfaction, in traditional theater and literature. More importantly, in the face of Japanese invasion, national crisis and social upheavals in the 1930s, Chinese critics and filmmakers carried the traumatic motif over to filmmaking. Working with a camera that sought to shatter the dramatic illusions and clichéd emotional patterns from traditional as well as Hollywood repertoires, the filmmakers attempted to engage the traumatic experience of disaster and social disintegration on the screen. The cinematic devices of the longtake and montage became politically charged means for engaging historical experience of disasters, depravations, and war. The longtake immerses the viewer in a specific photographical reality at the expense of preconceived ideas and emotion, while montage presents a dialectical, moment-by-moment, tentative configuration of social reality in flux.

These papers span wide geographical areas and divergent cultures, but the common theme that binds them is the traumatic experiences of the modern world and their media representations. If some papers may emphasize the paralysis in the body, the psyche and narrative, others seek to find a more positive evaluation of trauma-induced texts. There is an oscillation, as we noted earlier, between acting out and working through, between melancholia and mourning, between deconstruction and reconstruction. The question of trauma's implication in modern history elicits a number of answers, but there is not a definitive conclusion. If the different answers to the common question of traumatic experience help intensify our readiness to see trauma-related histories working out in different cultural contexts, and if these answers contribute to our understanding of, not trauma per se but the long-term historical, social, and structural factors that inflict pain on human beings in modern times, we believe that we will have done a valuable service.

Notes

Introduction

1 Vivian Sobchack, ed., "Introduction: History Happens," in Sobchack, ed., *The Persistence of History: Cinema, Television, and the Modern Event* (New York and London: Routledge, 1996), 1–7.

2 See R. G. Collingwood, *The Idea of History* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1956), 65.

3 Sigmund Freud, *Introductory Lectures on Psychoanalysis*, trans. and ed. James Strachey (New York: Norton, 1966), 284–5.

4 Walter Benjamin's work on the modern shock on human perception is the seminal work that has inspired many contemporary scholars to pursue the same inquiry. Through a critical survey of a group of French writers Martin Jay has shown the intimate link between traumatic visuality and modernity. See Jay, *Downcast Eyes: The Denigration of Vision in Twentieth-Century French Thought* (Berkeley and Los Angeles, University of California Press, 1994). Also see Robert Rosenstone, ed., *Revisioning History: Film and the Construction of a New Past* (Princeton, New Jersey: Princeton University Press, 1995).

5 The voluminous literature on the Holocaust, Hiroshima, Vietnam, and genocide attests to the interest in the traumatic event of modern times. For useful references see Sobchack, ed. Also see Kirby Farrell, *Post-Traumatic Culture: Injury and Interpretation in the Nineties* (Baltimore and London: The Johns Hopkins University Press, 1998).

6 Ruth Leys, *Trauma: A Genealogy* (Chicago and London: The University of Chicago Press, 2000), 266.

7 Cathy Caruth, ed., "Introduction," in *Trauma: Explorations in Memory* (Baltimore and London, The John Hopkins University Press, 1995), 7.

8 Ibid., 4–5.

9 Bessel van der Kolk and Onno van der Hart, "The Intrusive Past: The Flexibility of Memory and the Engraving of Trauma," in ibid., 158–82.

10 Dominick LaCapra, *Representing the Holocaust* (Ithaca and London: Cornell University Press, 1994), 209.
11 Ibid., 207.
12 Sigmund Freud, *Beyond the Pleasure Principle*, trans. James Strachey (New York: Norton, 1961).
13 Freud, *Moses and Monotheism*, trans. Katherine Jones (New York: Vintage, 1939).
14 Some authors in our volume do address this question specifically. For example, see Joshua Hirsch's work in this volume, on "Post-Traumatic Cinema and the Holocaust Documentary," pp. 95–123.
15 See E. Ann Kaplan, "Melodrama, Cinema and Trauma," in *Screen* 42.2 (Summer 2001): 201–5. The essay discusses the ways in which melodrama can serve to interrupt social narratives that seek to dissociate traumatic events, despite its conventional form, but goes on to develop a taxonomy of possible viewer positions for different types of films dealing with traumatic events that are reproduced here.
16 For a brief introduction to the ideas of Dori Laub and Robert Jay Lifton see Cathy Caruth, ed., *Trauma: Explorations in Memory*, op. cit., 61–75 (Laub); 128–47 (Lifton).
17 See Thomas Elsaesser, "Subject Positions, Speaking Positions," in Sobchack, ed., 146–53.
18 For an insightful discussion of turning local histories and geographies into images, see Fatimah Tobing Rony, *The Third Eye: Race, Cinema, and Ethnographic Spectacle* (Durham and London: Duke University Press, 1996).
19 Ibid., 147.
20 Farrell, *Post-Traumatic Culture*, 17.
21 See books by Michael Rothberg (*Trauma and Realism*, 2000), and Dora Appel (*Memory Effects: The Holocaust and the Art of Secondary Witnessing*, Rutgers University Press, 2001), which take on issues of representation relevant to our arguments.
22 Elaine Scarry, *The Body in Pain: The Making and Unmaking of the World* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1985), 162, 164.
23 Ibid., 166.
24 In Castoriadis's theory of the imaginary institution of society, history, the diverse forms of social and cultural forms through time, is the product of humans' constant imagining and maintaining of social existence through the active network of "social imaginary significations that are carried by and embodied in the institution of the given society and that . . . animate it." In this light trauma is a result of the collapse of this pervasive social imaginary network of significations, and needs to be redressed through re-imagining and restructuring social-historical domains. See Cornelius Castoriadis, *Worlds in Fragments: Writings on Politics, Society, Psychoanalysis, and the Imagination* (Stanford, CA: Stanford University Press, 1977), 7.

25 Ibid., 170.
26 See Elsaesser, 146. Recent revisions of the Vietnam war seem to make use of the trauma of the veterans for a much needed patriotism, but they show that earlier engagement with the trauma of Vietnam had a critical value against US interventions.
27 Judith Herman, *Trauma and Recovery* (New York: Basic Books, 1992), 7.
28 Ibid., 1.
29 See Kaplan (2001) for how "vicarious traumatization" is one of the possible viewer positions in some films about traumatic events, and for debates about the relative benefits of such traumatization.

Chapter 1

1 Cited in David Beresford, "Theatre of Pain and Catharsis," *Weekly Mail and Guardian* (Johannesburg), April 19,1996, http://archive.mg.co.za/NXT/gateway.dll/PrintEdition/MGP1996/3lv02027/4lv02088/5lv02137.htm (July 31, 2002).
2 *Promotion of National Unity and Reconciliation Act* 1995 (Act 95–34, 26 July 1995), http://www.doj.gov.za/trc/legal/act9534.htm (July 31, 2002).
3 Mark Gevisser, "Four white men and truth," *Weekly Mail and Guardian* (Johannesburg), May 19, 1995, http://archive.mg.co.za/NXT/gateway.dll/PrintEdition/MGP1995/3lv01556/4lv01668/5lv01697.htm (July 31, 2002).
4 Kali Tal, *Worlds of Hurt: Reading the Literatures of Trauma* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1996), 128.
5 Cited in J. Mervis, "A Critique of Separate Development," in N. J. Rhoodie, ed., *South African Dialogue: Contrasts in South African Thinking on Basic Race Issues* (Johannesburg: McGraw-Hill, 1972), 72.
6 Tal, 128.
7 Kadar Asmal, et al., *Reconciliation Through Truth: A Reckoning of Apartheid's Criminal Governance*, 2nd ed. (New York: St. Martin's Press, 1997), 144.
8 Stephen Laufer, "Decades of Soul Searching are to Come," *Business Day* (Johannesburg), November 8, 1996, http://www.bday.co.za/96/1108/comment/c4.htm.
9 Eddie Koch, "Tears From the Tough," *Weekly Mail and Guardian* (Johannesburg), February 28, 1997, http://archive.mg.co.za/NXT/gateway.dll/PrintEdition/MGP1997/3lv02663/4lv02664/5lv02727.htm (July 31, 2002), emphasis added.
10 Cathy Caruth, ed., "An Interview with Robert Jay Lifton," in *Trauma: Explorations in Memory* (Baltimore & London: The Johns Hopkins University Press, 1995), 142.
11 *Khulumani: We are Speaking*, produced by Lauren Segal, Centre for the Study of Violence and Reconciliation, Johannesburg, 1995, videocassette.

12 Gevisser.
13 Kai Erikson, "Notes on Trauma and Community," in Caruth, ed., *Trauma*, 186.
14 Dori Laub, "Truth and Testimony: The Process and the Struggle," in Caruth, ed., *Trauma,* 69.
15 Cited in Antjie Krog, "Overwhelming Trauma of the Truth," *Weekly Mail and Guardian* (Johannesburg), December 24, 1996, http://archive.mg.co.za/NXT/gateway.dll/PrintEdition/MGP1996/3lv00000/4lv00001/5lv00027.htm (July 31, 2002).
16 Roberta Culbertson, "Embodied Memory, Transcendence, and Telling: Recounting Trauma, Re-establishing the Self," *New Literary History* 26 (1995): 184.
17 Cited in Antjie Krog, "Unto the Third or Fourth Generation," *Weekly Mail and Guardian* (Johannesburg), June 13, 1997, http://archive.mg.co.za/NXT/gateway.dll/PrintEdition/MGP1997/3lv01502/4lv01635/5lv01697.htm (July 31, 2002), emphasis added, elision in original.
18 Krog, "Overwhelming Trauma of the Truth."
19 Ibid.
20 Krog, "Unto the Third or Fourth Generation."
21 Ibid.
22 Tal, 118.
23 Dori Laub, "Truth and Testimony: The Process and the Struggle," in Caruth ed., *Trauma,* 64.
24 Krog, "Unto the Third or Fourth Generation," emphasis added.
25 *SisaKhuluma: We are Still Speaking*, produced by Lauren Segal, Centre for the Study of Violence and Reconciliation, Johannesburg, 1996, videocassette.
26 *Khulumani: We are Speaking*.
27 Culbertson, 179.
28 Kai Erikson, "Notes on Trauma and Community," in Caruth ed., *Trauma,* 187.
29 *Khulumani: We are Speaking*.
30 Cathy Caruth, ed., "Trauma and Experience: Introduction," *Trauma*, 9.
31 "Forgive But Not Forget," produced by Michael Gavshon, *60 Minutes*, February 16, 1997, videocassette.
32 Dori Laub, "Bearing Witness, or the Vicissitudes of Listening," in Shoshana Felman and Dori Laub, eds, *Testimony: Crises of Witnessing in Literature, Psychoanalysis, and History* (New York: Routledge, 1992), 60, 62.
33 Truth and Reconciliation Commission Final Report, October 29, 1998, http://www.polity.org.za/govdocs/commissions/1998/trc/index.htm (July 31, 2002).
34 Walter Benjamin, *Illuminations*, ed. Hannah Arendt (New York: Schocken Books, 1969), 255.
35 Michael Roth, *The Ironist's Cage: Memory, Trauma, and the Construction of History* (New York: Columbia University Press, 1995), 207.

