University of Alberta

Revolutionary Trauma and Reconfigured Identities: Representing the Chinese Cultural Revolution in Scar Literature

by

Min Yang

A thesis submitted to the Faculty of Graduate Studies and Research

in partial fulfillment of the requirements for the degree of

Doctor of Philosophy

Comparative Literature

Fall 2012

Edmonton, Alberta

Abstract

Revolutionary Trauma and Reconfigured Identities: Representing the Chinese Cultural Revolution in Scar Literature

While a number of studies have examined the scar literature movement (1977-1983), no study has thoroughly explored the psychological function of the scar metaphor, the emotional catharsis (or so called "*qinsu shi*") and the "bright tails" (the so-called "*guangming de weiba*") — the key paradigm of scar stories in most Chinese people's expression and assimilation of the trauma wrought by the Cultural Revolution. Through examining psychological mechanisms of metaphorical thinking, identification, and guilt or shame, which were articulated in scar stories, this dissertation attempts to shed new light on how some Chinese people who went through personal afflictions during the Cultural Revolution worked through their memories and reconstructed their social identity after Mao.

I will demonstrate that the key paradigm of scar literature emerged when some Chinese people (writers, readers, and protagonists) both confronted and denied a particular type of trauma, referred to here as revolutionary trauma, in interaction with a radical change in communist ideologies. I will place scar literature within the dynamics by which the Cultural Revolution was represented in Chinese culture to demonstrate: (1) how the denial of traumatic memories in the scar period became a foundation for interpreting personal and national trauma, and (2) how this denial impacted, and arguably reconstructed, Chinese cultural

identity during socialist modernization in the 1980s and socialist commercialism in the 1990s.

The scar literature movement was the first and also the largest cultural and literary movement to enunciate the trauma of the Cultural Revolution in Chinese society. Although the Cultural Revolution has been consistently criticized in political documents and literature, it gradually lost its empirical content, namely, its actual impact on both the social system and Chinese individuals. Though frequently mentioned, it nonetheless has been converted into a signifier without concrete historical reference. It is forgotten in its frequent, if superficial, remembering. However, I believe that to understand Chinese collective unconscious today we must understand how this trauma was mediated, recognized, and reconstructed in the Chinese people's collective voice.

Acknowledgement

I express my utmost thankfulness to my supervisor, Professor Daniel Fried, who made me believe in myself and guided me through the whole process of writing this dissertation. I am especially indebted to Professor Donald Kuiken for his inspiration and assistance from the initial to the final stages enabled me to develop a comprehensive understanding of trauma studies and improve my dissertation in specific ways. I very much thank Professor Massimo Verdicchio and Professor Irene Sywenky for extending their kind concern in the completion of my PhD study, and I very much thank my two external committee members, Professor Lin Jenn-Shann and Professor Richard King, for their efforts and valuable comments on my dissertation. Last but not least, I would like to express my special gratitude to my loving and caring family. My dissertation would not have been possible to finish on time without their unconditional encouragement, understanding and support.

Table of Contents

Introduction

The Scar Literature Movement: A Social Phenomenon in Recurrence

A spectral is haunting Chinese society…,

the spectral of the Cultural Revolution…

Recently an episode involving several ex-Red Guards' public apologies evoked Chinese people's reconsideration of the Cultural Revolution (1966-1976),[1] which has long been circulating in Chinese society as a powerful signifier

[1] The Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution (abbreviated as the Cultural Revolution) refers to a series of political and cultural movements inaugurated by Mao Zedong (1893-1976) to purge ideological dissent coming from the so-called revisionists in Chinese communist culture. Spanning the years from 1966 to 1976, the Cultural Revolution actually first appeared in the cultural sphere and included a bizzare concoction of literary and cultural critiques and political assaults until its end.

Mao's intention to launch a revolution was initially expressed by Yao Wenyuan on November 10, 1965 in Yao's literary critique, "Criticism of the New Adaptation of the Historical Drama *Hai Rui Dissmissed from His Office*".Supported sufficiently by historical facts, Yao argued that the image of Hai Yui (1515-1587, a well-regarded official in the Ming dynasty) in this historical drama deviated from the historical truth, and therefore "this 'fake Hai Rui' inappropriately replaced Marxist's class struggle with revisionist class reconciliation" (Yao 1965: 16). Though a pure literary criticism on the surface, it actually attacked the author, Wu Han (1909-1969), who was the vice major of Beijing and related to the political fraction which was led by Mao's opponent, Liu Shaoqi. On May 16, 1966, the central government passed the "5.16 Announcement" (the so-called 5.16 *tongzhi*), stating that "an upsurge proletarian revolution" was coming to eliminate a group of revisionists who contaminated the cultural realms. The Cultural Revolution thus was officially launched.

The origin of the Cultural Revolution and Chinese people's responses were complicated and will be discussed for specific purposes in the following chapters. Briefly, the Cultural Revolution can be divided into two periods. The first period (from 1966 to 1969) was signified by the fanatical movements of the Red Guards who destroyed most legal and governmental systems and tortured many people to death. From 1969, Mao shifted from his ideal of "overthrowing the world into chaos" to "put the chaotic world in order." He dispersed the Red Guards to remote areas and reformed the blacklisted intellectuals or cadres in concentration camps, such as cow sheds (*niupeng*) and Cadres schools (*ganxiao*). Meanwhile, Mao passed his supreme directives, most of which included his literary and cultural criticisms to maintain the cultural color of the revolution. For example, Mao ordered Chinese people to "criticize Lin and Confucius" (*pi Lin pi Kong*) in 1973 after Lin Biao betrayed Mao, and to "Criticize *Brothers of Waterfield* and Song Jiang" (*ping Shuihu pi Song Jiang*; Song is a protagonist of the Chinese classical novel *Brothers of Waterfield*) in 1975, aiming to attack President Zhou Enlai and Deng Xiaoping. During this revolution, the movements of ideological purification were entangled with reformation of Chinese cultural products, which climaxed Mao's ideal unity of arts and politics.

without concrete historical reference. In October 2010, *Southern Weekend* (*Nanfang zhoumuo*), the most widely issued newspaper which has reputation for supporting political-economic reformation and muckraking the social problems in China, published three ex-Red Guards' letters, through which they apologized for their wrongdoing during the Cultural Revolution. Shortly thereafter in November, the newspaper reported that eight ex-Red Guards (including these three) returned to their previous school (Beijing Foreign Language School) to ask for forgiveness by several teachers whom they physically or orally abused during the Cultural Revolution (Chao and Yang 2010: A1). This episode evolved into "an important cultural event" (Zhu 2010: A 23). For several months, from the end of 2010 to the middle of 2011, discussions regarding whether the Red Guards should apologize for their misdeeds and who is responsible for the ex-Red Guards' misdeeds – the ex-Red Guards, the country's leaders, or society – occupied many blogs and some influential Chinese newspapers (such as *Southern Weekend*, *Chinese Youth Daily*, *Qilu Daily*, and *Oriental Morning Daily*).

In this episode both victims and perpetrators attempted to deal with anxieties about their previous experiences. Among the three teachers in the report, two of them (Cheng Bi and Guan Qiulan) were disinclined to "reopen their scars of the past" (Chao and Yang 2010: A1). They were reluctant to detail the brutality that they had suffered and witnessed. Another teacher, Li Huangguo, had never

---

Conventionally, Mao's death in 1976 was considered the end of the Cultural Revolution. In 1981, the Chinese central government officially declared the Cultural Revolution as national and personal catastrophes. Since then, however, the Cultural Revolution was neither taught in historical text books in middle schools, nor represented among important national events, such as ceremonies on national days and anniversaries of the Party. The collective memories of the Cultural Revolution seemed to fade gradually.

been relieved of her horrific memories. With increasing age, she became so preoccupied with her memories and so disassociated from present reality that her family had to send her to a mental hospital.

Victims' resistance to remembering and instead intrusively acting out their memories can be contrasted with the ex-Red Guards' response to their past. After remaining silent for about forty years, these former perpetrators were driven by deep guilt to bow their heads publicly for their faults. "If we don't apologize," said Shang Xiaoke, a man in his sixties, regretfully and sentimentally, "it would be too late" (Chao and Yang 2010: A1). He hoped that public confession of his misdeeds would alleviate his guilt before both he and his victims pass away. The symptoms accompanying such confessions, such as avoidance, dissociation, and the anxiety of guilt, indicate that both victims and perpetrators have never fully been reconciled with their traumatic memory. The memory of the Cultural Revolution does not fade with time. Rather, it recurs.

Given that there were around 80 million Red Guards, many contaminated by violence, torture, and killing,[2] the interplay between apologies and forgiveness between the eight Red Guards and three victims reported in this episode is exceptional. This sensational cultural event is a social symptom indicating that many Chinese people who were traumatized during the Cultural Revolution, either as victims or perpetrators, have not completely reconciled themselves with their traumatic memories. In my judgment, the largest cultural expression of personal trauma after Mao was instigated by scar literature during the late 1970s

[2] In 1966 the Red Guards tortured 1,772 people to death in the Beijing area according to a report in *Beijing Daily* 20 Dec. 1980. The total number of casualty of Red Guards movement has not been available.

and early 1980s (referred to here as the scar period or the scar literature movement). That movement had a profound influence on Chinese people's understanding of their experience of the Cultural Revolution. Both victims and perpetrators employed an interpretation of the Cultural Revolution that was prevalent during the scar period: both the perpetrators' personal mistakes and the victims' afflictions purportedly resulted from crimes attributed to a small political group — the Gang of Four — and therefore should be explained historically rather than personally. Two teachers forgave the ex-Red Guards, ascribing "these children's faults" to the gruesome historical period. Similarly, when the ex-Red Guards confessed their guilt, they also excused their aggressions, claiming that, as teenagers during a period of revolution, they were "cheated and misused." Conversely, responses from readers varied. Some expressed ignorance of this history and hoped to know more; some recounted family tragedies that their parents or grandparents had described to them; some affirmed their ex-Red Guards identity and expressed refusal to confess; and some thought that the ex-Red Guards should have apologized if they had done wrong. [3]

Collectively, these reactions —victims' understandings of their trauma, perpetrators' excuses for their misconduct, and some of the readers' discussion — are similar to the basic themes in discussions of the scar literature movement. The

[3]Most Chinese people believed that the Cultural Revolution was wrongly initiated by Mao but later was misused by the Gang of Four. In this episode, many former Red Guards who were involved in the online discussions claimed that their revolutionary faith was misused. Readers' responses can be found in *Dongfang Zaobao* 8 Nov. 2010 and the following sites: http://www.tianya.cn/publicforum/content/free/1/2024629.shtml; http://bbs1.people.com.cn/postDetail.do?id=104621920; http://blog.sina.com.cn/s/blog_537fd74101016zbu.html; http://labs.chinamobile.com/mblog/403949_71005; and http://www.boosj.com/1448688. htmlhttp://club.china.com/data/thread/1015/2720/67/56/4_1.html.

recurrence of such themes in interpretations of the Cultural Revolution suggests that the scar literature movement minimized the poignancy of many Chinese people's memories, although their pain, confusion, loss, guilt, and shame were not eradicated. Traumatic memories continue to recur as personal and social phenomena, indicating that aspects of these traumatic memories have been repressed and suppressed — even though not totally denied.

This incomplete assimilation of trauma during the scar period contributes to what some cultural critics complain about but fail to explain: the Chinese people's "collective silence" (Ji Xianlin 2008 and 2009) or "selective forgetting" (Xu Zidong 2008) in the new century. In my judgment, the phenomenon of "forgetting" largely results from ambivalence between avoidance (or ignorance) of the past and compulsive confrontation with the unassimilated memories. As illustrated by both the apologies and forgiveness, as well as by readers' responses, most people who experienced the revolution would rather forget it while many growing up in the post-Cultural Revolution period remain unapprised of this part of history. Consequently, there is a paradox in the remembering (or forgetting) of the Cultural Revolution in society: terms such as "the Red Guards," "cow sheds" (a type of concentration camp), "big character posters," "public trials," "public parading," and "reeducation," all of which relate to the Cultural Revolution, become alien signifiers, which are drifting in the contemporary society as specters without concrete historical referents. However, discourse about the Cultural Revolution continues in contemporary society regardless of whether people are aware of it. Consider, for example, the neo-leftist mini-movements associated

with recently deposed party leader Bo Xilai, and activities such as "internet big character posters" (*wangluo dazibao*) and "internet parading" (*wangyou*). To better understand this paradoxical remembering and forgetting, one has to reexamine the problematic working-through from the very beginning when the Chinese people first expressed the trauma of the Cultural Revolution, that is, during the scar movement that marks the transition from Maoism to Dengism.

The scar literature movement was the first and the largest movement through which Chinese people explored the trauma of the Cultural Revolution in literature and society. During this movement, some essential questions about the personal and national catastrophes seemed to be put aside. Although the revolution was repeatedly criticized in political documents and later literature, it gradually lost its empirical content, namely, concrete awareness of its actual impact on both the social system and Chinese individuals. The revolution was reduced to a term. Though frequently mentioned, it nonetheless was converted into a sign that merely alluded to an abstract remote history. It was forgotten in its frequent, if superficial, remembering.

However, as Roderick MacFarquhar and Michael Schoenhals point out ,"to understand the 'why' of China today, one has to understand the 'what' of the Cultural Revolution" (MacFarquhar and Schoenhals 2006: 1). I believe that to understand Chinese collective unconscious today we must understand how the trauma of the Cultural Revolution continues to be revisited and reconstructed in the Chinese peoples' collective voice. Just as China today is grounded in the negation of Mao's illusion, I believe that many Chinese people's identity in their

socialist commercialism remains grounded in their denial of the trauma of the Cultural Revolution.

To illustrate how most Chinese people worked through the trauma of the Cultural Revolution, I will reconsider the scar literature movement. Scar literature, spanning the period from the late 1970s to the early 1980s, was the first public literary movement in China after the Cultural Revolution (1966-1976). It consisted primarily of short stories recounting the traumatic memories and experiences of Chinese individuals during the revolution. Given that the main theme of those stories was revealing "the severe wound of the inside and outside of the Chinese people," they were called "wound literature" or "scar literature," named after a short story entitled "The Scar". As Zhu Sai explains, "the term of 'scar literature' started to be used in the discussions after the publication of the short story "The Scar" in *Wenhui Daily* on August 11th, 1978. After that, people called the literary works exposing the crimes of Li Biao and the Gang of Four and the wound inside and outside that they brought up for Chinese people as 'scar literature'" (Zhu 1978: 540). As for the duration of scar literature, most scholars believe that it is a two-year literary movement spanning from 1978 to 1980 and overlapping with "literature of reflection" and "literature of reformation". However, some studies expand scar literature to include works in the middle or late 1980s. For example, Hong Zicheng thinks scar literature "reached its high tide during 1979-1981, afterwards, this trend weakened although the historical memory of the Cultural revolution is the persistent theme during the entire 1980s" (Hong 2007: 297). He also includes *The Bloody Dust* published in 1986 in scar

literature. Paul Clark regards 1978 to 1984 as a period that the Cultural Revolution memories were recalled in scar literature (Clark 2007: xii). Zhang Songye advices that scar literature should be regarded as a mainstream of the 1980's thought, so its span should be around ten years (Zhang 2005: 13). In my study, I will assure that the scar literature movement started from 1977 when "The Homeroom Teacher" was published and subsided in1983, the year when Anti-spiritual Pollution movement was launched by Chinese government and when Han Shaogong's "Announcement of Root-seeking Movement" was published. After 1984, the avant-garde literature and root-seeking literature are distinguished from scar literature in both subject matter and literary form. Nevertheless, I also include some literary works having certain qualities of scar literature or written by writers who participated in the scar literature movement.

Scar literature at its time was more than a mere literary movement. It was the first visible evidence that the Chinese people were confronting the trauma of the Cultural Revolution. The physical and spiritual wounds inflicted on Chinese people by the Cultural Revolution were first publicly recognized in the stories of scar literature. When in November 1977 "The Homeroom Teacher" was published, it was the first time that literature publicly exposed the harmful impact of the revolution. In 1978 "The Scar" more explicitly recounted a tragic story during the revolution. In 1979 many such short stories were published in revived and newly established journals, strengthening the emotions of bitterness and hatred for the Gang of Four. Perhaps to substantiate the undeniable (made so in part through scar literature), an official recognition came on October 1, 1979, when a Chinese state

spokesperson claimed that the Cultural Revolution was "an appalling catastrophe suffered by all our people" (Siu 1983: xxxviii). In June of 1981, the Sixth Plenum of the Eleventh Congress passed the "Resolutions about Historical Problems after the Foundation of Communist China," admitting officially for the first time that "the Cultural Revolution was an internal disorder that was mistakenly launched by the leadership and used by a counter-revolutionary clique to inflict severe calamities on the Party, the state, and all peoples" (Hong 2007: 257).

In a totalitarian state such as China, it is unusual for a critique of communist revolutions in literature to precede a corresponding official position in published political documents. The principle that "literature serves revolutions" was initially accentuated by Mao's "Yan'an Talks" in 1942, and it became the dominant principle of the arts in mainland China after 1949. Thereafter, literature was subordinated to the intentions of leadership and to the purposes of public policy. The scar literature movement was the first time after the establishment of Mao's China that literature articulated the authentic wishes, emotions, and even resentments of the average Chinese people. For most writers a primary motive was to write down stories exposing what they experienced and witnessed. In this way, Chinese people's spontaneous writing eventually prompted political recognition of the Cultural Revolution as a national and personal catastrophe.

What is more, beyond the normal functions of most literature, scar literature became a cultural and social movement through which many Chinese people identified with the Cultural Revolution's victims and worked through their personal trauma. This process embodies two interactive aspects — telling and

listening or, in other words, representing and responding. Inspired by scar literature, many artists represented the revolution in other art forms. Stories from scar literature were adapted into movies, comic series, oil paintings, and radio programs, extending the scar stories to larger audiences. In terms of reception, scar literature and its adaptations were enthusiastically responded to by the public. For example, when *Wenhui Daily* first published "The Scar" on August 11, 1978, one million copies sold out in Shanghai. Many people who could not get a copy shared it with others. They read it and cried over it together (Wang Jianguo 2008: 10-14). This exemplifies the strong effect of scar stories at the level of personal readers. As Perry Link points out, the scar literature movement attracted "national attention for venturing into territory that for years had been off limits" (Link 2000: 17). It provided a public space where Chinese people purged bitter emotions after the cataclysm and explored possible healing together. In this sense, scar literature is closely related to the complex social psychological circumstances prevailing after the Cultural Revolution.

The purpose of this study is neither to reveal the truth of the Cultural Revolution nor to divulge any particular Chinese individual's actual affliction. It is undeniable that the Cultural Revolution was a devastation, during which many Chinese people underwent physical and psychological suffering and harm, and many of them might still be suffering in silence. Nevertheless this study does not aim to disclose what has been suppressed or repressed either historically or individually. Rather, from what I call a psycho-ideological perspective, it explores the sources of personal trauma in the Cultural Revolution, and the process of

Chinese people recognizing and dealing with their trauma. Examining the psychological functions of the main paradigm of scar literature, this study will demonstrate the process of Chinese people assimilating, mitigating, and understanding their traumatic memories. What is more, the study highlights the relevant information in Mao's literature and literature after the scar period, including but not limited to the so called new period literature (1979-1989). By locating scar literature in the broader context of Chinese people's experience during and after Mao, I hope to shed new light on the process of Chinese people's shattering and reconstructing their cultural and social identity in their endeavor to work through the trauma of the Cultural Revolution.

To fulfill the above purposes, I elaborate a psycho-ideological framework that is pertinent to scar literature and the Chinese traumatic experience of the revolution. This psycho-ideological framework evolved from consideration of psychological trauma research and Žižek's theory of ideology. Speaking broadly, the prevailing ideology (mainly Maoist and Dengist communist ideologies) and ideological shifts in a totalitarian society influenced the cause of trauma and working-though. The two key processes of trauma — acting-out (or recurrence, compulsive repetition) and working-through — have been considered in the language of individual trauma since Freud's time. However, when contemplating the long process of Chinese people's collectively representing the trauma of the Cultural Revolution, the waxing and waning of such representations in different periods has fluctuated with the recurrence of the residuals of the Cultural Revolution and Chinese people's endeavors to work through their traumatic

memories. Both acting out and working through trauma were elicited by the social changes, ideological transformations, and social events that were reminders of the past. For example, the Tiananmen demonstration in 1989 and the neo-leftist mini-movements associated with recently deposed party leader Bo Xilai repeated the form of the Cultural Revolution in many aspects; they therefore moved discourse about the Cultural Revolution from the margins to the center of society. In addition, given that the key parameter in working-through is a critical distance between the traumatized individual and his/her repetition (as LaCapra has argued in *History in Transit*); working-through symptomatically demonstrates a certain degree of transformation, hesitation and confusion in the repetition. In this sense, while representing trauma in literature could be attributed to the recurrence of repressed memories among some Chinese people, the new features in the representation of each period might exemplify working through those memories. In this broader context, ideologies may function as psychological schemas. In the Chinese totalitarian society, ideology and radical shifts in prevalent ideologies may impact the people's assumptive world, and the "interpellation" of ideology (Althusser) may create tension between Chinese people's emerging resilience and their persistent resistance to working through their traumatic memories. This implication suggest that while a new ideology may assist one to reconstruct a meaningful world and self after the former world and self are shattered, it also may involve the psychological mechanisms of denial for minimizing, projecting or avoiding confrontation with posttraumatic guilt or shame.

These general assumptions will guide reconsideration of scar literature in the context of the Chinese populace's experience from Mao's period to the transitional period between Mao and Deng. As to examining the psychological processes of writers, readers and protagonists of selected scar stories, I propose that ideology and its radical shift operate ambiguously in working through their trauma. In the three psychological mechanisms of working through trauma — metaphorical thinking, identification, and posttraumatic guilt or shame — when the failure of the previous ideology brought about the shattering of the meaningful world and self, many writers, protagonists and readers turned to the new ideology to understand their previous experiences. However, if the anxiety became so intense as to be intolerable, they might manipulate the new ideology cynically — abruptly accepting ideological interpretations and directing their energy to another ideological target. This ideological wrapping-up works as denial.

Approaching the scar literature movement with the above framework, I demonstrate that the paradigm of scar literature – scar metaphor, emotional catharsis (or so called *qinsu shi*), and bright tails (the so-called *guangming de weiba*) — emerged when some Chinese people (writers, readers, and protagonists) both confronted and denied a particular type of trauma, referred to here as revolutionary trauma, in interaction with a radical change in communist ideologies. A melding of practical aspects of psychological working-through was embodied in many scar stories, in the repetitive employment of the scar metaphor and emotional catharsis, usually combined with a bright tail, that is, a story ending that looked optimistically to the future. These stories arguably assisted many

involved, as writers and readers, in overcoming deleterious lingering aspects of the Cultural Revolution-instigated trauma.

Reviewing the previous research on scar literature in the following section shows that while a number of studies have examined the scar literature movement, no study has thoroughly explored the psychological function of the paradigm of scar literature — scar metaphor, the emotional catharsis and the bright tails — in Chinese people's expression and assimilation of the trauma wrought by the Cultural Revolution. Nor have many studies analyzed the scar stories closely. Literary criticism started to notice this movement from the late 1970s, almost at the same time when scar literature came into sight. In most critiques emanating both from mainland China and English-speaking academia, literary critics have formed a surprising consensus as to scar literature's artistic features and its social, historical and literary functions.

Scar literature's criticisms focus on two aspects. As for its literary value, scar literature's spontaneity, namely the emotional catharsis, is either criticized as lacking artistic features or praised as the beginning of deviating from Maoist literature. As for its social and historical functions, most critics believe that scar literature either served to establish the new political regime or to liberate literature from Mao's discourse. These two points can be found in the criticism in mainland China. *Menglong* poets criticized that scar literature was artistically "barren" and "crude" due to its being "limited to pouring out bitterness without exploring the deep social root of the Gang of Four's totalitarianism." They refused to accept the healing of the wound at the end of "The Scar" and the final conversion of the

young man who represented "the lost generation" in "Awake, My Brother". From their points of view scar literature "was backed up by a political text and it appeared as political symbolization."[4]

Also, from 1979 to the early 1980s, criticism of scar literature was presented in several debates and discussions. Scar literature was castigated for having led to a trend of revealing the dark side of Chinese people due to its emotional purging, and this gave rise to a first discussion in *Guangdong Literature and Arts* (*Guangdong Wenyi*) in 1979, as to whether scar literature should be "looking forward or looking back" in response to Deng's advocating "dropping the burden, looking forward." Both Li Jian and Huang Ansi rebuked scar literature as literature of "looking backward." Huang Ansi condemned that those stories "bemoaning the suffering" should "be curtailed since they only caused negative feelings" (Link 2000*:* 19). Li Jian went further, disparaging that writers of "looking back" were "immoral" (Li 2009: 3-6). These opinions were disputed by the majority of senior Chinese writers, who had resumed their positions after more than ten years of persecution. They advocated that Mao's literary principle — literature being a political tool and serving workers, peasants and soldiers — should be modified. Instead, literature should reflect reality, so they argued that scar literature was positive in exposing the dark side of the past. Similarly, the journal *Shanghai Literature* organized discussions around 1980 that centered on how literature could expose deep social problems. Most literary

[4] In mainland China, the earliest criticism is from *Menglong* poets. In 1978, *Menglong* poets posted their unofficial journal *Jintian* on the democracy wall in Xidan, Beijing. Literary studies of "Awake, Liu Xinwu" and "The Social Function of 'The Scar'" were published, respectively, in the first and fourth issues.

critics reaffirmed *Menglong* poets' critique of scar literature, that is, scar literature was "formulaic and empty" and "it still retained the idea that 'the arts are tools in class struggle'" (King 1981: 89). This idea brought about a further discussion about whether "the tool theory" is acceptable or not.

In the past ten years, although scholars in mainland China attempted to reinterpret the scar movement, most of them repeatedly concentrated on the political functions of scar literature. Chen Sihe stated that scar literature as "passionate expression" was the beginning of reviving the May Fourth Spirit and that it "appeared coincidently in time cooperating with the political struggle of Deng's school with *Fanshipai*" and for a period scar literature and political power "mutually supported each other" (Chen 2001: 182-183). Xu Zidong classified around 50 short stories during the scar period into five categories to reveal how the collective memories about the Cultural Revolution were reflected in narratives (Xu 2000). On the bases of political and historical documents and statistics, Xu Zhiying and Ding Fan argued that "the literature system" (*wenxue tizhi*) at the beginning of the new era "verified the legitimacy of state politics of the new era" and "embodied the imagination of the state modernity of culture and cultural will" (Xu and Ding 2002: 21-22). They further stated that the system attained its function by "encouraging discourse" of scar literature (and introspective literature) and at the same time "repressing discourse" of those genres when these discourses surpassed the tolerance limits of this system. And therefore they concluded "the cultural will of the Party and nation" of Deng's new regime was best put into practice and embodied" (Xu and Ding 2002: 39). In this criticism, both

methodology of research and argument are, to great extent, similar to the ones in Perry Link's *The Use of Literature*, to which I will refer later. Similarly, recent studies restate the political functions of scar literature. Although Zhang Songye advocated considering scar literature as the main storm of thoughts in the literature of the entire New Era, rather than a form of literature, the basis of his argument is the fact that most literary works in the 1980s narrated social and cultural wounds and problems (Zhang 2008: 18). Wang Yifan also argued that the main function of scar literature (as well as the new era literature) was to participate in the political movement of "removing chaos and correcting wrongness" (Wang 2005: 9). Cheng Guangwei asserted that the main reason scar literature was popular in the 1980s was that scar literature revealed social problems during that particular historical period (Cheng 2005: 18).[5]

Similar criticism can be found in English critiques. Bennett Lee highlighted that scar literature revived the tragic theme and realism tradition in Chinese literature, and that the weakness of this literature was in the fact that both the creation of the characters and exploration of the root of the Cultural Revolution were superficial. In his view, the bright and optimistic ending was also

[5] Other criticism of scar literature in mainland China can be found in Wu Yiqing's *Zhongguo xinshiqi xiaoshuo yanjiu ziliao*. The basic idea about scar literature in this book is that "scar literature is closely related to 'liberating thought' in 1978 and has important historical function in helping to "purge the poison of 'Gang of Four'" (Wu 2006: 7-8). In addition, at the 1985 Chinese Writers Association conference, scar literature was regarded as "a landmark of the new era literature." In 1993 Li Tuo diminished the role of the scar movement in Chinese literature, stating that scar literature is the last period of the literature of workers, peasants and soldiers and therefore it is the end of the Maoist literature rather than the beginning of the literature of the new era. Bei Dao, the leading figure of the *Menglong* School, asserted in his interview in 2007 that "scar literature is not literature." Yu Hua, a representative of the avant-garde movement in the mid-1980s states that his first motive for writing was his dissatisfaction with the pouring-out style of scar literature.

"artificial" (Barmé and Lee 1979: 6).[6] Richard King elucidated that "while the stories are largely tragic, they nonetheless concluded with optimistic faith in the new leadership, with a happy ending – or bright tail (*guangming de weiba*) – frequently somewhat lamely attached" (King 1981: 85).[7] This idea parallels some points discussed by some Chinese critics. In this article, King also reaffirms the idea expounded by *Menglong* poets and Bennett Lee, stating that scar literature "tends to stop at revealing past abuses in the system rather than probing the defects inherent in it" (King 1981: 85-86).

Perry Link's *The Use of Literature* in 2000 studies the social function of literature during the late 1970s to the early 1980s from what Link called an "empirical approach." This book includes scar literature as an important genre. Perry Link thoroughly studies the mechanics of political control systems and Deng's strategies of relaxation and tightening up, demonstrating that Deng's new regime consciously made use of scar literature for its own regime. Perry Link affirmed that scar literature, on the one hand, was natural writing which outpoured resentment toward the Cultural Revolution due to the relaxation of political control (47). On the other hand, the new regime took advantage of this outpouring.

Huang Zhigang's dissertation *Chinese scar literature on the Cultural Revolution as testimony* (2001) is perhaps the only work that comprehensively studies the scar literature movement. In this dissertation, Huang not only

[6] The earliest criticism of scar literature is Bennett Lee's introduction to translation of stories of scar literature in 1979.

[7] Richard King's "'Wounds' and 'Exposure': Chinese Literature after the Gang of Four" (1981) is the first English scholarly journal article that explores scar literature. Although this article deals mainly with "exposure literature" or what Lee Yee called "New Realism," King's criticism of scar literature appears to have influenced later English criticism. He called scar literature "Wounds" literature.

examines scar literature but also includes introspective literature, stories of the new realism, and Red Guard memoirs inside and outside China. From the perspective of Feldman's testimony, Huang argued that the scar literature movement provided another way to approach Mao's time because in his point of view scar literature could serve as testimony and fill in the gaps about the catastrophe in official documents (Huang 2001:14). Deirdre Sabina Knight reaffirmed this testimony idea in her "Scar Literature and the Memory of Trauma," a very short essay for the *Columbia Companion of Asian Literature* in 2003. In this essay, Knight briefly recounted the political background and basic theme of scar literature, pointing out that scar literature served to "dispel some of the mystery surrounding the Cultural Revolution and testify to the peril that results when people are made into instruments of political movements" (530).

The most recent criticisms concerning scar literature include Yang Guobin's "Three Hypotheses on Collective Memories of the Cultural Revolution" and "Introduction: Gilded-Age Memories of the Cultural Revolution" in 2005. In the former article, Yang classifies scar literature as a stage of "the repressive hypothesis." Yang recounts three strategies that the Chinese government employed to control the Cultural Revolution memories including scar literature and he concludes that the late 1970s to the early 1980s was the period of "repressive memory regime in full swing" (Yang 2005a: 19). In the later article, Yang reaffirms this opinion of political repression, stating with the support of political documents that scar literature was the result of political repression and "a means of power struggle and a target of political control" (Yang 2005b: 1-11). In

addition, placing scar literature in the broader context of moral experiences of the Chinese people in the 20th century, Sabina Knight also asserts that Scar literature revives the critical realism of the May Fourth Movement and reflects the characters' dilemmas about their moral responsibilities during the early post-Mao period (Knight 2006: 162-169).

The above review shows that literary critics universally recognized that in most scar stories, cathartic narrative usually was undone by the bright tails. This paradigm demonstrates that scar literature is the first stage at which Chinese writers deviate from Mao's discourse. In addition, many of these studies cite political documents to prove that scar literature was either controlled by or resisted control by Deng's regime.

However, in my view, simply reading scar literature socio-politically neither provides persuasive interpretation of this literature nor develops a theoretical approach to the seemingly simple phenomena of scar literature. Scar literature's relationship with politics is not simply controlling or being-controlled. If we see certain political and literature events chronologically, we can find that scar literature emerged in a paradoxical relationship with the ruin of Mao's ideology and the establishment of Deng's new regime. Mao's death in September 1976 was regarded as the actual end of the Cultural Revolution although the official announcement came one year later. In October1976 Hua Guofeng, Mao's chosen successor, seized power and this resulted in the downfall of the Gang of Four. At the same time, Hua announced that the policy of his new regime was "whatever Mao said is truth." This evolved into the so-called *Fanshi pai* political

group. In December 1977, one month after the publication of "The Homeroom Teacher", Hua's government first publicly announced resuming Mao's literature policy of "hundred flowers blooming." This policy encouraged authors to express different ideas, as long as these ideals could best serve the political purpose. Another opposite political group, *Shijian pai*, led by Deng Xiaoping, came into public view in May 1978, when an article "Practice is the Only Criteria to Test Truth" was published in *Guangming Daily*. The essential proposition of this school is that practice (action and results) is the only criterion for assessing the truth. This conflicted with Hua's strict adherence to Mao's words. Deng's group soon prevailed and established its power in the Third Plenum in November 1978. The above historical facts demonstrate that scar literature emerged before the revival of Mao's "hundred flowers blooming" policy and the establishment of Deng's new regime. It appeared during a period of transition between two ideologies.

The previous studies of scar literature do not address the following important questions. How are emotional catharsis, the so-called *qingsu shi* of naturally releasing emotions, and support of the prevailing political regime paradoxically unified in this movement? How can this literature properly function as testimony, as Huang argued, if such writing also has an ideological and political function as he also argues? For what reasons were the individual symptoms of trauma presented as "social symptoms"? Although some studies, such as by Huang, Xu Zhiying and Perry Link, do mention ideology and scar literature's ideological function, they do not address the issue of how ideology

functioned during that period. Rather, to a great extent, they equate ideology with external political power. However, does ideology as an external power simply refers to Deng's policy and control system? If scar literature provided a public outlet for Chinese people to purge their emotions, what are the inner psychological and ideological mechanisms that allowed the new regime to take advantage of this movement to strengthen its regime?

In addition, these studies only focus on one side of the story, namely how political power controlled or made use of the Chinese people. However, there is another side, just as relevant, which is that after the catastrophe of the Cultural Revolution, Chinese writers and readers might also "make use of" Deng's new ideology for excusing their immorality, lessening their guilt or shame, purging their crime, minimizing mourning and melancholia, and compensating for their losses.

Addressing and resolving these questions are my concerns in this dissertation. I think rather than superficially supporting one group engaged in the political struggle and naively cheated by the new policy, scar literature reveals a more complex interaction between trauma and ideology. Exploring this interaction allows us to more fully understand the Cultural Revolution and the complex social psychology of Chinese people immediately after the catastrophe. That is, when distressed by suffering and mourning their losses, many Chinese people released their resentment on the Gang of Four, the scapegoat of the revolution. Also, when they identified with victims and criticized the Maoist Utopia as a "ten year catastrophe" and "nightmare," they turned to another

ideology, fervently searching for socialist modernization. What is more, optimism for "a bright future" promised by Deng's social reformation, rather than merely melancholia or anxiety of the chaos which are commonly observed after cultural and national traumas, dominated Chinese society.

