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Post-cultural revolution Chinese cinema of betrayal: the figure of the collaborator and the doubling paradigm

Raya Morag

Department of Communication and Journalism, Hebrew University of Jerusalem, Jerusalem, Israel

ABSTRACT

Drawing on the prevailing theoretical paradigm of post-Holocaust research, which defines primarily the post-traumatic subject positions of victim and perpetrator, this paper focuses on the Chinese cinema's representation of collaboration during the Cultural Revolution (CR). It discusses the issue of betrayal inside the real or symbolic family, which is still unexplored and even overlooked by Chinese cinema research. Furthermore, it analyzes the prolonged and profound identity crisis generated by the CR as presented by twenty-first century blockbuster (e.g. Zhang Yimou's *Coming Home*) and independent films (e.g. Wu Wenguang's *1966: My Time in the Red Guards* and *Investigating My Father*) especially through the figure of the collaborator and the destructive dynamics of betrayal. In these films, the process I term the 'doubling paradigm,' and its 'doubling effect' enable the spectator to come to terms with the dimensions of pain and loss caused by collaboration, and the ethical repercussions of revolutionary morality. Following an analysis of the four forms of collaboration which emerge from this corpus, this discussion points to the potential contribution of Chinese 'cinema of betrayal' to the undertheorized subject position of the collaborator, beyond the Chinese case.

KEYWORDS

Collaboration; cultural revolution; the doubling paradigm; Chinese cinema; the doubling effect; Zhang Yimou; Wu Wenguang

More than four decades after the Cultural Revolution (CR), Chinese cinema's critical perspective of this 'watershed, [and] the defining decade of half a century of Communist rule in China' (MacFarquhar and Schoenhals 2006, location 79)

is still taboo-ized and censored. Nevertheless, a corpus of mostly twenty-first century non-fiction and fiction films confront these silenced 'ten years of chaos' (1966–1976).¹ Including both blockbuster and independent films, what we can call the 'Chinese cinema of betrayal' explores the ethical question of collaboration – induced by the turmoil, collective trauma, and indoctrination of the CR – through the figure of the familial (or symbolic family) collaborator, 'the doubling paradigm' (my term) and the dynamics of betrayal. Neither a genre nor a narrative mode, this body of filmmaking is defined by its historical connection to the CR and the way in which it exemplifies a distinctive case of revolutionary morality. The traumatic legacy that still haunts Chinese society today is presented through the repressed and agonized figure of the collaborator and his or her belated confession, enabling the spectator to accept the dimensions of the wounds and loss, and consider their ethical repercussions.

Drawing on the prevailing theoretical paradigm of post-Holocaust research, which defines primarily the post-traumatic subject positions of victim and perpetrator, the first part of this article sketches the undertheorized subject position of the collaborator in trauma and cinema studies.² The second part outlines the evolution of Chinese cinema from the end of the CR to the present in connection with the theme of collaboration, demonstrating both the prolonged cinematic negotiations around the issue of complicity as well as its absence in Chinese cinema research. The third part discusses the 'doubling paradigm' that embodies collaboration as a process rather than a subject position. Finally, an analysis of three films by Zhang Yimou and Wu Wenguang (produced between the 1990s and the second decade of the 2000s) leads to the conclusion that the cinematic focus on collaboration may finally allow Chinese society to accept this tormented figure. This article points to the potential contribution of Chinese cinema to further theorization of this subject position, beyond the Chinese case.

A magnitude of twentieth-century literature deals with the paradigmatic triad of perpetrator, victim, and bystander (e.g., Jaspers [1947]1961; Hilberg 1993; Baum 2008; Craps 2015); however, no comprehensive study on the collaborator figure and the phenomenon of complicity in genocide or other mass killing events has been undertaken. With the exception of historical case studies (e.g., Lifton [1986]2000; Browning [1992] 2001; Goldhagen 1997) the vast Holocaust trauma literature, justifiably devoted to the victim (e.g., Felman and Laub 1992; Caruth 1996; Wieviorka 2006), fails to elucidate the phenomenon of collaboration, which, in many respects, epitomizes (together with bystanding) the moral failure of twentieth-century Western civilization, and proffers crucial insights into the criminalization of a society. Despite the recent shift in historiography towards a comprehensive description of collaboration as both an individual and a collective phenomenon (see Cesarini and Levine 2002; Barnett 2000), it seems that the main inclination in various fields of twentieth-century research was not 'to work out ways of getting beyond the grid that locks participants positions or groups together in theory and practice' (LaCapra 2001 111n23). Even so, this research has begun to embrace the crucial value of investigating complicity. Recent examinations of specific contexts of post-Holocaust complicity, such as post-South African apartheid, have paved the way for new conceptions (e.g., Borer 2003; Grünfeld and Vermeulen 2009; Sanders 2002); nevertheless, many of these explorations remain vague, ambiguous, and fraught with collective denial. As a result of these susceptibilities, trauma cinema research of Holocaust, post-Holocaust, (and to some degree, post-colonial) contexts – mainly focused on victims' ordeal (Walker 2005; Kaes 2009; Sarkar and Walker 2010) and to a lesser extent, perpetrators' typology (Adams and Vice 2013; Morag 2013) – continues to neglect the figure of the collaborator and the phenomenon of collaboration.

This is also the failing of Chinese cinema research, which has totally overlooked the phenomenon of betrayal and the CR collaborator figure, even though Chinese cinema both reflects on and participates in the 21st century debate over the heritage of Mao. Though Chinese cinema research has greatly expanded in the last three decades, it neither acknowledges the CR as a distinctive trauma (no comprehensive scholarly work has ever been written on its representation), nor does it use trauma discourse as a major perspective of analysis.³ Moreover, this approach has not been questioned in the literature. Undoubtedly, there is a refusal to embrace Western-Freudian paradigms whose applicability to the Chinese context has been under lengthy dispute, especially in

connection to the orientalism debate. Taking this into consideration, I propose examining the possible contribution of trauma discourse to the understanding of this post-traumatic corpus by looking 'for forms of representation that ... deconstruct the long-standing binary opposition between monolithic notions of West and East' (King 2010, 10).

This preferred focus of Post-CR Chinese cinema research on 'postsocialism' is replete with tensions: intergenerational (Fourth, Fifth and Sixth Generation) continuities vs. discontinuities, 'regressive' socialist language vs. experimental modernist aesthetics; avant-gardist politically-sensitive making vs. evolutionizing of genre films⁴; transnational/blockbuster/globalized entertainment cinema vs. exploratory cinema; and the domestic market vs. the international/festival circuit market (see e.g., Berry 1991; Berry and Farquhar 2006; Berry, Xinyu, and Rofel 2010; Chow 2007; Robinson 2013). Transcending prevalent discourse – 'post-socialism'; the transnational; modernization/urbanization; place, ecology, and globalization – in favour of trauma discourse, this article seeks to decipher the representations of participation in the CR and related chaotic periods through those of collaborator and perpetrator, rather than the subject positions of revolutionary and reactionary, victim and perpetrator.