36 Vera Schwarcz, "No Solace From Lethe: History, Memory, and Cultural Identity in Twentieth-Century China," *Daedalus* 120.2 (Spring 1991): 90.
37 Laufer.
38 *Khulumani: We are Speaking*.
39 Wilhelm Verwoerd, "Justice after Apartheid? Reflections on the South African Truth and Reconciliation Commission," paper delivered at the Fifth International Conference on Ethics and Development, "Globalization, self-determination and justice in development," Madras, India, January 2, 1997.
40 Laufer.
41 Ibid.
42 Hayden White, "The Modernist Event and the Flight from History," in Hana Wirth-Nesher, ed., *The Sheila Carmel Lectures* (Tel Aviv: Tel Aviv University Press, 1995).
43 Verwoerd.

Chapter 2

1 Since the 1980s and 1990s, postcolonial theory has critiqued colonialism from diverse disciplinary persepctives. But little attention has been paid to indigeneity or to the differences between colonial nations and "settler" socities such as Australia, Canada and the US. My project here draws on both postcolonial studies and indigenous studies but aims to develop themes by suggesting less used terms (such as "translation") and specifically to introduce the idea of "embodied translators."
2 See Mary Louise Pratt, *Imperial Eyes: Travel Writing and Transculturation* (London and New York: Routledge, 1992), especially pages 6–7.
3 Pratt, 7.
4 For basic theories of trauma, see Cathy Caruth, ed. *Trauma: Explorations in Memory* (Baltimore: The Johns Hopkins University Press, 1995). But see work by others in this volume for illuminating discussions of trauma and traumatic memory, including the introduction to this volume.
5 As Cathy Caruth has noted, the pathology consists "solely in the *structure of the experience* or reception: the event is not assimilated or experienced fully at the time, but only belatedly in its repeated *possession* of the one who experiences it" (Caruth, ed., *Trauma,* 4–5). I have elsewhere argued in some depth for the possibility of cultural or collective trauma. See my essay "Trauma, Aging and Melodrama (With Reference to Tracey Moffatt's *Night Cries)*" in Marianne DeKoven, ed., *Feminist Locations* (New Brunswick, NJ: Rutgers University Press, 2001), 304–28.
6 Debates about the concept of "collective" trauma are increasing, and I return to some of them below. The concept seems useful to me, even if

still imprecise, if one thinks of the collective as a mass of individuals in varying degrees affected by the catastrophe — not all suffer the classic symptoms of trauma, some are vicariously rather than directly traumatized, some suffer from anticipated or fear of trauma. But all have been deeply affected and their world views altered by the events.

7 See E. Ann Kaplan, "Trauma, Aging and Melodrama."

8 For more discussion on this point, see essays by Lifton, Laub and others in Cathy Caruth, ed., *Trauma*.

9 See article by David Becker, "Dealing with the Consequences of Organized Violence in Trauma Work," in *Berghof Handbook for Conflict Transformation* (Berlin: Berghof Research Center for Constructive Conflict Management, 2001): 1–21; and paper by David Becker and Brandon Hammer, "Trauma Work in Crisis Regions — Developing and Assessing Quality," read at the Trauma Research Networking Conference, Wiesbaden-Naurod, June 30 2002.

10 See Kaja Silverman, *Male Subjectivity at the Margins* (New York and London: Routledge, 1995), 55.

11 See E. Ann Kaplan, "Trauma, Aging and Melodrama."

12 As we explain in our introduction, there is a moral imperative to represent catastrophes in art if the memory of such events is to be preserved, and their dire results known. That trauma is often termed "unrepresentable" reflects the difficulty and inadequacy of images and narratives. But the necessity and importance of approaching trauma in art is seen by the work that artists' images and words have inspired in their turn.

13 See introduction for full discussion of the importance of representing trauma in art, however inadequately.

14 See Betty Joseph, "Globalization and Feminist Accumulation. The Time and Space of Gendered Work." Paper read at "Global Feminisms Conference," Stony Brook University, March 2002.

15 In 1983, Eddie Mabo filed a groundbreaking land rights claim. After years of litigation, his claim was honored by the highest court in 1992, and in 1993 the groundbreaking Native Title Act was passed. Subsequent legislation sought to mitigate the gains, but nevertheless the case set an irrevocable precedent that Aborigines can claim land in certain contexts.

16 These debates are too complex to review here. See Clifford Geertz, *Local Knowledges: Further Essays in Interpretive Anthropology* (New York: Basic Books, 1983), James Clifford and George Marcus, eds., *Writing Culture: The Poetics and Politics of Ethnography* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1986), and my discussion in *Looking for the Other: Feminism Film and the Imperial Gaze* (New York: Routledge, 1997).

17 Bill Readings, "Pagans, Perverts or Primitives? Experimental Justice in the Empire of Capital" in Andrew Benjamin, ed. *Judging Lyotard*. New York and London: Routledge, 171–80.

18 Perhaps Herzog was unconsciously influenced by Leni Riefenstahl's

famous photos of the Nuba people, whom Riefenstahl similarly exoticizes. But Herzog's larger interest is far different from what I understand Riefenstahl's to be: That is, Herzog was, in a sense, "going native" in his own culture by finding himself the "other" of at least his parents' Germany. As Ban Wang commented, radical and reflective intellectuals (like Herzog) may be seen as the "other" of dominant Western culture.

19 See Geertz.

20 See Robert C. Young, *Postcolonialism: An Introduction* (New York and London: Routledge, 2001. And see also his earlier *Colonial Desire: Hybridity in Theory, Culture and Race* (New York and London: Routledge, 1995).

21 Moffatt was editing her brilliant short film, *Night Cries*, when I met her. I have written about different aspects of that film several times. Most recent is my essay, "Trauma, Cinema, Witnessing: Freud's *Moses* and Moffatt's *Night Cries*," published in Kelly Oliver and Steve Edwin, eds, *Between the Psyche and the Social* (Lanham, MD and Oxford: Rowan and Littlefield, 2001): 99–121.

22 It's significant that Moffatt chose to feature an apparently Asian rather than Aboriginal maid. This choice opens her text up to be relevant to contexts other than specifically the Australian. The structures she studies pertain far more broadly than simply that of colonialist Australia, and featuring an Asian maid perhaps connotes the current Australian context with new Vietnamese immigrants. But it is Moffatt, an Aboriginal Australian whose imaginary produces these images — an imaginary clearly already thinking beyond the specificities of her own background.

23 See Noel Burch's film, *Correction Please*, where this early voyeuristic trope is displayed in many of the film clips he includes.

24 As is well known, sexual fantasies for both men and women frequently involve the subject being forced in sexual interaction. Why such dominant/submission structures are sexually arousing is an interesting question which, however, lies beyond my purvue here.

25 See Peter Read, *A Rape of the Soul So Profound*, Australia: Allen & Unwin, 1999.

26 As Australian scholars note, it is dangerous to talk about any monolithic collective trauma to the Australian nation as a whole. The nation is made up of many different groups, each of which deals with Australia's past in its own ways. The national leadership may well be perfectly aware of the crimes committed against the Aborigines, and in no way feel a need for reparation or reconciliation. Many followers of such leadership would take up the same position. While this stance might be seen as a form of denial — as really representing repressed guilt — one cannot be sure. Meanwhile, many in Australia are in denial because the past is simply too painful to remember. Others actively seek reparation and healing. But these are issues too complex to address fully in this context.

27 See pamphlet, *Link Up*, and Peter Read's volume, *A Rape of the Soul So Profound.*

28 From email exchange with Bronwyn Kidd, I learned that, as a white Australian, she became interested in Australia's "invisible people" (her term) when studying Aboriginal history at the university. She met the three sisters she interviews in *Walking With My Sisters* when doing research for a film about Byron Bay, and she remains in close touch with those still alive. The perspective, as in Herzog's film, is on the side of the Aborigines. The camera respects the sisters' privacy and keeps its distance. Yet, Kidd chooses to show the sisters' strong emotions of both sadness and occasional joy, and a kind of intimacy clearly developed between filmmaker and her subjects during the course of the film's making.

29 New work on relations between Aboriginal and other minority groups in Australia is already ongoing. The overarching historical and psychic power of white Australians and the existence of white institutional forms within which all must live, inevitably affects relations between minority groups. Thus, knowledge and images of various communities' relations to white Australia remain important as we move toward shifting the focus away from white Australians per se.

30 See Homi Bhabha, *The Location of Culture* (New York: Routledge, 1994); and Simon Gikandi, *Maps of Englishness: Writing Identity in the Culture of Colonialism* (New York: Columbia University Press, 1996).

31 Comments by Judith Butler in talk, "The Ethics of Violence," presented at The Humanities Institute at Stony Brook, 2001.

Chapter 3

1 All references to Chinese-language sources are in my own translation. I have generally used the *pinyin* system of romanization as based on Mandarin pronunciation. Some of the more well-known Chinese terms have appeared often in non-*pinyin* versions, so I have used those versions throughout, but with the *pinyin* spelling in square brackets the first time the item appears in the text. Hence: Hou Hsiao-hsien [Hou Xiaoxian].

2 Qi Longren, "Jiuling niandai Taiwan dianying wenhua yanjiu lunshu — yi *Beiqing chengshi* wei li" (A discussion of cinema and cultural studies in Taiwan in the nineties: *A City of Sadness* as example), in Chen Kuan-hsing [Chen Guangxing], ed., *Wenhua yanjiu zai Taiwan* (Cultural studies in Taiwan) (Taipei: Juliu, 2000), 319–33.

3 Robert Chi, "Getting It on Film: Representing and Understanding History in *A City of Sadness*," *Tamkang Review* 29.4 (Summer 1999): 47–84.