In my dissertation, through examining psychological mechanisms of metaphorical thinking, identification, and posttraumatic guilt or shame, which are articulated in scar stories, I will illustrate that the personal trauma of the Cultural Revolution was, for many Chinese people, implanted in an assumptive world founded on Mao's ideology. This original traumatic experience was repressed or suppressed according to the ideological righteousness of the Cultural Revolution. However, when Maoism was challenged with the downfall of the Gang of Four, this previous assumptive world was shattered. Memories of the Cultural Revolution resurfaced, requiring assimilation. Dengist ideology functioned paradoxically in two ways to help some Chinese people recognize and cope with trauma. It was both destructive and constructive. It elicited the shattering of the assumptive world, thus provoking anxiety, guilt, or shame from trauma. However, it also provided schemas for some Chinese people to reconstruct their assumptive world. Thus the paradigm of scar literature can be encapsulated in a tale of two ideologically-based worlds traversed by some Chinese people (writers, readers, and the people the protagonists represented). Personal narratives in scar stories include traumatic events that occurred during the revolution, then ultimately broaden to include collective trauma in general, and end with optimism regarding the future under the new post-Mao political regime. By analyzing this paradigm in

the context of ideological transition, I will demonstrate that scar literature allows the working-through of trauma on three tiers – readers (including average readers and policy makers), writers, and protagonists in the scar movement.

This dissertation is comprised of four chapters. Chapter one contributes to two discussions. The first defines the terminology of revolutionary trauma. Based on the special experience of the Cultural Revolution and the research of psychology and ideology, I apply revolutionary trauma to a special experience rooted in the shattering of the assumptive world and identity. It is distinct from psychological trauma and cultural trauma. The traumatic shock derives from an ideological shift, which dramatically impacts people's perceptions of their past. The other discussion focuses on working-through. Working-through can be detected in the individuals' confusion, hesitation and transformation in recurrence of the traumatic memories. Due to the involvement of ideology, working through revolutionary trauma demonstrates certain new features, particularly when it takes the form of an ambivalent process between assimilation and denial. These new features will be further explored in the following three chapters, which examine metaphorical thought, identification, and posttraumatic guilt or shame, respectively.

In chapter two, I examine the social and psychological functions of the scar metaphor. I analyze "The Scar" and "Awake, My Brother" to exemplify the transformation of metaphorical thinking in working through and denying revolutionary trauma. "The Scar", which first used the scar metaphor to refer to a wound in the soul, recounts the tragic story of the female protagonist Wang

Xiaohua, who cuts her ties with her mother when the latter is branded a "traitor", and is further scarred when she returns home after ten years to find that her mother has just died. In "Awake, My Brother", Xiaolei, the protagonist, cynically retains a distance from social activists in Deng's society. In this chapter, I study metaphorical thinking at two levels: the individual level through the study of protagonists, and the social level through the study of scar literature's wide use and reception. I suggest that the target and source of the scar metaphor are transformed both within the stories and in the post-Mao society, and, more importantly, I argue that at the societal level, such transformation was entangled with many Chinese people's working through trauma ideologically.

Chapter three is allotted to the experience of Mao's children, the generation who grew up after 1949. In this chapter, I focus on the function of trail identification in the cause and working-through of this generation's revolutionary trauma. I analyze the psychological identification in the traumatic moment and working-through of Bai Hui, a Red Guard, in "A Branch Road Paved with Flowers", written by Feng Jicai. This story depicts the salvation of Bai Hui, who accidentally physically hurts a female teacher in a public spectacle. Later, it turns out that the teacher is Bai Hui's boyfriend's mother. I illustrate that the models of identifications, social norms, and codes of behaviour in communist culture, which had coalesced from the late 1930s to the 1960s, reinforced violence and sacrifice. Violence and sacrifice can largely be ascribed to the revolutionary trauma of the generation of the Red Guards in that violence and sacrifice were two common qualities which this generation shared and copied. This chapter further examines

psychological identification in working through the revolutionary trauma of this generation by studying two tensions: the tension between the protagonists and their objects of identification within the stories, and the tension between scar writers and their protagonists. Through delving into the nuances of the identifications involved with these two relationships, this chapter concludes that these two tensions result from the ambiguous relationship between identification and ideology.

Chapter four explores the problem of working through posttraumatic guilt or shame, an anxiety which is well observed in trauma and PTSD. Comparing the confessional narratives in three groups (the generation of Mao's Children, the 57 writers, and senior intellectuals) suggests that confession related to revolutionary trauma is complicated in that the confessional narrative in most cases was interrupted by arguments for victimization, projection of responsibilities, or confusion, and all of these elements have produced changes in recognizing revolutionary trauma. Overall, confession demonstrates difficulties in the articulation of guilt/shame between recognition of guilt/shame and argumentation for responsibilities. This chapter will include stories of the representative ex-Red Guard writers Zhang Chengzhi and Li Ping, and in particular two scar stories, "The Dedication" and "Second Encounter" (which created images of the cadres and intellectuals), and memoirs of senior intellectuals.

In addition to "The Scar", "Awake, My Brother", "A Branch Road Paved with Flowers", "Second Encounter", and "The Dedication", this dissertation also surveys the following other eleven stories: "A Sacred Mission" (Wang Yaping,

1979), “What should I do” (Chen Guokai, 1979), “The Homeroom Teacher” (Liu Xinwu, 1977), “Over the Other Side of the Brook” (Kong Jiesheng, 1979), “Between Humans” (Kong Jiesheng, 1979), “Maple” (Zheng Yi, 1979), “Drunk in the Flowers” (Li Jian, 1980), “A Bitter Fruit” (Wang Anyi, 1979), “When the Evening Clouds Disappear” (Li Ping 1981), “Something Most Precious” (Wang Meng 1978), “A!” (Feng Jicai 1978). These selected stories are recognized as representative of the scar movement in various literary studies, such as Hong Zicheng’s *History of Contemporary Chinese Literature*, Perry Link’s *Stubborn Weeds, Rose and Thorns* and *The Use of Literature*, Hellen Siu’s *Mao’s Harvest*, Jeffrey Kinkley’s *After Mao,* and many journal articles about scar literature. Given that many different names have been used in categorizing these stories, such as literature of the wounded, scar literature, exposure literature, new realism, or social problem fiction, this study selects each scar story according to whether its content deals with the traumatic experience of the Cultural Revolution and whether it was widely received by Chinese readers during the scar period. Beyond literary works of scar literature, my study also includes works in the post-scar literature periods as supporting materials to demonstrate progression and gradation of writers in their working through personal trauma.

Chapter One

Shattering the Ideo-Centric Assumptive World: Revolutionary trauma

Psychological trauma is an unsettled concept since its evolution in Freud's time and its renaissance during the late 20th century. The first physician who drew attention to the symptom of mental disorder (hysteria in women per se) is Jean-Martin Charcot (1825–1893), a French neurologist. He discovered that hysteria was not a sign of a contagious malady but a symptom of mental disorder, which could be alleviated by hypnosis (Herman 1997: 10-11). Following Charcot's studies but unsatisfied with his simple classification based on symptoms, Freud and Pierre Janet independently searched for the cause of hysteria. Around the mid-1880s they both found that hysteria was caused by psychological trauma. Freud discovered that a residual memory of sexual seduction in the early puberty period triggered trauma in the patient's later life. Although Freud abandoned his seduction theory in 1897, he maintained his libidinal model when analyzing World War I combat veterans. Flowing from this model, Freud further espoused the theory of narcissism to explain war neurosis. In contrast, Janet hypothesized that trauma was caused by problems in the mnemonic and cognitive systems. He applied trauma to reoccurrence of mnemonic fragments unassimilated by the cognitive system, which he called "traumatic memory."

The study of psychological trauma, as Herman observed, "has a curious history – one of episodic amnesia" (1997: 7). The study of trauma largely wound down after Freud's time (though there were some efforts to treat war neurosis

after the Second World War) until the 1980s when the attention of psychologists, psychiatrists, and sociologists was drawn to the mental disorders of Vietnam veterans. The American Psychiatric Association in 1980 diagnosed certain symptoms, such as flashback, nightmare, dissociation, guilt, and repression, after catastrophes as symptoms of post-traumatic stress disorder (PTSD). This pathological diagnosis is fundamentally founded upon Freud's study of trauma.

With the above-noted renaissance of psychological studies of trauma in the late 20th century, the literary and cultural studies of trauma became a field in its own right around the late 1980s. Overall, contemporary theorists in the literary and cultural studies of trauma centered around the Freudian conceptualization of trauma, but emphasized one or more of its following aspects: the belatedness of trauma (which Freud called latency), repression, denial, numbing, recurrence (Freud's compulsion to repeat or acting-out), and working-through. Some scholars integrated these aspects of the Freudian conceptualization of trauma into Heidegger's and Paul de Man's post-structuralism to contemplate many other issues of human thoughts — reference, the historical truth, sublimity, fragments, the connection between postmodernism and post-trauma, identity, self, and various other issues raised in philosophy, literature, literary theories, historiography and contemporary culture (Berger 1997: 569-582). Cultural and literary studies of trauma present the psychological mechanism of trauma as open to consideration of and interactions with various problems of human experience in the clinical, language, philosophy, cognitive position, and many other fields. The

literary and cultural studies of trauma thus constitute an interactive space of interrogating many aspects of human thought and behavior.

Although the word "trauma" etymologically and traditionally referred to a physically inflicted wound, the above brief history of trauma in psychological, literary, and cultural studies shows that trauma has left its pure relationship to the physical realm during its two shifts in the past century. Trauma is irreducible into merely a concrete event or even a psychological symptom. It becomes a discourse in which many facets of human life and culture are involved. Personal traumatic experience, even if in the cases of sexual abuse and child abuse, is more the historical-political-social phenomenon than purely the history of an individual. This point is clear in some recent psychological studies of trauma, which have started to draw attention to diverse interpretations of PTSD and therapies for healing trauma by different cultures. Laura S. Brown criticizes that few paradigms of trauma treatment have taken "cultural competence or attention to human diversity into intentional account," and suggests a "culturally competent psychotherapy" to integrate cultural diversity into therapies (Brown 2009: 341). Some studies demonstrate that PTSD presents similar symptoms in different cultures, but the interpretations of these symptoms are diverse according to different cultural traditions and customs (Kirmayer 2009: 331-332). In addition, personal factors which affect the degree of traumatization also are recognized in some psychological studies of trauma (Mitchell 2009: 122). What is more, researchers find that when we approach the traumatic memory from the patients' records at different situations, both the analytical results and the patients' records

of the episodes in their memories could be different (Brockmeire 2005: 15-43). Although the influence of these studies is still limited, they promise to extend the psychological study of trauma from European/North American-centered to more culturally accurate analyses of trauma in other cultures.

This chapter contributes to delineating a psycho-ideological framework to approach a socio-psychological phenomenon that followed the Chinese Cultural Revolution (1966-1976). I suggest that in a society which resists ideological polarities, a radical shift of hegemonic ideology would impinge on individuals' perception about the world and self so as to further encroach on their normal socio-psychological functions. This paradigm will be employed to better understand the cause and working-through of the trauma related to the Chinese Cultural Revolution and its aftermath. For many Chinese people who were traumatized in one way or another during the Cultural Revolution, although individual experience might be diverse, a prevalence of their trauma was rooted in communist ideologies, and their working through trauma was entangled with the ideological shift from Mao's Utopianism (1949-1976) to Deng's socialist modernization (1979-1989).

The concept of revolutionary trauma

The trauma I am examining has its roots in a communist catastrophe — the Cultural Revolution, which I call revolutionary trauma. Revolutionary trauma refers to an experience in which the shattering of a collective assumptive world which had been based upon a hegemonic ideology (or ideo-centric) was precipitated by a sudden ideological shift. The previous experiences were excised

from the context of the emerging ideology, reliving as pseudo-presences. The vivid and painful memories of prior ideological commitments only inflexibly represented the past without transferring their meaning to either present social events or presently emerging ideologies. Conversely, the present emergence of ideologies might not be seen in its association with the past assumptive world. Consequently, the abrupt and radical shift from one hegemonic ideology to another disrupted the continuity of the collective assumptive world between past to present and present to past.

Revolutionary trauma overlaps some aspects of psychological trauma and cultural trauma, however it extends beyond the parameters of both. Psychological trauma is first of all empirical. Freud defined trauma as "an experience which within a short period of time presents the mind with an increase of stimulus too powerful to be dealt with or worked off in the normal way, and this must result in permanent disturbances of the manner in which the energy operates" (Laplanche 1974: 466). In this definition, Freud analogized trauma to a military action. Human beings are equipped with a "protective shield" to protect us from external and internal stimuli. Trauma occurs when overwhelming stimuli break through the "protective shield" (Laplanche 1974: 465). In Laplanche's explanation, Freud's definition emphasizes that trauma is composed of three elements — a traumatic event, traumatic shock to the individual's psychology, and certain traumatic symptoms. These three elements are also what the American Psychiatric Association highlights when it defines trauma in a range of experiences from direct exposure to traumatic events and traumatic symptoms.

Similarly, revolutionary trauma includes the individual's empirical and psychological experiences. Many Chinese people actually suffered physical violence in labor camps and public spectacles, and many, in the role of perpetrators, hurt others violently. Apart from these direct physical traumatic experiences, however, most Chinese people witnessed or knew of public torture, punishment, and suicide; they feared social segregation, physical harm, and death; or they experienced dehumanization and humiliation. For example, many intellectuals were branded as "cow ghosts and snake demons"; their hair was cut into eccentric styles and their faces were painted with ink. These experiences were in some aspects beyond the conventional understanding of traumatic events.

In addition, many people were affected by the shift from Maoist theory under the Cultural Revolution to the new doctrine of the post-Cultural Revolution. Even for those victims who directly suffered physical torture, they might have perceived the severe punishments and humiliations as obligatory for them to reform according to Mao's communist models. However, the foundation of this acceptance was shattered with the downfall of Maoist ideology. As we can see in Ba Jin and Ji Xianlin's memoirs, some senior intellectuals were submitted to being dehumanized as "cow ghosts and snakes demons," but only realized the shame of such submission after the end of the Cultural Revolution. In this case, revolutionary trauma is connected with the social, political and particularly ideological aspect of the Cultural Revolution. For most Chinese people who were impaired in one way or another, the Cultural Revolution was a unique experience which as to some aspects differed from the sudden encounters with death or harm

in other natural disasters and human atrocities, such as earthquake, genocides, traffic accidents, conventional warfare, nuclear warfare, child abuse and sexual abuse. Revolutionary trauma not only resulted from physical and psychological wounds due to widespread fear and violence, the ordeal of harsh living conditions, and the shock of witnessing numerous incidents of torture and death. Critically, revolutionary trauma subsumed the above into an overarching personal and worldview dissonance caused by a radical disruption in belief in Mao's long-prevailing communist ideology after being confronted with Deng's dramatically different ideology. Although the latter claimed to have the continuity with the former, its debasement of Maoism indicated its deviation from Maoism. Many Chinese people had faithfully believed, similarly to religion, in Mao's Utopia, but finally realized that rather than going up to a communist heaven, they had fallen into a hell – chaotic, backward, impoverished, chained and filled with viciousness.

Therefore, revolutionary trauma goes beyond the physical and the directly attributable psychological parameters of trauma in two aspects. One aspect is that, besides physical trauma, revolutionary trauma involves a variety of experiences including pervasive violence exerted through language abuse and emotional attack due to being betrayed by (or being disloyal to) family members and friends, witnessing death and torture, or fear of being segregated. The other, the key aspect, is that revolutionary trauma is the convergence of the personal psychology and ideological internalization. The personal psychological responses to threatening circumstances were adjacent to ideological indoctrination. In this case, individual affliction was directly produced by Mao's ideology during the Cultural

Revolution. Moreover, this original trauma, which might have been suppressed or repressed, was provoked by a sudden loss of basic faith of the world and self at the ideological shift.

These two aspects also distinguish revolutionary trauma from cultural trauma. Cultural trauma tends to deprive trauma of the direct individual experience. Cultural trauma refers to collective memories of traumatic events that damage collective identity, a certain culture, and the social structure. Eyerman, for example, argues that cultural trauma is rooted in "a tear in social fabric" due to certain collective memories. From his point of view cultural trauma does not necessarily attach to direct experience (Eyerman 2001: 3). Eyerman's study of slavery indicates that individuals may be traumatized by the shock of watching or hearing the traumatic events in media. Similarly, Neal ascribes cultural trauma to "an invasive and overwhelming event that is believed to undermine or overwhelm one or several essential ingredients of a culture or the culture as a whole" (Alexander 2004: 38). Alexander extends the application of cultural trauma to the collective experience of "indelible marks" on collective memories, rather than on individual actual experience (Alexander 2004: 1).

Without doubt, revolutionary trauma had a broad impact on society. The Cultural Revolution "was the biggest non-wartime, concentrated social upheaval in world history" (Clark 2008: 1). According to official statistics, which was disclosed by Ye Jianying (1897-1986) in 1979, as many as twenty million people might have killed and one hundred million Chinese people were victimized to different degrees. Although there likely was a wide range of experiences and

shades of traumatization among survivors of the Cultural Revolution, most personal calamities were associated with or even directly engendered by Maoist communism. In addition, revolutionary trauma needs to be dealt with in the dynamic process of recurrence, denial, repression, coping and working-through. Such process is absent in cultural trauma (Alexander 2004: 39). Furthermore, most Chinese people publicly released their pathological emotions due to response to or failure to respond to the abrupt ideological shift following the end of the Cultural Revolution. The dramatic social and ideological changes shattered people's assumptions about the world, their communist Utopia, the meaning of their previous behaviour and suffering, and their social identity. In this sense, ideological shock distinguishes revolutionary trauma from cultural trauma; it draws trauma into a psycho-ideological dimension which has not been adequately touched in most trauma studies. And this psycho-ideological dimension is the main subject of my theoretical point in this dissertation.

Shattering the assumptive world: the core of revolutionary trauma

For most of us, "an assumptive world" (C. M. Parkes) — our general expectation about world, our identity and the relationship between the two — exists as an automatic core in our inner world.[8] For most people, an assumptive world is positive. In general we believe there is a principle of justice and benevolence in the world (Freud). There is "an action-outcome contingency," according to which bad behaviors cause punishment and good deeds lead to reward (Freud; Janoff-Bulman). We also suppose that the world and all the events

[8] It is also called "working models" by John Bowlby, "structures of meanings" by Seymour Epstein, "basic assumptions" by Janoff-Bulman, and "Magical circle of every life" by Ferrell. See Janoff-Bulman's summery in *Shattering Assumptions*. Free Press, 1992: 5.

which occur in the world are meaningful, so through seeking meanings we maintain our sense of controlling the uncertainty in the world, ourselves and the relationship between the two (Peter Marris). However, of course, such an assumptive world is mostly an illusion. It is neither a true nor a false knowledge of reality, but represents our expectations of reality. Although an assumptive world is illusory, it helps to sustain our mental health. Shelley Taylor, for example, posits that positive illusions (or assumptions) promote better social interactions and better performance in social life.[9]

Although many trauma studies equate trauma to sudden, extreme, and life-threatening physical events, some trauma studies discover the causal relationship between shattering the assumptive world and trauma. Ronnie Janoff-Bulman, a contemporary psychologist, has explored this aspect insightfully in *Shattered Assumptions: towards a New Psychology of Trauma*. According to Janoff-Bulman, human beings live in an assumptive world. The core of our inner world consists of three positive assumptions about the world and us: benevolence, meaning, and self-worth. We believe that we are moral and good individuals in a meaningful, good and just world. Although these basic assumptions over-generalize our expectations of the world and ourselves rather than reflecting the true knowledge of reality, as Janoff-Bulman posits, they construct "our most abstract, generalized knowledge structures" (Janoff-Bulman 1992: 29). An individual's assumptive world is fostered at childhood. Once it formed, it constitutes the basis of psychological coherence and identity uniformity. Further, the psychological

[9] See Janoff-Bulman's summery in *Shattering Assumptions*. Free Press, 1992: 22.

coherence and identity uniformity institute the fundamental perspective for us to observe the world and construct the meaning of our experience.

Trauma occurs when a new experience is too overwhelming, such that our basic assumptions cannot be sustained. Janoff-Bulman argues that the shattering of our assumptive world can impair our basic structure of the knowledge about the world and the integration of our identity. Accordingly, our assumptions of order, benevolence, meaning, and justice are suddenly lost; the world therefore falls into chaos, meaninglessness and injustice. In Janoff-Bulman's understanding, the physical and psychological "break-in" from life-threatening events still remains an important element of trauma. However, trauma as another aspect occurs when the experience of certain events impairs the individual's inner core of basic perceptions of the world. Shattering an assumptive world is cause by a traumatic shock that damages the cognitive system, namely the system of processing and coping with information (Janoff-Bulman 1992: 109; Bracken 2002: 53). And this shattering of an assumptive world produces what she calls "disillusionment," that is, "a state of both loss and disintegration" (Janoff-Bulman 1992: 71). She further points out that disillusionment co-exists with and outlasts anxiety and fear. As I demonstrate later, this understanding of disillusionment provides a useful perspective to understand revolutionary trauma.

Similar to trauma which derives from life-threatening and physical wounds, some studies indicate that people who experience the shattering of their assumptions of the world present the intrusion-avoidance symptoms (also called "confrontation-denial" or "recurrence-numbing"). For example, Felman applies

trauma to a sudden failure to see the truth due to a traumatic shock. She argues that since access to historical truth is foreclosed at the moment of trauma, a crisis of testimony ensues (Felman 2007: 259-314). Herman also defines trauma as damage of the individual's adaptability to life under "an overwhelming force" (Herman 1997: 33). Cathy Caruth emphasizes that the traumatic event happens so suddenly that this experience ruins the normal cognitive and perceptive system. Based on van der Kolk's research on traumatic memory and the de Manian performative theory of language and reference, Caruth alleges belatedness (or recurrence) as the quintessence of trauma. The traumatized individual is trapped in the reoccurrence of the traumatic moment in that the traumatic moment which was not assimilated to narrative memory imprints in traumatic memory, repetitively occurring (Caruth 1996: 128-150).

Although these contemporary scholars approach trauma from different understandings, they elaborated their concepts of trauma around the intrusive-avoidence symtoms and traumatic impact on recognition of the world. Although trauma in all of its ramifications is unsettled, the essential concept of trauma remains that a tremendous shock happens so suddenly that it results in an indelible impairment to the individual's social and psychological functioning. Individuals impacted by traumatic shock generally present two sets of responses – recurrence and numbing, which can be further divided into symptoms such as dissociation, flashbacks, numbing, intrusive thoughts, nightmares, fear, and feelings of guilt or shame. These symptoms suggest the failure of recognition of the world and identity beyond physical and psychological damage.

Consistent with these understandings of causation of emotion, cognition and trauma, Janoff-Bulman finds in her clinical studies that individuals who experience the shattering of their assumptive world also present the numbing-recurrence symptoms. Individuals deny and thus numb their experiences by avoiding the related memories; however, sometimes they unwillingly encounter them in their flashbacks, intrusive thoughts, nightmares, etc. The experience of shattered assumptions may be confronted through its recurrence and/or denied via dissociation. Given that these emotional responses are well diagnosed as symptoms of trauma or PTSD, we can assume that shattering an individual's assumptive world also constitutes a traumatic shock which engenders traumatic symptoms.

Then a question arises: how does the mechanism of shattering of an assumptive world affect our cognitive and emotional systems? Janoff-Bulman's cognitive perspective and Ruth Leys's emotional dynamic system may explain this question. In her mapping of shattered assumptive worlds, Janoff-Bulman translates the language of energy into cognitive psychology. As noted above, Janoff-Bulman ascribes the shattering of an assumptive world to a cognitive shock which stimulates numbing and recurrence. She explains that trauma comes from the damage of "the inner world" of the individual (Janoff-Bulman 1992: 52). The basic assumptions of the world are characterized in human beings' psychology as "schemas." A schema is a mental structure that represents "organized knowledge about a given concept or type of stimulus" (Janoff-Bulman 1992: 28). For most of us, our emotional and cognitive systems are constructed around a psychological

schema. In order to preserve cognitive consistency, one's cognitive system unceasingly organizes, selects, and processes new knowledge and stimuli from new experiences according to a certain psychological schema. Trauma happens when one or more overwhelming life experiences threaten the schema. The stimulus is too much and too sudden, such that it destroys our schematic mechanism. As we could not assimilate the new experience(s) into our mental structure, our assumptive world is shattered. In this regard, Janoff-Bulman explicitly applies the energy principle to cognitive system in the language of trauma. For her, an abrupt "break-in" of external stimulus, i.e., an extreme highly charged experience, disrupts the cognitive system which results in a sudden loss of one's meaningful world and self. Thereafter "the known, comfortable old assumption world is gone, and a new one must be constructed" (Janoff-Bulman 1992: 71).

Janoff-Bulman's explanation of shattering an assumptive world reveals a mechanism similar to Ruth Leys's interpretation of emotional "binding". When she interprets Freud's concept of trauma based on emotional aspects, Leys elucidates that in order to keep the integrity and identity of the ego, the individual needs to "bind", or control, the external stimuli. At the moment of traumatic shock, stimulation is too much so that it breaks the binding. In this understanding, Leys treats the psychological apparatus as a dynamic mechanism, which consistently manages, processes, and filters the external stimuli. Trauma occurs when external stimuli ruin this mechanism. In addition, as Leys also points out, the psychological apparatus needs to bind emotions and feelings in its

identification with others. Identification is “an emotional tie” which connects an individual and others (Leys 2000: 30). When this tie is suddenly cut off, for example, in the case of sudden loss, this binding is broken. We can hypothesize from Leys’s explanation that at the moment of shock, various emotions and feelings (guilt, shame, regret, emptiness, fear, anger, etc.) are unbounded and released without control.

Leys’s interpretation conveys two directions of the Freudian view of trauma. One is that trauma does not merely link with one isolated event, but is associated with a series of episodes in the individual’s previous experience and complex emotional attachment. It is a chaotic concert coalescing various sounds and voices from the physical and non-physical, internal and external, emotional and critical, and psychological and ideological. We can assume that temporal flow in trauma is not linear from event to shock to trauma, but a fusion of these three. (I will further discuss this point later.) The other aspect is that Leys directs the Freudian concept of trauma to damage of the integrity and identity of ego. For Leys, emotional unbinding at the moment of traumatic shock creates cognitive failure. Libidinal economy is not the only principle that functions at the moment of shock; individuals also are bound up with other people emotionally (Leys 2000: 29). Although Leys does not further explain the impact to the individual’s relationship with others and the world after his/her tie with others is broken at the moment of trauma, she nevertheless implies that trauma is connected both with the damage of emotional and cognitive mechanisms and with the relationship between individuals and others or society.

The above cognitive and emotional unbinding similarly applies to a shattered assumptive world. Due to a radical disruption in the consistency of an individual's perception about the self and the world, the dynamic mechanisms of processing information and binding emotions are damaged. A shattered assumptive world blocks the basic mechanism of cognitive and emotional processing. It may also, and empirically appears to, disrupt an individual's former emotional bonds with others. Hence, it destroys the core of emotions and cognitions, resulting in pathology that explains more traditionally studied phenomena of trauma.

Then the questions are: assuming that traumatic experience has the effects of shattering our assumptive world, as Janoff-Bulman argues, how is such shattering related to the previous experience that was based on the assumptive world? In another words, does disillusionment *cause* the original trauma, or *elicit* previous traumatic memories at the moment of disillusionment? This question relates to reconsideration of Janoff-Bulman's "temporal flow" (Bracken 2002: 79) in shattering the assumptive world and trauma: is the shattering of the assumptive world the result of trauma, as Janoff-Bulman argues, or does shattering the assumptive world have a traumatic effect?

Janoff-Bulman obviously transplants Freud's energy language of trauma into her cognitive understanding of "disillusionment", that is, a loss of basic assumptions in the life. However, she seems to ignore belatedness, which is the quintessence of Freudian trauma and also pivotal to understanding the mechanism of shattering the assumptive world. This missing point perhaps can be made up by

re-considering Freud's conceptualization of trauma. Although Freud did not explicitly discuss a connection between the shattering of an assumptive world and trauma, some of his analyses nevertheless indicate a connection between trauma and a ruined perception of the world and identity. For Freud, trauma comes from the belatedness of experiencing a traumatic episode. That is, trauma is a blank spot where the meanings of previous experiences are suddenly lost due to the overwhelming new experience which damages the previous foundation of perception. Consequently, the former experience is segregated from the communication between past and present, inserting the present as an unassimilated experience. From some of Freud's writings, we can find Freud's idea that trauma derives from the sudden loss of a former perception of previous actions; unpleasant emotions may be discharged with this cognitive shock. For example, in the case of Katharina in *Studies on Hysterias*, Freud identifies Katharina's peering to see something obscene as "the traumatic moment" (Freud and Breuer 1957: 129). In Freud's further analysis, the peering itself does not result in Katharina's hysteria. Her hysteria comes from the fusion of the peering and her previous "unpleasant" experiences. Freud's seduction theory before 1897 attributed hysteria to abstract identification of sexual seduction rather than merely to the concrete experience of sexual abuse (Freud and Breuer 1957: 129). Freud's idea of loss and trauma in his discussion about "Mourning and Melancholia" also articulates that traumatic symptoms may result when an individual experiences an unexpected loss of ideal or perception of the world. The ambivalence of melancholia (hating and loving their lost object) comes from the experience that

the sudden loss (according to Freud the object of loss can be a person or "some abstraction which has taken the place of one, such as one's country, liberty, an ideal, and so on" (Freud 2005:117)) results in a traumatic experience which "may have activated other repressed material" (Freud 2005: 124). In this sense, trauma is a specter indicating that what is repressed as a missing episode or accepted as normality in the past returns as a false presence due to the sudden loss of the foundation of previous perception. This point is reinforced in Freud's analysis of traumatization in *Beyond the Pleasure Principle.* In Freud analysis of *Jerusalem Delivered,* Freud implied that Tancred was not traumatized by killing Clorintha who was in disguise. Rather, he was traumatized through a sudden shift of perception of his former action. Action which was glorious at-that-time turns to a loss at-this-moment. The feeling of victory suddenly became a failure with feelings of guilt, regret, and self-reproach. Changed perception altered his initial self-perception from that of a hero to a murderer. In this case, the shattering of assumptions results in his traumatization.

This example of a shifting of perception of the value of the past action is especially relevant to the shattering of an assumptive world. As Patrick Bracken, a contemporary psychologist, points out:

> There are times when the meaningfulness of the world is withdrawn— in which all the elements of our lives are still present but the background sense of coherence retreats. At these times it appears that the chequered board has been removed. The pieces remain in place but their connection to one another becomes arbitrary. These are times when we are confronted

> with the sense that there is no ground at all beneath our feet and our lives come to lack direction and purpose. (Bracken 2002:1)

Bracken's "chequered board" metaphor best illustrates the traumatic effect of shattering assumptive world. Shattering the assumptive world breaks what the victims perceive as righteousness or at least meaningfulness, and therefore provokes anxiety of disillusionment and terror about re-valuing their previous experiences. This explains the second question about the temporal flow in shattering the assumptive world and traumatic symptoms. Shattering the assumptive world may not be the result of trauma, as Janoff-Baman argues, but may "be a predisposing factor" for trauma (Bracken 2002: 81). Kirby Farrell's recollections of his childhood experiences show a reversal in recognition of the world has the effect of trauma. As Farrell asserts, "any pile up of stresses, and moral terror, can do it [trauma]. In trauma, overwhelms not just the self, but the ground of the self, which is to say our trust in the world" (Bracken 2002: 3). Also, as Bracken quoted Allen Young's argument, the intrusive-avoidance symptoms are not "triggered by the trauma, but are induced by traumatic events" (Bracken 2002: 78). Both Farrell's and Young's studies indicate that, at least in some cases, shattering the assumptive world and self results in trauma which elicits the intrusive-avoidance symptoms.

Just as Tancred's victorious feeling shifted to horror with the realization of who he had killed, so shattering of the assumptive world as the prevailing ideology shifted after the Cultural Revolution forces a re-contextualization of previous actions. As demonstrated in the following section, revolutionary trauma

is the convergence of both emotion and cognition, and both personal psychology and ideological internalization. Due to the sudden shift of ideologies, the previous experience was singled out as an event devoid of its previous meaningful context. It projected into the present as false-presence, but its meaning was lost. Individuals who accepted certain acts as ideologically correct during the Cultural Revolution later became distressed over them.

Revolutionary trauma: an ideological upheaval and social symptoms

The above analysis is based on the understanding of the individual's assumptive world and its shattering. However, in an ideo-centric society like China, which resists a plurality of ideologies, a Chinese individual's assumptive world does not remain a solitary territory of one's safe and illusory sphere. The majority of Chinese people constructed, either willingly or compulsively, their assumptive worlds according to Mao's adaptation of Marxism. Consequently, though arguably, a hegemonic assumptive world occupied the individual's inner psychological territories. Revolutionary trauma originated within the chaotic period of the Cultural Revolution based on Mao's violent interpretation of revolution.[10] However, the original traumatic experiences were repressed or suppressed as they were regarded as righteous by the majority of the society. Accordingly, when Maoist ideology was denounced, the previously pervasive ideo-centric assumptive world could no longer serve as a schema to process information.

[10] Shattering the Maoist assumptive world might have occurred when people were persecuted during the Cultural Revolution. Particularly when Lin Biao, Mao's faithful follower, betrayed Mao in 1971, some Chinese people may have experienced disillusionment about what they were following. However, as there is little material discussing this, this dissertation does not include this issue in elaborating the concept of revolutionary trauma.

This experience indicates that individual psychological schemas might be subject to a collective assumptive world in an ideologically dominant society. Although psychological schemas may be established as an automatic mechanism during human beings' childhoods (Janoff-Bulman 1992), they also can be socio-politically and culturally constructed. Bracken, for example, agrees that people experience the loss of meaning of the world after trauma, which is similar to Janoff-Bulman's observation. However, Bracken emphasizes the importance of the social context in constructing an individual's perception of the world. In his critique of the cognitive approach to trauma, Bracken disparages that cognitive psychologists regard the assumptive world as a solitary and universal world but ignore the influence of social norms and expectations on individuals in different cultures. Based on Heideggerian hermeneutics, namely "meaning is something generated through our practical engagement with the world," he argues that "'the magic circle' [assumptive world] is something produced by our immersion in language, culture and social roles" (Bracken 2002: 65). In this understanding of psychological schemas, an individual's assumptions of the world and self are never free from social values and political conditions. The meaning of the world and self is mostly construed by certain social values and political intent (Bracken 2002: 206). The formation of our psychological schemas, at least in some cases, is socio-political, because the social values and political intent affect our daily practices, and our social practices further construct our knowledge structures, assumptions of the world, and identity. As Bracken maintains, "culture mediates, in a very pervasive way, the experience and expression of emotion" (Bracken

2002: 72). These ideals demonstrate that in different cultures, it is unlikely that the cause of shock that destroys the ground of our understanding and the assumptions of the world remain the same. Accordingly, in addition to personal factors, we should consider socio-political agency when we approach trauma.

Although Bracken does not highlight ideology as a cultural and social element, he indicates that ideology is one of the forces that mould the schemas. We can assume that in an ideo-centric society, ideology influences people's fundamental assumptions about the world and identity. Ideology, according to Althusser, is "a representation of the imaginary relationship of individuals to their real conditions of existence" (Žižek 1994: 123). Similar to assumptions which are understood as representations of the world in psychological studies of schemas, ideology "is not their real condition of existence, their real world, that 'men' 'represent to themselves' in ideology, but above all it is their relation to those conditions of existence which is represented to them there" (Žižek 1994: 124). According to Althusser (as summarized by Žižek), ideology is more than an external force. It is internalized by human beings through Ideological States Apparatus (ISA). The state's power merely guarantees to put the hegemonic ideology into people's heads (Žižek 1994: 125). Then ideology permeates people's social practice so that it is construed as the reality. It constitutes people's basic assumptions of the world and themselves, through which people's knowledge about the world and meaning of experience are filtered.