Chinese cinema of betrayal: 1979–2016

Following the end of the CR, the Chinese film industry flourished; productions include the 1980's 'scar dramas' that depict the emotional traumas created by the period (such as Xie Jin's *Fu rong zhen* [*Hibiscus Town*, 1987]).⁵ For instance, Deng Yimin and Yang Yanjin's *Ku nao ren de xiao* (*Troubled Laughter*, 1979), though focused on the point of view of the victim, emblemizes various collaborators as Evil. The collaborators' appearances – e.g., in the protagonist's nightmares and daydreams portrayed by means of Nazi iconography – articulate the yet unsaid about this figure (Yang 2010). However, the major conflicts of the CR era in terms of collaboration and betrayal emerge clearly in the prominent Fifth and Sixth Generation fiction films, especially the notable post-Tiananmen fiction films. For example, in Chen Kaige's *Ba wang bie ji* (*Farewell My Concubine*, 1993) chaos and suicide follow the main protagonist's betrayal of his loved ones because of Red Guard (RG) terror. In Tian Zhuangzhuang's *Lan feng zheng* (*The Blue Kite*, 1993), a good friend of the father betrays the family, so the father is sent to a labour camp and dies there.⁶

A decade later, however, in most of the 2000s fiction films (such as Changwei Gu's *Kong que* [*Peacock*, 2005], Jiang Haiyan's *Turning Point 1977* [also known as *Examination 1977*, 2009], Wang Xiaoshuai's *11 Flowers*, 2011, and Feng Xiaogang's *Fang hua* [*Youth*, 2017]), the theme of collaboration and the figure of the inside-the-family-informer, central to the social-political-psychological reality of the CR, are barely noticeable. These films generally repress the chaos of the CR and depict the period as a presupposed background that serves various, mainly coming-of-age-related, plots. Reactionary nostalgia and iconic imagery further contribute to this repression.

Contrary to earlier films on the experiences of the younger generation, such as being sent away to the remote countryside (e.g., Joan Chen's *Tian yu* [*Xiu Xiu: The Sent-Down Girl*, 1998] and Zhang Yimou's *Shan zha shu zhi lian* [*Under the Hawthorn Tree*, 2010]), and portrayals of revisionist history (i.e., Jiang Wen's *Yang guang can lan de ri zi* [*In the Heat of the Sun*, 1994]), current post-CR Chinese cinema gives prominence to the figure of informer/collaborator and the recognizable trope of the broken family to show how the

collective memory of the CR, silenced or reworked into an authorized version, is rethought and re-membered in the private sphere.

Since the early 1990s, the Chinese filmmakers of the recent wave of independent non-fiction films have sought 'courageous confrontation with sensitive sociopolitical matters' (Chiu and Zhang 2014, 1). For example, Hu Jie's *Wo sui si qu* (*Though I Was Dead/Though I am Gone*, 2006) uncovers the tragic story of Bian Zhongyun, vice-principal of a prestigious Beijing all-girls secondary school, who was humiliated and beaten to death by her pupils in August, 1966. Through the accounts of nearly thirty survivors, Xiaolian Peng and Louisa Wei's *Storm Under the Sun* (2007) describes the 'storm' that fell upon Hu Feng, a renowned writer and literary theorist, who was the victim of organized rounds of systematic criticism between 1944 and 1954. These films, along with the works of the so-called dGeneration, and other documentaries such as Wu Wenguang's *1966, wo de Hongweibing shidai* (1966, *My Time in the Red Guards*, 1993), propose a painful narrative of 'collaborator-as-perpetrator.'

My analysis will focus on the narrative of family that is broken by the uncontrollable fusion of betrayal from the inside (informer/collaborator) and outside (Party/work unit/colleagues). Zhang Yimou's semi-autobiographical blockbuster fiction film *Coming Home* (2014) and Wu Wenguang's autobiographical film-installation-performance *Investigating My Father* (2016), will be discussed, in addition to Wu Wenguang's *My Time in the Red Guards*. The various strategies used by these films to represent collaboration reveal that despite betrayal within the family, these communities, otherwise consigned to oblivion and disremembering, transform into communities of mourning⁷ (see e.g., Pedroletti 2014). Moreover, by exposing the mechanisms used to cope with internal forces of destruction and the recuperative drive of Communism, these films provide a new perspective on collaboration as a subject position and even more so, a process.

The doubling paradigm: a paradigm of collaboration

As stated above, current post-CR Chinese cinema of betrayal has turned its attention to the traumatic collective memory of the CR. In this context, wounds – inflicted by informers and collaborators in the public and private (family) spheres – are resurfacing, as is evident in auto/biographical films such as Wu Wenguang's *Memory* (2009), *Zhi Liao Treatment*, sometimes referred to as *Treating*, (2010); *Investigating My Father*; and Wang Bing's *He Fengming* (*Fengming, A Chinese Memoir*, 2007). As I will elaborate below, the 'doubling paradigm' is triggered by the subject position of the collaborator. This figure, more than that of the bystander, has major resonance in China, whose authoritarian regime pitted segments of the population against each other and violently enforced obedience to the political system.

The narrative of family destruction is saturated with the perverse identity of the *doppelgänger*. This 'doubling,' originated by the informer, who purports to be loyal but actually holds two identities, emulates the terrifying CR's indoctrination and enforced ideology that has made each and every one a stranger to their own selves. The informer/collaborator's doubling prompts further doubling among family members (or classmates and co-workers); this 'doubling effect' accelerates destructive forces within the family that unfold over the course of the many decades depicted in the films. Uncannily contagious, the doubling threatens the integrity of an identity shaped by two selves, one that existed

before, and one that is formed after the act of betrayal. Both family member and enemy, the collaborator simultaneously contributes to solidarity and disrupts the family structure of unity and togetherness, thus threatening catastrophe and entrapping other members of the family in this doubling process.

Doubling is the survival mechanism in a world defined by indoctrination and conformism; the informer figure is the perverse emblem of this reality. I will show below how these films portray this doubling that gradually becomes a permanent characteristic of the CR 'self,' even though the informers, losing the trust of family and society, eventually become disillusioned, accountable and confess. Proposing an alternative to official history, these films rewrite the relationships between the informer/the Party devotee, the family, and the re-education camp. Thus, in addition to demonstrating the evolutionary path of the violence of betrayal over an extended period, the doubling effect also evokes a powerful criticism of the wider social system.