4 Arjun Appadurai, *Modernity at Large* (Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 1996), Ch. 2.

5 Li Huiju, "Zhan Hongzhi xingxiao Hou Xiaoxian" (Zhan Hongzhi sells

Hou Hsiao-hsien), *Yuan jian* (Global Views Monthly) 41 (15 October 1989), 192.

6 Indeed, in addition to film and video distribution, Era has now diversified into cable television, advance network ticketing, and internet services. As for film production, Qiu had signed Hou to a six-year contract. So after *A City of Sadness* they collaborated as producers of Zhang Yimou's *Raise the Red Lantern* [*Da hong denglong gao gao gua*] (1991). And Qiu was also producer on Hou's next film, *The Puppetmaster* [*Xi meng rensheng*] (1993). Since then Qiu has continued to invest in films, such as the Hong Kong gangland drama *The Mission* [*Qiang huo*] (Johnnie To [Du Qifeng], 1999).

7 In the film the characters' names are usually pronounced in Taiwanese rather than in the standard Mandarin dialect, and are spelled here according to the English subtitled version of the film. The main exceptions to this are Hinoe and Hinomi, whose names are written in Chinese characters but pronounced in Japanese (i.e., their names are conceived of as *kanji*). This was a common, even necessary, practice during the Japanese period — especially with the *kominka* movement of Japanification instituted in 1937 to solidify Japan's hold on Taiwan at the same time that the former was invading China.

8 James Udden, "Hou Hsiao-hsien and the Poetics of History," *Cinema Scope* 3 (Spring 2000), 49–50.

9 Zhu Tianwen, "*Beiqing chengshi* shisan wen" (Thirteen questions about *A City of Sadness*), Parts 1–4, *Zili zao bao* (Independence Morning Post), 11–14 July 1989, all p. 14. The quotation is from the last line of the whole piece, in the 14 July installment. The whole piece is reprinted in Wu Nien-jen [Wu Nianzhen] and Zhu Tianwen, *Beiqing chengshi* (A city of sadness) (Taipei: San san shufang [Yuanliu], 1989).

10 *Zhongshi wan bao* (China Times Express), 15 September 1989, 1.

11 Chen Ru-shou [Chen Ruxiu], *Dianying diguo* (The empire of cinema) (Taipei: Wanxiang, 1995), 31. However, Chen's chart — just a list of titles — is at variance with the more detailed statistics in *Zhonghua Minguo dianying nianjian 1990* (Cinema in the Republic of China yearbook 1990) (Taipei: Zhonghua Minguo dianying ziliao guan, 1991). The discrepancy may be due to the inclusion or exclusion of the rest of Taiwan (i.e., besides Taipei) as well as theater distribution beyond the first run of each film. The latter figures are based on Taipei first-run sales only and would place *A City of Sadness* in second place overall, with a total of NT$66,000,000, between the first-place film *Indiana Jones and the Lost Crusade* (NT$91,201,900) and the third-place film *Rain Man* (NT$62,044,580). The second-place film in Chen's list is Jackie Chan's *Mr Canton and Lady Rose* [*Qiji*], which is in seventh place overall by the *Yearbook*'s reckoning, with only NT$37,823,180. Naturally, all of this omits other considerations like length of run, number of theaters and screens and screenings, locations

of theaters, time of year, audience demographics, and competition from other films and activities. According to the *Yearbook*, for example, the lengths of first runs in Taipei varied widely: *Indiana Jones* (13 weeks), *Rain Man* (11 1/2 weeks), *City* (9 weeks), and *Mr Canton* (4 weeks).

In terms of number of tickets sold, *City* may have actually trailed *Rain Man*; the former's actual box office figures are probably skewed by the fact that initial ticket prices for *City* were higher than normal. The Taipei Theater Association allowed higher prices for long films: an additional NT$30 for films over 2 1/2 hours, and NT$50 extra for films over 3 hours. *City* was listed at 2 hours 38 minutes, so the distributor Scholar Films and Era added NT$40. The press reported the NT$10 overcharge within a week of the 21 October opening, and on 1 November maximum ticket prices were lowered from NT$120 to NT$110. Scholar and Era offered to refund the difference to those who had previously paid the higher ticket price, provided that they presented their ticket stubs or — and surely this last condition was not meant seriously — provided that they could recount the story. See Chu Mingren, "'Piao' ju fa gou tanxing" (Tickets flexible, by law), *Min sheng bao*, 29 October 1989, 10; "*Beiqing chengshi* piaojia shuo jiang bu jiang" (*A City of Sadness* ticket prices to drop — or not?), *Lianhe bao* (United Daily News), 29 October 1989, 33; and "Jiang juqing, keyi tui shi yuan" (Tell the story, get ten bucks), *Zhongguo shi bao* (China Times), 2 November 1989, 8.

In any event, even taking its abnormal ticket pricing into account, *A City of Sadness* clearly attracted one of the largest audiences of any film in 1989 — including many who rarely went to the movies, like busy professionals and the elderly.

12 Quoted in "Sikai fan zhengzhi yishi fuzhou, cong rendao zhuyi guanhuai chufa" (Tear aside hollow political slogans and begin from humanism), *Zili zao bao* (Independence Morning Post), 16 September 1989, 8.

13 Liao Ping-hui, "Ji long you ya de sheying shi" (The deaf-mute photographer) and "Lishi de yangqi?" (The renunciation of history?), both in Mi Zou and Liang Xinhua, eds, *Xin dianying zhi si* (The death of the new cinema), (Taipei: Tangshan, 1991). The two articles were originally published in *Zili zao bao* (Independence Morning Post), 25 November 1989 and 27 February 1990, respectively.

14 Liao Ping-hui, "Rewriting Taiwanese National History: The February 28 Incident as Spectacle," *Public Culture* 5.2 (Winter 1993), 295.

15 Ibid., 284.

16 Sigmund Freud, "Negation," in *The Standard Edition of the Complete Psychological Works of Sigmund Freud*, trans. and ed. James Strachey (London: Hogarth, 1961), XIX: 236.

17 Liao Ping-hui, *Huigu xiandai — houxiandai yu houzhimin lunwen ji* (Modernity in re-vision: reading postmodern/postcolonial theories) (Taipei: Maitian, 1994).

18 See Qi Longren. However, although it is now often described as the embodiment of the initial hasty attacks on *A City of Sadness*, Mi Zou and Liang Xinhua's *The Death of the New Cinema* remains a milestone of post-martial law public criticism. That is because a careful retrospective reading shows that many of the subsequently foregrounded issues were already suggested in the articles collected in that volume.

19 The Taiwanese dialect is occasionally referred to as the Fujian dialect, after the province in southern mainland China from which the ancestors of most of the present-day Taiwanese Chinese hailed. It is also called the Southern Min [*Min nan*] dialect, a term that highlights a sort of regional ethnicity more than a geographical location. Although "Taiwanese" [*Taiwan hua* or *Taiyu*] is the most common term, some people object that it connotes a certain hegemonic nativism by claiming to cover the whole island at the expense of other dialects and languages that are spoken there, such as Hakka and the non-Chinese indigenous languages.

20 Zhu Tianwen, "Thirteen Questions," 13 July 1989, 14. Also in Wu and Zhu, 26–8.

21 Several other key terms designating "national" items do come from Japanese. See Lydia H. Liu, *Translingual Practice* (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 1995), esp. Appendices.

22 Chi, 59–61.

23 Even the domestic film and video copies that I have seen are all subtitled in Chinese, as are many other films and television programs in Taiwan. This is precisely to ensure comprehensibility in the face of possibly unfamiliar accents, dialects, and languages.

24 The famous last phrase of Edgar Allan Poe's "The Murders in the Rue Morgue", in fact a quotation from Rousseau's *La Nouvelle Heloise*.

25 Liao Hsien-hao [Liao Xianhao], "Nanfang yilei: yi houzhimin shijiao kan *Beiqing chengshi* yu *Niu peng* zhong de yuyan, chenmo yu lishi" (Southern otherness: A postcolonial perspective on language, silence, and history in *A City of Sadness* and *China, My Sorrow*), *Zhongwai wenxue* (Chung-Wai Literary Monthly) 22.8 (1994.1): 59–73.

Chapter 4

1 It will never be known how many were really killed. The ten million figure is nothing but a tragic approximation. It includes 5,350,000 Jews. Most of the death figures have been contested, even by serious historians.

It was a representative of the film department of the United States Holocaust Memorial Museum who told me that the Wiener film is unique. Note, however, that the SS did shoot footage of dead Jews in the Warsaw Ghetto; the footage appears in the film *Mein Kampf*.

2 The June, 1941 start date of *Einsatzgruppe* exterminations comes from Israel Gutman, ed., *Encyclopedia of the Holocaust* (New York: Macmillan, 1990), 438. The December, 1941 start date of gassing comes from Gutman, 462.

3 Yad Vashem is The Holocaust Martyrs' and Heroes' Remembrance Authority in Israel. Wiener was interviewed by Ester Hagar. A copy of the interview transcript, entitled "Mr. Wiener Interviews Re. Libau," is held by the film department of the United States Holocaust Memorial Museum, as is a copy of the film itself. The following citations refer to the interview transcript: "Well they're killing Jews there," (7); "he did not tell his family what he had witnessed," (15); "They were depressed . . ." (17); "Wiener's film was buried in his mother's pigsty until the end of the war," (19).

4 Throughout this essay I refer to the West as the context of the post-traumatic cinema under discussion. This is not to exclude non-Western societies, but rather to acknowledge limits on the cultural significance of the Holocaust, the influence of European cinema, and my own knowledge of non-Western cinema.

5 The often cited Himmler quote can be found in Saul Friedlander, *Memory, History, and the Extermination of the Jews of Europe* (Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 1993), 105, where it is discussed at length.

6 Erik Barnouw, *Documentary: A History of the Non-fiction Film*, 2nd revised ed. (New York: Oxford University Press, 1993), 102–3.

7 The Camouflage Squad is described by former Treblinka guard Franz Suchomel in Claude Lanzmann, *Shoah: The Complete Text of the Acclaimed Holocaust Film* (New York: Da Capo Press, 1995), 99–100.