If Žižek is correct, in the case of revolutionary trauma at least, once an ideology suddenly shifts, the assuptive world based on this ideology may be no

longer ensured. People's sense of solidarity, coherence and safety based on their assumptive world may be lost. When people are suddenly cut off from their connection with the old ideology, they are unable to find meanings for their previous experiences. Anguish of victims and aggressive behavior of perpetrators, which are regarded, respectively, as appropriate and tolerable, may be deprived of the understandable context. Accompanied with this loss, all unpleasant emotions (pain, guilt, regret, emptiness, resentment, and anger) can be unbounded. Also, as memory and meaning of memory form the source of identity (Hacking 1998: 7), with the shattering of the assumptive world, ideologically based identity may also be shattered.

What is more, although an individual as an agent experienced and responded to shattered assumptions based on his/her particular levels of belief and traumatization, because each person's assumptive world had been founded on the same ideology, individuals could express and share publicly their experiences through collective telling and listening. This produced social symptoms after the shattering of a collective assumptive world. Responsibility and morality may be considered collectively and a small group of people may be isolated as the scapegoats (like the Gang of Four in China), whom most people blamed.

This experience of revolutionary trauma can be observed in most Chinese people who experienced the Cultural Revolution and its aftermath. Revolutionary trauma derived from the disillusionment of Maoist Utopianism. The ultimate aim of the communist revolution, as Mao and his followers emphasized, was to realize freedom, equality and liberation in both China and the whole world. The concept

of this ideal world was germinated from Mao's philosophical and ideological thoughts. The Maoist central ideal, "permanent revolution," evolved from Mao's deviation of the Hegelian-Marxist "contradiction." For Mao, Hegelian affirmation and negation co-exist within the process of revolution. Revolution was not a Hegelian "negation of the negation," but was a persistent conflict between affirmation and negation, and therefore it was permanent (Žižek 2007: 1-28). In this sense, communist ideology and the personal ideal world were entangled and interacted in the origin of the revolution.

In addition, Chinese communist collectivism was based on the Maoist concept of man. Maoist Marxism posits that man's two distinctive natures, the social role and the biological nature, can be unified. Mao emphasized the social role, but also insisted that the biological nature could be transformed and controlled through social norms and propagandistic education. As Donald J. Munro asserts, "there is no place in the Maoist conception of the self for either a private realm of beliefs or for unique and innate inner force that determine individuality" (1977: 25). In Mao's concept of the "malleability" of man's nature, individual desires were subjected to the needs of the communist party and country. In this sense, Maoist ideology constituted the basis of Chinese individuals' collective schemas.

Looking through the history of Mao's control, Mao's communist ideology constructed the basic assumptions of the communist world and revolution identity of Chinese people through the "rectification movements" ("*zheng feng yun dong*") during the 1940s, Mao's cult during overwhelming brainwashing from the mid-

1950s, and the catastrophic calamity in the Cultural Revolution. With Lin Biao's exhortation of "Mao's one sentence is equal to ten thousand sentences," Maoist ideology was embodied in Mao's iconic image and words. With each Chinese having Mao's Little Red Book in hand, Mao's ideology was worshipped as a bible. Mao's words and images entered into people's private realms, permeating every corner of people's lives — in Chinese people's clothes, language both public and private, violence, spectacles of public punishment and torture, re-naming people and streets, souvenirs, food and diet. As Yu Hua ironically criticizes in his novel *To Live*, Chinese people "slept in Mao's words every day" (Yu 1993: 36). In this regard the revolution became performative, a drama of acting out Mao's words.

At this extreme case, Mao was converted "from a revolutionary hero into a Warhol 'superstar'" (Lifton 1999: 72). Chinese people perceived the world and their identity through Maoist ideology. Fervently seeking the Communist future is a trait that can be found in the Great Leap Forward and the later Cultural Revolution in which nearly all Chinese people participated. In addition, young people who were born and grew during Mao's period worshipped Mao as God. For the people who were born and educated in the pre-Mao's period (for example, the so-called "young Bolshevik" like Wang Meng, and the senior intellectuals such as Ji Xianlin, Ba Jin, Fei Xiaotong, and Yu Guangyuan), most of them willingly reformed themselves and re-situated themselves in the communist world (Ji 2008: 160). Finding the value of self in the communist culture became a hegemonic discourse in Mao's time. As Lifton observed from interviewing Chinese people who were living overseas following the Cultural Revolution,

Chinese people experienced a series of changes in their identities during Mao's period (Lifton 1989: 2).

In the case of revolutionary trauma, after Chinese people were influenced traumatically by the ten years of catastrophes, a series of radical events occurred, exposing the discrepancy between the Party's strict Maoist rhetoric and what was actually being practiced. Immediately after Mao's death in September, 1976, Mao's chosen successor Hua Guofeng arrested Mao's widow and three other top leaders of the Cultural Revolution (i.e., the "Gang of Four") overnight in October 1976 with military assistance. This political drama was followed by nationwide campaigns such as rectifying the wrong cases during Mao's period (in 1977), challenging of Mao's criteria of truth (in 1978), punishing the criminals of mass violence that occurred during the Cultural Revolution (in 1979), and publicly sentencing the Gang of Four (in 1981). Although officially both the transitional government of Hua and Deng's new regime rhetorically announced their heritage from Maoism, their explicit repudiation of Maoism in action actually suggested to most Chinese people the problems with Maoist ideology to which China previously strictly adhered. This sudden ideological shift shattered most Chinese people's basic assumptions about the world and identity. Encountering the ongoing destruction of their assumptive world provoked loss of meaning of previous memories about a variety of trauma-inducing experiences. Both victims and perpetrators might perceive these experiences as righteous during Mao's period, however, at a sudden loss of ideological adherence, those memories came up devoid of ideological context and therefore triggered overwhelming anxieties.

Between confronting and denial

As Janoff-Bulman points out in her exploration of the shattering of an assumptive world, the victim "is stuck between two untenable cognitive-emotional choices: pre-existing assumptions that are no longer viable in describing the world and oneself and new assumptions that not only involve a total reworking of prior views, but are themselves extremely negative and threatening" (Janoff-Bulman 1992: 93). Similarly, revolutionary trauma placed Chinese individuals between two worlds: one was the disillusionment with the collective assumptive world based on Mao's ideology; another was the world after Mao — an abrupt shift to socialist modernization — which needs to be understood and perceived in a new way. This section contributes to explore how some Chinese people worked through revolutionary trauma when they confronted it publicly.

Due to the shattering of the collective assumptive world, the individual's coping with anxiety expanded into the socio-political sphere. Many Chinese people expressed personal traumatic memories and asked about responsibility of personal and national disasters through democratic activities (for example, the so-called "Democracy Wall" movement in Beijing), particularly through the scar literature movement. Publicly telling and responding to traumatic stories comprise social symptoms. To interpret these symptoms, theoretically I suggest that ideology interact with working-through paradoxically. Ideology profoundly affects the process of working through revolutionary trauma, and working-through revolutionary trauma to some extent requires a new ideology. In this

seemingly paradoxical relationship, ideology operates alternatively in working through and denying revolutionary trauma. This can be seen as having two levels: theoretically, the symptoms of trauma are a precondition of working-through; empirically, as for revolutionary trauma, assimilating (processing or coping with) the shattered collective assumptive world is entangled with reconstructing an assumptive world based on a new ideology. Hence ideology involves in both shattering and reconstructing the assumptive worlds, and acting out and working through revolutionary trauma.

First of all, I clarify the concepts and relationship of acting-out and working-through. My comprehension of working-through develops from Freud-LaCapra's conceptualization of this psychological mechanism. Freud originally conceptualized "working-through" as an ambiguous process between a therapy and a mechanism within traumatic symptoms. He observed that after the traumatic event or moment (sexual abuse included), the survivor unwittingly returned to that traumatic experience in his/her flashbacks, dreams, and obsessive behaviors. Freud called such a psychological symptom a "compulsion to repeat" (Freud 2003: 23). The "compulsion to repeat," as Freud defined earlier in 1914, is acting-out, which means that the patients "reproduce it [the forgetting or the repressed] not as a memory but as an action; he repeats it, without, of course, knowing that he is repeating it" (Freud 2003: 151). This acting-out (or what Cathy Caruth refers to as "recurrence" and Slavoj Žižek calls "deference") is a typical symptom of trauma, which remains one of the bases of defining trauma and PTSD in both psychological and cultural studies of trauma.

However, when Freud defined acting-out in 1914, he also drew attention to the process of working-through. Freud perceived working-through as a process for the patient of trauma (both victims and perpetrators) to acknowledge his/her resistance or transference yet modulating his/her compulsive repetition. Working-through was not only a technique of psychoanalysis, but also a process allowing the individual to be aware of the repetition and to "overcome it, by continuing, in defiance of it, the analytic work according to the fundamental rule of analysis" (Freud 2003: 155).

Freud corroborated this process in *Beyond the Pleasure Principle* (1920). Observing a child's game of throwing an object away each time his mother leaves, Freud explained that, by repeating the unpleasant moments, a person might turn a passive situation into an active one. By repeating it, he/she might show that he/she does not care for the loss (Freud 2003: 57-58). In this understanding, repetition is neither an unchangeable circling nor a simple mimesis. Within the multiple repetitions the individual not only acts out his/her traumatic memories but also gradually reduces the intensity of acting-out. Through many repetitions, the individual may develop a feeling of mastering the situation that he/she failed to do during the traumatic event (Freud 2003:58).[11] In this sense, automatically confronting traumatic memories in acting-out is a precondition of the traumatized individual's spontaneously working through it.

[11] Freud later reiterated this point in his seminar "Inhibition, Symptom, and Fear" (1926). He stated that "fear is the original reaction to helplessness in the trauma that is then subsequently reproduced in the dangerous situation as a signal calling for help; the ego, having experienced the trauma passively, now actively repeats a reproduction of it in diluted form, in the hope of being able to keep control of the way it evolves." From my point of view, this statement shows that for Freud working-through is not or not merely a therapeutic concept, but a process through which the traumatized attempts to gain a sense of mastering or understanding the situation little by little during the process of compulsive repetition.

This is also what LaCapra has in mind when he adopts Freud's concept of working-through into his study of history. LaCapra attributes working-through to an autonomous process for the individual to acknowledge trauma and its aftermath, rather than a therapy. LaCapra avers that acting-out partially functions in the mechanism of trauma and PTSD because working-through interrelates with acting-out as a counterforce. In further clarifying the relationship between the two, LaCapra affirms that working-though is not the opposite or binary of acting-out; rather, these two interact in trauma and PTSD. That is, repetition that becomes associated with working-through involves repetition that does not occur at the same intensity as at the moment of traumatization, wherein the individuals consciously or unconsciously mitigate the intensity of the recurrence by knowledge held in their cognitive system.

However, when LaCapra adopted the concept of working-through, he drew attention to the socio-political aspect implied in this mechanism. LaCapra defines "working-through is [the patient's] working on posttraumatic symptoms in order to mitigate the effects of trauma by generating a counterforce to compulsive repetition (or acting-out), thereby enabling a more viable articulation of affect and cognition or representation, as well as ethical and socio-political agency, in the present and future" (LaCapra 2004: 119). In this understanding, because the repetition is partially going back for the hermeneutic for the present and future, working-through functions as reconstructing the historical trauma in the compulsive repetition. This process inevitably involves ethical and socio-political agency. As LaCapra further asserts, working-through is "a self-critical process

bound up with critical thought and practice having social and political import" (LaCapra 2004: 143). Hence, working-through consists of reflective activities in which individuals cope with their unassimilated memories and experiences that they are confronting in acting out within both psychological and socio-political agencies.

According to the above analysis, working-through is a psychological and socio-political process within the individual and collective repetition of trauma. In this sense, given that working-through counteracts the intensity of acting out trauma, it is differentiable in the transformation in each repetition. A fundamental feature of working-through is slight changes, which become apparent in recurrences little by little. However, working-through does not involve a direct linear movement toward disclosure of such transformation and complexity. Recurrent and intractable reminders of trauma (e.g., intrusive thoughts, involuntary memories, nightmares) often reverse apparent gains.

If so, how is the mechanism of working-through related to numbing, another widely recognized symptom of trauma? Numbing is a part of traumatic shock and a sign of denial. Denial, according to Richard S. Lazarus, is "the negation of internal or external conditions both in word and act" (Lazarus 1983: 10). He argues that denial does not allow individuals to avoid or ignore the situation after catastrophes or other kinds of threat. Rather, it is an automatic response of an individual's defensive system to threat. The individual fully knows that a certain dangerous or painful situation happens, but he/she suspends confronting it (Lazarus 1983: 12). Denial may prevent "ultimate mastery" of the

stresses, as Lazarus points out, however, it somehow positively assists the patient who experiences post-disaster stress to reduce the anxiety or promote the recovery process (Lazarus 1983: 25).

Lazarus's study is useful in understanding post-traumatic stress disorder. In some cases, the numbing of PTSD also works as a mechanism in which the patient copes with his/her traumatic memories. For example, Lifton noticed the useful function of numbing or denial in the healing process. In studying people who survived the atrocities of Hiroshima, the Chinese Cultural Revolution, the Vietnam Intervention, and the Holocaust, Lifton found that experiencing encounters with death results in "numbing," an emotional response to trauma (Lifton 1995:128-150). Numbing is a symptom of trauma, which indicates a cognitive and emotional shutting-off at the traumatic moment. However, as Lifton points out, numbering is also a useful moment for the victims to reconstruct new knowledge about the world and self (Lifton 1995:128-150).

In the case of working through the trauma of a shattered assumptive world, according to Janoff-Bulman, individuals respond to trauma with two contradictory emotional tendencies: compulsively confronting the traumatic experience while automatically denying it. Denial as an adaptive response by the individual cooperates with other activities in which the individual can avoid reminders of the traumatic experience. By this way, an individual protects himself/herself from dangers. Numbing is thus a useful mechanism for working through trauma. This is because, as both Freud and Janoff-Bulman proved (Freud 2003: 54; Janoff-Bulman 1992: 39), the relationship between trauma and an individual's cognitive

and emotional systems is not competition — one destroying another — but assimilation. An individual's cognitive system attempts to assimilate the alien experience when the individual acts out his/her memory. In this sense, we can reason that assimilating the alien experience of trauma and reconstructing the new assumptions are two interactive processes. As a new assumptive world should be established so that the individual can recover from trauma, when an individual works through his/her trauma, he/she requires new assumptions. In addition, psychological denial is not a solitary mechanism. It always goes hand in hand with other mechanisms in defensive systems, such as identification and posttraumatic guilt or shame. More so, the changes of metaphorical thinking also partly overlap with denial. The later chapters of this dissertation will examine denial in these three psychological processes in detail.

Working-through and ideology

Working through revolutionary trauma involves two paradoxical processes. One is processing the experience of ideological shock emotionally and cognitively; the other is reconstructing a new assumptive world based on another ideology. While the trauma individuals confront revolutionary trauma, they also present a certain degree of denial of their traumatic memories. These two aspects of working-through are interdependent. Processing the ideological shock requires setting up new ideological schemas, while constructing a new ideologically-based world needs to cope with the traumatic experience so that individuals could return to their normal social and psychological functions. To prove this theoretical assumption I transplant Žižek's ideological framework into the study of trauma.

Žižek observes that in the post-communist period in Russia and Eastern Europe, people entered into believing another ideology after the ruin of the former communist one. He argues that ideology presents a feature of "cynicism." According to Žižek, ideology is "*jouissance*," that is, "they know very well what we are doing, but still, they are doing it" (Žižek 1989: 33). We are living inside the false consciousness and we are enjoying this ideological false consciousness. Due to this *jouissance,* we not only live in a world of symptoms interpreted by a prevailing ideology, but also in an ideological fantasy. We internalize ideology through the following stages: we accept certain ideological ideas which are reinforced by Ideological State Apparatuses (government, policy, etc.) and then we act out the ideology (Žižek 1994: 9). Due to these stages, ideology is a form or a pool in which all the aspects of human thoughts are liquidated into circulating signifiers. Once one element becomes a *point de capiton*, it "quilts" into a certain ideological content (Žižek 1989: 123). In this understanding, ideology is non-fixed and liquid-like. When we take one element and fix it, this point dominates the other elements and it forms a certain way of representing and perceiving life, and then a certain content of ideology is formed around it. Moreover, as we externalize ideology by our daily actions, ideology is not a problem of knowledge, but a problem of action. Hence, Žižek maintains that the ideological paradox is "that the stepping out of ideology (what we experience as) is the very form of our enslavement to it" (Žižek 1994: 6). The very moment we believe we step out of ideology, we go back to it. This paradox is due to ideological interpellation.[12]

[12] LaCapra explicitly denounced Žižek's symptomic approach in his study of working-through. In this critique of Žižek, LaCapra argues that Žižek homogenized the desire and symptom (LaCapra

Žižek's symptomatic approach to ideology is similar to Freudian-LaCapra's understanding of trauma and working-through. For Žižek, the symptom should not be understood merely in terms of pathology. It is the sign that we can easily see on the surface, indicating a disease, a truth or a danger that we do not fully know. It is the returning of the repressed truth. The symptom exists between the two realms: the Real and the Symbolic. Translating this language of symptom to his understanding of trauma, Žižek asserts that trauma as a deferred action is the Real, returning in various forms of "intrusive re-experiencing" in its symptoms. Approaching trauma both as philosophical and empirical phenomenon of former communist society, Žižek thinks that the traumatic real only get its meaning at its recurrence.

Žižek's understanding conveys the core of Freud's conceptualization of trauma, that is, the essence of trauma is its belatedness, or compulsive repetition. However, Žižek also points out that trauma as the Real is neither symbolized nor integrated into the autobiographical line as the past. Its trace is not located in the past, but emerges in the future moments when its meaning is sought. And this retrospectivity seduces us persistently to seek meaning of the traumatic experience so as to regain the sense of psychological and cognitive integrity. We

---

2004: 9) and structuralized the Holocaust (LaCapra 2001: 21). For LaCapra, phenomena are not universal, but particular. Phenomena are not only symptom (acting out), but also working-through (a critical and transformative process and effect). LaCapra explicitly states this point in the following quote: "I would relate the symptomatic dimension of phenomena to their tendency to act out or compulsively repeat symptoms and transferential relations. More critical and transformative processes would counteract the compulsive repetition (as well as the unqualified "enjoyment" or ecstatic enactment) of symptoms through significant variations or changes that rework problems, including social and political problems, and would indicate a possible role for agency in intervening in developments. This distinction between acting-out and working-through cannot be mapped directly onto that between mass or popular and elite or high culture. Its application to any given text, artifact, or other phenomenon would be a matter of inquiry and argument." (LaCapra 2004: 10)

are always reconstructing history, as Žižek maintains, since we consider the past and give the past the meaning according to our understanding in the present.

Also, this reconstructing in the repetition or acting out can be related to LaCapra's understandings of working-through. For LaCapra, working-through enables the individual to articulate "affect and cognition or representation, as well as ethical and sociopolitical agency, in the present and future" (LaCapra 2004: 119). Working-through is a critical process in which a compulsively and literally mnemonic repetition is changed and new meanings are disclosed. The interaction between spontaneity and critical distance in repetition enables experiential interplay between past and present, as well as reflective movement from past to present and from there to the future. As LaCapra puts it, working-through opens the future by critically responding to the past. This understanding conveys three points that Žižek articulates in his conception of trauma and symptom. One is that working-through is a process of reconstructing the meaning of trauma in the compulsive repetition. In this process, when the past is uncontrollably revived, the individual can gaze at his/her performance from a certain distance. He/she is a performer *and* an observer, an audience of his/her own drama. The second point is that the hermeneutic of repetition doesn't lead to approaching the truth of trauma, but to the meaning of trauma in the present and to the opening of the individual's future. The last point is that working through trauma and PTSD involves ethical and sociopolitical agency. Hence, the mechanism of traumatic symptom has both a personal dimension and a sociopolitical dimension. Traumatic symptom is the returning of the repressed, but this returning also may instigate the process of

working-through. In the space of symptom the libidinal and the social interrelate with each other.

This convergence of LaCapra and Žižek does not only provide a legitimate basis to combine these two, it is also the presupposition of my theoretical point: working through trauma of communist catastrophes is interacted with ideology. Although LaCapra mentions the ethical, political, and social dimensions in the process of working-through, he does not explicitly provide an answer to a question: when the victim consciously or unconsciously (LaCapra seems to be vacillating between these two) works through the post-trauma symptom so that he/she counteracts the compulsive repetition, what is the main force that affects this process? In other words, LaCapra considers working-through as an important process of trauma, but he does not explain how this process functions. For the trauma of communist catastrophes *per se*, Žižek's ideological framework may suggest a useful perspective to answer this question. Also, the paradoxical relationship between working-through and ideology explains Žižek's paradoxical point of ideology, about which Žižek does not provide a persuasive answer.

Further, Žižek's argument about the paradoxical nature of ideology is coincident with psychological understanding of the basic assumptions. Individuals who experience shattered assumptions naturally seek to rebuild a new assumptive world. It is not a "willed response" (Janoff-Bulman), but a natural response from our psychological system. Individuals need new schemas to integrate the broken cognitive system, and to reconcile pathological emotions. This natural response to trauma is also illustrated in Lazarus' explanation of illusion. Assumptions in most

cases are illusions (Janoff-Bulman 1992, Lazarus 1983, and Bracken 2002). As Lazarus explains, because illusions help to maintain our sense of integrity and mental health, we human beings enjoy living in illusion. This is similar to Žižek's theorization of ideology as *jouissance.*

This convergence of ideological *jouissance* and psychological needs for assumptions provides a useful perspective to understanding working through revolutionary trauma. In the case of revolutionary trauma rebuilding a new assumptive world was involved in turning to a new ideology. Individuals who experienced the shattering of the assumptive world may turn to a new ideology so that they could mitigate their anxiety after the broken interpretation of the previous experience. At the same time this turning to the new ideology could also be perceived as an adaptive response to trauma. By interpreting the previous experience in the framework of new ideology, individuals were able to reach an understanding of why they did what they did or they received maltreatment under the former ideology. Further, the new ideology also provided a shelter for individuals to defend themselves from the overwhelming emotions and to alleviate anxiety and fear of confronting the trauma.

Revolutionary trauma and its working-through revealed in scar literature

The complications of the Chinese social psychology after the ten-year catastrophe illustrate the two points discussed in the previous parts. One is the interaction of acting-out and working-through traumatic symptoms. Chinese people expressed their resentment, regret, anger, and grief toward their loss and distress in the revolution through recounting their traumatic memories in the scar

literature movement, social discussions, and public demonstrations, which to a great extent bears the signs of acting out trauma. Meanwhile, through these social activities, many Chinese people recognized as trauma the personal calamities that they had repressed or suppressed during the Cultural Revolution, and moving beyond this recognition, they sought answers to key questions, such as whom should we blame, why a disaster such as this occurred, and what lessons we could learn through it. Broaching these questions may have confused them, in part due to the radical ideological and worldview shifts (see second point, below). This critical process can be regarded as working-through.

The other point is the paradoxical entanglement of ideology in working-though. Similar to Russians' and Eastern Europeans' post-communist experiences, in which, as Žižek observed, people entered into believing another ideology after the ruin of the former communist one, Chinese people fanatically welcomed Deng's pragmatic socialism, which fundamentally diverged from the previous socialist utopianism. The whole country fervently launched a socialist modernization movement. Many Chinese people's unpleasant emotions were paradoxically mixed with their excitement and joy to what the popular slogan advocated, "March together to the new era (1979-1989)." This bizarre optimism and devotion to Dengist socialism — another deviation of Marxism — indicates the functions of ideology in working-through. By interpreting the previous experience in the framework of the new ideology (which was based on debasement of the old ideology), individuals were able to reach an understanding of their previous experiences. A typical example is that the Gang of Four was

widely recognized as scapegoats. They were interrogated in the public court and later were sentenced to a capital penalty or life-long jail sentence. In this sense, many Chinese people required a new lens to reconstruct their cognitive system so as to read, to know and to comprehend their recurring past.

On the other hand, the new ideology also provides a shelter for many Chinese people to defend themselves from the overwhelming anxiety. Deng's socialist modernization provided an object to redirect their libido, regain both ideological and personal love and affiliation, and at the same time, forgiveness was reached. The new ideology was thus welcomed. This ideological requirement in working-through exemplifies what Žižek called the paradox of ideology: Chinese people fell into Dengist modernization immediately when they stepped out of the Maoist Utopia.

This paradoxical process is well documented in scar literature. Many traumatized protagonists present ambivalence between acting out and working through their traumatic memories. When recounting their past experiences, they inevitable confront the shattering of their assumptive world and identity. This confrontation provoked confusion and anxiety, which when reaching an unbearable point, elicited the defensive system of the trauma individual to deny the confrontation. Ideological shift, which educed traumatic memories and the shattered assumptive world, was also utilized to avoid anxiety through abruptly concluding the process of working-through. Take "A Branch Road Paved with Flowers" as an example. Bai Hui, the leader of the Red Guards, hurt a female teacher with her wooden gun in a public spectacle. Although this moment, which

can be identified as the original trauma, recurred in her nightmares, her flashbacks and reminders of this traumatic experience, Bai Hui argues for her righteousness based on Mao's ideology so that temporarily represses the memories in her later exile. It was until the downfall of the Gang of Four that Bai Hui changed her previous perception about her violence. Bai Hui eventually has to confront her trauma again at the shift of ideology, however, it is also within the new ideology that Bai Hui finds an excuse for her guilt – she ascribes her violence to the fault of the Gang of Four. Similarly, in "The Scar", Xiaohua's original trauma – she cuts off her connection with her mother – is repressed as it is perceived as revolutionary sacrifice. This moment returns as a traumatic memory when Xiaohua's mother is rehabilitated as a principle of a college after the downfall of the Gang of Four. When her mother dies before she reunites, the previous revolutionary action loses its foundation. As a consequence, she is overwhelmed by various emotions: confusion, guilt, anger, hate, love, resentment, and regret. However the ending, in which she suddenly turns to a new socialist career, can be interpreted as denying confronting her trauma by turning to a new ideology.

Other stories also report the similar paradox of working through revolutionary trauma. "Second Encounter" reveals the posttraumatic anxiety of guilt and shame when the roles which the ex-Red Guard and a cadre play suddenly shift during the period of ideological transition. Both the victim and the criminal of the Cultural Revolution are forced to reconsider their previous behaviors. The scar on the ex-Red Guard's forehead reminds the cadre of his "shameful" past that he previously resists remembering. Another protagonist, the

ex-Red Guard, presents a certain degree of denial of his previous experience. However, both of them finally reach an interpretation of their memories by turning to the new ideology. "Maple" indicates that a Red Guard experiences the shattered assumptive world after his girlfriend committed suicide in a Red Guards' factional battle. In "Drunk in the Flowers" Xiaoli perceives the world and herself through her ideologically based assumptions to an extreme – Mao's words control her mind, actions, body and sexuality. She finally becomes bewildered when those assumptions are shattered. These stories reveal revolutionary trauma, its working-through, or both. Further, given that telling and reading one's story serves writers and readers as an exposure therapy, scar literature provides psychological functions to assist both writers and readers to work through their respective revolutionary trauma.

Conclusion

In this chapter, I have defined a term, "revolutionary trauma." I argue that the shattering of the ideo-centric assumptions of the world and identity was shared by many Chinese people who experienced the Cultural Revolution. For most of them, trauma was rooted in communist ideologies. Traumatic experience was directly produced but repressed by Maoist revolutionizing violence or violent-interpretation of revolution. These memories were elicited at the abrupt shift of ideologies from Maoism. Denouncement of Maoism by the new post-Mao regime shattered people's previous perspective that had allowed them to accept their previous experiences. In this sense, revolutionary trauma originated from the shattering of people's collective assumptive world. A certain communist ideology

was characterized as schemas with which to construct the communist assumptive world. Because this assumptive world was ideologically based, it became a collective assumptive world rather than an individual's solitary realm. When such an ideology suddenly was rebuked, the collective sense of coherence of knowing and framing the former experiences, behaviors, afflictions received, sacrifices made, etc., suddenly evaporated. Pieces of memories remained present in their lives, but the thread which connected these memories had been broken. Emotions, such as anxiety, anger, fear, guilt, and self-reproach, were not only individual responses to such experience; but also became social symptoms, indicating the problems both of the society and individuals.

As we can observe in most stories of scar literature and readers' responses to them, most people were overwhelmed by the sudden ideological shift. For some people who persecuted others or betrayed their families and friends, the foundation for their past actions suddenly vanished. What was seemingly correct, heroic, non-harmful, or unpleasant-but-approved suddenly came up, calling for re-interpretation. For many young people, the meaningful actions, the benevolence of the world, and particularly the value of self as "successors of the communist career" (based on Mao's promise, "The world is ours, and also yours, but in the final analysis, it is yours," which inspired Red Guards' revolutionary zeal) were suddenly inverted. The revolutionary illusion turned into a nightmare. The person who used to be "a revolutionary little hero" turned out to be a criminal or an immoral person who killed others, hurt others, or betrayed families. This sudden

shift of ideology created crises in most people's identity and worldview, which provoked anxiety, fear, guilt, or shame.

This phenomenon complicates the process of working-through. Working through revolutionary trauma is encapsulated within the framework of ideology. When the trauma individuals create the counterforce to the return of trauma, ideology provides schemas such that they might transform traumatic symptoms into significance accepted by their cognitive position. A shift to a new and different ideology hereby may precipitate and facilitate the working-through. On the other hand, when the trauma individuals work through their confusion, anxiety, loss, guilt, self-reproach, etc., they may require or welcome a new ideology. The new ideology operates as schemas for them to recognize, interpret, and understand trauma and to relieve the overwhelming emotions.

In the particular case of Chinese people's revolutionary trauma, when Chinese people transferred personal trauma into collective trauma under ideological control, the working-through of collective guilt or shame, loss, self-reproach, etc., facilitated the acceptance of a new ideology. That is, Mao's communist ideology fundamentally influenced activities that led to trauma in the Cultural Revolution, while a later communist ideology was assimilated in part associated with the working-though of revolutionary trauma. In relation to Chinese people's repetitive telling of their complaints, hatred, resentment, and bitterness collectively and publicly, such as exemplified in the scar literature movement, Deng's modernization provided these people with a new perspective to work through their trauma and relevant loss, pain, guilt or shame. Although

they inevitably faced questions concerning whom they should blame, who should be responsible for the trauma, and why such suffering happened to them, Deng's ideology temporarily provided answers. In this case, the Gang of Four was impeached as the common scapegoat responsible for the personal and national catastrophes. Personal trauma thus became an ideological category again.

Chapter Two

"Scar": A Social Metaphor for Working through Revolutionary Trauma

A major contribution of the scar literature movement to Chinese literature and to post-Mao Chinese culture was to project the "scar" metaphor into socio-political discourse. The flawed and wounded heroes created in many scar stories defied the Cultural Revolution's demand for positive, heroic, and especially major heroic characters, as articulated in the dominant creative principle, "the three prominences (*San tu chu*)."[13] Also, the scar metaphor, and the scarred heroes' transformations, addressed a politically "taboo area" (Kinkley 1985: 10): the dark side of socialist reality. Although few official documents explicitly forbade writing about that dark side, writers had heretofore been admonished to reflect the bright side of socialism and the heroic spirit of workers, soldiers, and farmers. Mao's literary principle, "literature must serve politics according to the needs of revolution," was explicitly stated in his "Yan'an Talks" in 1942[14] and gradually

[13] According to Yu Huiyong' article, "Let the Stage of Literature and Arts Forever be a Battlefront for the Propagation of Mao Zedong Thought" (Literature& Arts Press, 23 May 1968), Jiang Qing, Mao's wife, seems to be the first person who applied the term "the three prominences" to summarize the regulations about creative writing. However Yu was the first one who articulated the meaning of "the three prominences" in detail. In this article, he explained that "the three prominences" was that "positive characters should be prominent among all characters; heroic characters should be prominent among positive characters; major heroic characters should be prominent among heroic characters" (see Hong 2007: 220). This interpretation was later revised by Yao Wenyuan. Yao's revision was mentioned in an article "Taking 'Tiger Mountain' by Strategy" *Red Flag*, no. 11, 1969.

[14] Mao's though of literature and arts in the 1940s can be found in "The Position of the Communist Party of China in the National War" and "On New Democracy," but mainly concentrated in "Talks at the Yan'an Forum on Literature and Arts" in 1942.

accepted as doctrine for literature and the arts. Mao's renunciation of any negative descriptions of socialism was even more unequivocal in the Hu Feng Incident (from 1952 to 1955) and the Anti-Rightists Movement (in 1957), during which a great number of writers who exposed the dark side of socialism were either jailed or exiled. During the Cultural Revolution the counterpart of Mao's literary principle developed into a "script prison" (*Wen zi yu*), that is, as long as the words in writers works could be interpreted as exposing the dark side of the society, they were branded as antirevolutionaries. Later, during the first couple of years after the Cultural Revolution, Mao's chosen successor, Hua Guofeng advocated that "we must support whatever Mao decision; we must observe whatever Mao direction" (the so-called "*liang ge fan shi*"). Although denouncing the Gang of Four had become acceptable, exposing the problems of either the old or new socialism remained a forbidden topic.

The wounded heroes of the scar movement made visible loss, regret, pain, guilt, anxiety and confusion. But such turmoil was not only personal. Scar literature portrayed shattered assumptions about the benevolence and justice of revolutionary communism and, in doing so, challenged the socio-political identities of those who were caught up in the hyperbolic "promise" of the Cultural Revolution. Although people celebrated the end of ten years of calamity, confusion and anxiety pervaded both memories of the past and projections for the future of a "new" China. As in Chen Guokai's portrayal of a woman shocked by her husband's scarred face in "What Should I Do?", readers of scar literature were shocked by traumatic memories that returned like "ghosts" (Chen 1983: 94). Scar

literature contributed to the process by which Chinese people reinterpreted their previous experience, acknowledged their disillusionment, and reoriented themselves within a changing post-Mao socio-political environment.

If "everything is revolution" could be regarded as a "master metaphor" (Kenneth Burke) in Mao's main works and in Chinese people's lives during Mao's period, "everything is scar" became a master metaphor for a brief period after Mao. The scar metaphor became not merely a phenomenon in language and literature; it also became what might be called a "social metaphor," that is, a metaphor widely used in society at-large. By widely employing this metaphor, Chinese people publicly and collectively revisited the trauma of the Cultural Revolution — and the unsettled socio-political circumstances that ensued. In this sense, scar became a vehicle through which Chinese people reflectively considered traumatic loss, regret, anger, and anxiety even while they attempted to locate themselves within a dramatically altered socio-political situation.

This chapter studies the scar metaphor, or more precisely, metaphorical thinking, in scar literature and its reception in the post-Mao period. Although this chapter follows closely development of the scar metaphor — and its derivatives — in the narrative, it focuses on metaphorical thinking at two levels: (1) the individual level, through the study of protagonists' first-person and narrators' third-person portrayals of the protagonists' scars, and (2) the social level, through the study of response to such scarred protagonists among a broad spectrum of post-Mao Chinese readers. By studying the protagonists (and narrators' portrayals of them), this chapter demonstrates that the scar metaphor provides a space for

working through individual trauma and show how the tension between target and source of the scar metaphor is constrained by both individual emotional and social ideological forces. By studying the social context, it explores how and why the scar metaphor also facilitated the process of working through revolutionary trauma during the ideological transition from Mao to Deng.

Metaphor, trauma, and working-through

Etymologically, metaphor concerns "carrying on" or "transferring meanings" (Cooper 1986: 31). According to Aristotle, a metaphor is "the application of a noun which properly applies to something else. The transfer may be from genus to species, from species to genus, from species to specious, or by analogy" (Aristotle 1996: 34). Aristotle's classical understanding of metaphor encompasses many types of transferences of meaning between two realms, including metonymy, synecdoche, simile, and analogy. This definition seems to be more and more accepted by scholars of the modern and post-modern era such as Giambattista Vico, Ivor Richards, Nietzsche, Paul de Man, Jacques Derrida, and Paul Ricoeur; that is, all languages can be perceived as "being metaphorical" (Kirby 1997: 517).