Four forms of collaboration emerge in this corpus, bringing the dominating 1990s trends to maturity: the lip-server disguised as an 'ordinary' collaborator; the enthusiastic passive collaborator, haunted by social shame; the active collaborator; and the informer. Within this categorization, the cinema of collaboration compels the spectator to consider the ethical complexities of self and enforced positionings in and outside of the family cell, work unit, and political labels. Allowing the repressed and untold violence of the period to resurface, these films trace the devastating effects of collaboration as a processual subject position.

Coming Home: the inside-the-family informer and amnesia

Zhang Yimou's *Coming Home* tells the melodramatic love story of Lu Yanshi (Chen Daoming) and his wife Feng Wanyu (Gong Li). Their couplehood and family break up as a result of the CR's indoctrination of their teenage daughter, Dandan (Zhang Huiwen). Lu, who has been declared a counter-revolutionary, flees the re-education camp in northern China to visit his wife and daughter.⁸ However, before he manages to see his wife, Dandan reports him to the camp's cadres in return for the promise of the leading role in a ballet; they capture him at the planned meeting spot. Lu is sent back and released from prison only three years later at the end of the CR. Rehabilitated after twenty years, he returns home only to discover that his wife suffers from psychogenic amnesia; as a result, she fails to recognize him.⁹ Mistaking him for Fang, the government official who raped her and sexually extorted her, she pushes her husband out of their home in horror. Dandan, frustrated because her father's escape cost her the leading role in the ballet and she had to make do with the role of a simple soldier, has cut Lu out of every photo in the family album, and therefore Feng has no concrete image of her husband that could jog her memory. Forced out of the house, Lu tries for years to gain his wife back, alternately posing as Feng's good neighbour, a piano tuner, and a friend who reads her the pile of letters written by her husband during his years at the camp, and which she never received. Despite Lu's persistent efforts, Feng does not remember him; carrying a sign with his name, she goes to the train station every month to wait for his arrival. In the film's last scene, they are already an elderly 'couple,' he is driving her to the train station where both of them will wait for him to come home.

American psychiatrist Arthur Kleinman and co-researcher and sinologist Joan Kleinman assert that

In Chinese cultural settings, everyday life is configured as a process of social connections (*guanxi*). These ties with others provide one with moral capital that is literally incorporated into the body as 'face' (*lianmian*). Social connections themselves are animated by *renqing* ('favor' or situated emotion) Both social bodies and human bodies ... can be vitalized or devitalized, given face or made to lose face, moralized or demoralized, owing to the socio-somatics of social experience. (1994, 713, 722n11)

This explanation suggests a connection between the corporeal and the social, which in its extreme, is literally and symbolically facilitated through *Coming Home's* informer, Dandan and engraved on her mother's body and mind. Suffering from post-traumatic amnesia, a negative form of the sociosomatics, Feng is fixated on her traumatic rape, and cannot integrate painful memories into the present. Fang's abuse of *guanxi*, the Chinese system of social connections, mirrors the non-repairable identity loss and 'clouded consciousness' (Saeeduddin et al. 2000, 765) characteristic of the violent CR. The lack of visual memory traces of Lu as her husband signifies Feng's inability to relate phenomenologically to the pre-traumatic, pre-CR world.

In *Coming Home*, as in Zhang Yimou's earlier films depicting the female battle against repressive social forces,¹⁰ victimization is not accompanied by passivity and helplessness. Feng is a victim, yet she has agency: she keeps the sexual extortion and rape a secret; refuses to disclose Dandan's betrayal; drives Dandan out of her house and life; fights off 'Mr. Fang' when he invades her apartment; and, for many years, goes to the train station on the fifth day of every month. Lu has agency as well, though it is corrupted by the perverse role of *doppelgänger* that is forced on him because Feng's is unable to retrieve their shared past. This doubling, originated by the informer and exacerbated by CR indoctrination and enforced ideology, creates a complex subjecthood whose traumatic form is revealed through Feng's vision of Lu as Lu/Fang, the doubling identity crisis of Dandan as daughter/informer, and Feng's confused state, in which the inability to store and retrieve memory or encode information blurs her present and past identities. Though Lu and Feng, unlike Dandan, are not informers, the doubling becomes hideously typical of all three characters. The *doppelgänger*, taken to its extreme in Lu's case, and anchored in the basic rhetorical figures of the melodrama's repetition and contrast, serves as a physical manifestation of the dissociated part of Feng's double identity; more importantly, it emphasizes the polarized identities of the CR turmoil.

Following one of Feng's attacks on Lu, Dandan confesses that it was she who informed on her father; however, her confession and accountability do not allow for a full homecoming. Feng accedes to Lu's request to let Dandan return, but, clearly, the collaborator cannot undo the deed, and the daughter's homecoming, like her father's, remains fantasmatic. The drawn-out costs of betrayal unfold throughout the narrative; the traumatic memories constitute a 'kind of foreign body in the psychic-associative network' (Bohleber 2007, 88).

One remarkable scene, highlighted through editing, mise-en-scène, music, and dialogue, exemplifies these intermingled processes within the betrayed post-CR family, including the doubling effect; the erasure of a shared past through extensive memory disturbance; the dominance of fantasy in everyday survival; the painful performance of two 'selves' (one of which is 'buried' or 'secondary,' and self-replete with its own memories and unspeakable emotional experience); and the eternal suspension of homecoming. After reading Lu's letter requesting Dandan's return, Feng agrees to let her daughter

come home. They read his letter as if it was sent from the camp, though in fact Lu wrote it upon his return (symbolizing the extension of the doubling effect even to the chattels that mediate the drama). Although both of them sit together near the table, the editing does not allow for a 'two shot' (showing both of them together in the frame), which might indicate a reconciliation. In fact, during their entire conversation on the subject of Dandan's return home, years after her mother banished her in agony and anger, they are each seen in a separate shot. With a closeup on Dandan's tears, and after Lu carries the daughter's belongings into the mother's apartment, we hear the music from the video recorder where Dandan has inserted a cassette of the opera song. The camera cuts to her dressed as the leading warrior in the classic revolutionary ballet *Hongse niangzijun* (*The Red Detachment of Women*).¹¹ As the editing moves from an omniscient point-of-view to her parents' watching her enactment, she dances the role that was promised to her in exchange for informing on her father; her red outfit (typical of the palette of Zhang's oeuvre) contrasts the mise-en-scène's pale brown-grey-green colours symbolizing Feng's emotional state and fading memories. This shadowy apartment-turned-imaginary-stage, propagandistic operatic song and spectacular number are all anchored in the pre-betrayal fantasy. In fact, this imaginary performance of the coveted and denied dance role is the only way they can all return to the pre-betrayal period. Ironically, Dandan re-enacts her conformity (though in fact she played the part of an ordinary soldier). Thus, when her mother asks, at the end of the show, which role she danced, Dandan replies that it is the leading role of the heroic fighter Wu Ching-Hua (the role that she had lost). Feng then says 'a soldier's role is good as well,' hinting at her daughter's betrayal. The spectator thus recognizes that imaginary doubles are still present under the surface of this reconciliatory moment, threatening to erupt.