8 Elie Wiesel, *Night*, trans. Stella Rodway (New York: Bantam, 1986), 30.

9 Sigmund Freud, *Beyond the Pleasure Principle*, trans. and ed. James Strachey (London: Hogarth Press, 1955), 12–3, vol. XVIII of *The Standard Edition of the Complete Psychological Works of Sigmund Freud.*

10 American Psychiatric Association, *Diagnostic and Statistical Manual of Mental Disorders*, 4th ed. (Washington DC: American Psychiatric Association, 1994), 424–9.

11 Lisa MacCann and Laurie Anne Pearlman, "Vicarious Traumatization: A Framework for Understanding the Psychological Effects of Working with Victims," *Journal of Traumatic Stress* 3.1 (1990): 131–49.

12 Walter Benjamin, "The Work of Art in the Age of Mechanical Reproduction," *Illuminations* (New York: Harcourt, Brace, & World, 1968), 219–54.

13 On the reaction to the liberation of the camps among liberators and the public in the US, see Robert H. Abzug, *Inside the Vicious Heart: Americans and the Liberation of the Nazi Concentration Camps* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1985). For one argument on the significance of the films of the liberated camps, see Nicolas Losson, "Notes on the

Images of the Camps," trans. Annette Michelson, *October* 90 (1999): 25–35.

14 K. R. M. Short and Stephan Dolezel, *Hitler's Fall: The Newsreel Witness* (New York: Croon Helm, 1988), 43–4.

15 Susan Sontag, *On Photography* (New York: Anchor Books, 1990), 20. I have run across a number of descriptions of reactions to the concentration camp films, but none as striking as this. While of course the differences between film and photography are important, I do not believe they specifically problematize the use of the Sontag quote as a substitute for the reaction to films.

16 Shoshana Felman and Dori Laub, eds, *Testimony: Crises of Witnessing in Literature, Psychoanalysis, and History* (New York: Routledge, 1992). For one critique of Felman and Laub, see Dominick LaCapra, "Lanzmann's *Shoah*: 'Here There Is No Why,'" *Critical Inquiry* 23.2 (1997): 245–8.

17 For an overview of psychiatric research on PTSD in Holocaust survivors, see Henry Krystal, ed., *Massive Psychic Trauma* (New York: International Universities Press, 1968).

18 The earliest study of film-induced stress of which I am aware is R. S. Lazarus et al, "A Laboratory Study of Psychological Stress Produced by a Motion Picture Film," *Psychological Monographs* 76 (1962). Following several studies by Lazarus and colleagues, Mardi Jon Horowitz continued this strand of research. See his articles "Psychic Trauma: Return of Images After a Stress Film," *Archives of General Psychiatry* 20 (1969): 552–9; and "Stress Films, Emotion, and Cognitive Response," *Archives of General Psychiatry* 30 (1976): 1339–44, co-written with Nancy Wilner. The quote describing *Subincision* comes from page 554 of the earlier Horowitz article. The term "analogue trauma" comes from Mark I. Davies and David M. Clark, "Predictors of Analogue Post-Traumatic Intrusive Cognitions," *Behavioral and Cognitive Psychology* 26 (1998): 303–14. Research on film-induced stress until 1979 is summarized in J. Patrick Gannon, "The Traumatic Commercial Film Experience: An Extension of Laboratory Findings on Stress in a Naturalistic Setting," diss., California School of Professional Psychology, 1979, 8–14.

19 MacCann and Pearlman, 142.

20 Much of my anecdotal evidence for vicarious trauma induced by viewing atrocity films relates to *Night and Fog*. It includes my own childhood memory of seeing the film at my synagogue; numerous similar stories told to me by acquaintances; numerous brief references in a variety of published sources; and even a representation in another film: Margarethe von Trotta's *Marianne and Juliane* (1981). In the 1999 film *8mm*, the protagonist could be interpreted as suffering from vicarious trauma induced by the viewing of a snuff film.

21 I use the term *discourse* here in the relatively loose sense of an historically situated set of "utterances" with a common set of referents (the

Holocaust), a common set of signifiers (specific narrative techniques), and a common signified (trauma). I am not using the term in its Foucauldian sense. I have found no evidence that this discourse was consciously, intentionally, or explicitly linked to the psychiatric discourse of trauma at the point of production or, in most cases, at the point of reception; I assume that in most cases it was produced in an intuitive or unconscious manner.

Of course, this kind of argument can easily become teleological. Is there really a discourse of trauma in these films, or do I see in them only what I presuppose to be there? By identifying the common signified of the discourse as trauma, I do not mean to rely on a naïve, positivist faith in the psychiatric discourse of trauma as a true description of reality, even if that discourse itself may be somewhat positivist at times. I believe, however, that the films and moments of films in question were responding to a common phenomenon which the psychiatric discourse of trauma has described at least in a more empirical and systematic fashion than can be found anywhere else.

My concept of a discourse of trauma functions similarly to the concept of prosthetic memory in Alison Landsberg's important work, as well as to Ernst van Alphen's concept of Holocaust effects. See Landsberg, "America, the Holocaust, and the Mass Culture of Memory: Toward a Radical Politics of Empathy," *New German Critique* 71 (1997): 63–86; and Ernst van Alphen, *Caught by History: Holocaust Effects in Contemporary Art, Literature, and Theory* (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 1997), 10.

22 LaCapra, "Lanzmann's *Shoah*", 267.

23 Gérard Genette, *Narrative Discourse: An Essay in Method*, trans. Jane E. Lewin (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 1980), 26–32.

24 I am adapting the term *secondarized* loosely from Freud's concept of "secondary revision," defined by Laplanche and Pontalis as the "rearrangement of a dream so as to present it in the form of a relatively consistent and comprehensible scenario." See Jean Laplanche and J. B. Pontalis, *The Language of Psycho-analysis*, trans. Donald Nicholson-Smith (New York: W. W. Norton, 1973), 412.

25 On Janet's theory of narrative memory, see Bessel van der Kolk and Onno van der Hart, "The Intrusive Past: The Flexibility of Memory and the Engraving of Trauma," in Cathy Caruth, ed., *Trauma: Explorations in Memory* (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 1995), 159–64.

26 *The American Heritage Dictionary of the English Language* defines hypermnesia as: "unusually exact or vivid memory" (William Morris, ed. [Boston: Houghton Mifflin, 1969], 647).

27 Krystal, 30–31.

28 van der Kolk and van der Hart, 163–4, 172–5.

29 van der Kolk and van der Hart, 172.

30 Robert Gronner, quoted in Krystal, 197.

31 William G. Niederland, "An Interpretation of the Psychological Stresses and Defenses in Concentration Camp Life and the Late Aftereffects," in Krystal, 62.

32 My model of post-traumatic tense, mood, and voice is similar to Laurence J. Kirmayer's model of dissociation as a rupture in narrative coherence, voice, and time. See his article "Landscapes of Memory: Trauma, Narrative, and Dissociation," in Paul Antze and Michael Lambek, eds, *Tense Past: Cultural Essays in Trauma and Memory* (New York: Routledge, 1996), 181.

33 Walter Benjamin, "On Some Motifs in Baudelaire," *Illuminations,* 157–202. Freud's theory of trauma is discussed on 162–164.

34 In my understanding of the history of modernist cinema, the first wave, following the First World War, consisted of German expressionism, the Soviet avant-garde, French impressionism, early films by Buñuel, Cocteau, Vigo, etcetera. The second wave began to gather steam after the Second World War in films like Deren's and Antonioni's, and then coalesced in the French New Wave, followed by a series of other regional movements.

35 See Richard Prouty's Benjaminian discussion of trauma in *Menilmontant*, in "The Well-Furnished Interior of the Masses: Kirsanoff's *Menilmontant* and the Streets of Paris," *Cinema Journal* 36.1 (1996): 3–17.

36 This begs the question, how large a role did the Holocaust play in the development of post-traumatic cinema? I would argue that the Holocaust was a crucial but not the sole determining factor in the development of post-traumatic cinema. There were probably many factors, including the bombing of Hiroshima, the Second World War in general, and, in the crucial case of French cinema, the Algerian War of Independence.

37 Eric Santner, "History Beyond the Pleasure Principle: Some Thoughts on the Representation of Trauma," in Saul Friedlander, ed., *Probing the Limits of Representation: Nazism and the "Final Solution"* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1992), 144.

38 Personal correspondence from Henry Krystal, June 1, 2000.

39 Friedrich Nietzsche, *On the Genealogy of Morals*, trans. Walter Kaufmann and R. J. Hollingdale (New York: Vintage Books, 1989), 61. Original emphasis.

40 Gertrude Koch, "The Angel of Forgetfulness and the Black Box of Facticity: Trauma and Memory in Claude Lanzmann's Film *Shoah*," trans. Ora Wiskind, *History and Memory* 3.1 (1991): 119–32; LaCapra, "Lanzmann's *Shoah*" 95–138; Geoffrey H. Hartman, "Holocaust Testimony, Art, and Trauma," *The Longest Shadow: In the Aftermath of the Holocaust*, (Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 1996), 151–72; Saul Friedlander, "Trauma and Transference," *Memory, History, and the Extermination of the Jews of Europe* (Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 1993), 117–38; Cathy Caruth, *Unclaimed Experience: Trauma, Narrative, and History*

(Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 1996); the Caruth quote comes from page 2. LaCapra also articulates this view, without, however, fully endorsing it: "[One] may insist that any attentive secondary witness to, or acceptable account of, traumatic experiences must in some significant way be marked by trauma or allow trauma to register in its own procedures"; LaCapra, "Lanzmann's *Shoah*," 244.

41 A 16 mm print of the English language version of *The Death Camps* is available from the National Center for Jewish Film at Brandeis University.

42 Without diminishing the responsibility of the perpetrators and the Third Reich as a whole, one may argue that Allied nations shared responsibility for the atrocities through strict refugee quotas, refusal to bomb the rail lines to Auschwitz, etcetera. For a survey of international responses to the Holocaust, see David S. Wyman, ed., *The World Reacts to the Holocaust* (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 1996).

43 For an historical survey of the compilation film, see Jay Leyda, *Films Beget Films* (New York: Hill and Wang, 1964). For a more theoretically informed case study, see Carl R. Plantinga, *Rhetoric and Representation in Nonfiction Film* (New York: Cambridge University Press, 1997).

44 It is misleading to place the Jews last in the series since, in terms of "liquidation" specifically, they were the primary target. The marginalization of the Jewish genocide in *The Death Camps*, *Mein Kampf*, and even *Night and Fog* is typical of public discourse on the Nazi camps until the 1970's in the US and Western Europe, and the 1990's in Eastern Europe.