More precisely examining the inner transference of meaning within two parts of metaphor—"the tenor" and "the vehicle" (Richards 1936) — shows that metaphor can be conceived "as a set of correspondences between two distant conceptual domains is a device for seeing something, or understanding something, 'in terms of' something else" (Borbely 2008: 414). Features of the vehicle (or "source") are transferred (or "mapped") onto the tenor (or "target"), partly finding

and partly creating similarity. However, during such transfer, the metaphoric source and target remain differentiable. The source provides meaning for its target but, rather than fusion, there is residual tension between identity and difference: "something is the same as/is not the same as something else" (Borbely 2008: 414). For example, in "Achilles is a lion," the "lion" and Achilles belong to two separate domains even though the imagery of "lion" transfers its force, severity and bravery to our understanding of Achilles. The "is-not-a-lion" inside this "is-a-lion" constitutes the tension between the source and target.

The tension of metaphor is pivotal to understand human psychology when metaphor is adapted to psychology and psychoanalysis. According to Antal F. Borbely, metaphor is not only a linguistic phenomenon, but also a psychological experience. While linguistic metaphor deals with "seeing something in something else," metaphorical comprehension in psychology (or metaphorical thinking) focuses on "seeing something in terms of another time" (Borbely 2008: 413). In normal psychological conditions, metaphorical thinking relies on the contiguity and tension between the past and the present. As Borbely states, "the present mentation as metaphorically informed by relevant past experiences. Conversely, mentation based on present inferences, which relies on the verbal input of free associations and their clinical interpretation, is used to metaphorically update past mentation and to reintegrate sequestered experiences and fantasies into a biographic narrative" (Borbely 2008: 413). In this understanding, the meaning and value of our experience in the present derives from the past and is carried on to the future. However, albeit there is continuity between the present and the past in

metaphorical thinking, the past and the present belong to two temporal domains. Accordingly, the present is not "rigidly determined" by the past, but flexibly communicates with the past. That is, the metaphorical tension between the past and the present allows an ambiguous space (or "vagueness") to exist so that the past and the present can consistently communicate with each other.

Trauma happens when such space is crushed due to overwhelming anxiety. According to Borbely, the anxieties of trauma derive from an interruption, or "cut circulation," of the contiguity of metaphorical tension through which the present informs the past (or vice versa). He proposes that trauma induces a literality divorced from metaphorical process, "a literality in which the overly specific meaning of an experience is unambiguous, inflexible, and even axiomatic" (417). The past only "is" what it literally seems to be, a context-independent event cut off from the present. Metaphoric tension between what is and is not disappears, and only literal, unambiguous and inflexible sameness remains. Consequently, traumatic memories (e.g., intrusive thoughts, involuntary memories, nightmares) become a literal past, a potentially re-lived "pseudo-presence" that "stands for" a rigidly remembered past. The "is-not-the-past" metaphorically inside the "is-the-past" is lost — as is the hesitant ambiguity within which aspects of the past are metaphorically disclosed.

Borbely's description of trauma-induced loss of metaphoric tension helps to clarify what it means to "work through" traumatic events (Freud 1914; LaCapra 2001). In working-through, the traumatized individual more or less realizes that the past experience is neither literal nor alienated from other experiences. With

recovery of the tension between the metaphor target and source, even if to a slight degree, the traumatized individual may become aware of the differences and correspondence between the two temporal domains. And with this differentiation between the past and the present, he/she should more or less see the present "in terms of" (rather than "standing for") his/her experience in the past, and vice versa. More possibly, the metaphorical thinking, which is curtailed when trauma occurs, may more or less re-float from past to the present. Such possibility allows the correspondence, communication, and movement from the past to the present and from there to the future. As LaCapra has argued, working-through is essential in that it opens the future when the traumatized individual establishes a critical distance from the past experience (LaCapra 2001).

Working through is seldom direct linear movement toward realizations that are "metaphorically understandable and acceptable" (Borbley 416). In fact, reconstructing metaphorical thinking after trauma emerges within a process of working through that is hesitant, iterative and, realistically, never complete. One reason is that working through occurs in constant opposition to psychological defenses (e.g., identification, rationalization, sublimation, denial) that, in the case of revolutionary trauma, are woven into prevailing ideological prescriptions. Revolutionary trauma, as discussed earlier, includes the shattering of an ideo-centric assumptive world; both the past "then-and-there" ideology and the emerging "now-and-here" ideology become inflexible and literal pseudo-presences. The vivid and painful memories of prior ideological commitments only inflexibly "stand for" the past without being seen "in terms of" either present

events or presently emerging ideologies. Conversely, the present emergence of more forward looking ideologies may not be metaphorically seen "in terms of" a subtly returning past. Consequently, one important aspect of revolutionary trauma is the abrupt and radical shift from one inflexible ideology to another without metaphorically link between past to present and present to past.

This defensive posture may especially prevail within a society that resists a plurality of ideologies. Both the interplay between personal and ideological aspects of revolutionary trauma and between the discontinuous ideologies of Mao and Deng can be observed within the working through described in most scar stories. In the following section, by examining "The Scar" and "Awake, My Brother", I will demonstrate the inner movement of metaphorical thinking that becomes established in the scar stories and in the concurrent ideological changes.

"The Scar": the scar metaphor and metaphorical thoughts

"The Scar", written by Lu Xinhua (1954-), was not the first story to challenge the rightness of the Cultural Revolution,[15] but it was the first important story to initiate the scar literature movement and it gave this literary movement its name. It recounts the tragic story of the female protagonist Xiaohua, who cuts her ties with her mother after her mother has been branded a petit-bourgeois "renegade." Nine years later, after the Cultural Revolution, Xiaohua is spiritually wounded again when she returns home and finds that her mother has just died.

[15] Although Liu Xinwu's "The Homeroom Teacher", which was published ten months earlier, first mainly exposed "the internal spiritual scars caused by the distortion of the souls of the fair number of educated youth" (Hong 2007: 293), it was "The Scar" that explicitly presented "the internal ideological scars of people" and called for "healing" (Hong 2007: 294). "The Scar" received massive reader response and controversial criticism, and later it gives its name to this movement.

Literary critics generally agree that the theme of this story involves the physical and spiritual scars inflicted on young people (like Xiaohua), on older generation cadres (like Xiaohua's mother), and on most families (Lin 1978; Link 2000; Chen 2001). However, in the story, Xiaohua's scars are gradually reconsidered within the metaphoric tension created by seeing her ongoing reunion with her mother "in terms of" her past mixture of longing for and anger toward her mother. Within this tension, there is a complex interplay between confronting and denying the anxiety of regret and loss. All these are accentuated in the transformation of the literal and the figurative meaning of the scar metaphor. The scar metaphor presents slightly different meanings each time when it appears (such as ugliness in Mao's discourses, recovered physical wounds during the revolution, and victimization at the shift of ideologies). This transformation indicates a complex movement of Xaihua's mentation metaphorically from the traumatic memories to the present, and this process is influenced by the radical ideological shift.

The first version of the scar metaphor emerges when Xiaohua examines her mirror image while returning home to her mother after nine years separation:

> It was Chinese New Year's Eve. Outside the train window, nothing was visible but the twinkling of colored lights that flashed by near and far. That was the spring of 1978.
>
> Xiaohua turned her gaze back to the carriage and glanced at her watch. It was midnight; she tied her long black hair and rubbed her bloodshot eyes gently, then turned and took out a small pocket mirror from

> her bag hanging by the window. Adjusting her face to the pale light, she looked at herself in the mirror. It was a squarish, pretty face with a light complexion: a straight nose, thin lips, well-proportioned features, a chin that jutted slightly forward, dark eyebrows and deep-set, quiet eyes that sparkled occasionally in the dim light. She had never scrutinized her own young and attractive face so carefully before. As she gazed, however, she saw tears forming in her eyes. With a startled gesture, she clasped the mirror to her breast and cast a sweeping glance around. Only when she saw everyone else in the carriage was sleeping did she relax, heave a sign and put the mirror back to her bag. (Lu 1979: 9)[16]

The first scene (S1) highlights Xiaohua's movements from gazing outside the "window" to gazing her mirror image and then to her examining the surroundings in the train. With these movements is her psychological transformation from unconsciousness to consciousness. Although she is absorbed in her "young and attractive" face, she feels alienated from her mirror image as she "has never carefully examined her face before." Such ambiguity of appreciation and

[16] It is necessary to point out that the original beginning of the story is, "On New Year's Eve it was as dark as ink outside the window." When this story was published in *Wenhui Daily*, Lu Xinhua revised this and a total of sixteen other places, based on editors' suggestions, so that this story "projected the feature of that period after Mao" (Yu Xiaolan 2008). The most important changes include: change "as dark as ink" into "it is the spring of 1978" in the beginning sentence; change from "they are talking happily" into "two couples talked about the politics"; and at the end of the storyLu added a sentence: "Xiaohua walked toward the Nanjing road…" (Wang 2008: 10-12). Without doubt, both Lu and editors (other scar writers as well) were influenced by censorship, as many studies have already criticized. However, as I will discuss in the next chapter, censorship is a complicated issue that is far from merely pleasing or being controlled by the current political power. I will leave the discussion of these revisions in this story and the relationship between writers and political control in the next chapter. This chapter focuses on the published version which was accepted by writer, reader, editors and Chinese censorship in that period. Providing that these changes reflect "the limit of that period" (Yu Xiaolan 2008), these changes also reveal the social psychology immediately after the Cultural Revolution.

strangeness of her mirror image is further intruded by her sudden "tears," an intrusive "other" which reveals her unassimilated painful experience. This revelation from "otherness", however, shocks her, bringing her back from her self-reflective gazing to the outside world. By then, her inner ambiguous emotions are directed to the tension between her unconscious self gazing and her consciousness of being gazed at by the outside world. This tension seems to be lessened temporarily through her consciously giving up to the outside world: "she put the mirror to her breast and then finally put it into a bag."

This transformation from her unconscious responses to her conscious surrender to the outside world indicates: (1) vacillation between approaching and avoiding her inner world, and (2) her ambiguity toward the outside world. First, gazing at the mirror image is constricted by her feeling of strangeness of her image. And this sense of strangeness is associated with a sudden release of a pain with her "tears," which is also strange to her due to a nine-year long denial as revealed in her later flashback. Although the scar metaphor is not explicit in this mirroring moment, the outline of a scar's form is foreshadowed. Xiaohua's "wound" is both marked and covered, marked by tears and covered by embarrassment. The temporal frame of this image is obscure: the teary wound may mark a *present* pain of longing or it may mark a *remembered* one. Perhaps their fusion is evident in Xiaohua's simultaneously familiar (present) and startlingly alien (past) mirror image. Within this fusion, she is taken aback by a teary wound that arises in the mirror with an intrusive "otherness" that is characteristic of post-traumatic memory.

As to the second point, this transformation also indicates conflict between her present mentation and her past experience. While she unconsciously touches her inner world, she immediately bounces back from the exploration which obviously provokes her anxiety. Such back and forth psychological movement interacts with her ambiguity toward the outside world. She is alert to her surroundings, but somehow she attempts to turn to the outside world to escape confronting her pain. This latter aspect can be analogous to a postraumatic dream. As Lacan and Žižek explained about the dream of the Burning Child, when the father wakened at the moment of dreaming that his dead son was burning, the outside world (i.e., the wakened state for the father) provided the father with an escape from the traumatic real (Lacan 1981; Žižek 1989). Similarly, at the moment when Xiaohua is anxious about how other people perceive her brief episode of unconscious self-examination, the outside world also provides her with a place to run away from confronting her pain, which is, as indicated, from her regret and loss.

These complexities and ambiguities, however, rather than being avoided, become more explicit when Xiaohua's psychological thinking moves forward to the next scene:

> Seeing the couple opposite her as well as the mother and her daughter, she felt a wave of loneliness sweeping over her again. The cry of "Mama" from the child in her dream was like a knife through the heart. The word has become such a foreign sound to her, yet what a sense of hope and expectation it stirred up in her now! She could almost imagine the grey

> hair and weathered face in front of her, and wanted to rush immediately over to her embrace and beg her forgiveness. She shook her head and tears welled up in her eyes again, but she held them back and took a deep breath. With her head resting in her hands and elbows on the tea table, she looked out of the window again. "Nine years have passed by…" she recalled with bitterness. (Lu 1979: 10)

In this scene (S2), the "foreign" feeling of the sound "Mama," which is "like a knife through her heart," echoes the feeling of otherness in her self-gazing and "tears" in S1. The foreignness of pain associated with "Mama" further provokes the "hope and expectation" of being loved and forgiven by her mother. Here, Xiaohua's inner pain of longing for her mother's love and her own regret retrospectively explains her emotional ambiguity in S1, while the reappearing "tears" and her attempt to hold back her emotions in her "deep breath" metaphorically relate to her "tears" and "heavy sigh" in S1. Therein, the interplay between confronting and denying regret and loss reappears.

In contrast to the gazing movement in S1, Xiaohua shifts her attention from the surroundings to outside the "window," and gazing outside the window evolves to seeing her inner world. This shift is due to the failed function of the "surroundings." Although in S1 the "surroundings" provides Xiaohua a temporary shelter to escape her anxiety, the mother with her daughter and the loving couple in the train remind her of two losses: her mother and her boyfriend Xiaolin. The conflation of touching and avoiding regret and loss**,** which is temporarily repressed in S1, is elicited by the exact outside world to which she turns to escape.

However, this outside world fails to provide her with such a place to deny her trauma again. After all, it was the 1978 Spring Festival, not Mao's Cultural Revolution in 1966. The changed outside world eventually brings her back to her experience nine years ago.

In these two scenes, S1 serves as a source for Xiaohua's psychological thinking in S2, and S2 in turn provides a deeper revelation of what is repressed in S1. Thus, despite the complexity and ambiguity of emotions in the two scenes, there is a continuity of imageries and ideas between them. This continuity chronologically moves back to the original trauma, when the scar metaphor first explicitly appears in the narrative:

> That was when she had struggled with her own anger against her 'renegade' mother. Her mind was in turmoil, she had signed up to go to the countryside before graduation. It was so hard to comprehend: how her mother, a long-time revolutionary, was something that crawled out of an enemy dog-hole, a figure like the character Daiyu in the novel Song of Youth, to be hated and detested.
>
> […]
>
> When her mother was branded a renegade, Xiaohua lost all her best friends and fellow students and the family had to move to a small and dingy room. Because of her mother, she was expelled from the Red Guards and suffered all kinds of discrimination. As a result she hated her mother even more for her treacherous and shameful past. At the same time she couldn't forget her mother's deep love for her, and the fact that her

> parents had treasured her, their only child, like a pearl ever since she could remember. And now it was [like] an ugly scar [marked] on her clean and fair complexion, bringing her a great shame [a mark of shame]. She had no choice but to criticize her own petit-bourgeois instincts [based on a voice outside her heart] and draw a line of demarcation between herself and her mother. She had to leave her, and the sooner and the farther away the better. (Lu 1978: 11)

In this scene (S3), the scar metaphor appears with its contrast to "her clean and fair complexion." The imagery of a scar presents a tension created by love and anger toward her mother. In addition, it metaphorically goes back in the narrative or chronologically goes forward to Xiaohua's mirror imagery in S1 and the sound of "Mama" in S2, providing causes and interpretations for the emotional complexity and ambiguity which permeate the two previous episodes. Accordingly, the ambivalent mentation in S1 and S2 finds its source in the experience derived from this "invisible scar." Moreover, the present mentation corresponds to the past experiences in her memories, as the scar metaphor allows the communication between the past and the present. This communication is not rigid, but dynamic, thereby it opens a new experience: Xiaohua attempts to understand her pain about her ongoing reunion with her mother in terms of her past mixture of longing for and anger toward her mother.

However, although "an invisible scar" corresponds to the mentation after nine years, the scar metaphor as a vehicle carries an unconventional idea. In both English and Chinese language and culture; the term "scar" literally refers to the

fibrous tissue that marks and covers the site of a healed wound and metaphorically refers to a psychological blemish that marks and covers a (superficially) healed emotional wound. However, in S3, albeit the term "scar" is used figuratively, the idea that it carries is neither a physical nor an emotional wound. For Xiaohua, "her Mom's deep love for her" (target) is "an invisible scar, a mark of shame" (vehicle). The scar metaphor conveys an experience of being contaminated, ruined, and damaged. This unconventional usage of the scar metaphor originates from Mao's ideology, which strongly influences the mapping of the scar metaphor. As indicated at this original traumatic moment, Xiaohua's shame about her mother is determined by an ambiguous "voice" from both inside and "outside her heart." Xiaohua's anger toward her mother mainly derives from her associating her mother with "a betrayer" in a revolutionary fiction, *The Song of Youth*. In Xaiohua's association, her mother is transformed from "a long-time revolutionary" into "something that crawled out of an enemy dog-hole, a figure like the character Dai Yu in the novel *The Song of Youth*, to be hated and detested" (Lu 1979: 10). *The Song of Youth* was a semi-autobiography written by Yang Mo (1914-1995) in 1958 and was adapted as a movie in 1959. Lin Daojing, a female bourgeois intellectual, was born into a family of the so-called exploiting class. She breaks up with her shameful family to participate in revolutionary activities, and later she gradually grows up to be a true communist. This novel and its film adaptation were very popular among young people during the 1960s. In Xiaohua's association the loving bond between mother and daughter is displaced by hatred between the revolutionary and the anti-revolutionary, similar to the two

characters in the fiction. Xiaohua feels ashamed of her mother due to her identification with Lin Daojing, and imitating Lin, Xiaohua cuts off her ties with her mother.

At this traumatic moment, Maoist ideology influences the mechanism of Xiaohua's identification. For Xiaohua's generation, who did not experience the civil war (1945-1949) and the anti-Japanese war (1938-1945), the meaning of a "traitor" is ideologically determined by Mao's propagandistic education and arts, rather than referring to a real experience or the actual person. Relating her mother to this empty signifier, Xiaohua displaced her natural bond with her mother with the ideological relationship of "people" and "enemy". This displacement illustrates the profundity of Mao's ideology inculcated in the younger generation. Maoism constructed their basic assumptions about the world and self. Through this ideology-based perspective, Xiaohua regards her mercilessly abandoning her mother as a necessity of devotion to Mao's revolution.

Xiaohua's recognition of her mother as "a mark of shame" (Lu 1979: 11) also derives from "a compulsion to listen to a voice outside her heart."[17] She was discriminated against by people around her and was expelled from the Red Guards. This segregation reinforced her shift from loving to hating her mother, directly compelling her to leave her mother. Unlike psychological trauma, Xiaohua's fear does not come from an encounter with death but from an encounter with ideological segregation. Ideological segregation was the initial mental violence provoked by Mao. In his fourth rally to the Red Guards, Mao

[17] All other translations of this story are from Barmé and Lee's *The Wounded*, except this sentence. This sentence exists in Lu's original version (see Lu 1982: 3), but was not translated by Barmé and Lee.

fomented the Red Guards "to isolate the anti-communists to the maximum extent."[18] Alienating the branded enemies was widely used as the main punishment during the Cultural Revolution. For Xiaohua, isolating her mother represents her attempt to assimilate into the outside world so that she can escape a fear of being alienated by her peers.

Compared with her psychological ambiguity and complexity in the previous two episodes, Xiaohua's recognition of breaking off from her mother in her flashback in S3 tends to be rigid. Both her inner recognition and the outside "voice" toward her actions converge in the scar metaphor. This convergence of personal judgment and ideological correctness becomes a universal value that Xiaohua attemptes to hold in her past nine years. As the story reveals, Xiaohua temporarily represses her "painful memories" through being "accustomed to the warm support of collective life" in her reeducation (Lu 1979:12). Also, when Xiaolin reminds her at Lin Biao's downfall that her mother's case "might just have been one of persecution that Lin Bao was responsible for" (Lu 1979: 14), Xiaohua refuses to reexamine her judgment about her mother.

However, trauma always returns via dreams, nightmares, and intrusive thoughts etc. despite its belatedness (Freud 1920s; Cathy Caruth 1996; Žižek 2004; & Lifton 1995). In this story, Xiaohua confronts the traumatic moment in her dream:

> Somehow it was as if she were already home, opening the door of their old home and seeing her mother at the table, writing. When she looked up, her

[18] The written text about Mao's fourth interview is not available, but it could be seen at an on-line documentary film at http://v.youku.com/v_show/id_XMTUyNTE2ODg4.html.

> mother cried out in surprise:" Xiaohua!" and rushed over toward her. Overcome with emotion, she embraced her mother in her arms. After a while, she lifted her head, wiped the tears from her eyes and asked: "Mother, what are you writing?" "Nothing. It is… nothing at all." She tried to hide the paper from her with a sudden look of terror. Xiaohua quickly snatched the paper and read on it the words" Supplementary Confession on My Case as a Renegade". Xiaohua stared at her and cried out: "You are shameless!" Then she turned abruptly to walk out. "Where are you going?" "It is none of your business!" But her mother [moved] one step ahead of her and blocked the door. Hair disheveled. Suddenly Xiaohua screamed and came back to her senses. She was alone on her own bed. Panic-stricken, she sat up and felt her heart beating wildly. "Should I go to see her?" wondered Xiaohua aloud. She couldn't make up her mind. (Lu 1980: 19-20)

This unsettled dream (specifically, a nightmare; Busink & Kuiken, 1995) bears the intrusive character of post-traumatic thoughts. Her dream presents a mentation similar to the one found in S1 and S2. Rather than "tears" of a mirrored "other" (S1) or "tears" in response to a child's "foreign" cry (S2), the dream involves tears of fulfilled longing. Immediately after Xiaohua's and her mother's tearful embrace, however, the dream enacts a revised version of the original trauma (S3). Now, though, her mother, who had been a self-professed communist, becomes a self-confessed "Renegade." The dream reinstates Xiaohua's love and hatred toward her mother described in the original separation (S3). Whereas originally

Xiaohua "had to" leave her mother, as though she was reluctant to comply; now she angrily and shamelessly bolts for the door.

This revised version of the traumatic moment in the dream can be understood when connected with the previous episode of "receiving a letter." This dream occurred immediately after Xiaohua received a letter from her mother, in which her mother informed her that her mother's case had been "rectified" (Lu 1979: 19). Xiaohua's reluctant to believing in her mother's innocence seemed to be contradicted to her hope that the charge [against her mother] would prove to be untrue" (Lu 1979: 10) when Xiaohua originally left her mother. According to psychological studies of PTSD, emotional convictions grounded in post-traumatic nightmares sometimes reverse the emotional rationality that emerges during the process of working through (a process called retraumatization; Duval & Zadra, 2010). Xiaohua's dream fits this pattern, underlining how, despite her best intentions, emotional memory of her personal trauma pulls her toward a pseudo-present "return" of the past. Xiaohua's dreamed refusal to accept her mother's reinstatement may demonstrate her inability to entertain metaphoric interplay between the present that she "knows" and the past that she "remembers." The present dream metaphorically IS and IS NOT the remembered past.

In S1 and S2, some transformations of Xiaohua's mentation can be observed in imageries of the mirror image, "Mama,""window," "surroundings," and particularly "scar". These changes gradually reestablish the communication between memories and present experience, which is further carried on when Xiaohua sees her mother's dead body at the end of the story:

> Her mother's face was pale and wan, framed by gray hair, and revealed scars of old wounds faintly visible among the creases on her forehead. The eyes were still half-opened in a tranquil gaze as if waiting for something. (Lu 1979: 22)
>
> […]
>
> To this day I've been longing for my child to come back, but she hasn't come yet. Now, seeing Xiaolin, I find I miss her even more. While she hasn't been as physically mistreated as I was by the Gang of Four, the wound [scar] in her heart will be much more than all the wounds [scars] on my body. This is why I'm so anxious to see her again. My life is almost over, but I'll try to hold on for a few days more so that I can see her again…Xiaohua's eyes blurred with tears. She left Xiaolin and ran to the river's edge… after a while, she raised her head. The agitation on her face turned to a quite anger. She held Xiaolin's hand tightly and with eyes shining spoke slowly and with emphasis: "dear mother, rest in peace. I will never forget who was responsible for your wounds [scars] and mine. I shall never forget Chairman Hua's kindness and closely follow the party's Central Committee headed by him and dedicate my life to the cause of the Party." (Lu 1979: 23-24)

In this last scene, the scar metaphor is employed by both mother and daughter in their attempts to address the issues concerning their trauma: the question of forgiveness, responsibility, and Xiaohua's future. However, the ideas, which the

scar metaphor is mapping, are conveyed by two targets and agents. The physical imagery of scar, which is absent in the conventional usage of scar as a dead metaphor, is presented, but merely refers to the "scars of old wounds" on the mother's face. The metaphorical suffering in Xiaohua's mother's scar is diminished by her simple comparison, "the wound [scar] in her heart will be much more than all the wounds [scars] on my body." In this comparison, Mother (the representative of the old generation) separates the literality and the figurativity of the scar metaphor, and direct two meanings to two different agents. Mother is wounded physically but not psychologically and spiritually, while although the daughter is not wounded in her face, she has her spiritual scar to bear. For Mother, the figurative meaning of the scar metaphor is displaced by its literal sign of physical wound. For Xiaohua, physical imagery of scar is absent so that the spiritual scar is accentuated. However, Mother's physical scar metaphorically relates to Xiaohua's spiritual scar. Mother's "scars of old wounds in her forehead" remind Xiaohua of the trauma of emotionally hurting her mother. And Mother's comparison of "the wound [scar] in her heart will be much more than all the wounds [scars] on my body" provokes Xiaohua's intense feelings of regret and loss. The former, hurting her mother, is the source of the latter, her feelings of regret and loss; the latter is the target of the former. Both Mother and Xiaohua recognize that Mother's physical scar is exactly Xiaohua's scar in the heart. The target and the source of the scar metaphor are unconventionally convergent here.

The scar metaphor hereby is understood both figuratively and literally, however, separately. These understandings metaphorically refer back to the

tension of imageries of her mirror image, a cry of "Mama," "invisible scar," and "window" in the previous three scenes. Xiaohua's "clean and fair complexion" (in S1) is juxtaposed by Mama's "scars of old wounds," which results in Xiaohua's "tears" (in S1). Xiaohua's "invisible scar, a mark of shame" (in S3) is transformed into "a scar in the heart." The scar metaphor figuratively and literally relates to two generations. The physical scar indicates a wound but not being wounded in the heart, while the scar in the heart is not a physical wounded. Accordingly, the literal meaning and the figurative meaning respectively relate to two agents. The scar, which literally marks out the wounds in her mother's body, figuratively directs to trauma in Xiaohua's soul.

These transformations of literal and figurative meanings of the scar metaphors, to a large extent, are influenced by the "window" and "surroundings" (in S2). When she finally cries out "Mama," the voice which is "foreign" to her in S2, Xiaohua changes from a heroine in Mao's literature into her mother's daughter. This shift is partly because her mother's colleagues recognize her mother as "Principle Wang" rather than "a traitor". From the perspective of the new ideology after Mao, both Xiaohua and Mother were victimized, though in different ways. The figurative and literal meanings of the scar metaphor were accepted and used in the new discourse regarding victims of both generations.

Also, in the last episode when "the agitation on her face turned to a quiet anger," explicitly indicated here is Xiaohua's paradoxical process of confronting and denying trauma. She is overwhelmed by guilt, anger, and resentment. Her mother's unconditional forgiveness seems to leave her with even more anxiety

than when she found that her mother had passed away. Then the sudden shift from a pain to anger demonstrates a clear denial: projecting her responsibility by blaming the Gang of Four for her mother's death (which was the position of the new regime). The new ideology after Mao provides a perspective for her to reconstruct her previous experience. Turning to "following the Party" avoids an overwhelming anxiety from confronting her regret and loss.

"Awake, My Brother": the ruined trustworthy hero

"Awake, My Brother" is another story which reports on the metaphorical thinking in working through revolutionary trauma, although in a slightly different way. This story depicts how several people assist one of the so-called "the lost generation" to recover from his spiritual scar. Peng Xiaolei, the younger brother of the narrator, exhibits a symptom of anhedonia. He is "lackadaisical" (Liu 1979: 181), which prevents him from participating in social interactions and activities during the socialist modernization movements. Some people around Xiaolei, the narrator Xiaofeng, Zhu Ruiqin, (both of them are models of "the new generation of the 1980s"), and Secretary Lu, a member of the Communist Party in the factory where Xialei has a job, attempt to persuade Xiaolei to contribute to the reformation in the factory. The main theme of this story is reestablishing Xiaolei's trust in the new socialism through reconstructing his trustworthy hero. This theme is carried on in the basic narrative line through Xiaolei's gradual transformation from purely denying his traumatic experience to gradually working through his trauma. Xiaolei's transformation is entangled with the metaphorical thinking,

which is alternatively articulated through metaphors such as "heart," "red dust" and "scar."

The story begins with a conversation between Xiaolei and the narrator, which demonstrates Xiaolei's post-traumatic response toward the "hero" advocated by propaganda in the post-Mao (Deng) era:

> "You really should read that article on the young hero who struggled with the Gang of Four that was in the paper yesterday."
>
> He gave a laugh, "Yeah, I've already had a look at it. There is nothing that special in it."
>
> […]"Nothing impresses you. Don't you have any heart at all, don't you feel?" (Narrator)
>
> […]"Yes, I have got a heart, and it's right here in my chest. Sure I respect that guy, but I don't admire him. All he got for his troubles was a stint in jail. What the hell for?" (Xiaolei). (Liu 1979: 178)[19]

In the above conversation Xiaolei refuses to identify himself with the "young hero" by resisting the figurative meaning of the metaphor "heart." Like "scar," "heart" is also a dead metaphor, referring to sympathy, love or loyalty. In the exchange of this metaphor between the two brothers, the narrator reproaches Xiaolei by employing "heart" figuratively, meaning "you are not sympathetic toward the young hero!" Xiaolei defends himself by claiming that his "heart" is literally a heart in his chest. In this defense, he deliberately displaces the figurative meaning with the literal meaning of "heart." He dismisses the target of "heart," only projecting the physical image of heart that is absent in the

[19] All translations of this story are from Barmé and Lee's *The Wounded*.

conventional usage of this dead metaphor. Through rejecting the figurative meaning, Xiaolei disallows a discussion that may provoke his anxiety. As explicitly depicted in the next episode, Xiaolei's ideal of trustworthy heroes has already been ruined during the revolution. In the displacement of figurative for literal meaning of "heart", Xiaolei purely acts out of trauma, totally rebuffing the previous experience. Denial here is not a linguistic negation in an explicit manner. The negation is enacted through counteracting the correspondence between target domain and source domain of the "heart" metaphor. By projecting the absent physical image of "heart," Xiaolei restrains the source to its physical image so that the target and source are confined in the same domain, rather than two. The tension that could have been imposed by "is/is not" is reduced into "a heart is my heart" and the heart is "right here." Accentuating the sameness of imagery and the literal idea of "heart", he cuts off the communication between the figurative and literal meaning; therefore he defies the effort to communicate between his past and present.

This "cut circulation" (Borbely) of metaphorical target and source changes during Xiaolei's three interactions with Secretary Lu. In their first encounter the transformation in Xiaolei's working through trauma can be delineated by Xiaolei's recurrent lackadaisicalness:

> I know you found out all about my home situation from Zhu Ruiqin. Tell me, Secretary Lu, what do you expect of me? Give me a directive, I'll listen […]" He added special emphasis to the words "Secretary" and "you"[…]

“Do you know about the incident in No.2 workshop?” [Lu asked]

“I am not interested in such things” he [Xiaolei] replied proudly, “I feel very sorry that Zhu Ruiqin is getting more and more involved in the ‘mundane world’ [‘red dust’]. I don’t know why she bothers… well what are you going to do to her? Criticize her in the factory paper? Organize a ‘small criticism’ encirclement? ‘Do patient, carful ideological work’? Forgive her first offence but warn her not to do it again’?”

[…]

“So what you do is to pretend you don’t know anything about all of this, and place yourself peacefully outside the ‘mundane world’ [‘red dust’]?” [Lu said]

[...]

“Xiaolei, the Party committee has decided to be realistic and to get rid of the hypocrisy and lies generated by Lin Biao and the Gang of Four. What about you? Are you going to stand on the side-lines getting frustrated and uttering ‘lies, lies, lies!’ all the time, or you going to unite with the others and join in the fight?”

[…]

But my brother sat there silent for a moment, his lips quivering, then suddenly changing the subject he said:

“I saw you eleven years ago, Secretary Lu.”

Lu’s eyebrows raised in surprise,

“Eleven years ago? But you were only a young kid then. Where did you see me?”

“The first time was at a meeting at school. You’d come to tell us about fighting the Japanese.”

“Do you still remember the story I told you?”

“It was really exciting. I honestly thought you were fantastic when you were finished. I thought you were really a great man; you were like a real living symbol of something, a symbol of the older revolutionaries who had struggled hard to change some things, the glorious traditions they had, how they were our models. Then two months later, I saw you again. “

“Two months?”

“Yeah. It was the summer of 1966, I’d gone to the university sports ground to see what was doing, to see the capitalist roaders being struggled against. A whole line of them was brought out. You were in that line. You had a high hat on, a black board hung on your chest, and you were being pulled by the nape of the neck…”

“What was your reaction?”

“I was too young; I didn’t really know what to think. I just left that something wonderful and beautiful had been broken. Later, when the same thing happened to my father and such sense became common, I soon got used to it. When I started going to high school I got all enthusiastic again. I thought that revolution was all about the young opposing the old, the masses opposing the leadership, the more left one was the better. After Lin

> Biao crashed to his death, I felt I was finally maturing; I was developing some ideas of my own. I felt that there was nothing sacred, nothing was true. […]" (Liu 1979: 198-199)

This first long conversation between Xiaolei and Lu resembles the psychoanalytical process between a psychoanalyst and a traumatized patient. Lu plays a role similar to a psychoanalyst who "really knows the right medicine" for curing Xiaolei (Liu 1979: 199). Through the talking methodology, Xiaolei gradually changes from repudiating social interaction to willingly uttering his experience of disillusion. This conversation consists of two distinctive parts separated by Xiaolei's "suddenly changing [the] subject." The first part deals with the blurred process of acting-out and working-through due to Xiaolei's complicated and ambiguous emotions toward the "red dust." This complexity and ambiguity leads to the process of working-through in the second part: Xiaolei willingly recounts his experience of disillusionment, though such recounting is brief. The effect of such a small step of working-through is limited in that Xiaolei "didn't seem to have changed that much" after this encounter (Lu 1979: 197).

In the first part, both of them employ the metaphor "red dust" figuratively to claim their respective positions toward reality. Xiaolei stands firmly as an outsider through announcing that he is "not interested" in the "red dust". On the contrary, Lu, as the Secretary of the Party, is obviously an involved person. However, although Xiaolei verbally demonstrates his resistance to the social interaction in the "red dust," he unconsciously reveals his concern with "red dust" when criticizing the dark side of the conditions in the factory. His negation of the

"red dust" in language conflicts with his impulse to be involved in the social activities. This conflict is comparable to what Borbely called the "pseudo-present" symptom in trauma — Xiaolei's disillusionment is "literally" isolated from the communication between the past and the present. Disillusionment merely "stands for" the past, rather than "being informed 'in terms of' the past," and thus is regarded as his universal criterion for judging the present situation.

Such disruption of metaphorical thinking is transformed when Xiaolei "suddenly changed the subject" to speak out of his experience of disillusionment in the second part. This recounting informs that his disillusionment derives from the disconnection between his communist idealism and the heroic model which metaphorically carries on the communist idealism. Xiaolei had established his trust in the Party (or love of his country, Chairman Mao or the communist ideal world, because in Mao's China, love of country is the same as loving the Party or Chairman Mao) through identifying with his assumptions about the world and self with Lu (and inexplicitly with his father). Lu provides him with a concrete model of the hero of the communist idealism. For Xiaolei, to trust the communist ideal world and self is identified with trusting the communist heroes. In Mao's time, inviting veterans to recount their heroic deeds was an important social activity. Mao believed that training qualified revolutionary successors required not only the abstract education from books, but also tangible models from whom the young generation could learn. With the same idea, Mao encouraged the top leaders of the Party to interview the Red Guards in the eight rallies at Tiananmen Square. For Xiaolei, Lu is "a real living symbol" of the ideal revolutionaries, a physical image

of the communist ideal world and self. Such a living "model" of the "glorious tradition" metaphorically conveys Xiaolei's ideal world of communism and revolutionary identity.