Dandan spectacular pre-betrayal fantasmatic dance and Feng's response highlight the informer/collaborator also as beneficiary. Since Dandan has failed in obtaining the coveted role, I do not consider the beneficiary to be a major position within the paradigm discussed. In my view, the beneficiary is an early turning point in the evolution of the prolonged collaboration that is contaminated by the doubling effect. In *Coming Home* (as well as in the entire corpus), the 'doubling' is a far more prominent characteristic of the collaborator. The beneficiary stage is limited to Dandan's desire as a young woman; failing to be realized, it does not evolve into a subject position.¹² The imaginary re-lived event echoes both the adverse state policies as well as the multifaceted traumatic reality of the prevailing doubling.

Coming Home reflects on the untold, irretrievable, historical truth of the pre-CR period. Disallowing any redemptive narrative of healing on an individual or familial level means refusing to reduce the political to the personal. This figure of the collaborator, generally ignored in research of Zhang's oeuvre, allows for a powerful critique of the wider social system.¹³ More than his earlier film and directorial debut *Red Sorghum*, that presents the re-humanization of the characters mainly through a re-sexualization and the recuperation of outlawed uninhibited masculinity (see Wang 1989, 37) or a displacement to the pre-Communist past that was typical of his early melodramas, and even more than *To Live's* first and mainly historical depiction of this era, Zhang's portrayal of the informer in *Coming Home* obliges the spectator to reflect on the ethics of conscious memory work and literal embodied memory. As the above analysis shows, in *Coming Home* they are sometimes intermingled, and, at times even presented in contrast. Using the tropes of informing and

amnesia, the film explores issues of speaking truth to power and the veracity of memories; this examination lays the foundation for the articulation of an ethical stand in regard to the CR and Chinese politics in the 2000's.

Wu Wenguang's self-investigation into collaboration

Wu, who is widely considered the godfather of independent documentary filmmaking in China,¹⁴ searches for independent cinematic language in his attempt to define a post-CR self-identity. This is evident in his evolving self-representation starting with *1966: My Time in the Red Guards* and ending with *Investigating My Father*. The first is a pioneering and a highly subversive documentary about the CR, made seventeen years after it ended. As Wu says, 'The difficult part was not just the government, but getting people to talk about this' (Björkell 2011). Notably, the film came out ten years before the first public confessions in 2014 (mentioned above), during a time when 'red terror'¹⁵ and the government's taboo had to be taken into consideration. These constraints perhaps also account for the fact that only a small part of the RG's frenzied violence is represented.

1966: My Time in the Red Guards is made up of seven chapters of interviewee accounts arranged in crosscuts. This structure, achieved through parallel editing, is the film's major rhetorical device through which Wu presents a wide spectrum of perspectives, ranging from the enthusiastic narrative of Huang Ling, a staunch non-repentant Party devotee; through Xu Youyu's limited account of how 'It was a great disaster for the country and the people ... the Red Guards ... played a negative role;' to the story of Sixth Generation director Tian Zhuangzhuang, who together with the personal recollection of being forced, at fourteen years of age, to publicly curse his parents, still manages to present a retrospective stance on the period. Wu remains non-judgemental throughout accounts of a teacher being beaten to death at school, humiliation of the elderly, and brutal looting of neighbours' homes; he is dedicated to unravelling an authentic and detailed truth. However, between chapters, he enhances the speaker's accounts through animations mocking Mao Zedong and archived stills and video clips showing the frenzied enthusiasm of the RG during the first rally and inspection of the ranks by Mao Zedong at Tiananmen Square on 18 August 1966.

Two more subversive strategies stand out. The first involves a closeup of a ticking Mao clock presented on the entire cinematic screen at the beginning of each chapter. With RG cadres waving the Little Red Book painted on its face, this red clock reminds us that twenty-seven years have passed since these ex-pupils and students, then aged fourteen to eighteen, joined the RG. Like other commercial memorabilia of its kind, it echoes the nostalgia accompanying many accounts of the passion and 'great, unforgettable, moments' of the period. The second strategy incorporates footage of the girls' band Cobra rehearsing for a show in which they sing: '1966: A Red Train/Crowded with Happy Lambs.' This rock band represents the modernized China of the 1990, when the film was made, whose young generation is uninformed and not particularly interested in the CR; thus, it provides an indirect critique of the interviewees' attachment to the past. The band's singing is intertwined with a montage of the Beijing rally, showing RG cadres hysterically waving flags and fists, shouting 'Long live Chairman Mao!' This scene strongly affirms the depth and power of the indoctrination processes and symbolizes the CR legacy of stagnation. As Nobel-winner writer and critic Gao Xingjian says, 'During the Cultural

Revolution, people were “rebellious” ... However, after the end of the Cultural Revolution, people avoided talking about rebelling, or simply forgot that part of history’ (see MacFarquhar and Schoenhals, location 6458–9). In this regard, Wu’s unveiling of the silenced history of a group of active collaborators and the mechanism of collaboration is unique; it is also a phase in the gradual and critical awareness of his own collaboration.

Investigating My Father, which I will now discuss, looks closely at victimhood in order to rewrite officially- erased traumas and explain the post-socialist mindset, particularly for the benefit of the post-socialist public. In addition, by proposing a unique docu/social-activist exploration of collaboration, it suggests that the creative arts, including cinema, can bring about change. While in 1966: *My Time in the Red Guards*, Wu refrains from positioning himself among the ex-RG cadres, in this later film he uses as a main tool of representation a radical and ubiquitous technique of performance together with performativity¹⁶ to negotiate the issue of his own active and passive collaboration.¹⁷ Performance and performativity suggest a bodily, non-cognitive means of gaining knowledge and call for a new ethic of clear-headed scrutiny of the Maoism thought reform.¹⁸ Though Wu continuously ponders his own acts of collaboration with the Revolution (see Wang 2012, 315), for example, in *Memory*, in *Treatment/Treating* and, indirectly, in 1966: *My Time in the Red Guards*, he fully realizes his distinctive style, based on *xianchang*,¹⁹ performance, performativity, and self-reflexive first-person cinema, only thirty years later. *Investigating My Father* expresses the ideological transformations he undergoes from the age of ten (in 1966) to fifty-seven.