45 The segment also illustrates the tendency of compilation films to use documents in a misleading fashion. The photo of naked women and children is presented as an illustration of gassing. According to Yad Vashem, however, it actually shows a mobile killing action in Misocz, Ukraine, in October, 1942, before gassing had even begun. The right side of the photo does not appear in the film; it shows a mass of corpses on the ground, typical of mobile killing actions but not of gassing. See Yitzhak Arad, ed., *The Pictorial History of the Holocaust* (New York: Macmillan, 1990), 194–5. The date is given in Edelheit, 173.

46 Richard Raskin, "*Nuit et Brouillard" by Alain Resnais: On the Making, Reception, and Functions of a Major Documentary Film* (Aarhus, Denmark: Aarhus University Press, 1987), 52; my translation.

47 Literary influences on Resnais's experiments with tense were writings by Marcel Proust, and the French New Novels of Marguerite Duras, Alain Robbe-Grillet, and Jean Cayrol. Among fiction films, he was influenced by Delluc's *Le Silence* (1921), Carne's *Le Jour Se Lève* (1939), Welles's *Citizen Kane* (1941), Cocteau's *Orpheus* (1950). On the history of the modernist flashback, see Maureen Turim, *Flashbacks in Film: History and Memory* (New York: Routledge, 1989).

48 The French text of the commentary can be found in Raskin, 72–130. Here

and throughout this essay, when the English translation in the film's subtitles seems adequate, I have used it. When not, I have changed it.

49 See Sergei Eisenstein, "A Dialectic Approach to Film Form," *Film Form*, ed. and trans. Jay Leyda (New York: Harcourt Brace Jovanovich, 1949), 45–63; André Bazin, "The Ontology of the Photographic Image," in *What Is Cinema?*, ed. and trans. Hugh Gray (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1967), 9–16; and Siegfried Kracauer, *Theory of Film* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1960).

50 See note 19.

51 The Szabo trilogy is *Father* (1966), *Love Film* (1970), and *25 Fireman Street* (1973), all Hungarian. See my article, "Istvan Szabo: Problems in the Narration of Holocaust Memory," *Journal of Film and Video* 51.1 (Spring, 1999): 3–21.

52 Ora Avni, "Narrative Subject, Historic Subject: *Shoah* and *La Place de l'Etoile*," *Poetics Today* 12.3 (1991): 513.

53 I disagree with LaCapra's criticism of *Shoah* for acting out rather than working through trauma, articulated in his article "Lanzmann's *Shoah*." As LaCapra acknowledges on p. 205, the symbolic repetition of trauma is a necessary aspect of working it through. That may be all we can ask of a film, and all that we should demand of *Shoah*. However, even if we were to insist on making a distinction between films that act out trauma and films that work it through, I would argue that *Shoah* fulfilled a key requirement of working through trauma at the time it was made: it combated the isolation and silencing of traumatic memory by relaying the trauma of witnessing from the victims to the public. On traumatic memory and isolation, see van der Kolk and van der Hart, 163.

54 *Schindler's List* quotes *Night and Fog* in its initial cut from color to black and white and concluding cut back to color; it quotes *Shoah* in its use of the cutting-the-throat sign given by a young bystander to a trainload of Jews headed for Auschwitz. The *Shoah* quotation is discussed by Yosefa Loshitzky in her article, "Holocaust Others: Spielberg's *Schindler's List* versus Lanzmann's *Shoah*," in Loshitzky, ed., *Spielberg's Holocaust: Critical Perspectives on "Schindler's List"* (Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 1997), 104–5. On the monumentalist discourse of history, see Friedrich Nietzsche, *The Use and Abuse of History*, trans. Adrian Collins (Indianapolis: Bobbs-Merrill: 1949), 12–7.

55 The Academy Award winners for best documentary for both 1997 and 1998 were Holocaust films: *The Long Way Home*, a traditional realist compilation film, and *The Last Days*, produced by Steven Spielberg's Shoah Foundation, and typical of contemporary historical documentary form, combining compilation techniques, cinema-vérité techniques, realist narration, and the monumentalist tone of *Schindler's List*.

56 See Janet Walker, "The Traumatic Paradox: Documentary Films, Historical Fictions and Cataclysmic Past Events," *Signs* 22.4 (1997): 803–25.

Chapter 5

1 Movies include *Pearl Harbor* (2001) and the HBO mini-series *Band of Brothers* (2001); books include Hampton Sides, *Ghost Stories: The Forgotten Epic Story of World War II's Most Dramatic Mission* (New York: Doubleday, 2001). "The good war" is Studs Terkel's ironic term from the title of his *"The Good War": An Oral History of World War II* (New York, Pantheon, 1984). For popular coverage of this "new surge of interest" in the Second World War see Bob Minzesheimer, *USA Today*, May 15, 2001, http://www.usatoday.com/life/enter/books/2001–05–15-war-books.htm.

2 *Newsweek* reports that a preview screening of *Saving Private Ryan* to which World War II veterans were invited was hosted by the History Channel in midtown Manhattan. Jon Meacham, "Caught in the Line of Fire," July 13, 1998, 48–55.

3 In the fall of 2000, eight motion picture industry heads were called to Washington D.C. to testify at a Senate hearing about what could be done to limit movie violence, and in particular, about the perceived problem of violent movie advertising aimed at children. The hearing was called as the result of a Federal Trade Commission study that was released on September 11, 2000.

4 Michael Marino, "Bloody But Not History: What's Wrong with *Saving Private Ryan*," *Film & History*: Film Reviews, http://h-net2.msu.edu/~filmhis/ryan.html.

5 This example and the quote from James J. Walsh, retired sergeant, are drawn from Laurent Ditmann, "Made You Look: Towards a Critical Evaluation of Steven Spielberg's *Saving Private Ryan*," *Film & History* 28.3–4 (1998): 66.

6 This is Steven Spielberg's claim as quoted in Jeff Gordinier, "Message in a Battle," *Entertainment Weekly* 29, July 24, 1998.

7 These are the words of Doug Hestor, a "first-wave survivor" of the Normandy landing who went ashore a few miles to the east on Juno beach, as reported in the *Toronto Star* and quoted by Phil Landon, "Realism, Genre, and *Saving Private Ryan*," *Film & History* 28.3–4 (1998): 59.

8 Jon Meacham, "Caught in the Line of Fire," 50.

9 Quoted by Meacham, "Caught in the Line of Fire," 50.

10 Robert A. Rosenstone, "The Future of the Past: Film and the Beginnings of Postmodern History," in Vivian Sobchack, ed., *The Persistence of History: Cinema, Television, and the Modern Event* (New York: Routledge, 1996), 206.

11 From a personal conversation with Sandra Joy Lee, archivist, Industrial Light and Magic, October 6, 1998.

12 Hayden White, "The Modernist Event," in Vivian Sobchack, ed., *The Persistence of History*. See also, Hayden White, "Historical Emplotment and the Problem of Truth," in Saul Friedlander, ed., *Probing the Limits*

of Representation: Nazism and the "Final Solution" (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1992).

13 White, "Historical Emplotment," 52.

14 White, "The Modernist Event," 20, 22–3.

15 White, "Historical Emplotment, 52.

16 White, "The Modernist Event," 19.

17 Rosenstone, 206.

18 Linda Hutcheon, *The Politics of Postmodernism* (London: Routledge, 1989), 53–4.

19 White, "The Modernist Event," 19.

20 Hutcheon, 53–4.

21 This elicits Ryan's story — to my mind a definite case of gratuitous violence in the film — of when he and two of his brothers saved a third brother from having sex with a girl who "took a nose dive from the ugly tree." They shared a good laugh when she knocked herself out fleeing the barn.

22 Elizabeth Waites, M.D., *Trauma and Survival: Post-Traumatic and Dissociative Disorders in Women* (New York: W. W. Norton, 1993), 14.

23 *Diagnostic and Statistical Manual of Mental Disorders*, fourth edition (DSM-IV) (Washington, DC: American Psychiatric Association, 1994), 428.

24 Wilfred Owen, *The Poems of Wilfred Owen* (London, 1946), 35. Quoted in John E. Talbot, "Soldiers, Psychiatrists, and Combat Trauma," *Journal of Interdisciplinary History* XXVII.3 (Winter, 1997), 437.

25 Judith Herman, M.D., *Trauma and Recovery* (New York: Basic Books, 1992), 38.

26 Eugene Sledge, *With the Old Breed at Peleliu and Okinawa* (Novato, CA 1981), 59–60. Quoted in Talbot, 439.

27 Jonathan Shay, M.D., *Achilles in Vietnam: Combat Trauma and the Undoing of Character* (New York: Atheneum, 1994), 140.

28 Shay, 1994, 188.

29 Cathy Caruth, "Unclaimed Experience: Trauma and the Possibility of History," *Yale French Studies* 79 (1991): 187.

30 Kathleen Chamberlain, email posting to the *Film & History* website: http://h-net2.msu.edu/~filmhis/fature.html. Date accessed: 4 January 1999.

31 Ditmann, 66.

32 Ian Hacking, *Rewriting the Soul: Multiple Personality and the Sciences of Memory* (Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 1995), 249–50.

33 Benis M. Frank, former Chief Historian of the Marine Corps, email posting to the *Film & History* website.

34 Critics before me have noted the disjunction between the Normandy landing sequence and the rest of the film. See, for example, Vincent Canby, "Saving a Nation's Pride of Being: The Horror and Honor of a Good War," *New York Times*, August 10, 1998, section E, page 1, column 5.

35 For two examples of the latter view, see Thomas Doherty, "Taps at the

Millennium: *Saving Private Ryan* (1998)," in Chapter 11: "Legacies" of *Projections of War: Hollywood, American Culture, and World War II* (New York: Columbia University Press, 1999 [1993]), and Tom Carson, "And the Leni Riefenstahl Award for Rabid Nationalism Goes to . . . (*Saving Private Ryan*)," *Esquire* 131.3 (March 1999): 70.

36 Allison Landsberg would likely deem this an example of the positive effect that a borrowed or "prosthetic memory" may have. *Prosthetic Memory: The Logics and Politics of Memory in Modern American Culture*, doctoral dissertation, University of Chicago, 1996, UMI Dissertation Services.