Xiaolei's original traumatic moment can be detected when Xiaolei witnessed that Lu was disgraced in public. For Xiaolei, humiliating Lu in the public trial shattered "something wonderful and beautiful" that Lu was associated. Xiaolei's assumption about himself and the revolutionary world was further ruined when he witnessed his father's tragedy in his political ups and downs. In this sense, Xiaolei's disillusionment also derives from equating the ruined physical image (or the source) of idealism with the annihilation of the idealism itself.

This lost tension between metaphor source and target also explains (1) Xiaolei's ironic attitude toward Lu at the beginning of their encounter and (2) the first episode about the heart metaphor. In the first case, Xiaolei's ironic "special emphasis to the words 'Secretary' and 'you'" metaphorically directs the reader to his disillusionment about the object of his previous loyalty. If "Secretary" stands for the Party, the intangible object of Xiaolei's trust, "you" is the tangible object. The "special emphasis" of these two words reveals that Xiaolei distrusts both the Party and Lu as one of its heroes. Although in the later conversation, Xiaolei does claim his "respect" for Lu, this "respect" cannot make him trust the Party again. This shows that the concrete image of communism cannot serve as a model for Xiaolei to reconstruct his faith in the Party. In the second case, Xiaolei's sarcasm in his conversation with Lu echoes Xiaolei's dismissal of identifying with the

"young hero" in his conversation with his brother. Similar to the metaphorical relationship between the Party and Lu, "the young hero" represents a tangible object for Xiaolei's figurative meaning of "heart," namely love the country or the Party. Although Xiaolei "respects" the young hero, he doesn't "admire him." Through displacing the figurative "heart" with literal "heart," Xiaolei blocks the correspondence between the "young hero" and love of country.

In both cases, reestablishing a hero is not enough for Xiaolei to reconstruct his faith in the Party. Working through his disillusion requires answering a series of "whys," as indicated in his reproaching Lu in their second encounter:

> "Why do you work so hard? The people underneath you question everything you do and try to block your efforts; and there is no way to be sure that the people upstairs really support you either. Who knows when they'll say you' re carrying out a revisionist counter-current… you've been accused of lots of things, had a black card put around your neck, been in jail, been beaten up, been insulted; your wife even divorced you and your daughter changed her name so as to prove she was completely disassociating herself from you. Before the Cultural Revolution you were a Bureau Head, being made the boss of a factory now is, in effect, a demotion. Your hair's nearly all white, how many more years can you expect to live?"
>
> […]
>
> "He raised his voice, widened his eyes and looked at Old Lu, even the blood vessels in his neck stuck out.

> "How come you still put so much effort into your work? What's keeping you going? What!?" (Liu 1979: 178)

These intrusive questions echo one question in the first episode: "What the hell for?" Xiaolei's excitement and intrusion in his questioning demonstrate his confusion about his ambivalence of respecting a concrete hero and resisting such hero as an admirable model of the Party. Reconstructing his faith requires reestablishing the correspondence between Lu (and also the young hero) and communist idealism. If in the past Lu as a war hero is identified with Xiaolei's ideal model of the Party, after the calamity, Lu needs to provide a model to work through his own trauma so that he might be reconnected with the Party. In addition, compared with Xiaolei's refusal to communicate his thoughts with his brother and Lu in the previous conversations, Xiaolei's excited questioning indicates a change in his compulsive repetition of trauma, and this change is essential for working-through. In the first encounter with Lu, Xiaolei forcefully describes what he witnessed in Lu's public trial, and the narrator reports that Xiaolei was horrified when he saw his father in the concentration camp. These memories which frightened Xiaolei require explanation from Lu, and Lu's explanation may assist Xiaolei to understand his disillusionment and his father's death that he witnessed when he was a child.

In Lu's answer "I love our country. I want her to be strong and prosperous. I have trust in our Party" (197-198), Lu directly connects himself with the Party. And this connection, which metaphorically re-establishes the association between the source (communist hero) and the target (communist idealism), leads to

Xiaolei's further step of working through. Xiaolei exposes his "two lines of rice-grain size scars" (199) in his chest, which metaphorically relates to the scar in his spirit. Here, unlike the literal use of "heart" or the figurative use of "red dust," the spiritual scar is manifested through a physical source. Such connection in Xiaolei's thought of metaphor is further manifested in his acceptance of Zhu Ruiqin's metaphor:

> "Just at this moment it still hadn't started to rain and the trucks on the site stirred up the dust, I pulled on his sleeve and said, 'look, how lovely the "red dust" is!' He laughed but didn't say anything, we walked on a little further and then he stopped, grabbed me by the arm and said,' I want to think things out by myself, I don't want you to walk with me.'" (Liu 1979: 202)

Compared with the first episode about the "heart" metaphor, Xiaolei's transformation is obvious. Zhu deliberately employs the physical imagery of "red dust" to persuade him to appreciate the figurative meaning of red dust. In contrast with Xiaolei's distinguishing the figurative meaning and literary meaning of heart, here he accepts the association and comparison between the target and source. In this transformation, Xiaolei moves a small step toward working through his trauma. His final self-imposed isolation for "thinking," however, indicates that working-through is a difficult process. Each time he touches his previous trauma (shattering assumptions about the world as trauma is particularly clear in his case), he withdraws and takes a step back. Also, Xiaolei's vacillation between working through and denying the disillusionment is illustrated in his hesitation between

trusting or doubting Lu, which directly connects with his uncertainty about being involved in the "mundane world" or withdrawing to his indifference (which may be seen as a symptom of trauma, or acting out). The ending, that he leaves his friends and family to think about “becoming involved with the mundane world,” highlights his confusion and difficulties.

In these two stories the protagonists’ working-through is neither simple nor linearly progressing. Although according to LaCapra, working-through and acting-out are two distinctive and interactive processes, the boundaries of working through and acting out are obscure. For example, at the original traumatic moment, the mechanisms of defense systems of both Xiaohua and Xiaolei could be understood as both confronting trauma and critically interpreting the trauma. In addition, sometimes working-through is suddenly interrupted by acting out trauma. These obscure processes are embodied in the transformation of the “scar” metaphor (and other metaphors) and metaphorical thinking. Xiaohua’s understanding of the metaphor “scar” is changing with the complex interplay between confronting and denying her trauma. Though in a slightly different way, Xiaolei’s working-through alters his acceptance of “heart,” “red dust,” and “scar.” In both cases, we can observe the protagonists’ psychological responses being metaphorically communicated, comparable, and associated between past and present.

Such correspondence between past and present is determined by the content of ideologies in the past and the present. While Xiaohua and Xiaolei attempt to keep the previous assumptive world so that they could find meanings in

their behaviors, the ruin of Mao's ideology finally made this impossible. Conversely, although Deng's socialist ideology functions in the correspondence between past and present; it somehow draws the trauma individual into a new denial, rather than a healing process. As we can observe clearly in the two stories, the ideology of the new regime temporarily provides a loving object for Xiaohua and this allows her to minimize her responsibility. Her mother's death, however, indicates a permanent loss and regret. In the case of Xiaolei, although Lu seems to be trustworthy again through Lu's assistance in Xiaolei's working-through, Xiaolei's hesitation to being converted in the end implies that his working-through thus far is incomplete. Reconstructing his faith in the Party still has a long way to go.

Scar: a social metaphor for working-through

The scar metaphor became a social metaphor, rather than merely a linguistic figure of speech, due to two facts. One is that the metaphor is widely employed in scar stories; and another is that it was widely accepted by readers to help expose and release their memories. Through these two processes, the scar metaphor was projected into the social discourse during the period immediately after Mao.

Unlike collective authorship in the literature of the Cultural Revolution, writers of scar literature created their stories individually. However, most of them employed the "scar" imagery to describe their protagonist or some aspect of their experiences. The scar metaphor turns out to be a sign repeatedly appearing in many stories. It first appeared in Liu Xinwu's "The Homeroom Teacher", which

was widely recognized by scholars in mainland China as the first story of the new era. “The Homeroom Teacher” does not depict traumatic memories, but presents the results of the Cultural Revolution. The protagonist Song Baoqi is a hooligan. He has a healthy body but an empty soul. His handsome face is marked by “an ugly scar on his mouth”, which was left from his fighting in the street. This physical scar is not merely a mark left by a flesh wound. As Liu explicitly points out in the story, socialist society provided some young people with a healthy body but the Gang of Four ruined their soul. This idea is repeated in Liu’s other character, Xie Huimin. She has a beautiful young face, but is deformed in her spirit by the Gang of Four. She only has political awareness, without any other interest and human emotions. She is dehumanized by the communist morality and ideology into “an ignorant and insensitive bigot” (Link 2000: 17). These two negative stereotypes figuratively suggest scars on the face of socialist society. Similar to Lifton’s understanding of the imagery of wound and injury (Lifton 1979: 137), the scar in this story indicates a threat to the integrity of the individual and the social organism. How to remove these scars from the social organism is the main theme Lu demonstrates in this story. Liu attempts to solve this problem at the end of story by calling for “saving the children” (Liu 1977). This obviously imitates Lu Xun’s cry for “saving the children” at the beginning of the 20th century, but Liu’s intention is different from that of Lu Xun. Lu Xun sympathized with the weakness and innocence which was to be devoured by the cannibalism in Chinese culture and history, while Liu’s proclamation intends to remove those marks of shame and ugliness from the “face” of the Chinese socialist society.

The scar metaphor evolved into an outstanding sign of spiritual wounds in the second story, “The Scar”. As I have discussed, the target of physical imagery of the scar is transformed from a mark of shame and alienation in “The Homeroom Teacher” to regret and loss in the younger generation, and such spiritual scars are related to the physical scar of the older generation. This understanding of the scar is reiterated in the later stories. The scar becomes a repetitive mark encoded in the bodies of the protagonists in the later stories. In its later usage, the physical scar appeared in both the older generation and younger generations; however, the figurative meanings are very different. Embodied by the older generation in a few stories, the scar unequivocally stands for victims. The physical wounds of the victims during in the Cultural Revolution were covered up by scars, which were expected to be healed in the post-Mao period. The scarred heroes are neither depicted as targets of empathy, nor as models to admire. A scar merely is a mark showing that such victimized heroes were physically tortured and such marks testified to the wickedness of the Gang of Four. For example, in “The Scar”, the scars in Xiaohua’s mother’s face present such evidence. Similarly, in “What Should I Do?!”, scars cover all of Chen Yimin’s face, turning him into a returning ghost to his wife. This disturbed his wife’s new life in the new era.

Conversely, when borne by the younger generation, the scar is used literally and figuratively, being associated with different targets. In “Awake, My Brother”, as I have already discussed, the scars in Xiaolei’s chest mark his ruined idealism or his loss of the former ideo-centric assumptive world. In “Second

Encounter", the scar crossing Ye Hui's forehead was produced when he protected the cadre Zhu Chunxing. His scar signifies his misused enthusiasm and heroism. When Zhu Chunxing recognizes Ye Hui through this scar, the scar is associated with Zhu's guilt and shame about his cowardice in the revolution. More complicatedly, in "Something Most Precious", the scar on Dandan's face is not only an indicator of his revolutionary zeal that was misused by the Gang of Four; it is also a sign of Dandan's deformed soul. In all of these cases, the physical imagery of the scar metaphor is explicitly presented, conveying a complex figurative idea. The scar is associated with pain in the soul; however, as a new skin covering a wound, it also marks out an alienating experience and alienated heroes, both of which need to be assimilated by the society.

Reader's receptions: social metaphor and social functions

The scar turns out to be a social metaphor not only because it was widely employed in literature, but also because it was well received by readers. The publication of almost each story was a sensation, bringing about an enthusiastic reception or criticism. For example, *People's Literature* received 5000 letters from readers of "The Homeroom Teacher". The third issue of the magazine *Zuopin* (*The Works*) in 1979 sold 70 thousand copies because of its publication of Chen Guokai's (1938-) "What should I do?!" An extreme example is still "The Scar". All one million copies of *Wenhui Daily* of August 11, 1978 were sold out immediately due to the publication of this story. Readers who couldn't find a copy shared with others or read together in the public poster for newspapers on the street (Wang 2008:10). Due to the sensation that nearly all scar stories produced

among Chinese readers, *Shanghai Literature and Arts* and *Guangdong Daily* organized two nationwide discussions about scar literature between 1978 and 1980.

In addition, the scar stories provided subject matter for visual arts and films, animating a trend to seek new artistic forms to represent the Cultural Revolution. The scar imagery and the scar metaphor were soon adapted by artists in other art forms. From the late 1970s to the early 1980s, "scar painting" ("*shanghen meishu*") and "scar films" ("*shanghen dianying*"), along with scar literature, marked the coming of a new period of literature and arts which deviated from Mao's socialist realism and romanticism. If "revolution" or "class struggle" was a master term in Mao's period and "modernization" identifies Deng's new era, "scar" was a social metaphor widely employed by Chinese people to refer to their own identities and the period between Mao's "revolution" and Deng's "modernization."

Two questions require special attention: why was the scar metaphor widely received and what was its social function? To answer these two questions I shift my discussion from the metaphorical thinking of the protagonists in the stories to the metaphorical thinking of readers in their responses to these stories. Investigating reader response in the excellent article, "Forms of self-implication in literary reading," Kuiken, Miall and Sikora distinguished two forms of sense of self in the reader's interaction with the literary text: (1) in the form of simile, readers are likely to liken themselves with the fictional character because they have similar experience with the fictional character or they have read a similar

story before; and, (2) in the form of metaphor, readers identify themselves with the fictional character. According to Kuiken et al. metaphors "depend upon an interaction between memories and word text that is not only self—implication but also self-modifying. Enlivenment in this form is enactive (Wilshire 1982), taking on embodied perspective of a textual other (implicitly, I am A) and it is expressive just in the sense that it carries forward — rather than merely matching and externalizing — a freshly felt, freshly conceived sense of self (Gendlin 1997 [1962], 2003)" (Kuiken et al. 2004: 185). In this understanding, readers identify themselves with fictional characters as members of the same class, but they are also aware that they are not the same as the fictional characters. Through these two forms, particularly metaphorical self-identification, readers reconstruct the literary text and their experiences to develop an "altered understanding" of themselves and the world.

The metaphorical relationship between readers and fictional characters in the reading process helps to interpret how the actual readers work through trauma in their reception of scar literature and the scar metaphor. One needs to appreciate first that the actual "reader" of scar literature is a complicated category. It includes average readers, editors, senior intellectuals, high ranking cadres, and political policy makers, and among "average" readers was included a wide range of experiences of the Cultural Revolution.

"The Scar" is an example. Lu Xinhua impulsively completed his story "The Scar" in one night. He then posted it on the wall of the dormitory at Fudan University. Many students liked it. Later his teacher, Sun Xiaqi, recommended it

to her friend who worked for *Wenhui Daily*. The editors believed it was a good story, but considered it to touch on criticizing the Cultural Revolution (which had been officially recognized as a catastrophe by then), so they hesitated publishing it. Finally, with the support of the associate director of the Propaganda Department of Shanghai and some cadres in Beijing, the chief editor of *Wengui Daily* decided to publish it. Even then, Lu revised 16 places based on the editor's suggestion in his published version which was read by a much wider audience of readers in the August 11, 1978 publication.[20]

As publishing scar stories was risky immediately after Mao, many of the scar stories — such as Kong Jiesheng's "Over the Other Side of the Brook", Feng Jicai's "A!", and Liu Xinwu's "The Homeroom Teacher" — received support from senior writers, editors and policy-makers. Even some top leaders of the new regime participated in discussions of or commented on scar literature. In 1979, although Deng Xiaoping criticized scar literature's "crying and weeping," he nevertheless exhorted the active function of scar literature in cleansing the poison of the Gang Four (Deng 1979). In 1979 and 1980, Hu Yaobang, the director of Central Propaganda Department, twice overtly encouraged the conflicting ideas concerning scar literature (Xu Qingquan 2005: 10).

This intricacy of readership has two implications for this study. First, although censorship is always a challenge when we approach Chinese contemporary literature in communist China, censorship was temporarily loosened in the short period of the scar movement. Richard Kraus argues that

[20] See Lu Xinhua "*Shanghen* de yi wenshi de jige tebie de yinyuan" ("several reasons about the publishing"The Scar") *Jintian*. (Fall)2008.Web.http://www.literature.org.cn/article.aspx?id=37140

Chinese readers have set up their autonomous relationship with the text since the 1980s when literature and arts were commercialized (Kraus 2004; Clark 2007). The complicated readership and its spontaneous responses alerts us that such autonomous readers may have started to form even earlier — from the nationwide reception of scar literature. The main journals of literature and newspapers published selected reader's responses in several issues following the publication of each story. Although the authenticity of these selected responses may be doubted due to the influence of censorship, given Paul Clark's arguments for the credibility of the published readers' responses in China (Clark 2007: 4), readers' spontaneous responses to the spontaneous writing in scar literature may have revealed the relatively "true" feelings of many Chinese people during the post-Mao thaw.

Secondly, because the top leaders of the Party and Deng's new regime (in most cases the leaders of the Party and the leaders of the political regime in China are the same) as well as communist cadres conferred about general readers' responses, two important issues arise. One is the relationship between political control and literature, which I will discuss in the next chapter. The other concerns the significance of the scar metaphor to Deng's ideology and his regime. This latter issue will be dealt with in the last part of this chapter. Overall, it is mostly because of the complexity of the readership of scar literature and its wide reception that the scar metaphor becomes a social metaphor in the socio-political discourse, rather than merely a linguistic phenomenon.

What Kuiken calls "metaphorical self-identification" can be observed in most readers' responses to scar stories. Consider these excerpts written by several readers in response to "The Homeroom Teacher":

1. Li Dameng, a postman: "'The Homeroom Teacher' is not a fiction but a depiction of the real life that we have seen. The wicked Gang of Four entrapped many young people. There were many 'Song Baoqi' in my community […]" (*People's Literature*, 1978: 01: 102)
2. Zhou Fang, a teacher of middle school: "The writer expressed our common thoughts and feelings as teachers, and spoke out what we wanted to say but dare not say… for the two kinds of young people, Song Baoqi and Xie Huimin, we should help them and rescue them with a sense of revolutionary responsibility […]" (*People's Literature*, 1978: 01: 103-104)
3. Xia Zhigui, a teacher of middle school: "we are familiar with all those characters in the story; therefore we have similar feelings toward this story […]" (*People's Literature*, 1978: 01: 107)
4. Wei Tao, a so called "intellectual youth": "'The Homeroom Teacher' woke up my deep memories of the past and I have never been so much aware of the importance of study. I realized that knowledge and truth is very important to a man's growing-up […]" (*People's Literature*, 1978: 01: 104)
5. A young prisoner who committed juvenile delinquency: "I am Song Baoqi […] I was spiritually deformed and poisoned by the Gang of

Four. After reading this story, I regain a hope in my life […]"

(*People's Literature*, 1978: 01: 105)

These selected letters indicate that responses of the older generation and the younger one are different. The older generation tends to identify themselves with Zhang Junshi, the communist teacher in the story. Through using "we" other than "I" to address themselves as individual readers, readers of the older generations unconsciously distinguished themselves from "Song Baoqi" and "Xie Huimin," those who were deformed by the Gang of Four. And also through "we," they classified themselves with Zhang Junshi, a representative of the revolutionary intellectuals who devoted the rest of their lives to the new regime after the Cultural Revolution. Readers of the younger generation, however, employed "I" to identify with Song Baoqi and Xie Huimin due to their similar experiences. Fictional figures in the story "woke up" their "deep memories," and this identification further elicited their understanding of themselves through re-valuing their past experiences and their possible futures. In this sense, Song Baoqi is metaphorically associated and compared with the reader. The identification of "I am Song Baoqi" is also "I am not Song Baoqi" in that other than ending up as a hopeless hooligan in the story, "I" have "a hope of my life" outside the fictional world. In this metaphorical relationship, readers may re-experience their trauma. This re-experience, however, is not simply a recurrence of the traumatic memories. In this recurrence, readers released their emotions, thus gaining meaning and value for their past experiences.

This working-through in the reception of scar literature is more explicit in the reception of "The Scar" and, what it mainly carried, the scar metaphor. Li Bin, one of the three artists who adapted "The Scar" into a cartoon series, recalled that while painting this story, he gradually realized that he was also spiritually scarred. If converting the story into a visual narrative is also regarded as reading, given the similar experience with Xiaohua, Li's understanding of his experience is altered and re-valued in his reception to the story. Similar modification of the sense of self in reading can also be detected in other readers' responses. *Wenhui Daily* received three thousand letters after the publication of "The Scar". Sixteen of them criticized Xiaohua as a heroine with faults who thus provided a negative model for the younger generation to reflect their social tragedy. A large number of readers responded to Xiaohua's tragedy positively. Some of them claimed that this story "recalled to them the horrible memories during the revolution," stating that they see "the shadow[s] of themselves or other familiar people in this story" (Wang Jianqiang 2008: 10-12), or criticizing "the spiritual trauma" that the Gang of Four created for them which they cannot easily recover from.[21] Some of them (around five hundred letters) declared that this story told them who should be loved and who should be hated.[22] Some averred that this story not only revealed that the Gang of Four persecuted the old cadre and created scars for the younger generation, but it also exposed the 'scar' in the literature.[23] These responses of average readers are surprisingly comparable with the two kinds of criticism that

[21] See published readers letters: Wang Han. *Wenhui Daily*. September 5th 1978: B2; Shi Ai. *Wenhui Daily*. September 6th 1978: B2

[22] See published readers letters: Liu Shucheng. *Wenhui Daily*. September 26th 1978: B4.

[23] See published readers letters: Xu Keren and Zhao Zhenxian. *Wenhui Daily*. September 19th 1978: B5.

Chinese literary critics and writers maintained in the nationwide debates about scar literature in 1979 and 1980.

The majority of the responses present evidence of the readers' "self-implication" and "self-modification." Readers widely accepted the scar metaphor and even employed it to refer to the literary principle and writing. They applied the scar metaphor to marking themselves out as a class with Xiaohua. Through this identification they re-categorized themselves as members of a group including the spiritually scarred "Xiaohua". This reclassification has two functions in working through readers' trauma. One is that Xiaohua's tragedy was evocative of the readers' similar "horrible memories" and "shadows" of the self, which were repressed in the past. The past experience was associated with the present reading experience, and such interaction between the past actual experience and the present experience in fiction further developed into a new experience: understanding their personal trauma and opening a possible future: What happened? Who should be responsible? Could such "trauma" be recovered? And should the spiritual "scar" be forgotten or remembered? Through reflecting on these questions, readers shifted from their reading about the protagonist to reading about themselves: revaluing and reconsidering their past, the present and their future.

The other function is that through this re-categorization, trauma and its working-through are transformed into a collective recognition. Due to the shared experience of the shattering of the Maoist ideo-centric assumptions of self and the world, personal trauma was perceived as the trauma of the society. With this

recognition, the scar became a social metaphor that conveyed a shared social understanding of revolutionary trauma. Working through such trauma thus could be partaken in public as a social action in collective reading and telling.

From Utopianism to Cat-ism: further social functions of the scar metaphor

One question requires special attention: how does ideology function in the collective recognition of the scar metaphor? A scar is a recovered wound, but a scar also marks out traumatic experience which estranges the traumatized individual from the society. How to assimilate this scar and scarred individuals was a pivotal issue in the scar stories and the society immediately after Mao, and this assimilation is closely entangled with the continuity and discontinuity between Mao's Utopianism and Deng's modernization.

Deng's modernization deviated from Mao's ideology. Deng believed that to "encourage one group of people to be rich first" is a necessary step to reach collective richness, while Mao's revolution aimed at realizing the ideal of absolute equality. However, Deng carefully and gradually displaced Mao's ideology with his version of Chinese socialism during the scar period.

First, Deng's personal tragedies during the Cultural Revolution and his undefeatability gained him the respect of many Chinese people. Like Mao, who had survived many encounters with death and was a symbol of the undefeated permanent revolution (Lifton 1974), Deng's identity as a survivor of many wars and the Cultural Revolution converted him into a scarred hero who was respected by Chinese people after Mao. Deng had participated in the Long March, the Anti-Japanese War and the Chinese Civil War with Mao. During Mao's time, Deng

experienced “downfall” three times, and his son was disabled during the Red Terror. In 1976, Chinese people in Beijing willingly hung little bottles with red thread in the trees on the streets to express their wishes to call Deng to power (MacFarquhar and Schoenhals 2006). In 1977 Deng was appointed as the premier. In 1978, an article in *People’s Daily* (*Renmin ribao*) entitled “Practice is the only criteria for examining the truth” instigated a national discussion about the criteria of truth. In 1978, Deng was selected as the chairman of the central government in China. He soon announced a policy of reformation and openness. Deng’s escalation after Mao was coincident with the Chinese people’s will. Deng was extolled as an “undefeated hero” who to some extent replaced Mao as a trustworthy hero to lead people to the “democratic, rich and strong China.” Such illusions might temporarily lessen confusion, anxiety, grief and loss, despite the fact that the dream of democracy which many intellectuals expected to realize in Deng’s regime was shaken by the anti-spiritual pollution movement in 1983 and ultimately was disillusioned in the Tiananmen Square Demonstration in 1989.

The scar metaphor also goes between the shift of ideological metaphors between Mao and Deng. In Mao’s period, metaphors that were employed in the social discourse were grand and ideo-centric. For example, Mao was referred to as the “red sun” or “great Helmsman;”while anti-revolutionaries were “black five classes,” or “cow ghosts and snake demons”. Perhaps the most famous metaphor came from Mao: “all imperialists are paper tigers.” These metaphors are not merely a linguistic figurative speech; they also convey certain ideological ideas. In addition, the physical imageries employed to carry on these ideo-centric ideas

are grand and sublime; or in contrast, dark and horrible. In Deng's period, the vehicle of metaphor shifts to small, common and tangible imageries. Take Deng's metaphor as an example. In 1962 when Deng proposed strategies to resume the agricultural economy after The Great Leap Forward (1958-1960), he defended his idea with a famous metaphor: "No matter if it is a white cat or a black cat, a cat that can catch mice is a good cat!" Deng repeated his cat-mice metaphor after he activated the policies of openness and reformation.

The shift from "paper tiger" to "cat-mice" symbolized the ideological shift from Utopianism to cat-ism; that is, from permanent revolution (or class struggle) to economic development. The scar metaphor was projected in this period of ideological shift, suggesting Chinese people's confusion and ambivalence in their reactions to the socio-ideological changes. As indicated in the stories that have been discussed, with the ideological shift from permanent revolution to modernization, the identification with heroes, either in revolutionary fiction (like Xiaohua) or in the life story of real revolutionaries (like Xiaolei), became disillusionment. Comparably, with the metaphorical shift from the imagery of grandiose to lesser tangible things, the scar seemed to be the most proper metaphor to convey the readers' confusion, loss, pain, and possible hope for the future.

Chapter Three

Identification, Revolutionary Identity and Working through Revolutionary trauma

Unlike any other literary and cultural movements in 20th century China, which were launched by well-educated intellectuals or social elites (for example, the May Fourth movement and left-wing literature), scar literature mainly consisted of works written by young writers who were called "Mao's children." Because schools were closed during the first two years of the Cultural Revolution and universities hadn't received qualified students until 1977, most of them rarely received formal education. Some of them might have accessed literary works forbidden to public readership, but most of them overall were deficient in an appreciation of literary forms, content, and thoughts articulated in Chinese classical literature, Western literature or the May Fourth literature. In spite of not knowing how to write, as most of them claimed, they nevertheless possessed a strong desire to record what they had witnessed and experienced during the revolution. Their poverty in technique but richness in emotions and experiences resulted in spontaneity and self-portrayal in their works (Hong 2007: 269). These spontaneous and autobiographical aspects provide us with comparatively raw and arguably genuine materials for studying experiences of this generation.

Except for Liu Xinwu (1942-) and Feng Jicai (1942-), nearly all of the other young writers were fervently involved in the Cultural Revolution as Red Guards. Because to "be Mao's good children" was imbued in Mao's education,

most of them strived to establish their assumptive world and identity based on Mao's ideology when they were teenagers. Under Mao's call, they were ardently involved in the Cultural Revolution as revolutionary vanguards. In their dreams of constructing an ideal world and self, they conversely generated a destructive force to create catastrophic social turmoil, and at the same time, they also ruined their own youth. After the end of the Cultural Revolution, they were inevitably confronted with the shattering of the collective utopia as well as personal loss.

Throughout this entire range of experiences, identification works as an important mechanism. Most young protagonists in scar literature established their identity through identifying with the models and heroes recommended in social activities, Mao's writing, and figurative heroes in Mao's literature and arts. This chapter mainly examines psychological identification in producing and working through revolutionary trauma of this generation by studying two tensions: the tension between the protagonists and their objects of identification within the stories, and the tension between scar writers and their protagonists. Through delving into the nuances of the identifications involved with these two relationships, this chapter concludes that these two tensions result from the ambiguous relationship between identification and ideology. The reasoning is based on sequential, radically different societal ideology-based realities. Communist heroes propagandized in literature, arts, and social activities during Mao's period provided ideal models and common qualities for the young generation to learn from, assimilate, and imitate. However, when such objects and qualities were shattered after Mao, Deng's new regime established new models

and qualities for the needs of socialist modernization. When unwillingly confronting traumatic moments, many writers and their protagonists turned to the new ideology for denial: avoiding traumatic anxiety in ideo-centric language and actions so that trauma, as well as its emotional responses such as guilt, pain, and depression, was mediated, assimilated, and recognized.

Constructing revolutionary identity: the Red Guards, violence and sacrifice

The theoretical concept that I draw upon to approach revolutionary trauma of the young generation is trail identification. Trail identification is defined as one kind of psychological mechanism of identification by Freud. Freud perceived identification as an unconscious mechanism in which an individual imitates a model with whom he/she establishes the earliest emotional tie (Freud 2003: 134-137). According to Freud, the model of the individual at the earliest stage of development is his/her father (later mother) or his/her self after the loss of such original object, which Freud defined as primary identification and narcissism identification respectively. Apart from this pure libido principle, Freud also elaborated a concept of partial identification (Freud 2003: 137) or trail identification (Frenichel 1945: 511). An individual may share the perception of common qualities, either transitionally or long-lasting, with a group of people with whom he/she is a member, or with a hero or a leader in society. As M. M. Meissner points out, a "subject can assimilate, appropriate as his own, qualities belonging to an object based on a shared common element" (Meissner 1970: 568). In this sense, trail identification is an important mechanism functioning in the formation of a social identity. A social identity constitutes an individual's self-

concept or "self-description, with evaluation and emotional components maintained in terms of a group or category label" (Turner 1985: 52). That is, a portion of an individual's psychological self-recognition is established based upon his/her sharing certain qualities, characteristics, and features with a group. This sharing includes heroes whom a group worships, common ideals, behaviors, qualities, and worldview, as well as common material signs, for example, clothing that they share, which collectively represents their inner thoughts, ideals, sense of belonging to a group, and psychological process.

Trail identification is an important mechanism in the configuration of the young generation's identity. Mao's intention for the Cultural Revolution (whatever it was) [24] was carried out by passionate teenagers who were identified as the "Red Guards." Although individual experiences may be different in one way or another, for most young people in cities, the Red Guards signified more an identity with some common values and qualities shared by the young people than merely the name of an organization. The Red Guards formulated an ethos and style that included their values, qualities, certain types of clothing, particular language, behaviors, and songs, which most young people appreciated. Even if

[24] The Cultural Revolution derived from "a complex mix of domestic and foreign developments over the decades preceding its launch" (Macfrquhar and Schoenhails 2006:3). Two main factors were the Sino-soviet relationship and political fractional conflicts inside China. As Macfrquhar and Schoenhails explained, Mao experienced an obsession with Soviet Revisionism after China broke off its relationship with the Soviet Union. Mao was worried that he would be publicly denounced like Stalin by his successors. Besides this external reason, Mao had conflicts with Liu Shaoqi regarding the level of collectivism in the villages. Liu's suggestion of small cooperation units was welcomed by farmers. In addition, Liu's prestigious position in the country and the international stage seemed to be a threat to Mao. Mao's later intentions regarding revolution obviously were directed to eliminate Liu's power and his followers. Mao claimed "The key point of this movement [the Cultural Revolution] is to rectify those people in positions of authority within the party who take the capitalist road" (Macfrquhar and Schoenhails 2006: 13).

some young people were excluded or expelled by the organization due to their family backgrounds, they nevertheless imitated the Red Guards' fashion (Chen 1999: 221). The "Red Guards" provided most of the teenagers their first social identity, which "marked their premature rise as a generation" (Chen 1999: 221). Therefore, understanding the process of formulating the young generation's revolutionary identity requires studying the configuration of the Red Guards' identity.

A brief review of the evolution of the Red Guards will shed light both on the unusually strong power of the movement and the revolutionary identity of its members. In 1966, echoing what Mao called "the first big character poster of Marxists," which appeared at Beijing University to verbally attack the leading officials of Beijing University (on May 7, 1966), Zhang Chengzhi (1948-) (who later became one of the influential scar writers) signed a poster with the fabricated term "the Red Guards" (*hong wei bing*) and hung it in Qinghua Middle School. The Red Guards movement thereafter was initiated in middle schools in Beijing and quickly spread to young people in other Chinese cities. The Red Guards espoused the Maoist cause and swore to eliminate what Mao decried. Teenagers identified as the Red Guards from many cities rallied at the Tiananmen Square to receive Mao's interviews (totally eight times). During 1966 to 1967, more than ten million Red Guards gathered in Beijing. Soon after, driven by the fanaticism of seeing Mao, they started the great-linkup (*da chuan lian*), a nationwide movable journey along the so-called "Red Course" of Mao's Long March (1934-1936).

As they were manipulated by passions for Mao and revolutionary illusions, at the very beginning the Red Guards lacked organization and control. From 1966 to 1968 the Red Guards brought about enormous upheavals in many cities. At the end of 1968, Mao somehow resolved to bring a halt of this fanatical movement by dispelling the Red Guards from cities. Most of young people, either willingly or compellingly, went to the remote areas in response to Mao's direction, "revolutionary little heroes should go to the villages, receiving the reeducation from the poor, lower, and middle class peasants."[25] Around the same time, fearing that a war would start with the Soviet Union, Mao transmitted to the Chinese people his "supreme order" to found quasi-military units in the borderland for "preparing for the war and starvation." Fascinated by being called "soldiers of military units" (*bing tuan zhan shi*), many young people formed fifteen quasi-military units with the ideal "to transform the barren land into green land." In addition to these two groups, to realize Mao's aspiration to liberate the entire world, some young people crossed the border between Yunnan and Cambodia to participate in the Cambodian civil war. After the collective exile of the young people, the Cultural Revolution shifted from the fervent Red Guards movement into a period of "cultural propaganda," a comparably calm period eulogizing the Communist Party and Mao's China (Shen Jiawei 2009: 133). From the early 1970s, when universities reopened for selected students from workers, farmers, and soldiers, some of exiled young people were allowed to return to cities for education. In 1978, with the Red Guards being officially dismissed, most

[25] See *People's Daily* on December 22, 1968. A1.

of them returned to cities.[26] Generally speaking, most young people were the wrongly modeled products of Mao's ideological experiment, and therefore, most of them claimed that they were victimized.[27]

The most noticeable features of the Red Guards, which were described as "outpouring enthusiasm, daring courage, simple-minded loyalty, utopian idealism, and bubbling energy for activity" (Tsang Chiu-Sam 1967: 204), essentially developed from two qualities shared by most of them: rebellious violence and fanatical sacrifice. Violence was the first "product of the Red Guards movement" (Roderick Macfarquhar 2006: 102). The performance of the Red Guards on the political stage was destruction. With the publication of what Mao called his first big character poster, "Bombard the Headquarters" ("*paoda silingbu- wo de yizhang dazibao*" published in *People's Daily* on August 5, 1966) and his article

[26] Detailed information about the Red Guards' experiences during reeducation can be found in Michel Bonnie's *The Lost Generation*. Zhongguo da baikequanshu chu ban she. 2010.