Wu’s own complicity, expressed through these aesthetic and rhetorical devices, haunts his cinema for thirty years, and culminates in this ‘investigation’ of his biological and symbolic (Mao Zedong) fathers. Through this inquiry into the identities of his fathers, he examines himself and his growth as an artist. The processuality that is embodied in performance, which involves multiple artistic media and genres²⁰ allows Wu the director to disentangle himself from his previously unacknowledged younger and zealous self and form an independent (non-Maoist) identity. *Investigating My Father* also stands out among his thirty years of documentary filmmaking because it charts collaboration as a disruptive force developed and revealed inside the family. Nonetheless, scholars who analyse Wu’s films as part of the ‘performance turn’ in Chinese documentary cinema (e.g., Berry 2006; Wang 2012; Chiu and Zhang 2014; Pernin 2014) do not address the fact that both performance and performativity are Wu’s primary rhetoric in his endeavour to come to terms with representation of complicitous guilt and shame and make room for a new self-awareness.

Defining the importance of performance, anthropologist Victor Turner claims that:

A performance is a dialectic of ‘flow,’ that is, spontaneous movement in which action and awareness are one, and ‘reflexivity,’ in which the central meanings, values and goals of a culture are seen ‘in action,’ as they shape and explain behavior. A performance is declarative of our shared humanity, yet it utters the uniqueness of particular cultures. (Schechner 2013, 7)

Investigating My Father presents this combination of action and awareness. Dedicated to the memory of Wu’s father, the film begins with an image of the personal file of Wu Wenguang’s father (Wu Tinzhang) preserved by the Chinese Communist Party (CCP); this file symbolizes political persecution, immense suffering, and inescapable destiny. The film’s title appears on the file’s photo, underlining the film’s aspiration to, at least, rewrite

the unknown events behind the naked truth that Wu's father was forced to admit. Next, a theatrical installation appears together with a long shot of Wu, standing on the right side of the darkened stage, his outstretched arms and face partly illuminated by a spotlight placed on a desk opposite him. The left-hand side of the frame reveals the other side of the stage and a closeup portrait photo of his father; this photo is also projected on the floor of the stage. Pre-Emptying the story, this reflected photo symbolizes the complex, soon-to-be-revealed double identity of Wu Tinzhang.

The choice to be overshadowed and not use his voice until he acquires his new self are remarkable directorial choices; they invoke the portrayed conflictual relationship between himself, a collaborator with Maoism, and his father, the rebel. Devoid of sound and voice-over, the typography, infographics, multiple titles, and images of the film expose the spectators to the son's representation of his father's life. The next title, 'The family photo album is one way into my father's story,' serves to introduce the family history while undermining the reliability of the family album as historical evidence.

These unconventional techniques echo the father's secretive actions, and repeatedly emphasize the gap between the visible-known and the invisible-unknown in the establishment of identity, especially in times of terrorist indoctrination. In 1953, at the age of forty – as the titles disclose to the theatre audience and film spectators – the abused and humiliated Wu Tinzhang left his birthplace in Sichuan for Yunnan, 'because of what happened in 1949 ... and never went back again.' Determined to become a member of the 'New Society,' Wu's father defies the Communist conception that class is destiny: concealing his background as landlord and bomber pilot in the National Air Force, he pretends to be an ordinary, uneducated person.

Wu tells this extraordinary story of masquerade by using typography; multiple titles (explaining the file's 'keywords:' cover up, discovery, defence, confession); images (of pages from his father's file, a house in ruins, Communist propaganda posters, and the father's village of origin); and photos from the family album. This proliferation of strategies is used to explain to the spectator that in 1955, Wu Tinzhang marries Li Peiying, a mother of two, who was totally unaware of his past. Wu's voice, displaced onto the titles, explains that his father 'hides himself inside a new family,' to which Wu was born. Different photos of the father appear on the screen, and the titles read:

This man joined a work unit and hid among the masses, pretending to be just like everyone else. What sort of man was he before 1949? I did not know the answer until I was twenty-two ... Here is a man who looks like "the man of the new society," but shadow hides half his face and hides his real self.

In an intriguing twist of the Oedipus mythology, the father tries in vain to escape his fate. At the beginning of the CR, after a number of interrogations, the Chinese authorities send ten-year-old Wu's father to Yuanmou, a *laogai* (reform-through-labour camp) for eleven years. The film moves from the dominating 'diary of images,' to Wu, still in dim light, recollecting his first memory from 1967, when he spent six months with his father in the labour camp. Wu the director uses his own speaking voice *only* at major turning points in his trajectory towards an independent self. At these moments, he discards the *xianchang* means and performance to express this new non-Maoist self.

Wu portrays a journey of over twenty years of collaboration (1967–89), beginning with the teenage rejection of his father's semblance of 'ordinariness'; then exploring his anger towards his father for silent acceptance of the 'struggle sessions' and harsh criticism suffered during Wu's visit in the labour camp; his revolutionary mindset as a high school pupil; his pride in becoming one of the 'Educated Youth' sent to the countryside; his aspiration to join the RG and be the 'new man in the socialist era' (Lifton [1968]1976, 41), and, finally, his impersonation of a rebelling demonstrator in Tiananmen Square.

Two forms of collaboration rise out of these personal histories spanning three decades of Maoism: the lip-server disguised as an 'ordinary' collaborator and the enthusiastic passive collaborator. Wu's father pays lip service to the New Society in order to survive. His pretending and lies to those around him are distinguished from his personal integrity and truth to himself. In comparison, Wu presents himself as a true believer in Maoism, a follower who was forced to face his self-deception by accident, during the Tiananmen Square Massacre of 1989. Standing in the shadow of the enlarged closeup of his father, and using a performative confession, he tells his imagined father (the photo), the audience and the spectators about this turning point.

I was a bystander in the demonstrations in Beijing But then there is this photograph [*He projects on the screen a b/w news photograph of himself holding a banner in the demonstration*]. What does it say on the banner I am holding? . . . 'The press should be free.' . . . There . . . were members of the press. . . . When one of the guys in front holding the banner got tired, I took it from him. After I did somebody appeared . . . and started taking my picture . . . click, click, click [*demonstrates; the audience laughs*] That was the moment in Wu Wenguang's life in 1989. Because of a chance encounter he joined a demonstration. [*The camera zooms-in to extreme-closeup, as if to deepen its intervention in this falsely-presented reality*]. He certainly is no revolutionary. He certainly had nothing to do with the demand for freedom of the press. [*Audience's laughs*].

The shift from the son's photo back to the father's signifies Wu's continuous inner dialogue with his father and stresses the gap between their different subject positions. The father's innocent expression contrasts Wu's reflective gaze, directed at the 'faked' photo of himself, and the probing gaze of the spectators and audience. Inverting his gaze inwards, Wu makes himself vulnerable, questions his own and perhaps also his father's performativity, and introduces a new phase in the familial dynamics of secrets and lies. Moreover, he calls into question the possibility of authentic news representation. Symbolically, his questioning of the process of self-reflection constitutes an ethic of truth and the defeat of self-illusionism.