37 DSM-IV, 424.

38 After all, these latter memories are private not public, and therefore difficult to corroborate. Women's comparatively low social status also makes their claims easy to disregard. And furthermore, the import of the claims is such that patriarchal authority would be seriously undermined were the epidemic proportions of incestuous assault to be recognized by the general public.

39 Frederick Crews, *The Memory Wars: Freud's Legacy in Dispute* (New York: New York Review of Books, 1995).

40 Elizabeth Loftus and Katherine Ketchum, *The Myth of Repressed Memory: False Memories and Allegations of Sexual Abuse* (New York: St. Martin's Press, 1994); Richard Ofshe and Ethan Watters, *Making Monsters: False Memories, Psychotherapy and Sexual Hysteria* (New York: Charles Scribner's Sons, 1994). *Family Therapy Networker* (Katy Butler, "Marshaling the Media," March/April 1995, 37) reports that "by the end of 1994, more than 300 articles on 'false memory' had appeared in magazines and newspapers."

41 Ellen Bass and Laura Davis, *The Courage to Heal: A Guide for Women Survivors of Child Sexual Abuse* (New York: Harper & Row, 1988); Judith Herman, op. cit.

42 John Kihlstrom, "Exhumed Memory," in Steven Jay Lynn and Kevin M. McConkey, eds, *Truth in Memory* (New York: The Guilford Press, 1998), 18.

43 See for example, Linda M. Williams, "Recall of Childhood Trauma: A Prospective Study of Women's Memories of Child Sexual Abuse," *Journal of Consulting & Clinical Psychology* 62 (1994): 1167, 1170–3; Judith L. Herman and Emily Schatzow, "Recovery and Verification of Memories of Childhood Sexual Trauma," *Psychoanalytic Psychology* 4 (1987): 1, 2–5; John Briere and Jon Conte, "Self-Reported Amnesia for Abuse in Adults Molested as Children," *Traumatic Stress* (1993), 21, 23.

44 J. Laplanche and J.-B. Pontalis, *The Language of Psycho-Analysis*, trans. Donald Nicholson-Smith (New York: W. W. Norton, 1973 [Paris, 1967]), entry for "phantasy," 314.

45 Elizabeth Waites, 28.

46 Lenore Terr, "True Memories of Childhood Trauma: Flaws, Absences, and

Returns," in Kathy Pezdek and William P. Banks, eds, *The Recovered Memory/False Memory Debate* (San Diego: Academic Press, 1996).

47 This is one of my key points in Janet Walker, "The Traumatic Paradox: Documentary Films, Historical Fictions, and Cataclysmic Past Events," *Signs* 22. 4 (Summer 1997): 803–26.

48 Fred H. Frankel, "The Concept of Flashbacks in Historical Perspective," *The International Journal of Clinical and Experimental Hypnosis* XLII, 4 (October 1994).

49 See Philip Gourevitch, "The Memory Thief," *The New Yorker*, June 14, 1999, 49.

50 This evidence was brought to light initially by Danial Ganzfried. Gourevitch, ibid.

51 Shoshana Felman and Dori Laub, *Testimony: Crises of Witnessing in Literature, Psychoanalysis, and History* (New York: Routledge, 1992). I am borrowing this example and the wording of this paragraph from "The Traumatic Paradox." See also a revised and reprinted version of that article in Katharine Hodgkin and Susannah Radstone, eds, *Configurations of Memory* (New York: Routledge, forthcoming).

52 Dori Laub, "Bearing Witness, or the Vicissitudes of Listening," in Felman and Laub, 59.

53 Laub, 59–63.

54 Hacking, 250. Actually, it is Hacking's "claims about a certain indeterminacy" that are "set against a background of truth and falsehood." But I believe the phrase as I have used it is also true to his meaning.

55 John F. Kihlstrom, "Exhumed Memory," in *Truth in Memory*, 18.

56 As feminist psychologist Ann Scott writes in the British journal *Feminism and Psychology* ("I. Screen Memory/False Memory Syndrome," *Feminism & Psychology* 7. 1 [1997]: 20), "It is [the] capacity to bear uncertainty, while allowing for a principled engagement with the actual relations of power in the culture" which a "psychoanalytic perspective can offer and support."

57 Michael Nash, "Psychotherapy and Reports of Early Sexual Trauma: A Conceptual Framework for Understanding Memory Errors," in *Truth in Memory*, ed. Steven Jay Lynn and Kevin M. McConkey (New York: Guilford Press, 1998), 91.

58 Nash, ibid., 91.

59 Elaine Showalter, *Hystories: Hysterical Epidemics and Modern Media* (New York: Columbia University Press, 1997), 5.

60 Ann Scott, 19. See also note 42.

61 Showalter, 156.

62 See for example, Louise Armstrong, *Rocking the Cradle of Sexual Politics: What Happened When Women Said Incest* (Reading, Mass.: Addison-Wesley, 1994) and Nash, 98–101.

63 David G. Payne and Jason M. Blackwell, "Truth in Memory: Caveat Emptor," *Truth in Memory*, 53.

64 Lawrence Langer, *Holocaust Testimony: The Ruins of Memory* (New Haven, Connecticut: Yale University Press, 1991).
65 Landsberg.

Chapter 6

I must thank Shindo Kaneto for his graciousness and enthusiasm in speaking with me, and the extraordinary Yuka Sakano of the Kawakita Memorial Film Institute for arranging and translating the interview. I am deeply indebted to my wonderfully generous colleague Keiko McDonald and the Japan Council at the University of Pittsburgh, who made a vital research trip to Tokyo possible for me. James Orr gave me the valuable opportunity to test some of these ideas when he invited me to speak at Bucknell University. Mick Broderick, David Desser, Tom Gunning, Akira Lippit, and Donald Richie provided important early encouragement, Ann Kaplan and Ban Wang offered acute editorial feedback, and Irina Reyn saw me through it all in so many ways.

1 Personal interview with Shindo Kaneto, 28 August 2000, Montreal, Quebec, Canada. Translation by Yuka Sakano, with additional transcription by JunkoYamamoto.
2 Throughout the essay, references to "Hiroshima" should be understood to include the bombing of Nagasaki on August 9, 1945 as well. In this sense, "Hiroshima" simultaneously contains a specific reference to August 6 as well as a broader reference to the atomic event as a whole.
3 Technically, the postwar occupation of Japan was an Allied occupation, but as John W. Dower points out, "From start to finish [August 1945 to April 1952], the United States alone determined basic policy and exercised decisive command over all aspects of the occupation." See Dower, *Embracing Defeat: Japan in the Wake of World War II* (New York: Norton, 1999), 73.
4 See Kyoko Hirano, *Mr. Smith Goes to Tokyo: Japanese Cinema Under the American Occupation, 1945–1952* (Washington, DC: Smithsonian Institution Press, 1992), 63–5. See also Hirano, "Depiction of the Atomic Bombings in Japanese Cinema During the US Occupation Period," in Mick Broderick, ed., *Hibakusha Cinema: Hiroshima, Nagasaki and the Nuclear Image in Japanese Film* (London: Kegan Paul International, 1996), 103–19, especially 112–5.
5 Donald Richie, "'Mono no aware': Hiroshima in Film," in Broderick, ed., *Hibakusha Cinema*, 20–37; 23; 25.
6 A version of this documentary aired on television in Hiroshima in 1977, but Shindo refers to the project as incomplete and ongoing in my 28 August 2000 interview with him.
7 Carole Cavanaugh, "A Working Ideology for Hiroshima: Imamura Shōhei's

Black Rain" in Dennis Washburn and Carole Cavanaugh, eds, *Word and Image in Japanese Cinema* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2001), 250–70; 252.

8 David M. Desser, "Japan: An Ambivalent Nation, an Ambivalent Cinema," *Swords and Ploughshares* 9. 3–4 (Spring-Summer 1995). http://www.acdis.uiuc.edu/homepage_docs/pubs_docs/S%26P_docs/S&P_Sp-Su_1995_docs/desser.html

9 Richie, "'Mono no aware,'" 30. Although Richie wrote this essay in 1961, he still stands behind its claims today (personal interview with Donald Richie, 8 June 2000, Tokyo, Japan).

10 Cavanaugh, "A Working Ideology for Hiroshima," 252. For a similar version of this argument that extends to the realms of Japanese disaster films and *anime*, see Susan J. Napier, "Panic Sites: The Japanese Imagination of Disaster from *Godzilla* to *Akira*," in John Whittier Treat, ed., *Contemporary Japan and Popular Culture* (Honolulu: University of Hawai'i Press, 1996), 235–62. For accounts of *Godzilla* as something closer to a confrontation of the past than an evasion, see Chon A. Noriega, "Godzilla and the Japanese Nightmare: When *Them!* is US," in Broderick, ed., *Hibakusha Cinema*, 54–74, and Yoshikuni Igarashi, *Bodies of Memory: Narratives of War in Postwar Japanese Culture, 1945–1970* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2000), 114–22.

11 Richie, "'Mono no aware'," 35.

12 I will unravel these issues in further detail below, but for a useful introduction to this terrain, see Michael J. Hogan, ed., *Hiroshima in History and Memory* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1996).

13 See Miriam Bratu Hansen, "*Schindler's List* is Not *Shoah*: The Second Commandment, Popular Modernism, and Public Memory," *Critical Inquiry* 22 (Winter 1996): 292–312.

14 Walter Benjamin, *The Origin of German Tragic Drama*, trans. John Osborne (London: Verso, 1996), 166. Further references in this paragraph will be noted parenthetically by the page number.

15 Walter Benjamin, "Theses on the Philosophy of History," in *Illuminations*, ed. Hannah Arendt, trans. Harry Zohn (New York: Schocken, 1969), 253–64. Further references in this paragraph will be noted parenthetically by the page number.

16 Lisa Yoneyama, *Hiroshima Traces: Time, Space, and the Dialectics of Memory* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1999), 38.

17 See Yoneyama, *Hiroshima Traces*, 201–202 and Maya Morioka Todeschini, "'Death and the Maiden': Female *Hibakusha* as Cultural Heroines and the Politics of A-bomb Memory," in Broderick, ed., *Hibakusha Cinema*, 222–52.