[27] Many reasons are attributed to the sudden rise of the Red Guards movement. The Red Guards movement was created by Mao as an "instrument of destruction" to eliminate his political opponents (Juliana Pennington Heaslet 1972). The movement's development is variously stated to be a result of internal conflicts between Mao's ideology and reality (W. Richard and Amy A. Wilson 1970); or Mao's emphasis on mass enthusiasm and mass power (Micheal Lindsay 1967). It also is regarded as an opportunistic movement in which some people wanted to achieve party leadership and as a result of the conflict between the then-current students and the student's old union (which was called Communist Youth League) (Isreal 1967), and the social maladies that existed in pre-Cultural Revolution China (Wang 1999). Indeed, the Red Guards movement is closely related to "class conflicts" between a newly emerging Chinese privileged class and the average people. The problems within the educational system also were important. Since 1964, Chinese communists emphasized the connection between classes and one's birth background, which further developed into the prevailing "the Birth Theory" (*chushen lun*), that is, "a person whose father was hero is a hero, whose father was a hooligan is a hooligan." As Zhang pointed out most young people who were from high-ranking communist cadres' families had a sense of privilege (Leung 1994). This created resentment among young people whose parents were intellectuals, workers or others in lower classes. Further, Jonathan Unger explained that "the politically sensitive issue of education opportunity" was a reason for the fighting between Red Guards in the urban area. Unger explained that during the mid-1960s competition for receiving a higher education was very strong, which lead to a tension between students from one or another type of family background (Unger 1982:3). Zhang Chengzhi and Bei Dao also pointed out that the break-up of the Red Guards movement is also related to the pressure to study for university entrance exams.

"Anti-bourgeois authorities" ("*dadao zichanjieji dangquanpai*" published in *Red Flag* (*Hong Qi*) No. 6, 1966), Mao's intention seemed to be clear to the Red Guards, that is, to eliminate the revisionists in the central government, specifically Liu Shaoqi and his followers. During 1966 to 1967, with Mao's instigating statement that "rebellion is right," the Red Guards launched into "destroying four olds"[28] and soon turned the movement into a "Red Terror." They burnt and destroyed whatever they identified as "bourgeois or federalism" and publicly assaulted the people who they identified as revisionists. Also, military factional fights frequently broke out among different schools of the Red Guards, who split due to their different interpretations of Mao's Little Red Book. During the most horrible period of August-September 1966, witness accounts of violence, massacres and physical fighting were frequently reported in the unofficial newspapers established by Red Guards. Many intellectuals (for example, Lao She (1899-1966) and Fu Lei (1908-1966)) and artists committed suicide after being physically tortured and spiritually humiliated by the Red Guards. Some survivors of the Red Guards' persecution, for example, Ji Xianlin (1911-2009), Ba Jin (1904-2005), and Ding Ling (1904-1986), recorded the Red Guards' brutality in their memoirs. This terror was also exposed in scar literature, like the innocent teachers in "A Branch Road Paved with Flowers" written by Feng Jicai and "A Bitter Fruit" written by Wang Anyi, the communist cadres in "Over the other Side of the Brook" written by Kong Jiesheng, the mother in "The Scar" and the father

[28] "Four Olds" was defined as old ideology, old thought, old habits and old customs.

in “Awake, My Brother”. In summary, nearly every scar story portrays some victims of the Red Guards.

Correlated with the rebellious violence, the concept and exhibition of fanatical sacrifice toward protecting Mao and Mao’s revolution were widespread among the Red Guards. In his investigation about the transformation of the Red Guards’ identity during the great linkup (*da chuan lian*) during 1966 to 1968, Young Guobin specifies “the [Red Guards’] notion of the socialist person, a person defined by altruistic behaviour and identification with Communist Party leaders and the socialist party-state. This identity stresses self-sacrifice” (Yang 2000: 295). The name of “Red Guards” connotes devoting their lives to protect Mao and Mao’s revolution. Many Red Guards proclaimed in their memoirs that they would sacrifice their lives for the revolution and Mao (Yang Guobin, 2000: 396). Zhang Chengzhi admitted that sacrifice to the revolution was his dominant impulse when creating the term “Red Guards” (Leung 1994: 193).

One issue of special note is that for the Red Guards, passionate sacrifice is closely entangled with their ferventness of violence. Take two announcements of the Red Guards as examples:

1. We revolutionary rebels shall pass its summit! We must remold the being of the people. . . . Our aim: 1. we vow to defend the Party Central Committee and Chairman Mao, defend the thought of Mao Tse-tung, and propagate the thought of Mao Tse-tung ... 3. We smash all set rules and rebel against everything of the old world. .. . We smash those who walk the capitalist path, and for those diehard

scoundrels who support the bourgeois reactionary line,…They have passed out their economist trash, trying to bombard the proletarian revolutionary headquarters represented by Chairman Mao, to ruin socialist production, to upset the nationalist economy, and to smash the socialist ownership system, and they have vainly plotted to bring collapse upon the economic basis of socialism. The aim of their actions is their own protection and the protection of their offices. This is the fanatic new counter-attack of the bourgeois reactionary line against us. We certainly must struggle against this imminent peril to the thought of Mao Tse-tung, and make them withdraw their fanatic attack. (Richard and Wilson 1970: 92)

2. With a red sun in our hearts, nothing can block our way forward. Chairman Mao is the great benefactor of us revolutionary people. We draw close to those who support Chairman Mao and fight against those who oppose him. (Richard and Wilson 1970: 91)

Obviously articulated in these two announcements is a language act. The revolution first provided the young people an identity as vanguards, leading them to implement the social responsibilities that they had declared, and therefore they gained a sense of personal manhood (or womanhood).Their adulthood consisted of two extremist elements in action: sacrifice and violence. On the one hand, their sense of adulthood was germinated from their willingness to commit to Mao and Mao's revolution, which they worshiped as a sacred cause. In this sense, the Red Guards' sacrifice has a similar connotation to the sacrifice of revolutionary

martyrdom. On the other hand, as the above announcements and their actual social behaviors during the Cultural Revolution show, their fanaticism of sacrifice was involved in (or directly resulted in) their ferventness of violence. Also, sacrifice for them derives from their sense of danger or naïve imagination of danger from Mao's opponents who "walk the capitalist path bourgeois reactionary line" and created the "imminent peril." Sacrifice was in the most sense commitment to eradicate all isolated "class enemies" so that they would eliminate any danger to Mao and the revolution.

Maoist propagandistic world and the Red Guards' sacrificial violence

Then, why did most of the Red Guards share violent rebellion and self-sacrifice? As for trail identification, emotional effects, or what Otto Fenichel called empathy, makes trail identification work either between a member and the group or the society or between an individual and his model (leader or hero). According to Otto Fenichel, trail identification and empathy function similarly through two archaic steps. For trail identification the individual imitatively identifies with a model, and then through this "imitative identification" the individual attains "awareness of the changes in one's own perception with the object, and in this way the outside world" (Frenichel 1945: 511). In empathy, similarly, the individual understands his or her feelings through identification with the model. This understanding can be simply put as: I am identified with him, therefore I am. In this sense, trail identification, (as well as other types of identification,) is not simply an imitation or assimilation of an object. Rather, it expresses the subject's emotional attachment to the object. Such emotional

attachment to object is important for a subject to keep his/her normal condition of psychology as both sharing common qualities with others and imitating a model to provide the subject with a sense of belonging. The subject shares similar emotions or "resemblance" in both emotional nature and other qualities with the other or a group (Merissner 1970: 566).

For the Red Guards, the common qualities of violence and sacrifice also stemmed from emotional attachment toward their objects of identification. However, this emotional attachment to a great extent was determined and manipulated by communist ideology. The young generation internalized Maoist thoughts through identifying with Mao and living as figurative heroes of Mao's propaganda. Violence and sacrifice permeated Mao's thoughts about revolution. Mao persistently emphasized the theme of "revolution is violence" in his works from the 1920s to 1940s.[29] During the later 1950s and the 1960s, Mao publicly

[29] The theme of violence can be found in Mao's main works. Maoism experienced a gradual development and establishment in the Chinese Communist Party and China. The Chinese Communist Party was formed in 1921, the principle of which is mainly a copy of Marxism and Leninism after the Russian Revolution (or the October Revolution) in the Soviet Union. When Mao attended the first Conference of Representatives of Chinese Communist Party as an average member, he hadn't yet formulated his independent ideas about communism and ideal society. During the 1920s to the 1930s, Mao mainly constructed his thoughts about the Chinese features of revolution. He published *The Analysis of Chinese Various Classes* (1926). He raised a question at the beginning of this article: "Who are our friends? Who are our enemies? These are the primary questions of the Chinese Revolution." Then he classified Chinese into five classes according to their financial conditions; and analyzed the features of each class and their possible responses to revolution. Mao's primary questions and the class descriptions have been persistent in Mao's polemic discussions from the war periods until the Cultural Revolution. In the *Report of an Investigation of Peasant Movement in Hunan*, which he published in 1927, he further proved that peasants are friends of proletarians, asserting the importance of the peasant's revolution. This deviated from Leninism in which only workers are proletarians. After the breakdown of the first cooperation between Communists and Nationalists, (which is from 1924 to 1927 when Song Zhongshan asked for reformation of Kuimingdang with the assistance of Communists, which is also called the period of Great Revolution), Mao consequently published *Why is it that Red Political Power can Exist in China?* and *A Single Spark can Start a Prairie Fire*, advocating that "Political power derives from guns;" that is, violence with an army is the only way to get political power. In 1930, in his *Against Textism*, Mao explicitly denounced those who would completely

expressed his desire to kill enemies of his revolution. In 1957 Mao argued against Khrushchev's peaceful transition into socialism. Mao visualized that the third world war perhaps would kill half of humanity "but after which there would be global socialism" (Macfarquhar and Schoenhails 2006: 5). In 1966 Mao explicitly criticized that Red Guards were too mild, and his criticism directly impelled the Red Guards movement to become the Red Terror. Mao's bloody proclamations, such as "revolution is not a dinner party" but "violence and destroying" and "bleeding and sacrifice," were well-circulated among the Red Guards, guiding the codes of their actions and even founding their revolutionary morality.

---

follow the International Communist Organization without investigating Chinese reality. He pointed out that without investigation one does not have the right to speak.

After the Long March (1934-1936), Mao's thoughts gradually reached maturity. He spent a lot of time in a cave in Yan'an, thinking about the direction of the Chinese revolution, and at the same time, he directed his thoughts into the army and the arts. He published *Problems of Strategy of China's Revolutionary War*, *On Practices* and *On Contradictions* in 1937. These three works constituted the core of his ideology about revolution. After the Japanese Invasion in 1937, his focus was on dealing with the second cooperation with the central government and his strategies and visions regarding the counter-attack against the Japanese. The war against the Japanese was long-term. Cooperation was necessary, as he indicated in *About Perpetual War (*1938) and *About the New Democratism (*1938). After the war against the Japanese, Mao's main thoughts already were accepted by the Chinese Communist Party as major guidance. In April 1945, the new constitution of the Party, which was passed in the Seventh Congress of Chinese Communist Representatives in Yan'an, indicated that "Mao Zedong's thoughts are the result of cooperation between Marxism and Chinese practices. It is Chinese communism, and it is Chinese Marxism." This explicitly indicated that Mao's ideology was the dominant ideology of Chinese communist practices and the foundation of socialism movement after 1949. Mao's personal cult started in 1945 at the Seventh Congress, and later developed to a zenith in the later movements such as the Great Leaps and the Cultural Revolution. In Mao's important works we can see permanent revolution, dynamic contradiction and violence are repetitive themes. For Mao, human beings exist in a perpetual dynamic with the world. To understand the world is to understand its contradictions. There are many kinds of contradictions, among which the principle contradictions determined the non-principle ones. The major ones, however, can change into minor ones with the change of situations, and vice versa. In addition, each contradiction has two sides, with the principle side dominating the non-principle side. These two sides of a contradiction are also subject to dynamic change. Based on this dialectic perspective, Mao believed that revolution is permanent. As the situation changes, the contradiction changes, then the target of revolution changes with it. During the revolution class struggle is the main contradiction. Thus classification of people into working classes and the other five black classes is the basis of the Chinese communist revolution.

In addition to violence, Mao repetitively accentuated sacrifice in his ideal of revolution and self-reformation. For Mao, one's life could attain immortality through sacrifice to permanent revolution, and therefore conquered the fear of death. Interpreting Mao's revolutionary psychology from "the psycho-historical framework," Lifton argued that as a survivor of many encounters with death,[30] Mao transcended death into immortality of the revolution. It means that "a shared sense of participating in permanent revolutionary ferment and of transcending individual deity by 'living on' indefinitely within this continuing revolution" (Lifton 1967: 47). In this explanation, Mao's obsession with revolution derived from his revolutionary identification of death with sacrifice to revolution. Through this identification, Mao spiritually conquered the fear of mortality. Hence, Mao's fear of death was displaced by the fear of extinguishment of his revolutionary fruit. Admired as a heroic model who survived deadly encounters and was the founder of the revolution, Mao's revolutionary immortality was shared by Chinese people (Lifton 1967), particularly by the young people during the Cultural Revolution. The fanatical actions of the Red Guards (and also many other Chinese people) can be interpreted as a result of the Chinese people's participation in this collective identification with revolutionary immortality.

Besides sacrifice to revolution, Mao laid emphasis on sacrifice in reforming to become an ideal modern man. Since the end of 1930s and the 1960s, Mao published a series of essays and embarked on many social activities to instruct Chinese people on systematically reforming and remodeling the self.

[30] During the Long March (1934-1935), one eighth of Mao's armies were killed. Mao also experienced loss of his sons, wife, and his two brothers. He several times encountered with death face to face.

From the end of 1930s to the 1940s, Mao published three essays, entitled "Serve for People" ("*Wei renmin fuwu*"), "Remembering Dr. Norman Bethune" ("*Jinian Baiqiuen*") and "The Foolish Old Man Moves the Mountains" ("*Yugong yishan*"). These three essays, which collectively were referred to as the "Old Three Pieces" ("*laosanpian*"), were learned and recited as if a Bible for guidance regarding proper behaviors for all Chinese people. In Mao's well circulated article, "Remembering Dr. Norman Bethune,"[31] Mao set up the first model of an ideal communist. He proclaimed the truly communist spirit is "absolute unselfishness" ("*hao bu li ji, zhuan men li ren*"). Mao defined that what he termed as "absolute unselfishness" is to sacrifice one's personal comfortable life, personal desire, and interest, for the communist career. And he listed as counter-examples of a true communist one who does not like his job, one who thinks more about himself than others, and one who avoids heavy work by carrying a light load. Mao further concluded that "A man's ability may be great or small, but if he has this spirit of absolute unselfishness, he is already noble-minded and pure, a man of moral integrity and above vulgar interests, a man who is of value to the people." In "Serve for the people" (published in September 8, 1944) Mao again accentuated that the transformation of self is carried out through revolutionizing the self, that is, to sacrifice personal comfort, needs, desire and even life so that he/she could reach unity between the self and one's communist career. He asserted that sacrifice for serving the people is the only way for a person to gain a death that "is

[31] Mao wrote this essay in December 21 1939. Norman Bethune (1890-1939) was a Canadian communist. He came to China in 1938 with Canadian and American medical team. He worked in the Yanan area for more than one year and died of infection following surgery. This article articulates revolutionary sacrifice and communist spirit in Mao's China.

heavier than the mountains." Conversely, he condemned that the death of a selfish person, or a person who exploited people, is "lighter than a feather." In these essays, while opposing individual heroism, Mao cultivated heroism for the average person, particularly for the young people, and enunciated universal approaches and principle of becoming a hero.

In addition, Mao also verified and intensified his ideal heroic codes and norms for young people through recounting the stories of many heroes who were in their twenties (Tsang Chiu-Sam, 1967: 106). Dong Cunrui (1929-1948) committed suicide in an explosion during the civil war; Huang Jiguang (1931-1952) blocked a firing gun during the Korean War. Luo Shengjiao (1931-1952) sacrificed his life to save a child in the river. Particularly Lei Feng (1940-1962), a soldier who died in an accident in his early twenties, exactly observed Mao's words in his daily life.[32] These heroes exclusively conveyed the idea that sacrifices to the people and revolution provide to human beings a spirit that transcends the needs of body, the limitation of one's mortal life, and fear of death to a gloriously worthy life.

---

[32] Lei Feng's nine books of diaries were found and published after his death. In his diaries, he recorded how he reflected and strictly controlled his daily thoughts and behaviors according to Mao's words. His life exactly embodied Mao's thoughts about the ideal communist: absolute unselfishness. For example, he said "the happiness of a revolutionary lies in devoting all of me to the communist career" (Lei's Diary, April 4th 1962); and "A person's life is limited, but serving for the people is unlimited. I want to devote my limited life into unlimited serving for the people" (Lei's Diary, October 12th 1961). However, in this self-sacrifice, we can also observe the violence toward others. Lei Feng mentioned that although he "treated comrades as warmly as spring," he nevertheless treated enemies mercilessly. Here, similar to Lifton's analysis regarding Mao's immortality leading to the concept of permanent revolution, the absolute unselfishness could surpass the limit of human beings. While at the same time, to guarantee such immortality, either personal life or revolutionary career, eliminating mercilessly the class enemies is important. In 1963, Mao wrote by hand the slogan, "learning from Comrade Lei Feng." This was published in the *People's Daily* (March 5, 1963); this initiated the nationwide campaign to assimilate unselfishness.

What is more, the combination of violence and sacrifice embellished the real heroes in social activities and the figurative heroes in Maoist literature and arts, all of which cemented Mao's ideology. Revolutionary stories about heroes and family history were very popular in social activities during Mao's period. The older generation was endowed with a social responsibility to educate the younger generation about the glories of revolution in the past, which the young generation did not experience. War veterans, farmers and workers were invited to schools to illustrate their communist faith to Mao through recounting their brave acts in war or miserable life in the pre-Mao's period. Parents chose similar types of stories to teach morality to their children at home (as indicated in Wang Anyi's "A Bitter Fruit" and Xu Hui's "Nightmare: Notes from a Mother's Hand").

As for literature and the arts, during the 1950s and 1960s dominant protagonists in most of Mao's literature, films and visual arts, are saint-like revolutionary heroes who fearlessly confronted the brutal torture of "class enemies," or unselfishly sacrificed family and their lives for the revolution. In the 1950s a prevalent new genre of literature, revolutionary historic fiction, was created by writers based on Mao's "Yan'an Talks". These stories presented the harshness of fights between communists and their opponents (for example, *The Great Turbulence*, *The Song of Youth*, and *Gao Yubao*) before Mao and how the heroes or heroines worked through personal trauma of physical suffering or loss of family members as a sacrifice to the revolution (for example *My Family* and *The Red Crag*). In 1965, a large exhibition of sculptural works and associated documentary films created by artists at Sichuan Fine Arts School, entitled *Rent*

Collection Yard (*shou zu yuan*), travelled to many cities in China. Young students were organized by schools to watch the exhibition compulsively. Hundreds of dark figures in various prisons twisted painfully; accompanied by horrible music this conjured up a murky world before Mao which was similar to Dante's Inferno. The chilly visualization, as Liang Xiaosheng recalled, left him with a long lasting fear toward the dismal world before Mao (Liang 1995: 108). In the Cultural Revolution literature, which is summarized as "eight model operas and one writer,"[33] the basic theme is revealing revolutionary sacrifice and violently fighting during the Japanese invasion (1918-1945), the Chinese civil war (1945-1949), and campaigns to eliminate remnants of the National Party during the early 1950s.

While such ideologically filtered representations gave rise to young people's admiration of the heroes and appreciation of the communist society, it also developed intensive fear to go back to the old world. Admiration was the emotion that strengthens a person's bond to his/her object of identification, but hatred of the object's adversaries also could strengthen that bond. Then to become the hero was a choice, but also was necessary to avoid the fear. The two qualities of sacrifice and violence were imitated and internalized by the Red Guards, which can be observed in scar literature and real stories.

[33] During the ten years of the Cultural Revolution, only eight model operas and two novels were created and published. The term "model opera" derived from a criticism in "The Excellent Model of Revolutionary Literature and Arts" in *People's Daily* May 31th, 1967. Eight works of literature and arts were set up as revolutionary models. One writer is Hao Ran. His two novels, *Sunny Days* and the *Golden Road* were written and published during the Cultural Revolution. Two biographies of military heroes were also published: *The Fluttering Red Flag* and *The Fire of Stars Sets the Prairies Ablaze* and several poems were also written during the Revolution (Hong 2007: 184).

For example, in “Maple”, Danfeng, a sixteen-year girl, mercilessly kills many teenagers who she identifies as enemies at the Red Guards factional fights. When the group of Red Guards that she belongs to is defeated, she refuses to surrender to her “enemy,” who actually is her boyfriend. She chooses to sacrifice to Mao by throwing herself out of the top of a building, like many heroes and heroines in movies and novels, and dies with Mao’s Little Red Book in her hand. A similar real story was recorded by Wang Meng in his memoir. A teenager wanted to be a revolutionary hero, but because he was a descendent of a “feudal family” he was excluded from the Red Guards organization. He crossed the border illegally to Cambodia as “an international communist soldier.” During a fight between the Cambodian communist army and the Cambodian national army, he was killed. Before he died, he recited Mao’s words and died in peace (Wang Meng 2006). These two examples show that admiring the revolutionary hero and hating the “enemies” were not limited to the personal realm, but extended to resentments of one class by another class, or the masses to a small group of scapegoats, even if these scapegoats did not really exist but in the imagination, or through misrecognition.

This applies not only to the world of communists against the world of anti-communists. Studying the French revolution, Goldhamme points out that the revolutionaries with a sacrificial notion of political violence construed victims of violence predominantly in terms of two basic models: the martyr, and the scapegoat (Melissa Ptacek 2006:589). Similarly, the sacrificial perception of the Red Guards led to two kind of violence: one was sacrifice of their lives and

comforts for the revolution. The other was violence toward others, including their family members, as redemption for Mao's sacred ideology. For them, admiring the heroes was connected with avoiding the fear of the dark world; and the fear, in turn, compelled young people to imitate their heroes and sacrifice their lives to the revolution and mercilessly fight against branded "class enemies." In this case, young people's passion for militant sacrifice to protect Mao and the so-called "revolutionary fruit" intermingled with their belligerent acts toward whoever was branded as antirevolutionaries.

The tension of identification and working through

Trail identification may function in trauma and working-through due to its tension between the identifiable subject and object that is similar to the tension in metaphorical thinking. Remember the ideas about metaphorical thinking of Borbely and Kuiken et al in the previous chapter. Borbely thinks that during the metaphorical transference, the metaphoric source and target remain similar and *differentiable*. That is, "something is the same as/is not the same as something else" (Borbely 2008; Kuiken et al. 2004). Although emotional attachment links the subject and objects, trauma and working through are connected with the tension within trail identification. Identification, like metaphorical thinking, exists in a tension between A is/is not B and also the past is/is not the present. Although a subject is aware of his/her identity, or social/cultural identity, through living as others, or assimilating some common qualities that are shared by a group (or society by extension), he/she is not the object that he/she copies. Similarly, his/her past experience is perceived when he/she is emotionally linked with the object in

the present. However, this past is merely understood, or sometimes altered through the present situation, and differentiated from the present. This existing as others has a permanent tension with which one really is.

With such tension as a precondition, working through trauma and one's defense system entangle with each other and function alternatively according to whether or not such tension is retained in identification. Roughly, within the psychoanalytic perspective, past and present experiences relate to each other somewhat like the source and target of a metaphor, although, when a tension is retained between them, there is support for working through and, when that tension is lost, there is support for defensive processes. Accordingly, identification serves several functions. The tension between the identifiable subject and object (and the past and the present) is broken at the moment of trauma, and it comes up in working-through. In this mechanism, the traumatized individual becomes aware of the gap between him/her and the object of identification as well as between past and present. Along with awareness of such tension, anxiety comes up. If anxiety is too great for the traumatized individual to work through, identification may be transformed into denial, a reversal of the anxious reality (Anna Freud 1946).

These psychological studies help develop a hypothesis to approach the interplay between revolutionary trauma and ideology. In the case of revolutionary trauma, the identifiable tension between subject and object was subject to ideological hegemony. Firstly, the identifiable subjects were ideologically defined as the world and language were classified ideologically. Paralleling two realms of

communists and capitalists, Chinese people were split into two opponent classes: people (of the revolution) and class enemies. Language, even including commonly used words, was ideologicalized. In this ideologicalized symbolic system, the existence of young people as pure beings was expelled, displaced with "Mao's Red Guards" or alternative terms like "revolutionary successors," "young revolutionary generals." Social differentiation merely was directed to distinguish social groups, like "five classes of red and black", or "people" and "enemies", rather than specific individuals. In the fear of ideological segregation or in the true faith of Mao's ideology, social sameness and social identity were more desirable than individual preference and standing out as an individual. Secondly, the objects of identification, no matter whether they were living or figurative models or qualities and values, were also ideologically reconfigured. Ideological reconfiguration doesn't mean the heroes are false. Although some "class enemies" were found out to be nice people in the post-Mao period (for example, Liu Wencai (1887-1949) was exemplified as a "heinous bully" in the sculptures of *Rent Collection Yard*, but recently a lot of documents show that Liu was a good person) none of the heroes who were established during Mao's period have been challenged. The authentic heroism of modeled heroes or qualities illustrated internalizing power of communist ideology. Thirdly, the emotional attachment between subject and objects was molded by ideology. In this case, when the ideological bases (or what I have discussed as schemas for constructing assumptive world and identity in chapter one) were maintained, the tension disappeared. This might result in violence and psychological trauma. When the

ideological base was disturbed, confusion and emotional upheaval might come up, calling for working-through.

"A Branch Road Paved with Flowers" (1): the tension of two identifications

The experience of Bai Hui, the protagonist in "A Branch Road Paved with Flowers" written by Feng Jicai (1942-), unfolds the complexity of trail identification, in the above sense, in her recognizing and working through her trauma as a perpetrator. This story depicts salvation of a former Red Guard from her guilt. Bai Hui, a seventeen year old student in a high school, violently hurt a teacher who was branded as a counter-revolutionary at a public spectacle. Bai Hui's violence indirectly resulted in the teacher's death, and later she found out the victim was her boyfriend's mother. Guilt-ridden and full of pain, she exiled herself to Inner Mongolia. After two years of exile, the Cultural Revolution ended with the downfall of the Gang of Four. This event ruined Bai Hui's last hope of being forgiven by the Party and her boyfriend, Chang Ming. She decided to end her pain by committing suicide. However, ironically and tragically, at this moment Chang Ming forgave her.

This story has been widely regarded as representative of scar literature. However, few critics closely analyzed this story. "A Branch Road Paved with Flowers" was Feng's first story. Originally entitled as "The Trauma" ("*chuang shang*"), Feng intended to record and understand the trauma of the younger generation due to the revolution. Through tracing the psychological changes of the protagonist and other characters, Feng speculated why and how seemingly innocent young people, when they became the Red Guards, implemented sadism

toward their teachers, friends, and even their parents, and how they assimilated their posttraumatic anxiety and guilt at the shift of ideologies. This theme is evolved in a tension created by Bai Hui's endeavor to confirm her revolutionary identity through identifying herself with other Red Guards but somehow retaining a critical distance with what she did as a Red Guard.

I first examine the moment of initial violence. Identification is first correlated with the original trauma when the tension between Bai Hui and the object of her identification is suddenly lost. After Feng's prologue about his understanding of history and human beings, the story opens the curtain on a dramatic scene in a public trial. In the Hong Yan middle school, two parallel lines of the Red Guards were wearing quasi-military uniforms and armed with wooden guns. They forced a group of teachers, labeled as "class enemies," to pass between their lines. In fear of physical punishment, "class enemies" admitted without resistance the crimes of which they were accused, except for one female teacher. She proclaimed with dignity that she was "a people's teacher." Her rebellion irritated the Red Guards. They exclaimed "Beat her! Kill her" fervently and assaulted her with wooden guns. Ignited by this "revolutionary vehemence," Bai Hui hurt the teacher's head. The teacher fell down, mortally wounded due to Bai Hui's blow. This sudden violent impulse shocked Bai Hui:

> A short girl beside Bai Hui, screamed out unconsciously:
>
> "Dead?!"
>
> This voice like a stream of electricity went through Bai Hui's entire body. She could not control herself, trembling in a shock. She unconsciously

> withdrew her wooden sword. Suddenly everything seemed to stop, not to exist; only a horrible question was left: what exactly happened? She heard Hao Yongge still shout angrily:
>
> "Pretends to be dead! She pretends to be dead so as to hinder the revolutionary movement! Take her away first!"
>
> Bai Hui stayed there, motionlessly, staring at the body dragged away [….] Her eyesight unconsciously touched the top of her wooden gun. There was a spot of blood, like a size of soybean, wet and sticky. She was shocked. (Feng 2005: 95)

This moment can be identified as the original trauma: a perpetrator is traumatized by her violent action. The originally revolutionary infatuation suddenly is transformed into a fanatical killing. Her hatred and anger disappear, while fear and helplessness remain. It happens so impulsively that her cognitive system cannot assimilate it. She hears other Red Guards' screams and sees the teacher's body dragged away, but she is numb at that moment. In this case, numbing as a typical response to traumatic experience is rooted in Bai Hui's transition from a revolutionary Red Guard to a momentary aggressor. It happened during the short time when the tension between subject and object of two identifications is broken. One is that Bai Hui identifies the teacher with enemies in her perception, and the other is Bai Hui's sharing common qualities of the Red Guards.

In the first identification, contaminated by ideo-centric education, Bai Hui displaces the teacher with "a class enemy" in her consciousness, which is subordinated to revolutionary fervor. As Feng indicates in his story, Bai Hui has

never witnessed the wickedness of so-called "class enemies." Her hatred of the enemy is developed from a family story recounted by her father. Bai Hua's mother was killed by counter-revolutionary "enemies" during the Chinese civil war (1945-1949) just after her birth. If not for her father who "hung a photo of her mother in her room and repeatedly told her to remember who killed her mother, she won't remember her mother" (Feng 2005: 90). At the traumatic moment, Bai Hui identified the class enemies with the ones who killed her mother based on her father's storytelling. In addition, this family trauma is mixed with historical representations in Mao's literature and arts. In Bai Hui's mind, the branded "class enemies" in the school episode "overlap with disgusting traitors that Bai Hui had often seen in movies and pictures" (Feng 2005: 91). At the traumatic moment, Bai Hui displaces the imagined enemies in literature and arts with a real person in the public punishment. These two episodes also demonstrate what I have discussed about the two main qualities of the Red Guards, sacrifice and violence. Literature and oral recounting in families and society constructed the qualities and models for young people's identification.

This identification of "teacher is an enemy" interacts with another identification of Bai Hui and common qualities of the Red Guards during the Cultural Revolution. Bai Hui was contaminated by rebellious violence and fanatic sacrifice in the public trial. At the public trial, Bai Hui and all other Red Guards seriously performed as revolutionary soldiers. As is depicted in the story:

> They wore a red band on their left arms. In the past, all the soldiers of the Red Army, revolutionary workers and peasants wore this red band. It was

> the time that people could not forget. It is a sign of righteousness, glory, and the sacred. Bai Hui felt that today when she wore it, the severe political struggle in the past returned to her. The red sacred duty put on her shoulders. The Red Guards held wooden guns that they used for military training, but they didn't regard them as symbols. They felt that the wooden guns were real guns for them to fight and punish remnants of the Old World.
>
> […]
>
> Bai Hui, like all her female Red Guards, put her braids into a military hat. Her green trousers were brand new, but the color of green of her military top had already faded. That was her father's top in the wartime. …there is a hole on the sleeves which was left by a bullet that hurt her father. This hole had already been repaired with a piece of new green cloth by her dead mother….Wearing this top gave her great energy and courage. (Feng 2005: 88)

The above episode exemplified militarization that the Red Guards imitated according to scenes in movies and literature. "Militarization" was a typical characteristic of culture and arts of the Cultural Revolution, and as Paul Clark states in his discussion of the grand narratives during the revolution, "this militarization of culture matched the militancy of purpose of the cultural revolutionaries" (Clark 2007: 252). "A Branch Road Paved with Flowers" provides a chance to observe the individual psychology in this cultural militarization as well as collective violence and sacrifice in Red Guards identity.

In this spectacle, militarization is an imitation. It is not real wartime, but in the imagination of the Red Guards, they, as Mao's revolutionary successors, undertake the duty to eliminate remnants of the old world and "keep the revolution to the end." For Red Guards the red band was not a piece of red cloth, but a sign that connected them, and their actions, to the history that they knew from movies, stories and pictures.

Similarly for the Red Guards, the quasi-uniforms were not merely imitation, but a statement of their revolutionary identity and another aspect of identification. Dress, including uniforms, expresses the social and cultural identity. It exemplifies "group conformity and individual status and culture-specific aesthetics, i. e., a reflection of norms and standards for that considered beautiful in a given culture" (Tom G. Svebsson 1991: 62). In wearing the quasi-uniforms, the Red Guards expressed their revolutionary identity as a group. Like Bai Hui, whose trousers are quasi-military but her top is genuine, inherited from her father, most Red Guards valued wearing their parents' old uniforms to symbolize their identity as revolutionary successors. As they claimed in "The Song of Successors" ("Jiebenren zhige") in the 1960s, "we (the Red Guards) are a red new generation! The older generation's blood is running in our bodies!" (Yang Jian 2002: 54). In this language of clothing, history is not abstract representation, but something that can be touched, dressed, and acted out. As for Bai Hui, historical memory returns to the present, mixed up with the zeal of revolution in the symbolizations. To put on her father's uniform, with her mother's needlework on it, "gives her power and courage" (Feng 2005: 88). Her father's wound and her mother's death provide her

with justification to punish the class enemies. In addition, the language of the quasi-uniform expressed her identity as a Red Guard. What is more, dressed in a revolutionary uniform, she is contaminated by the zeal for violence shared with other Red Guards. At the moment of her "fiercely smash[ing] the teacher's head with her wooden gun" (Feng 2005: 94), Bai Hui identified herself with soldiers in the war field, fervently to get revenge on "enemies" for her mother's death and her father's wound. In this identification, the gap between history and the present disappears. History conflates with the present. Along with this conflation, the tension between Bai Hui and the object of her identification is lost. Bai Hui doesn't only imitate the soldier; she *is* a soldier in vengeance. The identity of Red Guards is not only a part of her self-concept, but it also dominates her self-perception.

In the two identifications at the traumatic moment, Bai Hui perceives the teacher as an enemy in the revolutionary historical representation and accounts. History in Maoist propagandistic fiction and her family tragic stories returns as the present. With the loss of the tension of the teacher-enemy identification, Bai Hui's identifiable object stands for her. She is not only identified with a soldier as a Red Guard in the public trial in 1966, but also she is a soldier in warfare when her mother was killed and her father was wounded. In this loss of identifiable tension, Bai Hui does not live through the objects so as to understand her hatred and wrath. Rather, she lives as the object that she identifies with.