The complex meaning of this confession through his self-falsified (and media-falsified) image and the significant connection between the CR and the Tiananmen Massacre is revealed a few minutes into the film (after the account of his father's death and Wu's return to Beijing). The father's photo is screened again on the stage, with Wu over-shadowed at its side, continuing his story:

I went out to watch the demonstrations whenever I could In the midst of that excitement If I had joined that river of people But I was a bystander, watching from the side of the street. Even though on the night of June 3rd, as gunfire rang out, blood flowed, and people fled [*The enlarged photo (closeup) of his father creates the impression that Wu Tinzhang is watching his son; in this respect, fictionalization in documentary cinema succeeds in expressing hidden and painful truth.*] It was on the square . . . All I knew is that I had to witness it all . . .

I never could have imagined what an enormous change it would bring to my life ... from then on, I was done with squares and slogans, and banners. [*The father's photo gradually 'shrinks,' marking the end of their imaginary confrontation because Wu has terminated his collaboration.*] And revolution. It was done. [*Fade out, cut to Wu's third visit, in 2013, to his father's village.*]

The productive force of performance, involving components ranging from aesthetic and formal to the political and social, is revealed in its inherent tensions.²¹ Wu's performance constructs an entire discussion upon the question of politically subversive double identity on one hand, and collaboration's doubling on the other. In sheer contrast to almost all the interviewees in *1966: My Time in the Red Guards*, made twenty-three years earlier, who barely considered their own (or others') CR-related violence, Wu examines his collaboration during the CR as a bystander during the Tiananmen Square Massacre. The violence of this event reflects the repressed and untold violence of the CR. Linfield (2010, 104) suggests that 'the 1989 democracy movement, which ended in the massacre at Tiananmen Square, was both a rejection of the Cultural Revolution and its offspring ... the Cultural Revolution represents the repressed unconscious of present-day China;' in this way, Wu's reflection on collaboration and bystanding foregrounds the most traumatic element – the chaotic violence – as an element that needs to be addressed in order to regain an independent self. This is the reason for his performative act of imitating his father at the end of *Investigating My Father*: through this imaginary scene where his father is a free man, he is presenting himself as a free man as well. The rivalry mediated through a 'dialogue' with the photo, the struggle with the deep-seated injury, and the probe of the father's history are transcended through Wu's last performance. Inverting not only his gaze but also the emotional contamination of the doubling effect, Wu tells the story of his father swimming in the river. Standing in the shadows near his photo, he imitates the father's bodily movements of swimming, and continues the story:

I was on the riverbank, sitting on the rock ... watching him swim ... In that moment ... my father was completely free again ... he forgot ... about his son, forgot about the looks on the faces of the people at the farm, forgot about his landlord background, forgot about his hometown in Sichuan. He forgot it all. He forgot all the things that brought him pain.

As the sound goes silent, Wu's movements continue. A clip of water is then superimposed on the photos of his father and himself, until they disappear. The last shot of the film shows Wu near the river. A small child writes Wu Wenguang's name in the sand in Chinese characters, symbolizing Wu's self-recognition of himself as an artist with a signature (albeit on sand); this is the outcome of becoming free.

Does using representation for imitation-identification-self-revelation and Wu's movements in the last scene propose a working through? It seems that in comparison to the Maoist clock's incessant ticking in *1966: My Time in the Red Guards*, the characteristics of this performativity, namely, the emphasis on embodiment, event, interaction, and practice rather than on text alone, embody the process of working-through his father's death. In line with most of the research on the subject, Bala (2013) contends that 'the concept of the performative asks about the formation of a subject through its actions.' Wu demonstrates how performance challenges, subverts, and critiques ideology while simultaneously producing a new subject of knowledge. Proposing a strong critique of Maoism both on the personal and the collective levels, *Investigating My Father* implies that there is perhaps no way to heal the post-CR catastrophic psychic wound and the devastating

rupture of the social bond, and maybe there is no solution to the crucial question of elite-mass interaction. Wu comes to terms with the CR's legacy of collaboration, bystanding, ideological blindness, and violence by embracing the ethics that negates self-betrayal and elevating the role of art.

Conclusion: collaboration in Chinese cinema

Post-CR Chinese cinema from the 1990s until the second decade of the 2000s has dramatically changed the relationships between (fiction and non-fiction) filmmaking, (official and nonofficial) history, and (blocked and counter) memory.²² These changes have been hailed as major achievements in most studies of the last three decades. Specifically non-fiction independent Chinese cinema, as a docu-activist cinema, is breaking new ground: in contrast to prevailing theorization of performance and performativity as foregrounding problematic issues in documentary filmmaking (see e.g., Bruzzi 2006; Rascaroli 2009), performance and performativity in the New Independent Chinese Movement 'do not draw attention to the impossibility of authentic documentary representation' (Bruzzi as quoted in Rascaroli 2009, 86).²³

Though this cinema's obsession with the re-presentation and rewriting of history and the pressing urge to record the testimonies of aged survivors of the Maoism chaos (especially the Great Leap Forward, the Anti-Rightist Campaign, the Great Famine, and their calamity in the extremism of the CR) are remarkable, the issue of collaboration is not a major trend.²⁴ Yet, as this analysis shows, the hidden wounds, inflicted by the informers and collaborators who were motivated by class struggle, are re-emerging.

Trauma discourse enables the definition of an axis of collaboration characterized by later-day acknowledgement of the 'totalist concepts idealized in the notion of "proletarian dictatorship"' (White 1989, 11). Examples range from unaware collaborators-followers who, after fifty years, hardly recognize being part of mass compliance²⁵; to sober self-reflective and self-condemning collaborators at the centre of the axis²⁶; to the extreme collaborator-turned-perpetrator.²⁷ Along this axis, the cinema of collaboration, transcending differences between fiction and non-fiction and autobiography and semi-autobiography, engages the spectator in its exploration of the complex moral repercussions of self and enforced positioning in all its forms. It reveals that the collaborator figure functions in a complicated network of relationships intermingled with traumatic events, the unfolding of taboo-ized memory, and ethics.