18 Yoneyama, *Hiroshima Traces*, 210.

19 Personal interview with Shindo Kaneto, 28 August 2000.

20 I am grateful to Keiko McDonald for this translation.

21 James J. Orr, *The Victim as Hero: Ideologies of Peace and National Identity in Postwar Japan* (Honolulu: University of Hawai'i Press, 2001), 6.
22 Orr, *The Victim as Hero*, 10; 10; 137.
23 Yoneyama, *Hiroshima Traces*, 11.
24 Indeed, the film's cinematic and thematic emphases on humans behaving as animals, even to the point of merging the human and the animal, underscores this difficulty of distinction. For a provocative meditation on the human/animal divide in relation to Hiroshima, see Georges Bataille, "Concerning the Accounts Given by the Residents of Hiroshima," trans. Alan Keenan, in Cathy Caruth, ed., *Trauma: Explorations in Memory* (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 1995), 221–35.
25 Conrad Totman, *A History of Japan* (Oxford: Blackwell, 2000), 161–3.
26 Dower, *Embracing Defeat*, 27–8.
27 See Dower, *Embracing Defeat*, 302–18.
28 Laura Hein and Mark Selden, eds, "Commemoration and Silence: Fifty Years of Remembering the Bomb in America and Japan," in *Living With the Bomb: American and Japanese Cultural Conflicts in the Nuclear Age* (Armonk: M.E. Sharpe, 1997), 4.
29 John Whittier Treat, *Writing Ground Zero: Japanese Literature and the Atomic Bomb* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1995), ix.
30 Todeschini, "'Death and the Maiden'," 222–52.
31 Keiko I. McDonald, *Japanese Classical Theater in Films* (London: Associated University Presses, 1994), 335 n2.
32 Tadao Sato, *Currents in Japanese Cinema*, trans. Gregory Barrett (Tokyo: Kodansha International, 1982), 78. See also David Desser's explanation and expansion of Sato's claims in *Eros Plus Massacre: An Introduction to the Japanese New Wave Cinema* (Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 1988), 108–144.
33 Sato, *Currents in Japanese Cinema*, 81; 81.
34 Hiroyuki Agawa, *Devil's Heritage*, trans. John M. Maki (Tokyo: Hokuseido Press, 1957), 222. Quoted in James Goodwin, "Akira Kurosawa and the Atomic Age," in Broderick, ed., *Hibakusha Cinema*, 178–202; 194. Goodwin provides a thoughtful analysis of Kurosawa's own treatment of the "demonic" atomic bomb in his late film *Yume* (*Dreams*, 1990).
35 The brief discussion below can only begin to touch on issues central to recent film studies scholarship that have reenergized critical conversation around how we imagine and mobilize the term "national cinema." See, for example, Alan Williams, ed., *Film and Nationalism* (New Brunswick: Rutgers University Press, 2002) and Mette Hjort and Scott MacKenzie, ed., *Cinema and Nation* (London: Routledge, 2000). For the Japanese case in particular, see Mitsuhiro Yoshimoto, *Kurosawa: Film Studies and Japanese Cinema* (Durham: Duke University Press, 2000).
36 Benjamin, "Theses on the Philosophy of History," 261; 255.

37 Geoffrey Nowell-Smith, "Art Cinema," in Nowell-Smith, ed., *The Oxford History of World Cinema* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1996), 567–75; 567. Nowell-Smith argues for the existence, since the 1980s, of two different forms of "international art cinema," one an "official kind, very close to the mainstream both in its cinematic values and its distribution," and the other characterized by "low-budget independent films coming from a variety of countries, including the United States, which offer a different sort of experience" (575).
38 Review of *Onibaba*, *Variety,* February 17, 1965.
39 For a fascinating account of *Ugetsu* and *Kwaidan* in terms of "structures of emulsion in post-atomic Japanese cinema," see Akira Mizuta Lippit, "Antigraphy: Notes on Atomic Writing and Postwar Japanese Cinema," *Review of Japanese Culture and Society* 10 (December 1998): 56–65; 59.

Chapter 7

1 Dominick LaCapra, *Representing the Holocaust: History, Theory, Trauma* (Ithaca and London: Cornell University Press, 1994), 209.
2 E. Ann Kaplan, "Performing Traumatic Dialogue," *Women and Performance,* nos. 19–20 (1998): 34.
3 Robert Jay Lifton, *The Life of the Self: Toward a New Psychology* (New York: Simon and Schuster, 1976): 113–4. Hereafter cited as *LS*.
4 Jean-François Lyotard, *Lectures d'enfance* (Paris: Gallilée, 1991), 59. My translation.
5 Jean Laplanche and J. B. Pontalis, *Vocabulaire de la psychanalyse* (Paris: PUF, 1973).
6 LaCapra, 209.
7 Ibid., 206.
8 Robert Jay Lifton and Eric Olsen, *Indefensible Weapons* (New York: Basic Books, 1982), 103.
9 Lifton and Olsen, 104.
10 Bessel A. van der Kolk and Onno van der Hart, "The Intrusive Past: The Flexibility of Memory and the Engraving of Trauma," in Cathy Caruth, ed., *Trauma: Explorations in Memory* (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 1995), 158–82.
11 van der Kolk and van der Hart, 163.
12 Lifton and Olsen, 104.
13 Lifton develops this in his recent work, *Destroying the World to Save It: Aum Shinrikyo, Apocalyptic Violence, and the New Global Terrorism* (New York: Metropolitan Books, 1999).
14 Lifton and Olsen, 104.
15 Cathy Caruth, "An Interview with Robert Jay Lifton," in Cathy Caruth, ed., *Trauma: Explorations in Memory*, 133.

16 Lifton and Olsen, 110.
17 Lifton, *LS*, 113.
18 Much has been written about the possibility or impossibility of representation of traumatic events of mass death and extermination from a range of cultural positions. I am arguing in favor of a particular kind of representation of traumatic events, indeed of the necessity to represent them. I draw this belief largely from Lifton, as is clear, but also from Jean-Luc Nancy. See, Jean-Luc Nancy, "La Représentation Interdite," *L'art et la mémoire des camps: Représenter Exterminer*, *Le Genre humain* 36 (2001):15–39.
19 Jean-François Lyotard, *The Inhuman: Reflections on Time*, trans., Geoffrey Bennington and Rachel Bowlby (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 1991), 126. Hereafter cited as *Inhuman*.
20 Edmund Burke, *A Philosophical Inquiry into the Origin of Our Ideas of the Sublime and Beautiful*, ed. Adam Phillips (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1998), 36.
21 I take the emphasis on "intensity" from Lyotard: "For Burke, the sublime was no longer a matter of elevation (the category by which Aristotle defined tragedy) but a matter of intensification" (*Inhuman*, 100).
22 Burke, 36.
23 Ibid., 33.
24 *Inhuman*, 126.
25 Ibid., 100.
26 Bertolt Brecht, "Motto," in Carolyn Forché, ed., *Against Forgetting: Twentieth-Century Poetry of Witness* (New York: W. W. Norton, 1993), 27.
27 Lifton, *LS*, 115.
28 Cathy Caruth, ed., "Introduction," in Cathy Caruth, *Trauma: Explorations in Memory*, 6.
29 Maurice Blanchot, *L'Écriture du désastre* (Paris: Gallimard, 1981), 219.
30 Georges Bataille, "Concerning the Accounts Given by the Residents of Hiroshima," in Cathy Caruth, ed., *Trauma: Explorations in Memory*, 221.
31 Marguerite Duras, *Hiroshima, mon amour: Scénario et dialogue* (Paris: Gallimard, 1960). All translations of Duras's text are taken from *Hiroshima, mon amour: Text by Marguerite Duras for the Film by Alain Resnais*, trans. Richard Seaver (New York: Grove Press, 1961). All references to *Hiroshima, mon amour* will be from these editions and the pages will be cited parenthetically in the text.
32 Lying and inventing narrators are common in Duras's works. Perhaps the most striking example is Jacques Hold, who narrates *Le Ravissement de Lol. V. Stein* (Paris: Gallimard, 1964).
33 Another option for consideration here is laughter. For a well developed discussion of laughter in Duras's works, including *Hiroshima, mon amour*, see Robert Harvey, "Le communauté par le rire" in Alain Vircondelet, ed., *Marguerite Duras: Actes du Colloque à Cerisy-la-Salle (23–30 Juillet*

1993) (Paris: Ecriture, 1994), 197–216. In *Hiroshima, mon amour*, laughter is everywhere in the text, though overshadowed by muted cries. Laughter masks the obscenity of the lovers' pain; it is their modesty.

34 Michael S. Roth, *The Ironist's Cage: Memory, Trauma, and the Construction of History* (New York: Columbia University Press, 1995), 24 and 211.

Notes to Chapter 8

1 For a longer discussion of trauma, disability and performance, see my *Disability and Contemporary Performance: Bodies on Edge* (New York and London: Routledge, 2003).

2 Cathy Caruth, *Unclaimed Experience: Trauma, Narrative, and History* (Baltimore and London: Johns Hopkins Press, 1996), 10.

3 For a history of these stereotypical uses of disability as a narrative marker in film, see M. Norden, *The Cinema of Isolation: A History of Physical Disability in the Movies* (New Brunswick, NJ: Rutgers University Press, 1994).

4 As is the making problematic of narrative — see E. Ann Kaplan's use of different structuring devices (dialogue, parallelism) to represent a temporal experience of telling and analyzing in her piece, "Performing Traumatic Dialogue: On the Border of Fiction and Autobiography,"in *Women and Performance* 10,1–2 (1999): 33–58. The making and un-making of narrative, the refusal to begin and the necessity to plunge are references in her performative analysis of analyzing trauma in therapy.

5 A synopsis of the film is useful, despite the risk of the synopsis as a paralyzed form: "In the name of the law, I shall take the calculated risk of flattening out the unfolding or coiling up of this text, its permanent revolution whose rounds are made to resist any kind of flattening." See Jacques Derrida, *Acts of Literature*, Derek Attridge, ed. (New York and London: Routledge, 1992), 234.

6 See Tvetzan Todorov, *The Poetics of Prose* (Ithaca, New York: Cornell University Press, 1977).

7 The same moment can also be read within the economy of representing another unrepresentable moment: pain. In her *Resisting Representation* (New York, Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1994), Elaine Scarry investigates the hysteria of pain representations, the impossibility of the image referencing its signified, in her analysis of advertising for pain killers. The techniques of cinematic representation and narrativity are brought into play to point to the absent "body truth."

8 See Robert Stam, Robert Burgoyne, and Sandy Flitterman-Lewis, eds. *New Vocabularies in Film Semiotics: Structuralism, Post-Structuralism and Beyond* (London, New York: Routledge, 1992), 121.