"A Branch Road Paved with Flowers" (2): transformation of identification in working-through

When the traumatic moment recurred, identification functioned as a main psychological mechanism in Bai Hui's dealing with her guilt and anxiety about her aggression. Bai Hui's working-through starts by interrogating the justification for violence, which in some way challenges Mao's concept of revolutionary violence. After the violent incident, Bai Hui is haunted by a group of horrible apparitions in her nightmares, one of which is "a woman with short hair, standing with her back toward her" (Feng 2005:96). The traumatic moment also recurs in her daily flashbacks. For example, she is astounded by the word "killing" and even by her father's gray hair, which reminds her of "the gray hair of the teacher that she hurt" (Feng 2005: 96). The recurrence of trauma in her posttraumatic nightmares and intrusive thoughts push Bai Hui to confront questions centered on the Red Guard's rebellious violence: "Is it justice to assault the enemies?" (Feng 2005:101); "Is it right to kill the class enemies?" (Feng 2005:103); and whether or not a Red Guard should be ashamed of showing sympathy toward class enemies or feels guilty about her violence (Feng 2005:106-107). Seeking answers to these questions is interspersed with interrogating the identity of a Red Guard and the meaning of revolution. Bai Hui's first object of identification in her working-through is her father, a communist cadre. However, her father's castigation of the violence could not provide a satisfying answer for her (Feng 2005:101-102). As implied in the story, Bai Hui's father was persecuted along with many other cadres. Although he used to be a living model of communists, through whom Bai

Hui partly maintains a heroic ideal, the persecution of his father and other cadres somehow shakes the object of Bai Hui's identification. Also, the episode of Bai Hui's response to her father's persecution reflects her confused values about violence and sacrifice. Bai Hui suspected that "when she revolutionarily punished the others [the branded enemies] as a Red Guard, her father was also revolutionarily assaulted [by other Red Guards]," however, she believed "all these were right" (Feng 2005:101). Ironically, Bai Hui employs what she learns from her father to her father: Bai Hui learned about merciless hatred toward enemies through her father's recounting of the family story, so when her father was classified as a revisionist, she accepts his punishment as righteous. Also, here her acceptance of her father's punishment, similar to Xiaohua's cutting off her relationship with her mother, is a form of sacrifice interpreted as a revolutionary inevitability.

However, Bai Hui's interrogation of the real meaning of her violence is merged with her effort to prove the justice of her violence. The resulting ambiguity, as I will show in the following part, embodies in a series of Bai Hui's transformations of identification, until the foundation of these identifications is completely shattered at the shift of ideologies.

Bai Hui first temporarily finds foundation for her violent impulsion through identifying with Hao Yongge, a zealot of Mao's idea of violence. In Hao's understanding of revolution, "revolution is the Red violence and Red terror…. killing, bleeding and beheading," and the bloodshed validates that the Red Guards "could sacrifice their head and blood for protecting the revolution and

Chairman Mao" (Feng 2005:108). This sacrificially interpreted violence proves the righteousness of her violent act. Hao's fervent indulgence in violence contaminated her, covering "Bai Hui's invisible wound with a layer of colorful and greasy paste so that she doesn't feel pain" (Feng 2005: 108). This sacrificial interpretation of violence diminishes Bai Hui's anxiety and guilt. Further, in her identifying with other Red Guards in the next day's public trial, Bai Hui re-experienced this sacrificial violence. In this trial, one Red Guard accused that due to the bourgeois thoughts of his physical education tutor, he lost a leg. This recounting evokes the wrath of thousands of Red Guards toward the tutor. Bai Hui feels defiled by this wrath. Bai Hui releases her emotions through her shout "Kill him! Kill him! Kill Him" with thousands of Red Guards. As Feng describes, "the heavy burden that was hanging in her heart seemed to be thrown out with her shouting. She felt very relaxed, excited, and cathartic. Her body felt light and her warm blood is running again" (Feng 2005:105-106). In this identification with the group, the anxiety that was provoked by the word "killing" in her flashbacks and nightmares seems temporarily to be overcome. Eagerness to kill branded class enemies, which was confused as sacrifice to the revolution, created a cannibalistic moment. Through participating in the bloody scene with other Red Guards, Bai Hui re-gains her identity as one of Mao's Red Guards. Through re-experiencing her revolutionary zeal she moderates her feeling of guilt and anxiety. Also, through living as the other Red Guards, she acquires an alternative understanding of her perception of the value of her past action.

The above transformation of identification demonstrates Bai Hui's fluctuation between consciously critically thinking about her trauma and unconsciously alleviating the anxiety and guilt as a perpetrator. LaCapra points out, "working-through implies the possibility of judgment that is not apodictic or ad hominem but argumentative, self-questioning, and related in mediated ways to action" (LaCapra 2004: 20). As for Bai Hui, self-questioning about her identity paradoxically presents a certain degree of denial by self-defense and self-argument for her guilt. This fusion of denial and working through anxiety and guilt reached a climax when she suddenly saw a photo of the teacher whom she hurt at the house of her boyfriend, Chang Ming:

> Suddenly! The eyes [of the teacher] in the photo seemingly opened wider, very big. With it, a stream of blood oozed from her head, dripping along her face. The eyes closed, but the eyesight was very bright at the last moment as if it did not want to disappear….. Soon a cold voice sounds consistently at her ears:
>
> "She was dead, dead, dead, dead…'
>
> This voice like a big hammer fiercely beat her again and again. She trembled. She nearly cannot stand […]
>
> Time stopped in her body again. She did not know what happened and what will happen. Falling down a trap! Without bottom! Based on her instinct, she was desperately struggling, like a person drowning in the water desperately attempting to grasp the broken pieces of wood floating on the surface of water.

> "She must be guilty. She was an enemy."
>
> "How could she be a criminal? She loves the Party, she loves Chairman Mao […] the criminal is not her, but those who tortured her and killed her. Those people are murderers!" Chang Ming sadly shouted.
>
> "No, No" Bai Hui disrupted Chang Ming, in fear of his words, "what you know is only her surface. You don't know her history. Had she done bad things in the old society?"
>
> "I know all about her […] I could tell you her history, but I refused to tell of those murderers […]"
>
> "She must hate revolutionary movements, she hated movement!" Bai Hui closed her ears, shouting.
>
> "[…] Mum told me before she died […] 'Mingming, you must believe the Party, believe Chairman Mao […] I believe the right and the wrong will be distinguished finally. When that day is coming, don't forget to tell me in front of my grave' […]"
>
> "Stop!" Bai Hui screamed, "She is not such a person!" (Feng 2005:140-142)

This moment illustrates the ambiguous process of acting out and working through trauma. The photo of the teacher pushes her back to her original traumatic moment, which she has been endeavoring to assimilate. With the reminder in the form of the victim's photo, Bai Hui was overwhelmed by anxiety of the sudden confrontation of the traumatic moment. The traumatic moment returns when Bai Hui saw that "the woman's eyes in the photo stared at her." When the past recurs

as the present, Bai Hui is temporarily disassociated by trauma. Bai Hui is absent; only the female Red Guard with a wooden gun and hatred is left.

Soon thereafter, Bai Hui's desperation to get rid of the overwhelming anxiety, which is indicated by her "attempting to grasp the broken pieces of wood floating on the surface of water," suggests a transition from acting out to working through her trauma. More clearly, her argument, "what you know is only her surface. You don't know her history. Had she done bad things in the old society?" marks in her a critical distancing from the emotional force of her traumatic memory. This momentary working-through soon is halted by her abrupt refusal to approach the truth, "she must hate revolutionary movements, she hated movement." In her following argument with Chang Ming, we can observe Bai Hui's confusion and painful struggle in defending herself against anxiety and guilt. She attempts to retain the justice of the Red Guards in order to keep hold of her previous perceptions about her aggression. However, the further she argues with Chang Ming, the more she is aware of the distinction of the teacher/the "enemy" and herself/the Red Guards, and the deeper she is confused and overwhelmed by guilt. Particularly when both of them shift their argument from "should the class enemy be beaten" into "is the teacher a class enemy?" Bai Hui's interrogating the justification of Mao's revolutionary violence shifts to questioning the ideological concept, that is, whether the enemy is enemy. Chang Ming's testimony about how true of a communist his mother is to some extent shakes up Bai Hui's perception about her identity and the world, particularly Mao's class division. "People/class enemy" is a symbolic division in Marxist ideology, and this division is a

precondition of the Red Guards' sacrificial interpretation of their violence. If the victim were a true communist, then Bai Hui was guilty for her violent act. Here we can see, like many perpetrators in the scar period, Bai Hui does not recognize her guilt from moral and legal levels, but from the ideological level. Her anxiety lies in her difficulty to reconcile her morality in the Red Guards and the true communism's ideological justice.

Bai Hui's confusion of the Red Guards morality and communist ideology also can be seen in Bai Hui's vacillation between two groups of identifiable objects. In the story, there are two interpretations of Marxism. One group, consisting of Bai Hui's father, the teacher, Ma Ying (another female Red Guard), and Chang Ming, insisted that based on Marxist humanism, violence is fascism. This contrasts with the view of the other group, Hao Yongge and many unnamed Red Guards who represented the qualities and values of zealous Red Guards. For them, sacrifice to revolution must be materialized through violent acts. In working through her trauma, when Bai Hui identifies with Hao, she avoids her anxiety, while her identification with Ma Ying, her father and Chang Ming, provokes her confusion.

"A Branch Road Paved with Flowers" (3): sacrifice for denial

This unsettled vacillation of identifications and her loss of Chang Ming, which caused her melancholy, leads to Bai Hui's sacrifice in her exile life in Inner Mongolia. In her exile, Bai Hui worked as a "barefoot doctor." Identifying with the sainthood of communist heroes, Bai Hui contributes all her time and energy to saving people's lives. If her aggression in the Red Guards movement is

sacrificially interpreted violence, now her dedication to people is genuine sacrifice. However, this saint-like behavior is not in accord with the real meaning of Mao's sacrifice. Her saint-like actions function as a further denial of her trauma: she avoids her trauma through her redemption. This psychological denial via identification is revealed in the episode of Bai Hui's unexpected encounter with Ma Ying. When Ma Ying reminds Bai Hui of the teacher Bai Hui hurt, Bai Hui exclaimed painfully in her heart "why couldn't I avoid it!" In addition, this denial is somehow mixed with her persistence to continue holding on to her former assumptions and revolutionary ideals. Although the teacher she hurt may be innocent from Chang Ming's perspective, the teacher was, after all, recognized as an enemy by the Party. This unconscious persistence of her former ideological judgment bolsters her courage to ask Chang Ming for forgiveness in her exile.

However, this process of denial fails with the shattering of Mao's ideological system following the arrest of the Gang of Four; this produces overwhelming anxiety about reinterpreting her previous experiences. Her violence which can be understood as glorious under Maoist ideology loses its foundation and distresses her. She suddenly apprehends that "She was guilty!" (Feng 2005: 204). At this critical moment, the new ideology plays a vital role in denial, which Bai Hui explicitly demonstrates in her confession at the end of the story, "I was bewitched and led to go astray" by the Gang of Four (Feng 2005: 204). In this confession, we can see even if Bai Hui realizes that she is morally guilty, she still attempts to minimize her guilt through the perspective of the new ideology by

blaming for the Gang of Four. While she admits her guilt, she somehow denies it through projecting the responsibility.

Other stories

Although the actual experiences of the younger generation could be more varied during the Cultural Revolution, two typical experiences could be observed among young people. One is perpetrators who physically tortured or emotionally hurt others; the other is the victims who were children of the branded antirevolutionaries. These two types of experiences sometimes overlapped. The Cultural Revolution was a ten year cataclysm, during which Chinese people were pushed up and down with the changes of political movements. Some Red Guards who tortured others at the beginning of the Cultural Revolution may have turned into victims with the shift of their parents' positions from accusers to the accused, and vice versa. Some young people who were expelled from the Red Guards organizations may have emotionally hurt others, very likely their relatives and parents. Both young perpetrators and victims can be found among the protagonists of scar literature, and their complexity of identification can be instructive.

In the two stories, "The Scar" and "Awake, My Brother", which I discussed in the previous chapter, identification is involved in the difficulty of working through both Xiaohua's and Xiaolei's trauma. The mechanism of identification in producing and working through trauma also reveals itself in many other scar stories. In "Over the Other Side of the Brook" written by Kong Jiesheng (1952-), the protagonist Yan Liang is both a perpetrator and a victim, passively wandering among the political perturbations during the Cultural

Revolution. Yan Liang cuts off his relationship with his parents twice. Like Bai Hui and Xiaohua, Yan Liang's adherence to Maoism provides the basis for him to torture the "enemies" and mentally hurt his parents. Later, he temporarily is released from his melancholy when he falls in love with Mu Lan, a girl with a similar experience. However, this reinvigoration of his passion for life is soon ruined when he finds out that Mu Lan is his sister from whom he has been separated for many years, thus quashing his hope for romance. Yan Liang finally releases his melancholia when the new regime rectifies his mother's case and clarifies that Mu Lan is actually his adopted sister. In a series of identifications throughout this story, both Mao's ideology and Deng's ideology were closely involved. Like Bai Hui and Xiaohua, Yan Liang's adherence to Maoism founded the basis for him to torture the "enemies" and mentally hurt his parents.

Kong Jiesheng's other story, "Between Humans" (*Ren yu ren*), was published in 1978 and revealed a working-through process of both a victim and a perpetrator. The basic plot of this story is that Qiu Shi's father committed suicide after he was classified as an antirevolutionary. Later Qiu Shi witnessed that his mother was beaten to death by a group of Red Guards. In his reeducation with his sister, Chun Hua, in a remote quasi-military organization in Hainan Island, he met Zhang Xing, the former Red Guard who killed his mother. When Chun Hua and Zhang Xing fell in love with each other, Qiu Shi revealed to her that Zhang Xing had killed their mother.

Literary critics have ignored this story; however, it provides important information for the complex posttraumatic psychologies of both a victim and a

perpetrator during the scar period. Qiu Shi witnesses the brutal killing of his mother. Thereafter he presents ambiguous near-incestuous behavior toward his sister. This tendency toward incest may be related to his identification with his father. As the story depicts, his father's sorrowful face before he silently committed suicide, rather than what he witnesses at his mother's killing, frequently appeared in his mind. In identifying with his father, he may unconsciously displace his father to protect his younger sister. And this identification somehow projects or denies his traumatic memory of his mother's death.

Conversely, this story also depicts the posttraumatic guilt of a perpetrator. Zhang Xing, a similar perpetrator as Bai Hui, brutally hurts a teacher which directly results in her death. Guilt-ridden by his violence, Zhang later exiles himself in Hainan Island. In his exile, he resists recognizing his guilt even when he is criticized by Qiu Shi, the son of the victim. As he questions himself, "How could he personally undertake the historical responsibility?" in the meantime Zhang Xin sacrifices and tortures himself through hard labor.

Zhang Xing as a perpetrator shifts from a revolutionary rebellious hero into a savior of victims in the revolution. This identification temporarily diminishes his anxiety and guilt. What is more, like Bai Hui and Xiao Hua, Zhang Xing sacrifices himself as a saint. As Zhang Xing's responds to Qin Shi's revenge in the episode of building a house:

> When they are working together to build a house, Qiu Shi deliberately filled Zhang's barrel with a lot of mud. Zhang carried the heavy barrel on

> his back. His image of climbing the scaffold with a heavy barrel on his shoulder to much extent likens to a saint carrying a Cross. (Kong 1979: 20)

This sense reminds us of good old fashioned self-flagellation and atonement. However, unlike the biblical concept of sacrifice, what Zhang Xing, as a violent perpetrator, redeems in his carrying the cross is his own wickedness. Both self-sacrifice and reproaching history can be regarded as denial of his trauma when he has to confront it.

These examples show that young people attempted to hold onto the previous assumptive world and self after the original trauma either through keeping their original identification or through denial. Dramatic socio-political and economic changes after Mao finally made such ideological continuity impossible. The transformations can be observed when protagonists experience traumatic moments and their recurrences. Identification and denial were interacted when protagonists paradoxically turn to communist ideology for meaning. Communist ideology, however, also changed during this period, although both protagonists and the new regime after Mao claimed to maintain homogeneity with Maoism. We can observe their confusion from their widespread feelings of loss, depression, or excitement about the new life. What is more, they also felt the failure of Mao's clear principles, with Mao's Little Red book losing its authorities. Life was full of inconsistencies, ambiguities and uncertainties.

In these stories, traumatic catharses were entangled with the denial of such experiences by interpreting traumatic memories through the old ideology and its ideo-centric assumptions and turning to the new ideology when such ideology couldn't hold back the shocks of external events. Clearly underlying the

recognition of the Cultural Revolution as a period of widespread trauma was its ideology, shown to be ultimately causative of individual traumatic episodes. Ideological shift shattered the previous ideo-centric world, and with this shattering, negative emotions such as anxiety, confusion, resentment, fear, loss and guilt, were provoked among the young generation. With Deng's new regime's actions of "reversal of verdicts" and "rectifying the errors," the previously recognized adversaries of revolution were rehabilitated to their original positions, and victims in general were described by the media as heroic survivors who had fought another revolution with the Gang of Four, and therefore gained respect in the society. However, with the same faith as or even more fanatic faith in the revolution than the older generations, some Red Guards sincerely had dedicated their lives during the massive factional fights or later exile and many of them devoted their youth for an honor and idealism. But it turned out to be sacrifice for a worthless cause.

For those confronting these overwhelming changes and emotions, the new ideology provided another assumptive world through which to deal with the entire process of traumatic representation and plot. Traumatic narrative not only provided for catharsis, but allows for a hermeneutic approach to trauma from the perspective of the new ideology. In this ideological recognition the personal traumatic memory was subordinated to the ideological shock, and that personal memory functioned not simply as testimony of personal traumatic experience. It also alerted the reader to the process of transferring fault to the ideology of Mao's Utopianism and actions of the Gang of Four, hence subordinating personal

experience into this grand narrative. Through this, personal trauma mediated into a collective, historical, ideological level.

Scar writers: between empathy and distance

Scar writers' expression and critical reflection of what they witnessed and experienced during the Cultural Revolution can be studied from two aspects in their stories. One is through the transformation of identification as protagonists work through their trauma, which I have already discussed. The other aspect is that although most individual writers emphasized personal experience, reflection, and emotional attachment regarding their stories, they coincidently formulated an emblematic pattern which most literary critics clearly recognized: emotional catharsis + bright tails. However, although most plots and character development are very predictable to readers, each story elicited readers' strong empathy. In my point of view, the pattern "emotional catharsis+ bright tails" reveals the younger generation's interaction between performing and working through trauma, including scar writers. Both the complexity of protagonists' working-through and the formulaic nature of scar stories emanate from writers' vacillation between empathy with and distance from their protagonists. While mimesis of traumatic memories due to their empathy with the protagonists may discharge the young writers' negative emotions and confusion after facing the shattering of the former self and the world, emphasizing that the nightmare has ended and a bright future is here (or near) temporarily provides them with a legitimating of their expression of their trauma, an ideologically correct interpretation of their past experience, and what is more, a refusal of their anxiety and guilt.

I first scrutinize scar writers' working through in terms of their position to their stories. In deliberating the roles of historian or writers in representing or studying trauma, LaCapra in his *History in Transit* has argued that paralleling two processes of remembering trauma in the mechanisms of acting out and working through, historians as second witnesses of trauma have two tendencies of extreme identification: one is to identify with an observer or a "bystander" in order to remain in a neutral position so that they could "get full observation of the historical event." Another tendency of identification maintains empathy between historians and the victims who they describe. In this identification, the historians are so overwhelmed by empathy elicited by victims that they replace victims to act out the trauma. LaCapra's argument is illuminating, however, what is missing here is that the empathy and distance may not lie in the historian's or writer's identification with two different objects, but instead derives from the tension within the identification between historian/writers and victims. Identification with victims means they are/aren't the victims. Similar to the interactive process of remembering trauma in acting-out and working-through, empathy and distance are not two clear-cut positions, either one or another. Their empathy with victims may be interrupted now and then by distancing in their attempt to be faithful to the history, which they are supposed to maintain, and vice versa. Such tension within identification may lead to historians' (or writers') vacillating position between empathy and distance.

This vacillation between empathy and distance can be detected in most scar writers (in this chapter for scar writers I only refer to writers of the young

generation). Directly experiencing the Cultural Revolution, most writers may inevitably employ their protagonists as surrogates, so releasing the horrific memories of revolutionary upheavals and their emotions toward the shattered assumptive world. These mimeses constitute the acting-out part, or emotional catharsis of scar stories. On the other hand, driven by a strong compulsion to expose what they experienced and witnessed during the Cultural Revolution, scar writers spontaneously undertook the role of truth-speakers. The role of testifying about the past bestows upon most scar writers a neutral position which they attempt to maintain in order to faithfully record the past. In addition, writing, as a narrative, is an analytical process through which the fragmented memories, either repressed or ignored, were re-organized through narratives in an autobiographical order. Scar writers' memories, confusion, and pain in their own working-through were presented and recognized somehow through a series of identifications with the protagonist. Their writing process was convergent with seeking to interpret and understand their own values, meanings of their past, and their emotions when they were re-exposed to trauma.

Consider Feng Jicai, the author of "A Branch Road Paved with Flowers", as an example. Feng was originally trained as a painter. The tranquility of his life as an artist was broken after the outburst of the Cultural Revolution. The Red Guards raided his house and humiliated his parents publicly. In addition to these personal afflictions, he was frequently exposed to the deaths of others, which propelled him away from painting to writing:

> During the Cultural Revolution it seemed that not one day passed without somebody committing suicide in that river [Hai River]; they were dragged out of the river with grappling hooks and laid out in rows on the banks. The couple of mats they had there were not enough and some of the ghastly faces were left exposed. There were young ones, old ones, and women who had drowned themselves with their babies strapped to their waists. As I stared in shock at these people who had resolved to take their own lives, I imagined what they had been through. Once I noticed scuff marks of indecision on the chair that someone had used to hang himself. The sign filled me with fear and trembling. Whenever I saw something like this I would unconsciously try to fabricate the story that lay behind it. Of course, it is possible that my imaginings bore no relation to their real lives. Still, the things I heard about and I witnessed in daily life at that time created a multitude of impressions, and they crowded in upon the stories I was constructing… It [writing down these tragedies] would be value to future generation.[34]

Feng's empathy elicited by the others' tragedies initiated his impulse to write. Also, composing stories beyond the death by imagination somehow functioned as a catharsis of his fear, which originated from the shock of witnessing the horror of death, the indirect exposure to traumatic events through hearing his friends' stories, and perhaps his own experiences encountering violence. Except for composing the pain and suffering of death, as he claimed, Feng intended to record

[34] See Peter Michelson, "Cultural scars: Feng Jicai Interview," Rolling Stock 3(Summer 1982); and Feng Jicai, "A written testimonial about the Cultural Revolution" (Helmut Martin and Jeffery Kinkley 1992: 16-17).

the truth of the historical period so that Chinese people could remember the catastrophe. Writing, when aimed at a testimony of history, required a neutral position for Feng.

Feng's stories to a great extent reveal both catharsis and testimony, or empathy and distance. The fear derived from indirect encounters with death is repetitively depicted in Feng's stories. In "A!", his first published story in 1981, Feng describes in detail the extreme fear that Wu Zhongyi, a timid intellectual, experienced after his letter was missing. If the letter fell into the hands of his colleagues, he would be branded as a revisionist.[35] However, in spite of mimicking the fear, Feng retained a certain distance, allowing him to faithfully depict how an energetic young man was deformed to numbing dullness in the political turmoil and how even cocooned with such numbing dullness he still could not avoid the impact of the revolution. Through this exposure, Feng aimed to call the Chinese people to "recognize the phenomenon of hindering the social progress" (Feng 2005: 7).

Feng's empathy with and distance from his protagonists is more explicit in "A Branch Road Paved with Flowers", which I have analyzed from the perspective of the protagonist's tension in her identification. Feng started the story

[35] In the story "A!", Feng describes the psychological process of a betrayer. Wu Zhongyi is a timid intellectual in an institute that researches history. He tries to survive the political turmoil during the Cultural Revolution by numbing and dehumanizing himself. However, a letter from his sister-in-law puts him in the center of political activities. His sister-in-law warns him to be careful given his previous criticism of the socialist system, which he expressed in a gathering with his friends and brother ten years ago, during the 1956's Mao's Hundreds Flowers movement. Wu is shocked by the possibility that his previous anti-revolutionary words would be revealed. Soon, he becomes extremely fearful when he discovers that his reply letter has gone missing. Wu's subsequent unusual behaviour during political fractional fights (due to his fear) was raised the suspicion of the wicked director of the institute. From the fear and stress Wu becomes psychologically crazed, and when questioned under such state breaks down, he betrays his brother and his friends, completely confessing what he and other people said during the gathering..

with a section similar to a prologue. He employed much natural imagery such as cloud, sun, and wind, to metaphorically articulate his critique to the Cultural Revolution in the context of Chinese history. However, while he sets up his detached position distancing himself from his story, he does not maintain the distance in his later narrative. Following the prologue, Feng depicts the horrors of the public trials, where branded class enemies were tortured physically and mentally by the Red Guards. These horrors somehow were the mimesis of what he witnessed and learnt of during the Revolution. In later episodes, Feng presents himself not only as a detached narrator, but also as an arbitrary director and passionate critic to instruct and "assist" Bai Hui's working-through. The best example is that Feng gives Bai Hui a heroic counterpart, Chang Ming, who functions as a new model for Bai Hui to identify with, and thereby Bai Hui divests herself of her guilt. At the end of the story, when Bai Hui cannot resolve her feeling of moral guilt, Chang Ming saves her:

> The monster won't be able to be responsible for her, but our party should! Today, Party, home country and people have already been rescued from the temple of the ghosts. It faces an indefinite colorful bright future. It has a great hope; it has already started the new long march. And every step that we walk forward should be sacred duty and responsibility toward our mother land, and career of our party, and everybody [. . .] That is, we should reach our strong hands toward those young people who were at the end of their painful straying away. We should help them to learn from the

> past lesson, and encourage them to walk on their life with hope […] (Feng 2005: 211)

At this moment, Feng's passionate and didactic long monologue disrupts the narrative coherence and the consistency of psychological development of both Bai Hui and Chang Ming in their working through their respective traumas. For Bai Hui, her difficulty in assimilating her guilt and reconciling the dissonance between her moral self and ideological self in confronting her shattered assumptions about her aggression is suddenly interfered with by the reluctant excuse that Feng forces upon her. While as for Chang Ming, before he has enough chance to work through his trauma of loss, rooted in experiencing his mother death and breaking off with Bai Hui, he abruptly disposes of his pain and anxiety, forgiving Bai Hui merely because of "the special day of downfall of the Gang of Four." In addition, Feng employs a simple and decisive approach to understand and deal with the perpetrators and victims: all the past catastrophes and wrong-doing can be blamed on the Gang of Four. Hence, there is no doubt or ambiguity about the forgiving, forgetting and moving forward to the future. In this case, Feng's simple and straightforward instructions from his distance actually simplify the difficulties and complications of working through trauma, which nonetheless is not complete.

Other young writers also display similarly vacillating roles in their stories. For example, Lu Xinhua's initial goal was to imitate Lu Xun, writing to wake up the nation. However, in recounting his relative's real story in "The Scar", he was emotionally attached to Xiaohua (Lu 2008). Kong Jiesheng was involved in both

the Red Guards movement and the reeducation movement. Many scenes in his stories represented what he experienced and witnessed (Leung 1994: 65-79). However, in his stories his distance from his protagonists is embodied in statements such as "To those who are still living in the dark clouds. I wish that like us, those people could be relieved soon and enjoy the fresh air and bright sunshine" (Kong 1979: 7). Similar to Feng Jicai, Kong's critique of the Cultural Revolution and his rejection of the Red Guards' responsibility for their wrongdoings often break into his narratives.

Such vacillation of writers' empathy and distance demonstrates ambiguities and confusion of the scar writers in writing about trauma. For the sake of testimony, most writers were clearly aware of their detachment in representing the truth of the Cultural Revolution. However, thanks to writers' similar experiences with the protagonists, they surrogated the protagonists due to empathy. In addition, mimicking the traumatic moment interacted with disassociation from their negative emotions. While they clearly were aware of the wrongdoing of the violence and naive sacrifice, they somehow attempted to rationalize and even argue against their fanaticism of violence and sacrifice through positing personal trauma against the larger context of national and historical trauma. As Kong Jiesheng argued through Zhang Xing, his protagonist in "Between Human Beings", "Yes, I was guilty, but is it fair for me to carry the cross of history?!" Similar arguments can be found in many scar writers defenses for their protagonists' crimes. For example, Feng Jicai excuses Bai Hui for she "was guilty, but was misused!" In "A Bitter Fruit" Wang Anyi (1954-) attributes

the fault of the teenager's violence to the teacher the teenager harmed. In "Second Encounter" (which I will analyze in detail in the next chapter), Jin He, a writer as well as a former Red Guard argues that it was unfair that communist cadres were rehabilitated as heroes, while the Red Guards should be responsible for the catastrophe. Positing individual experiences in history supported their defense for their generation's faults, and, moreover, it temporarily evaded writers' anxiety and guilt.

Scar writers: internal-censorship vs. external-censorship

In addition to above psycho-ideological perspective, the writers' vacillation between distance and empathy in their writing also mirrors the young generation's actual awkward situation in society and the change in the relationship between literature and politics. The end of the Cultural Revolution did not directly lead to societal peace and order. The period from 1976 to 1979 saw a series of social changes and problems. The national economy, the legal system, and the government structure nearly collapsed. The youth problem was an urgent one. Pleading to return to their cities of origin, intellectual youths initiated a strike in Yunnan, blocked the railroads in Shanghai, and many other intellectual youths in the rural areas in other places rushed into the capital cities or Beijing for petitions to rectify their previous injustice. Those who had already returned to cities faced many other problems. Although a small percentage among of them went to universities after the college entrance exam was resumed in 1977, due to their ten-year devotion to the Cultural Revolution, most of them missed their best time to learn the knowledge and skills that were necessary to find jobs. Unemployment,

low wages, and social discrimination that they suffered stirred negative emotions among young people. As members of this generation, most scar writers were assigned work in factories as their first jobs when they returned to cities. Writing somehow for them was either a way to get rid of their current economical-social conditions or re-asserted their identity in a victimized generation (or so-called "the lost generation" by Michel Bonnin) created by the mistakes of the Party and Mao. For them, writing became a way to change their social status and a plea for understanding, and perhaps for being forgiven.

Their vacillation also suggests the transformation of the relationship between literature and politics. When approaching Chinese literary products, the mechanics of literary control, or more precisely censorship, by Chinese government is a target for literary critics. Censorship was not an invention of the communist government. China's Nationalist government established censorship in the first half of the 20th century. This censorship was more systematic and bureaucratic than that in Mao's period. In Mao's China there was actually no specific censorial bureau of either central or local government in charge of writers' writing process and publication (Link 2000). Albeit there was not a specific censorial bureau, external censorship was very severe. At an organizational level, the Chinese Writers Associations at the national and local level could charge professional writers with wrongdoing, and the Chinese Writers Association itself was not independent of the control of the Party. Based on Mao's principle of "arts is a political tool serving for revolution," which is well articulated in Mao's "Yan'an Talks" in 1942, writers and artists, who were called

"literary and art workers" or "engineers of human souls," were supposed to pass along the political leader's intentions and ideology in their works, so that they guided and enlightened common readers. Also, as literature was a political tool, literary works must receive the censorship, not by one particular censorial department, but by the entire society. Perry Links classifies five groups of Chinese people who were involved in literary censorship during and after Mao's period. They were top leaders, editors, political and literary critics, writers, and common readers (Perry Link 1983: 1-30 and 2000: 55). These five groups constituted a censorial net that scrutinized writers' writing activities. This surveillance resulted in Chinese writers' peculiar social status. On the one hand, writers could enjoy political and societal privileges if they achieved a high level of unity of arts and ideology. They could be appointed to positions in the Party, administration, state-owned publishers, or the Writers Associations. On the other hand, being writers was "a risky profession" if the writers deviated or misunderstood the intention of the Party; or even if they strictly followed the Party (or mainly Mao), if the Party's intention changed, they inevitably fell into trouble. A typical example of such case is the Anti-Rightist Movement during1956-1957.

Besides the severe external censorship, most Chinese writers had internal censorship, or what Perry Link called "self-censorship" (Link 2000: 56). Writers were trained to be self-conscious about what they could write and what they could not. The internal censorship partly derived from internalization of ideology. As I will discuss in detail in the next chapter, many senior Chinese writers sincerely

believed communist ideology, even if they were persecuted in many literary movements. It may also come from the fear of having experienced persecution in previous political and literary movements, such as the Anti-Rightist Movement in 1956-1957, Hu Feng Incident in the 1950s, and particularly during the Cultural Revolution. In both cases, internal censorship was a product of communist ideology. Ideology did not merely function to writers as an external force; it was more an inner force through faith and fear that created vigilance in the writer's writing process. Also, due to the ideological influence, the internal censorship became a dynamic mechanism. It transformed with the social and political changes. This dynamic aspect, as I will discuss later, can be found in the publication process of the pioneer works of scar literature.

Censorship at both levels was changing with the emergence of the scar movement. During the period from 1977 to 1979, which is called by Perry Line "the post-Mao thaw," political control was loosened in China. The rigid external censorship temporarily unfastened. Top leaders (i.e., the most important group for censorship,) presented a certain tolerance and even supported to the scar literature movement. In 1979, setting aside literature as the tool of class struggle, Deng promised that the Party administrators would not interfere with artists' and writers' decisions about "what to write and how to write." However, Deng also set forth that "whether it is good or not for the four modernizations is the criteria of all practice" (Deng 1994: 207-214). According to this principle, literature and arts should serve for the aim of socialist modernization. Deng's talk gave rise to ambivalent responses among Chinese writers and artists. Deng's talk encouraged

"the hundred flowers blooming" (the "hundred flowers" principle was put in the Chinese constitution in 1978), which seems to endow freedom of writing and expression. However, Deng also emphasized the ideological control of the writers. Writers and artists should be like the monkey king, jumping only within the palm of the Buddha. That is, within the criterion to serve for the modernization, writers can write whatever they want and use whatever form they choose.

This ambivalence is also embodied in Hu Yaobang's attitudes in two nationwide debates about scar literature (Hu was the director of Central Propaganda Department by then). Scar literature by 1979 led a trend of telling and revealing the dark side. And this gave rise to the main discussion hosted in the journal *Guangdong Literature and Arts* about whether scar literature should be "looking forward or looking back." The discussion became heated when Li Jian, a young military writer published an article "'singing the virtue' and 'lack the virtue'" ("Gede"yu"Quede"). Li countered an attack against singing socialist hymns, arguing that although China had suffered through the Cultural Revolution it still was a socialist paradise with "green water in pools and bright sun shining," therefore singing hymns for socialism should be encouraged. In contrast, he maintained that those who write Chinese reality with "gray psychology" were immoral (Li 2009: 3-6). This article was immediately rebuked by many senior writers, such as Wang Ruowang and Ba Jin. Li Jian overnight became the target of many arrows. In September, Hu Yaobang assuaged this heated discussion, asserting that Li's idea was naïve; nevertheless we should allow people to have different opinions (Xu Qingquan 2005: 10-12). Li Jian's story, however, does not

end here. In 1980, he went to another extreme. He consecutively published three short stories, directing criticism toward Mao's words. Particularly, in his "Drunk in the Flowers", he recounted how a female Red Guard satisfied a poor farmer's requirement for sex based on her misunderstanding of Mao's *Quotations*. This sexual interpretation of Mao's revolutionary ideas caused a fierce negative response by critics. Hu Yaobang stood again, reasserting his attitude that healthy development of literature needed different opinions (Xu Qingquan 2005: 10-12).