Perpetratorhood is the result of an atrocious deed or series of deeds carried out at a precise point in time; similarly, the subject position of survivor is also determined by the single act of staying alive. In comparison, the collaborator's identity is the result of a lengthy transformation process involving processuality more than positioning. The evil deed of the perpetrator can never be undone: moreover, it defines the perpetrator's identity from that conscious and premeditated moment onward. Caruth (1996), drawing on Freud, describes survival as an outcome of a traumatic catastrophic event. Whether the trauma is registered on the psyche or not, the event did happen. Collaboration entails an act; however, in terms of temporality, and in respect to this corpus, its processuality involves different levels of self-consciousness and secrecy, and might last more than a few decades (like in *Coming Home* and *Investigating My Father*). The length of time involved in acquiring and sustaining a new identity or identities (including the short-term and

fantasmatic position of the [failed] beneficiary) and the secretive doubling dimension make collaboration more elusive than other subject positions. Thus, Chinese cinema of betrayal contributes to further theorization of this subject position beyond the Chinese case.²⁸

Considering the shattering processes shown on Chinese screens during the 2000s, does this cinema enable mourning? If 'totalitarianism describes a situation in which "all social ties have been entirely replaced by State-imposed organizations,"' (Pierre Ryckmans as cited in White 1989, 314n22) what pre-mourning processes should be structured in the post-CR period? As LaCapra (1998, 184) states, 'To be effective, mourning would seem to require a supportive or even solidaristic social context.' Reflecting on events that took place during the twentieth century, the cinema of betrayal expands public space by symbolically foregrounding one of the most self-defeated images known in this corpus, thus allowing Chinese society to accept the agonized informer/collaborator. Furthermore, by challenging the repression of collaboration (especially inside the family and other 'group-units'), and presenting non-fictional and fictional forms of confessions and redemption, Chinese society, through cinema, is enabling the formation of a solidaristic social context. Therefore, cinema of betrayal and post-traumatic depiction of collaboration is a major force in the campaign for a democratization of culture in China.

Notes

1. For an estimation of the number of victims, see Kiernan (Kiernan 2007, 536, 687n99).
2. Thurston (1984–1985), for example, claims that the CR 'bears resemblance' to both disaster and holocaust.
3. Xiong (2004) discusses the trauma of the CR and Zhang Yimou's film *To Live*. I object to his main claim. Berry (2004) analyzes a pioneering post-Mao cycle of films about the CR that presaged the Fifth Generation. (See also Cai 2015.)
4. These films include melodrama, comedy, cop-gangster thriller, and martial arts.
5. Xie Jin made *Tian yun shan chuan qi* (*Legend of Tianyun Mountain*, 1980), the first film in the post-Mao period to deal with the injustice suffered as a result of the Anti-Rightist Movement. Another example is his *Fu rong zhen* (*Hibiscus Town*, 1987).
6. More recent films, like Tsui Hark's *Zhi qu wei hu shan* (*The Taking of Tiger Mountain*, 2014), expand the discussion through adventurous spectacles relating to the depicted time span (1947).
7. In January 2014, several fellow former pupils at the experimental high school attached to Beijing Normal University, then in their sixties, publicly apologized to their teachers. A detailed report appeared in three special issues of the online journal *Ji Yi* (*Remembrance*). (See Yu 2016.)
8. Reflecting on his autobiography as a child who grew up during the CR, Zhang says,

During the Cultural Revolution my father was labelled the worst kind of counterrevolutionary – a 'double counterrevolutionary.' That era is filled with tragic memories of having our house ransacked and being sent to the countryside for re-education... people like me were called 'the worst element.'

 (Berry 2005, 111–12).
9. Post-traumatic symptoms like liver disease and malnutrition in *The Blue Kite* and selective amnesia in *Coming Home* as 'inter-body' symptoms both reflect and symbolize the act of informing because they are the outcome of unseen, unknowable, and unpredicted processes.
10. From *Hong gao liang* (*Red Sorghum*, 1987); *Ju Dou* (*Ju Dou*, 1990); *Da hong deng long gao gao gua* (*Raise the Red Lantern*, 1991); *Qiu Ju da guan si* (*The Story of Qiu Ju*, 1992) to *Houzhe* (*To Live*, 1994).

11. *Hongse niangzijun (The Red Detachment of Women)* ballet was premiered in 1964. Made one of the Eight Model Operas that dominated the national stage during the CR, it depicts the liberation of a peasant girl in Hainan Island and her rise in the Chinese Communist Party (See Cai 2015, 290). Dandan aspired to dance the role of Wu Qinghua, daughter of a peasant, later a soldier, and finally commissar of the Women's Detachment.
12. The position of the beneficiary has not been theorized in a comprehensive matter. Post-colonial literature (e.g., Sanders, 2000) and post-Truth and Reconciliation Commission (TRC) literature (e.g., Mamdani 1996, 2000; Campbell 2000; Borer 2003; Schaffer and Smith 2006) only refer to the beneficiary in part. According to Mamdani, the TRC 'has been interested only in violations outside the law, in benefits which are corruptions, but not in the systematic benefit which was conferred on beneficiaries at the expense of the vast majority of people in this country' (Mamdani 1996, 3). Schaffer and Smith (2006, 1580) accentuate the 'discomforting slippage' between the Afrikaner perpetrator and beneficiary stances manifested in Antjie Krog's literary memoir ('Country of My Skull') while reflecting on the beneficiary as a systematically produced horror. They suggest that 'If, as Mamdani argued, the position of the beneficiary seemed almost invisible ten years ago, when the TRC organized victim-and-amnesty hearings, Krog's personal narrative subsequently recognizes the beneficiary position and demands its investigation' (Schaffer, S. 2006, 1582). However, they, as well as most of the TRC scholars mentioned above, do not elaborate theoretically on this position, besides noting its slippage, in-between-ness and ambiguousness (on the ambiguity see Sanders 2007).

A discussion of Rothberg (2019) (as well as his criticism of Meister and Robbins' reflections on the beneficiary) would exceed the limitations of this essay. Suffice to say that his new category ('implication') is a wider category, meant to be inclusive. (Discussing both local and translocal contexts, he claims that beneficiaries are implicated subjects, but not all implicated subjects are beneficiaries.) (See esp. locations 370–428 and 676–743).