9 See Brian Henderson, "Tense, Mood and Voice in Film," *Film Quarterly* 36.3 (Summer): 4–17.
10 See note 7.
11 See Kaja Silverman, *The Acoustic Mirror: The Female Voice in Psychoanalysis and Cinema* (Bloomington and Indianapolis: Indiana University Press, 1988), 49.
12 See, for instance, work inspired by Michel de Certeau's *The Practices of Everyday Life* (Berkeley, Los Angeles, London: University of California Press, 1984).
13 See Caruth, *Unclaimed Experience,* 66.
14 See Janet Wolff, *Feminine Sentences: Essays on Women and Culture* (Cambridge: Polity Press, 1990), 70.

Notes to Chapter 9

1 Arguments about "resistance" vs. "complicity" can be found in Rey Chow's article "We Endure, Therefore We Are: Survival, Governance, and Zhang Yimou's *To Live,*" from *The South Atlantic Quarterly* 95. 4 (1996). 1040–64.
2 Ibid., 1047.
3 Ibid., 1047.
4 See Robert Jay Lifton and Eric Olson, *Living and Dying* (New York: Prageur Publishers, 1974), 49.
5 Ibid., 49.
6 Cathy Caruth, ed. "Introduction to Part II: Recapturing the Past," in Cathy Caruth ed. *Trauma: Explorations in Memory* (Baltimore and London: Johns Hopkins University Press, 1995), 153.
7 Michael Roth, *The Ironist's Cage: Memory, Trauma, and the Construction of History* (New York: Columbia University Press, 1995), 205.
8 Chow, 1055; 1047.
9 Ibid., 1055.
10 Lifton and Olson, 75.
11 Ibid., 87.
12 This is a term in the Cultural Revolution that denigrated traditional custom, mentality, and practices.
13 While communism used to be the political ideal in the Maoist era, from the early 1980s onward it was replaced by Deng Xiaoping's more practical aspirations for Four Modernizations (in industry, agriculture, national defense, and science and technology). "Airplane" is an image in interpretation of Deng's idea of modernization.
14 Lifton and Olson, 96.
15 Ibid., 77.
16 Ibid., 77.

17 Shoshana Felman, "Education and Crisis, or the Vicissitudes of Teaching," in Caruth, ed., 46.
18 Dori Laub, "Truth and Testimony: The Process and the Struggle," in Caruth, ed., 63.
19 Lifton and Olson, 87.
20 The term is used by Hayden White to refer to events of contemporary (twentieth century) history, in his article "The Modernist Event," in Vivian Sobchack, ed., *The Persistence of History: Cinema, Television, and the Modern Event* (New York and London: Routledge, 1996), 17–38.
21 Robert Rosenstone, "The Future of the Past," in Sobchack, ed., 202.

Notes to Chapter 10

1 Hu Shi, *Wenxue gailiang zhouyi* (Discussions on reform of literature) (Hong Kong: Yuanliu Press, 1986), 155–69. Also see Jiao Shangzhi, *Zhongguo xiandai xiju meixue sixiang fazhan shi* (Aesthetic history of modern Chinese drama) (Beijing: Dongfang chubanshe, 1995), 40–57.
2 Chen Pingyuan's works attest to the prevailing consensus on the tragic and traumatic nature of the intellectual and popular culture. He and other critics have designated an ethos of *beiliang*, the pathetic or the tragic-desolate, as the primary quality of Chinese literature. See *Chen Pingyuan zixuan ji* (Self-selected works) (Guilin: Guangxi shifan daxue chubanshe, 1997), 43–59.
3 Just about every recent book to do with Lu Xun has to perform a de rigueur discussion of this episode of film watching. See William Lyell, *Lu Hsun's Vision of Reality*, (Berkeley and Los Angeles: University of California Press, 1976), 74–5; Leo Lee, *Voices from the Iron House: A Study of Lu Xun* (Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 1987), 17–9; and Lydia Liu, *Translingual Practice* (Stanford, CA: Stanford University Press, 1995), 61–4.
4 Rey Chow, *Primitive Passions: Visuality, Sexuality, Ethnography, and Contemporary Chinese Cinema* (New York: Columbia University Press, 1995), 6. Also see part 1 of Chow's book, 4–52.
5 Ibid., 14.
6 Ibid., 15.
7 See Wang Guowei, *Wang Guowei wenxue meixue lunzhu ji* (Selected essays on literature and aesthetics), ed. Luo Xishan (Taiyuan: Beiyue wenyi chubanshe, 1987).
8 Liu Zaifu, *Lu Xun meixue sixiang lungao* (Essays on Lu Xun's aesthetic thoughts) (Taipei: Mingjing wenhua shiye, 1988), 98–9.
9 *Lu Xun qianji* (Complete works), vol. 1 and vol. 6 (Beijing: People's Literature Press, 1980), 1: 237–41. Further references to Lu Xun's *Complete Works* will be given in the text with the abbreviation *LXQJ*.

10 Wang Hui, *Fankang juewang* (Combating despair) (Shanghai: Shanghai remin chubanshe, 1991), 238.
11 Paul Pickowicz, "Melodramatic Representation and the 'May Fourth' Tradition of Chinese Cinema," in Ellen Widmer and David Wang, eds, *From May Fourth to June Fourth: Fiction and Film in Twentieth-Century China* (Cambridge, Massachusetts, Harvard University Press, 1993), 295–326.
12 Wang Chenwu, "The Road of the Chinese Cinema," in Luo Yijun et al., eds, *Zhongguo dianying lilun wenxuan* (Chinese film theory: an anthology), 2 vols. (Beijing: Wenhua yishu chubanshe, 1992), 1:137. Also see Pickowicz, "Melodramatic Representation and the 'May Fourth' Tradition of Chinese Cinema," in Widmer and Wang, eds., 298–9.
13 Leo Ou-Fan Lee, *Shanghai Modern: The Flowering of a New Urban Culture in China, 1930–1945* (Cambridge, Massachusetts: Harvard University Press, 1999), 93–119. The quote is from Miriam Hansen, *Babel and Babylon: Spectatorship in American Silent Film* (Cambridge, Massachusetts: Harvard University Press, 1991), 141.
14 This scenario is evoked by Kracauer in his *Theory of Film: The Redemption of Physical Reality* (Princeton: New Jersey: Princeton University Press, 1997), 14.
15 Miriam Hansen, "Introduction" to Siegried Kracauer, *Theory of Film*, xxv.
16 Martin Jay, *Downcast Eyes: The Denigration of Vision in Twentieth-Century French Thought* (Berkeley and Los Angeles: University of California Press, 1993), 453. Jay's quotes are to me the most succinct summary of Roland Barthes' notion of "punctum" in the latter's *La chambre claire: Note sur la photographie*, in *Oeuvre Complètes* (Paris: Editions du Seuil, 1995), 1105–97.
17 van der Kolk and van der Hart characterize narrative memory as mental constructs that integrate experience. Under traumatic conditions, "existing meaning schemes," which would include visual and narrative codes, "may be entirely unable to accommodate frightening experience." See their article "The Intrusive Past," in Cathy Caruth, ed., *Trauma: Explorations in Memory* (Baltimore and London: The Johns Hopkins University Press, 1995), 160. Obviously, Barthes' *punctum* and Kraucauer's photographical realism take advantage of this traumatic moment and turn it into a critique of the bankruptcy of existing cognitive schemes and emotional structures.
18 Luo Yijun, et al., eds., 151.
19 Theodor Adorno, *Aesthetic Theory*, ed. and trans. G. Adorno and R. Tiedemann (Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 1997), 6.
20 Raymond Williams, *The Politics of Modernism* (London and New York: Verso, 1989), 113.
21 Ma Ning, "The Textual and Critical Difference of Being Radical: Reconstructing Chinese Leftist Films of the 1930s," *Wide Angle* 11.2 (1989): 22–31.

22 Fredric Jameson, "Third World Literature in the Era of Multinational Capitalism," in *Social Text* 15 (1986): 65–88; *The Political Unconscious* (Ithaca and London: Cornell University Press, 1981), 79.
23 For a fuller discussion of the dialectic relation between allegory and symbol, see Walter Benjamin, *Origin of German Tragic Drama*, trans. John Osborne (London: Verso, 1977), 159–89. Also see Ban Wang, *The Sublime Figure of History* (Stanford, CA: Stanford University Press, 1997), 70–9.
24 Robin Wood, "Ideology, Genre, Auteur," in *Film Theory and Criticism*, ed. Gerald Mast, Marshal Cohen, and Leo Braudy (New York and Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1992), 476–7.
25 Ma Ning, 29.
26 Lou Yijun, "Preface," in Lou Yijun et al., eds., 1–27.
27 For an assessment of Chinese appropriation of montage theories, see Lou Yijun et al., 15–9.
28 Gilbert Perez, *The Material Ghost: Films and their Medium* (Baltimore and London: The Johns Hopkins University Press, 1998), 160.
29 Roland Barthes, "Diderot, Brecht, Eisentein," in Philip Rosen, ed., *Narrative, Apparatus, Ideology* (New York: Columbia University Press, 1986), 173, 175.
30 Gilles Deleuze, *Cinema 1: The Movement-Image*, trans. H. Tomlinson and B. Habberjam (Minneapolis and London: University of Minnesota Press, 1986), 5–6.
31 Sergei Eisenstein, *Film Form: Essays in Film Theory* (New York: Meridian Books, 1957), 45–63.
32 Ibid., 47.
33 Quoted in Perez, 152.
34 I only sketch Benjamin's notion here. For a fuller appreciation of Benjamin's ideas of history and its potential links to Eisenstein's montage, see Benjamin, *Illuminations* (New York: Schocken, 1968), 253–64.
35 Leo Lee, *Shanghai Modern*, 106–7; Also see Ma Ning.
36 Ma Ning, 24.
37 "A Kaleidoscope equipped with consciousness" is a phrase used by Walter Benjamin to describe the disorienting impact of urban life on human perception and consciousness. Here I go further to examine consciousness dissolved in a mess of images. See *Illuminations*, 175.
38 Ma Ning, 24–5.
39 Lou Yijun, ed., 149–55.
40 Quoted by Leo Lee, *Shanghai Modern*, 109.
41 Philip Rosen, *Change Mummified: Cinema, Historicity, Theory* (Minneapolis and London: University of Minnesota Press, 2001), 20–1.

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