13. In contrast, Cai (Cai 2015, 275–6) claims that by adapting the American-based Chinese writer Yan Geling's novel, *The Criminal Lu Yanshi* (2011) into *Coming Home*, Zhang Yimou caused a melodramatic 'depoliticizing' and 'commercializing' metamorphosis.
14. Influenced by Ogawa Shinsuke and Frederick Wiseman, Wu's early statement on documentary filmmaking gained the status of a manifest for the Independent Cinema Movement (see Wu 2006, 139).
15. MacFarquhar and Schoenhals (MacFarquhar and Schoenhals 2006, loc.3741) chronicle the RG's destruction of national treasures, systematic killings, and cannibalism.
16. In the following analysis, performance is regarded as a reflexive/reflective artistic creation in contrast to performativity, defined in Austinian terms, as 'doing things with words.'
17. The conceptualization of collaboration in Wu's films is overlooked by research on Wu (see e.g., Q. Wang 2012; Berry 2006; Wang 2012; Chiu and Zhang 2014; Meng 2016).
18. In his first breakthrough film, *Liulang Beiing-Zuihou De Mengxiangzhe (Bumming in Beijing – The Last Dreamers, 1990)*, he began experimenting with *jishizhuyi* (spontaneous realism), instead of continuing to embrace the more traditional *zhuanti pian* (special topic film). According to Berry (Berry 2006, 134) *jishizhuyi* is translated as 'record-ism' or 'document-ism.' On the genealogy of the term, see Berry (Berry 2009, 111–12). For a discussion of *zhuanti pian*, see Berry (Berry 2006, 134).
19. Based on hand-held camera, natural lighting, emphasis on spontaneity, location shooting, inclusion of unanticipated events that happen on the location, etc.
20. Such as 'live art,' theatre, music, dance, verbal and written hypertextuality, bodily gesture, facial expression, everyday action, and acting.
21. See Bala's (2013) insightful deliberation, including her criticism of Schechner's introduction.
22. The release of the official *Resolution on CPC History, 1949–81* in 1981 offered a party-sanctioned, politically correct account of major developments of post-1949 Chinese history and Mao's role in that history.
23. The scope of this discussion does not allow an elaborate comparison of Eastern and Western scholarship on this subject.

24. In this regard, given that Hong Kong cinema (as well as Taiwanese and diasporic cinema) is part of and significantly impacts Chinese cinema, its representation of collaboration and scrutinizing of 'mainlandization' (Szeto and Chen 2012; Szeto 2014) during the colonial and especially the current post-colonial era reflects on the doubling paradigm in ways that confirm its long-time absence from Chinese cinema (and scholarship). In other words, considering the conditions of its cultural-political-psychological-industrial-economical attachment to China, it is noteworthy that under periods of a relatively free political regime, Hong Kong film industry and scholarship ceaselessly represent and rethink the colonial/national complex. As 'a cinema without a nation' (Fu and Desser 2002, 5), it has repositioned itself as a 'crisis cinema' by considering the various political and socioeconomic mutations with which the postcolonial city is caught up (Cheung and Chu 2004). The 'doubling paradigm' is thus defined on a trans-national level, as part of constant battle with the hegemony of China.

A recent well-known event articulates the problematics entailed in the unique Hong Kong cinematic identity, which also mark its independence: as is well-known, in 2016, Chinese media boycotted the broadcasting of the Hong Kong Film Awards following the nomination of *Ten Years*, a local independent film, for best picture. *Ten Years*, echoing public sentiment following months of protests in late 2014, often called the 'Umbrella Movement,' presents a dystopian view of the city in the year 2025. As Tse-Hei Lee (2017) points out, filmmakers like Herman Yau and Vincent Chui 'typify the trend of what Mirana M. Szeto and Yun-Chung Chen call the "Hong Kong SAR New Wave," in which postcolonial filmmakers respond to the challenges of global neoliberalism and mainlandization by taking on many localist subjects while retaining a keen awareness of intra- and inter-cultural flows within Greater China. Beyond rejecting the "chauvinist and xenophobic petit-grandiose Hong Kongism typical of the pre-1997 Hong Kong colonial inferiority complex," they construct a cinematic critique of biopolitical power under the Chinese rule and champion a vision of grassroots activism that offers people hope and resources for transformative change' (174). Hong Kong cinema reminds the Hong Kong audiences of their colonial inheritances and contemporary inequalities in an effort to suggest the various linkages between past and present, private and public domains, state and society, authoritarian oppression and democratic uprising, or strives to cooperation, coproduction and other systemic means of collaboration, addressing local controversies in regard to 'betrayal' and doubling remain a major defining factor.

The literature on this subject is very expansive (see, for example, recent discussions such as Cheung, Tan, and Marchetti 2010; Chu 2013; Liew 2012).

25. Some of the characters and especially Huang Ling in Wu Wenguang's *1966: My Time in the Red Guards*.
26. Wu Wenguang as himself in *Memory, Treatment/Treating, and Investigating My Father*.
27. The character of Fang and the unnamed officials in *Coming Home* and all the characters (except Tian Zhuangzhuang) in *1966: My Time in the Red Guards*.
28. A comparison between post-CR China and other (social and cinematic) contexts exceeds the limitations of this essay. However, it worth noting that in major post-apartheid fiction films (such as John Boorman's *In My Country*, based on the non-fiction book of Antjie Krog *Country of My Skull* [UK/Ireland/South Africa, 2004], Ian Gabriel's *Forgiveness* [South Africa, 2004], and Tom Hooper's *Red Dust* based on the novel by Gillian Slovo, the daughter of activists Ruth First (assassinated by the state) and Joe Slovo [UK/South Africa, 2004]), as well as documentaries (such as Mark J. Kaplan's *Between Joyce and Remembrance* [South Africa, 2005] and *Betrayal* [South Africa, 2006]), for example, the processual position further emphasizes the inner contradictions that are revealed at the heart of the reconciliation process that is represented. Thus, the doubling paradigm with its processual position helps explore not only the nature of the reconciliation but also the socio-psychological-political aporias still felt in transitional transformations into 'nation-building' in post-authoritarian societies. In this regard, Mark Sander's claim that 'apartheid, though by no means unique, was exemplary as a venue for the intellectual as a figure assuming responsibility in complicity' (Sanders 2002, Kindle Edition 48), which he develops by portraying a genealogy of the intellectual in his book, is intriguing. His notion of

responsibility-in-complicity could be further examined in relation to the spectator of cinema of betrayal, regardless of the context (post-CR China, post-apartheid South Africa, or other).

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Notes on contributor

Raya Morag is Associate Professor of Cinema Studies in the Department of Communication and Journalism at the Hebrew University of Jerusalem, Israel. Her research and publications deal with post-traumatic cinema and ethics; cinema, war, and masculinity; perpetrator trauma; documentary cinema; Israeli and Palestinian second *Intifada* cinema; and corporeal-feminist film critique. Her current research projects focus on the perpetrator figure and societal trauma in South and Southeast Asian cinema. She is the author of *Defeated Masculinity: Post-Traumatic Cinema in the Aftermath of War* (Peter Lang, 2009); *The Defeated Male. Cinema, Trauma, War* (Koebner Series, Jerusalem, and Resling, Tel Aviv, 2011); *Waltzing with Bashir: Perpetrator Trauma and Cinema* (I.B. Tauris, London and New York, 2013); *Perpetrator Trauma and Israeli Intifada Cinema* (Resling, Tel Aviv, 2017); and *Perpetrator Cinema: Confronting Genocide in Cambodian Documentary* (Columbia University Press, 2020).

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