Top leaders' ambivalent attitudes left room for other groups who traditionally exercised some censorship, such as editors and senior writers, to publish the pioneer scar stories. With the support from top intellectuals (such Mao Dun and Ba Jin) and high-ranking Party members, young writers' stories were able to be published.[36] However publishing scar stories may still be a risk to the author's life. For each story, experienced senior editors suggested certain changes in the language so that the story met political requirements. Some literary critics employed this fact (but few of them examined the changes) as evidence to prove the severity of censorship and political control. However, it is these modifications that demonstrate the transformation of the relationship between literature and politics. Take "The Scar" as an example. Before it was published, Lu made sixteen changes based on the editors' suggestions. According to Lu's recent recollection, except for some minor changes in languages such as adding the word

[36] The process of publishing these stories can be found in Ma Licheng and Li Zhijun. *Jiaofeng: dang dai zhongguo san ci si xiang jie fang shi lu.* Jin ri chu ban she.1998, and Lu Xinhua. "*Shanghen* de yi wen shi de ji ge yinyuan" ("several reasons about the publishing 'The Scar'") *Changzhou Daily*. August 10th, 2008: A7

"peasants of the poor, lower, middle" to the collective life in the village, major changes included:[37]

1. The first sentence of the original version, "It was Chinese New Year's Eve. Outside the train window, nothing was visible except darkness" was changed into "It was Chinese New Year's Eve. Outside the train window, nothing was visible but the twinkling of colored lights that flashed near and far. That was the spring of 1978."

2. The original sentence "across from her was a young engaged couple traveling to Shanghai to see their relatives. They had talked animatedly" was changed into "across from her was a young engaged couple traveling to Shanghai to see their relatives. They had talked animatedly about their studies and work and the changed political situation of the past year."

3. Added a sentence to the end of the story, that Xiaohua, "with big strides headed toward the bright lights of Nanjing Road."

The above changes obviously kept a rhetorical consistency in readers between this story and Mao's literature. Perhaps it was the reason that some critics, like Bei Dao, criticized that scar literature was Mao's literature (Bei Dao 2007: B1). What is missing in such criticism of scar literature is that these changes reflected the ambiguity of editors in their understanding of the political trend during that period. Editors regarded this story as a sign of encouraging the "hundred flowers blooming." However, as this story came up before Deng's clear statement that

[37] The following information about Lu's changes can be found in Wang Jianqiang " 'Shanghen wenxue' di yi ren: Lu Xinhua" *Memories and Archives*. (6) 2008:10-12.

"practice is a criteria of truth" (which was known by the public at the end of 1978), the explicit deviation from Mao's literature in content could be a risk for both Lu and the editors.

In addition, these changes suggested transformation of senior writers' internal censorship given the apparent loosened control of top leaders' external censorship. Nearly all the changes, as we see above, are limited to language level. The published version does not affect our understanding about the metaphorical transformation in the Chinese people's thinking (which I have discussed in the second chapter), and the identification of the protagonist. Hence these changes were embodied in editors' "language tactics" (Perry Link) in consideration of the current political ambivalence. Political correctness of metaphors, such as "bright lights," "the twinkling of colored lights," and "spring in 1978," became political rhetoric to cover the underlying tragedy that the government might forbid exposing in literature. And these language tactics also may reveal editors' cynical attitude toward political control, which they strictly observed or feared in Mao's time.

These changes also exemplify that the young writers lacked the sense of internal censorship and recognition of external censorship. Most scar writers were too young to directly experience the Anti- Rightist Movement, nor would they likely be affected by Hu Feng Incident in the 1950s and Wu Han Incident in the 1960s. Except for Liu Xinwu, (Liu recounted his fear after he submitted his first story, "The Homeroom Teacher", in 2008) most other writers impulsively expressed their authentic feelings without much concern about whether those

stories were accepted by the establishment. Their conscious of self-censorship appeared comparatively weak.

Scar literature transformed to a certain degree the rigid rule that literature should pass down from the intention of the top leaders and serve for politics. Through communication between writers and the reception by readers, scar writers expressed the common peoples' will to the top leaders. This transformation, when accepted by the establishment, may raise the young writers' sense of historical duties: to speaking and exploring the truth of their own trauma, and by extension, of their generation. As Feng Jicai still maintains, the generation of scar writers has "strong responsibilities rooted in social morality and conscience, empathy at the end of the Gang of Four, and speaking for average people" (Dan Sanya 2008). This may be another illusion: the new regime after Mao provided them another chance to model the world, humanity, society, and themselves. This illusion more or less reminds us of their zealous heroism during Mao's period. The new ideology was a two-sided sword: while it elicited their trauma with the shattering of their assumptive world based on Mao's ideology, it also provided new assumptions about China and themselves. This confusion about annihilation and construction somehow opened a future for the writers in the new regime.

Conclusion

In this chapter, I study psychological identification of scar writers and protagonists in scar stories in order to reveal the generation of Mao's children working though revolutionary trauma. I mainly examine the gradation of two

tensions: protagonists-heroes (either living or figurative, or qualities of Red Guards), and writers-protagonists. I demonstrate that the transformation of protagonists' identification is subject to communist ideologies. It also interacted with writers' vacillation between empathy with and distance from their protagonists. In addition, the negotiating relationship between writing and politics indicates that the politics did not force the young writers as a purely external power.[38] Dengism was not only exerted by the political institution, but it provided a new object for young people to redirect their libido. Moreover, it is internalized as a force that created a counterforce to acting out trauma. Finally, the tension between the writers and their protagonists is created by young writers' vacillation between emotional attachment to the protagonists and their deliberate distance. This tension indicates their confusion about the gruesome chapters of their lives and their uncertainty about the meaning of such experiences in the new regime and Chinese history. These writers were able to successfully deliver genuine pathos to their readers; however their abrupt settling of the protagonists' confusions not only disrupted the coherence of their narratives, but also interfered with the protagonists' working-through. Such process shows that the writers seemed not to have been settled on issues such as whether and how to assimilate the loss and anxiety of their generation, nor how to justify their victimization

[38] Chen Sihe in his *Dangdai dalu wenxueshi* mentioned that there is a short period that literature and politics is in a relationship of mutually supporting each other (Cheng 2001: 185). I think that the relationship between the two is negotiating and subverting. As Perry Link points out in his research in this period in *The Use of Literature*, literature is not consciously supporting politics, although politics may consciously make use of literature. I think that this spontaneous literature reflects that the ideological apparatus is not external power, but something that is internalized by the subjects.

while they had to undergo psychological processing of the guilt due to causing adversity to other people and general mayhem in the society.

I also point out that the mechanism of identification in establishing an assumptive world, traumatization, and working-though can also be observed among senior intellectuals. As senior intellectuals (such as Ba Jin, Ji Xianlin, and Yu Guangyuan) received their education in the pre-Mao period and also had experiences studying overseas, identification for this group presents similarities to and differences from the younger generation. I will deal with this issue in the next chapter.

Chapter Four

Guilt, Confession and Working-through

Apart from the impediment of my empathy toward people who survived misery, loss, and viciousness during the Cultural Revolution, examining the issue of guilt and confession confronts other difficulties. Chinese culture lacks a tradition of confessing guilt. Confucius' "self-reflection three times a day" was complied with more as ritual performance and employed for implementing the totalitarianism rather than exploration of the self. As Zhu Dake, a Chinese cultural critic, explains, the long period of being controlled by Confucianism and Legalism resulted in dual characters for most Chinese people who perceived torturing others and being tortured as normal in Chinese society (Zhu 2010: A23). In addition, there rarely are materials, either fictional or autobiographical, that provide confessions. To the extent confessions exist, they are intermingled with testimonies. Consistent with this cultural deficiency of confession, the Chinese literary tradition is short of confessional narratives, even in autobiographies. Even so, unlike the shift from autobiography to confession made by authors from Augustinus (354-430) to Rousseau (1772-1778) in western literature and culture, many of them remain substantially self-portrayal rather than self-reflection and self-exploration.

However, studying the survivor guilt of the Cultural Revolution is unavoidable. As indicated in the words of a survivor of the Holocaust cited by Ruth Leys, "I survive, therefore I am guilty" (Leys 2007: 5), anxiety of guilt (and sometimes also shame) is well reported as a symptom of post-traumatic stress

disorder among survivors. Despite the fact that overtly expressing guilt has never been a major discourse in Chinese society after the Cultural Revolution, an unsettled anxiety of guilt partly elicited the reiteration of the wounds, the recurrence of the traumatic memories, and emphasis (or even exaggeration) of victimization in Chinese literature and some Chinese people's actual lives. Going back to the episode discussed in the Introduction, the long repressed guilt recently propelled several former Red Guards to confess their guilt publicly. Likewise, when their teachers, the pure victims of the Red Guards' violence, claimed their forgiveness, they presented various degrees of self-reproach about their inability to act when their colleagues were tortured to death. And this guilt over their inability to act partly contributed to their willingness to forgive the perpetrators. The occurrence of this cultural event 40 years after the Cultural Revolution reflects the anxiety of guilt, or what Robert J. Lifton what called "guilt anxiety", when shattering the assumptive world may threaten an individual's moral integrity.

In addition, despite that few writers and literary critics extracted guilt as an independent theme in their writing and discussions concerning the Cultural Revolution (as most narratives about individual adversities during the Cultural Revolution found in the scar literature movement and later periods serve the purpose of testimony), the guilt anxiety after the ten-year catastrophe was implied, though obscured, in scar stories and remains a sub-voice in most narratives in the post-scar period concerning the catastrophe. While most young heroes in scar stories argued for being victimized politically, they also conveyed, at times

obliquely, the feeling of regret about their physically and emotionally aggressive behaviours. Conversely, the explicit expression of guilt can rarely be detected among most of the protagonists who were mature intellectuals and cadres. Most of them were portrayed, even idealized, as undefeatable communists. Nevertheless, it would be a superficial analysis if we were to believe that remorse only existed among the younger generation. Guilt, sometimes accompanied with a feeling of shame, also functions as a psychological mechanism among the senior and middle-aged cadres and intellectuals when confronting their revolutionary trauma. Some senior intellectuals' memoirs and actual actions exposed a sense of guilt and shame. A well-praised and widely circulated case is that, during the 1980s, Zhou Yang (1908-1989), the head of the Propaganda Department and Cultural Department of Chinese central government during and after Mao's time, asked for forgiveness from many of his colleagues for his harsh behavior. Zhou had organized many trials for criticizing intellectuals in the 1950s and the 1960s, but later he himself was persecuted during the Cultural Revolution. Some other intellectuals, such as Ba Jin (1904-2005) and Ji Xianlin (1911-2009), delved via their memoirs into their own guiltiness and shame related to their acceptance of dehumanization or indifference to the misfortunes of their friends, family members and colleagues. Although these cases, like the former Red Guards' apologies, were exceptional among intellectuals, it suggests that anxiety of guilt or shame haunted some survivors of the political-social catastrophe of the Cultural Revolution, and that such anxiety, which may have been suppressed or repressed, nonetheless intruded into their lives as a haunting specter.

This chapter studies how the survivors of the Cultural Revolution (beyond their personal desolation) perceived their inability or insensibility to empathize with other people's misfortunes, particularly for those survivors whose actions or inactions resulted in others' afflictions. It also studies, beyond the claim of victimization, how the pure victims such as the senior intellectuals dealt with their dehumanization when they were labeled as "cows ghosts and snakes demons." Through examining the confessional narratives in the works of three groups of writers — the generation of Mao's Children, the middle-aged writers who were branded as rightists in 1957, and senior intellectuals — this chapter demonstrates the difficulties and ambiguities in their coping with their anxiety of guilt or shame. Integrating the most recent materials, such as memoirs and autobiographies about the Cultural Revolution, this chapter explores the subtlety and ramifications of the confessions of protagonists and writers. It suggests that working through the anxiety of guilt or shame entangles communist ideologies in two ambivalent processes: an ideological shift that ignited the anxiety of guilt or shame which needs to be worked through via confession, while paradoxically, in many cases, such mechanisms were disturbed by the individual's self-argument, confusion, denial or defense, which also were ideologically controlled, so that coping with the guilt or shame could not be complete.

Posttraumatic guilt or shame, confession, and revolutionary trauma

Guilt is at the center of Freud's consideration of civilization. According to Freud's discussion of psychological guilt in *Totem and Taboo* (1913) and *Civilization and Its Discontents* (1930), civilization originated from moral

concerns with the prototype of guilt, which is devouring or murdering the father. In Freud's later elaboration of a more complex concept of guilt, the Oedipus complex is a constellation of guilt, morality, culture, and neurosis (Lifton 1979: 133). Since the 1960s, some psychologists have elaborated a concept of survivor guilt. They noticed that survivors of wars and natural disasters presented symptoms of "self-destructive guilt" (Leys 2007: 5). Such guilt mainly derived from the survivor's "unconscious imitation of, or identification with, the aggressor" (Leys 2007: 18). For example, Lifton observed self-reproach presenting among many people who survived nationwide catastrophes. Lifton conceptualized that survivor guilt overlaps with moral guilt and psychological guilt. Moral guilt, "a judgment of wrongdoing, based upon ethical principles and made by an individual, group or community," correlated with psychological guilt, "an individual sense of badness or evil, with a fear for expectation of punishment" (Lifton 1979: 132). In this sense, survivor guilt is beyond Freud's super-ego concept. It is located in a relationship with culture, history and society. In addition, survivor guilt does not necessarily relate to actual action. As Lifton argues, "there is a relationship of guilt to dislocation, to historical change, to various forms of alienation (inability to feel loyal to anyone or anything)" (Lifton 1979: 137). This understanding indicates that the thought of transgression and inability to act at the traumatic event can also produce a sense of guilt.

Recent psychological studies noticed that posttraumatic guilt in some cases may be converted into, or sometimes is found hand in hand with, shame in that shame and guilt can be "reciprocal and both can coexist in PTSD" (Wilson et

al 2006). Wilson, Drozdek and Turkovic differentiate posttraumatic guilt and shame based on their clinical observations. According to their clinical findings, the anxiety of both guilt and shame are inseparable from social and cultural norms. Posttraumatic guilt derives from "self-recrimination for failed behavioral enactments that occur in the context of traumatic situations" (Wilson et al 2006: 138). This failure to enact according to appropriate moral or social norms results in survivors perceiving themselves as culprits. Similarly, transgression of social norms and values elicits shame. However, while both guilt and shame symptomatically present as self-reproach, self-destruction, and self-repudiation, posttraumatic shame normally is more distressful because its focus is on self-worth whereas posttraumatic guilt is directed to transgression related to action or inaction (Wilson et al 2006: 138).

Psychological understanding of posttraumatic guilt or shame suggests two directions for understanding anxiety in post-revolutionary trauma. (1) The continuum of guilt or shame responses related to revolutionary trauma ranges from self-regret for having done something that the trauma victim should not have done, to self-reproach for not having done something that they wish they would have done, and to the shame of being dehumanized. Some people felt guilty for their aggressive behavior, like the former Red Guards toward others and their family members (which can be diagnosed as transaction guilt, or betrayal guilt); some by their inability to help the others (as bystander guilt), like Ba Jin in his inability to reduce his wife's pain (see "Remembering Xiao Shan"); some by passively or actively participating in punishing others, like Zhou Yang, and some

by their acquiescence to their dehumanization and humiliation (PTSD shame), like Ba Jin and Ji Xianlin. (2) The guilt or shame anxiety was elicited or awakened by the shift of ideologies. The above-mentioned behaviors, being judged as proper and correct in the previous ideology, were recognized as transgressions, morally and legally, due to the sudden shift of ideologies. For example, both Ba Jin and Ji Xianlin contemplated painfully in their memoirs about how deeply they were "bewitched" by Maoism so that they had accepted humiliation without being shamed during the Cultural Revolution.

These special situations of posttraumatic guilt or shame complicate the confession as a mechanism of coping with guilt or shame anxiety. Etymologically, a confession suggests speaking out about what was regretted. When transported from religious procedure to secular practice, confession normally is a psychological necessity to deal with guilt anxiety. In the secular realm, confessions lead to truth telling and self-recognition through confessional narratives in works such as historical novels, memoirs, and autobiographies (Coetzee 1985: 194). According to Margaret Klenck, confession is paradoxically "a relation-building project, even though it may often feel like a tearing of something" (Klenck 2004: 142). On the one hand, it endangers the ego because it forces the ego to confront a secret or the repressed memories. Confession always bears with it unbearable despair and anxiety. On the other hand, confession seeks forgiveness and understanding in that it is a useful process to reunite and reconcile the ego. As the purpose of confession is simply for forgiveness and reunion, confession can be a profound and subtle turning point from the guilt-laden self to

a new identity. The person who makes a confession is supposed to move beyond the storytelling to re-evaluate the cause and circumstances so that he/she approaches the truth. In order to reach this point, confession should be "simple." That is, the confessor should purely surrender to what he/she "will be" or "originally is." And this point is where he/she begins to heal and reconciles his/her identity which has been broken. Confession therefore "catalyzes transformation" of identity and worldview and even profound understanding of self (Klenck 2004: 142).

The language of confession is critical to working through guilt or shame anxiety of the post-revolutionary trauma; however, it is more complicated. First of all, confessional narratives driven by anxiety of guilt or shame always are mixed up with, and in many cases even suppressed by, testimonies. Testifying about the catastrophe accentuated the sense of victimization of most Chinese people who went through the Cultural Revolution — as Bei Dao satirized that everybody in China became victims overnight after the downfall of the Gang of Four — and this collective "invention" of victimization further covered or denied, for many people, the anxiety of guilt or shame about their actions and reactions during the revolution. In addition, in the case of dealing with revolutionary trauma, confessional narratives may interplay with acting-out and working-through. Revolutionary trauma is linked with the psychological reaction to or inability to react to overwhelming stimuli which threaten the assumptive world. When the anxiety of guilt or shame has accumulated to a certain degree that the psyche cannot bear it, it may be released as acting-out. Although through acting-out, the

individual has the danger of ruining himself/herself, through confession the individual may also assimilate the previous experience. In this sense, confession is not a pure acting-out, because the confessor perceives the remote memories and re-values the experience based on the present situation. Confession therefore can go beyond acting-out to reach to working-through. Interacting with this process, although "guilt-laden memories focus on a desire to confess wrongdoing (whether actual or imagined) in an attempt to make amends" (Wilson et al 2006: 138), in the case where guilt coexists with shame, the confessional process may be halted. Feeling shame tends to hinder speaking out the truth. As Wilson et al. quote the words of Fenichel (1945), "'I feel ashamed' means 'I do not want to be seen'" (Wilson et al 2006: 139). If too much destructive energy related to confession accumulates, a psychological defensive system, such as denial, may be provoked to encumber the confessing.

Moreover, in the case of the Cultural Revolution, the process of speaking out and working through guilt by confession may not be complete due to the involvement of the ideological shift. Communist ideology works as a promoter for the feeling of guilt but also may create a force of counter-guilt. The person might direct his/her confession not to the inner self but to the external world, and thereby the mechanism of denying the anxiety also functioned in this process. As a result, the confession may release emotions but not reach a state of healing. Similar to a phoenix that regains a new life after having burned itself into ashes, a "true" confessor experiences rebirth through confession. However, in the case of

working through revolutionary trauma, the ideology that starts the fire to interrogate the confessor may also put that fire out for the confessor.

The paradoxical functionality of ideology and confession can be observed in confessional narratives among writers in the scar period. The Cultural Revolution was a long-lasting nationwide disaster. The situations of Chinese people were very diverse. Although most of them claimed to be impaired, some people were traumatized and some were not. The targets of this study are the people whose symptoms of PTSD can be observed during the scar movement and later periods. For most stories written by the ex-Red Guards, any confessions were interrupted by arguments and self-compulsory forgiveness. For the 57 writers and senior intellectuals, due to the long influence of the self-criticism movement, confession presented different phenomena. In each case, dealing with the guilt interacted with reconstructing or reevaluating the self. The Cultural Revolution was a bitter memory for most of them. However, it also presented a mirror with which to perceive the kindness or wickedness of the self (Ji Xianlin 2008), so it was a learning and reevaluation process which drew the narrator to the depths of human nature and the self, even if such process was obstructed.

The guilt of Mao's Children: argument vs. confession

Most scar stories written by the ex-Red Guards exposed the wounds of Mao's Children. These narratives of personal affliction, although claimed as testimony for the darkness of the revolution, inevitably touched upon confessing the misdeeds of the Red Guards. Taking Liu Huixuan (his pen name is Li Ping; 1948-) and Zhang Chengzhi (1948-) as examples, this section reveals the

paradox of denying and working through the guilt anxiety in confessions of this generation.

Li Ping was one of the initiators of the Red Guards movement and the creator of the notorious slogan and song, "A person whose father was hero is a hero, whose father was a hooligan is a hooligan." This song epitomized "the birth theory" (*chushen lun*), and was adopted as "the Red Guards Martial Song." During the first two years of the Cultural Revolution, the slogan and corresponding song were widely employed by the Red Guards when they abused many people who were labelled as among the "five black classes" and their children. Yu Luoke (1942-1970) was exemplified as a victim of this slogan. In 1970 Yu was sentenced to death due to his article "About the Birth Theory" ("Chushen lun" 1966) in which Yu criticized the slogan and its underlying principle. In 1981, Li Ping published a story entitled "When the Evening Clouds Disappear" ("Wanxia xiaoshi de shihou"). Unlike most other scar stories which were written after 1977, Li Ping wrote this story spontaneously responding to Zhou Enlai's death in 1976, but it was circulated as a story of "underground literature" which was not published but copied by hand. Li thereafter revised it for five years before he sent it to *October* (*Shiyue*). Due to the long process of revising, Li reduced the spontaneity of the story. Particularly in the compulsory conversions between Li Huiping and Nan Shan, two protagonists in this story, Li inserted many of his reflections about the philosophical relationships between Marxism and religion, civilization and savagery, crime and punishment, and guilt and forgiveness.

The basic plot of this story concerns the guilt of a Red Guard who raided a family during the revolution. Li Huaiping, a 16-year-old middle-school student from a high-ranking family, encountered by chance a young woman around same age called Nan Shan. They fell in love with each other at first sight. This first encounter might have developed into a romance if the Cultural Revolution which started three months after they met hadn't changed their lives dramatically. Li was appointed as a leader in the Red Guards movement. One night, Li led a group of teenagers to ransack the house of Chu Xuanwu, a former military officer of the Chinese Nationalist Party. While interrogating Chu, Li found that Chu had surrendered to Li's father, a general of the Communist Party. More coincidently, Li saw Nan Shan at the house, finding out that she was Chu's granddaughter. Li's harsh interrogation emotionally hurt Nan Shan so much that it ruined the budding romance between the two young people. Later, after Mao's decision to disperse the Red Guards from the cities, Li joined the army. After 12 years, when Li reencountered Nan Shan at the summit of the Tai Mountains, Nan Shan had already become a middle-aged woman, intellectual, mature and religious. Li finally confronted his guilt of raiding Nan Shan's home, which had tortured him for many years:

> "My heart has never been peaceful since then. Really, not even a day of peace!" I said. My voice was trembling.
>
> "My heart has been calm since then, like ash after the fire was burnt out." Nan Shan replied, calmly.
>
> A mixed feeling of regret, guilt and pain tortured my heart.

“I hope, no, I believe, the raid of that night was not the shift of your life […], you should be always you! [...]”

“The entire country had changed. Whoever we were, we couldn’t be ourselves.” Her face was peaceful and indifferent.

[…]

“But, Nan Shan, you couldn’t understand my heart. I am not a man with a stone heart. You should know, that thing, that is the raid of your house, it has tortured me. You should give me a chance to relive it.”

She looked at me honestly, and then signed lightly: “I really cannot imagine that you took that thing so seriously. In fact, I should thank you for treating my family in that way. Really, you impressed me and my family in the raid. After all, you sacrificed for your ideal, though it was wrong.”

“No, you are lying. I believe you don’t hate me, but I don’t believe you had no pain. What an impact it was! Your family was invaded, your life was destroyed, your affection was trampled, your dignity was ruined […] and, I saw your tears! Nan Shan, I beg you, throw your tolerance away. Show me your resentment and rage! No matter whether in the legal or the moral sense, you have this right. Do it, it will make me feel good.”

“What was destroyed may be recovered; what was torn may be repaired. Do you think that impact could make a person painful forever?”

"It could! Many people had irreparable trauma. Raiding the house, is it merely raiding the home? We ruined your peace and harmony in your life […]"

She laughed again: "don't be so silly."

I have to be silent. I realized that although I have been in the torture of pain since that raid, Nan Shan had been peaceful since then. No, she doesn't need any apologies and expression of guilt, in that her heart has never been wandering around after the raid."

[…]

From then, Nan Shan has never returned to my life. The memories in the past 15 years and my dreams as a teenager have gone with her. Yes, the past has parted; from today, our eyes should turn to the wide future. [39]

Since this story was published this long conversation at its end has been closely examined by literary critics to either criticize or applaud the story. In fact this story was so controversial that in 1982 the journal *The Youth Literature* organized a conference for Li to defend his ideas in the story against many critics. Also, in 1982, Li joined Wang Ruoshui (1902-2002) in well-publicized theoretical debates about religion and Marxism. Critics in the 1980s criticized that Li communicated the dangerous idea of indulging in loss or passivity in worldview to the readers of the younger generation (Wang Ruoshui 1985). In the recent reconsideration of the scar movement, literary critics believe that this story

[39] This novella originally publish in *Shiyue* (*October*), no.1. 1981. This conversation (translated by the author of the dissertation) is selected from a on-line version at: http://t.book118.com/html/txt210982.shtm

expresses the feeling of hopelessness and failure of the Red Guards' generation. Nan Shan's refusal to Li's proposal for a love relationship indicates that the Red Guards' savagery that Li represented is doomed from reconciliation with the human civilization embodied in the character of Nan Shan (Dong Zhilin 2008: 94). Also, like other scar stories this story inevitably undertakes a historical duty to reproach the darkness of the Cultural Revolution, and attempts to attain an emotional catharsis (Wang and Li 2009). Without doubt, this story contains an implied political intention. Li admitted in two interviews — in 1989 with Leung Laifong and in 2009 with Wang Bin — that what he hid in this story was his intention "to challenge the Cultural Revolution with Marxist classics." In this sense, this story is more a political and philosophical allegory than merely a semi-autobiographical work.

Apart from these interpretations, however, the guilt of the Red Guards is the explicit theme of this story. This long conversation elucidates the paradox of testifying about the personal and national disaster and confessing the guilt of Li as a protagonist and Li as a writer. Such paradox first is embodied in the idealized victim, Nan Shan. Literary critics have long complained of the perceived perfection of Nan Shan (Leung 1994; Wang and Li 2009). Indeed, Nan Shan was romanticized as a special image of a Chinese intellectual woman. She endorsed the ideal virtues of Chinese women — intelligence, purity, and tolerance. Conversely, her virtues do not derive from her innocence or ignorance but from her profound philosophical and religious contemplations about personal trauma, history, and civilization. She was conjectured as a saint who stands for a faith for

Li (the protagonist) to follow, as Li (the author) states in 1981: "Nan Shan is not a name and a person in my heart, but a faith, a new belief which greatly influences my life!" She also sacrifices her youth and love for Li's salvation from his guilt. She metaphorically represents an ideally abstract victim who is lifted up from the victimhood of tragedy to a goddess-like figure, and therein attains salvation.

Concurrent with idealization of the victim, the paradox of testifying the personal and national disaster and confessing the guilt also is embodied in Li's vacillation between confession and argument. Li has indeed borne the burden of his guilt for many years. However, thanks to Nan Shan's easy forgetting, even her family's "gratefulness" to Li's lighter aggression compared with more serious violence of the Red Guards, Li's long-held guilt turns out to be meaningless, and even "naïve." Furthermore, through Nan Shan's mouth, Li re-articulated a cliché — the "being misused" excuse, which most former Red Guards applied during the scar period. This excuse, which is obviously related to the ideological shift after Mao, constitutes an anti-guilt force to undermine the profundity of confession. More construed forgiveness comes from some implausible arguments, such as Nan Shan having divested herself of the tragedy many years ago; Nan Shan stands higher, even lifts her tragedy to the abstract point of a philosophical problem, rather than a concrete trauma. These arguments lead the confession not to the internal but to the external level, and moreover, they shift confession from exploring the inner self of "I" to examining an abstract object: human beings. As a result of forgiveness in Li's own wishful thinking, the confession does not lead to understanding the truth of both history and self. After these unrealistic settlements,

as the ending indicates, Li was relieved of his guilt. Since Nan Shan and what she represented had gone far from his life, Li's new life begins. The ideological shift therein provokes Li's anxiety of guilt, but it also denies Li's responsibilities. Li's confession taps into Li's past wrongdoing, but his arguments ultimately restrain Li from a deeper truth.

This abrupt settlement of the issue of guilt, between confession and argument, partly reveals the writer's confusion and refutation in working through his anxiety of guilt in reality. As this story is based on the real experience of Li and other Red Guards in a raid (Leung 1994: 103), to a great extent Li Huaiping is the self-portrayal of Li Ping. As one of the initiators of the Red Guards movement, Li Ping presented his confusion, self-reproach, shame, regret, and psychological struggles to deny the anxiety of guilt through his protagonist. Even in his recent re-recognition of his experience in 2009, Li Ping demonstrated the ambiguity of confession about guilt and argument for non-guilt. Li Ping emphasized his personal experience as a Red Guard in this story. Li Ping actually participated in raiding houses, and also violently beating others. When asked whether this story is a confession of his crime, Li replies: "Confession? Maybe it is, but we don't even deserve confession. We used to be crazed for that thing [Maoism]. We were shamed by it" (Wang and Li 2009). Noticeably, it is the first time that Li overtly expresses his feeling of shame. However, his claim of "being shamed" hinders both him and the interviewer to further explore the impact of his "soul" and "inner sense of identity and humanity," which shame usually damages (Wilson et al. 2006: 139). In addition, when asked the question which was directed to

confession of *his* crime, Li converted the subject from "I" to "we" when he replied. In this transformation from first-person singular to plural, Li actually transferred his personal guilt into a collective one so that, from his perspective, the guilt should be undertaken collectively. When the collective subject bears the blame for an individual's actions, a personal anxiety of guilt may be undermined.

Li's ambivalence about tapping into the confession but unconsciously halting the process through claiming "shame" and argument (attributing shame to collective responsibility) is more explicitly demonstrated in the other parts of this interview. As he did in his story in 1981, in his 2009 interview Li shifted from confession to argument. Li rearticulated the point that he expressed in his 1980s interview. He stated that he intended more to theoretically explore the relationship between Marxism and religions than expose the problems of his generation or recount his experiences. He also made the excuse that violence was contagious during the revolution, so that when he was a teenager, such violence was unavoidable. Conversely, similar to what he conveyed in the long conversation between Li Huaiping and Nan Shan, Li emphasized unconditional forgiveness from real victims. He mentioned that when he and other Red Guards returned to their school, his teachers (victims) expressed their thanks to ex-Red Guards because they appreciated that "due to their (Li and other Red Guards) protection, no serious violence happened to teachers in their school" (Wang and Li 2009). His confusion and ambiguity were more explicit when asked about Yu Luoke's death. He recognized his guilt, as he admitted: "the past for me is not merely heavy. My soul was broken." But he soon attributed Yu Luoke's death to other

political reasons, arguing that the slogan and song about the birth theory, which he composed in 1966, was just a game as a teenager (Wang and Li 2009). We can see while he expressed his guilt, he also defended his wrongdoing and worked to transfer personal responsibility to others. This argument and projection of responsibility hindered his confession to go deeper to explore the inner questioning of the self: why it was "I" and not others who created the notorious slogan? What about this bloody invention indicated a part of me which was unknown to myself? What kind of qualities do I have? His avoidance of these questions is more explicitly exemplified in the last part of his interview. When finally asked about the qualities of the Red Guards:

Li said "we don't have qualities."

Wang asked, "you mean you are a person without qualities?"

Li replied: "how you see Li Huaiping is how you should see me."

Here, Li identifies himself with his protagonist. Through identification with the protagonist, Li avoids confronting the anxiety of self-recognition and the exploration of the truth, but such confrontation with truth would be crucial to confession.

The ambiguity of confession about guilt or shame and argument for non-guilt or non-shame can also be found in another important Red Guard writer, though in a slightly different way. Zhang Chengzhi (1949-), the creator of the term "Red Guards", is one of a few young scar writers who still influence current literary and cultural studies. In 1968 when the Red Guards movement was dispersed, Zhang willingly went to Inner Mongolia to be reeducated. Zhang lived

for about four years among the Mongolians until 1972 when he was recommended to enter Beijing University to study the history of Chinese minorities. Later Zhang was accepted by the Chinese Academy for Social Science as a graduate student of history.

Examining Zhang's writing career and his literary self-portrayed protagonists shows two features of Zhang's thoughts after Mao – his inner permanent space for the Red Guards' spirit and his resolute critique of the current Chinese culture. During the scar period, Zhang resisted the general tendency to demonize the Red Guards in literature and media, appealing for fairly understanding the Red Guards and their movement. But he also denounced the ex-Red Guards who claimed that they themselves were victims due to their forced re-education experiences. His first story, "Why Herdsmen Sing about Mother?" ("Qishou weishenme hui gechang" written in both Chinese and Mongolian in 1978), depicts the heroic and idealistic Mongolian people. This story was welcomed by readers as it was distinguished from the more upsetting traumatic narratives in most scar stories. Announcing "Mongolia was my lifelong university," Zhang claimed that the ten-year Cultural Revolution re-constructed his soul (Wei 2007). In his subsequent writings, such as "The Green Night" ("Luye" 1982), "The Black Steed" ("Hei junma" 1984), *The Golden Farm* (*Jin muchang* 1987), and *History of the Soul* (*Xinling shi* 1991), the cultures of Mongolia, and later Chinese Muslims and minorities in Xinjiang, constitute an important backdrop. In the late 1980s, Zhang converted to the Islamic religion. Zhang combined Islam with the civilization of Chinese minorities to create a

counterforce to his disillusionment with Maoism and the commercialization of China after 1990. He criticized the moral corruption in society, advocating a return to a "peaceful and clean culture and moral integrity."

However, for the ex-Red Guard writers, the questions that they have to confront directly or indirectly are: Did you hurt others? Are you guilty about your past? The lack of confessions by the writers of the Red Guard generation would create a barrier for the readers to revalue their works in the post-scar periods. Unlike other Red Guard writers who initially admitted their wrongdoing and then present excuses, as we can see in the case of Li Ping, Zhang from the very beginning of his writing career distinguished himself from other scar writers for refusing to expose his guilt as a Red Guard. Also Zhang's persistence for his Red Guard-like idealism (Cai 2009: 75-82), heroism and rebellion has long irritated and puzzled literary critics and readers. Zhang was proud of being a Red Guard. Zhang publicly expressed such pride in his claim as the creator of the term "Red Guards" and the first Red Guards organization. As well, the Red Guards-like idealism, heroism, and rebellion against the established system permeate all his literary works.

However, it is his persistence of continuity between his later identity as a writer, historian, and cultural critic and his former identity as a Red Guard that reflects his confusion and puzzlement over his obsession with the past and his negation of the present. In his works about minorities (and even his religious passion), Zhang obviously transplanted the spirit of the Red Guards to an exotic culture. Such transplantation may constitute a force to resist the anxiety of his

disillusionment over Maoism (or shattering the assumptive world and self) and guilt as a member (and founder) of the group responsible for many tragedies during the Cultural Revolution. However, the personal and national catastrophes resulting from the Red Guards movement remain a barrier that he cannot avoid when he confronts his past.

Tracing Zhang's transformation in his literary works from the late 1970s to the present shows that Zhang reveals his experiences during the Red Guard movement little by little in his autobiographical narratives. Such timid revelation may indicate his reluctant tapping into the past, but somehow tapping into the past is more and more unavoidable with the passing of time. Overall, the experiences that he has disclosed comprise a very small part of his writing, and in most of his writing, such disclosure appears as fragments inserted in his narrative flow about his other experiences. These fragments, which I believe are similar to intrusive flashbacks and thoughts of his unassimilated memories, provide important clues for understanding his denial of and hesitance to confront his anxiety of guilt or shame.

In an early story, "The Rivers in the North" ("Beifang de he" 1984), Zhang constructed a grand and passionate discourse of a former Red Guard, called "the graduate student," who sought his cultural roots. The first person narrator "I" (who appears to be the writer) met a photographer "she" and then they started their journey together to explore the sources of the rivers in northern China. In this story, Zhang seemed unconsciously to avoid the recently-ended Cultural Revolution, placing it as a vague spot in the backdrop. However, this vague spot

suddenly intruded into the narrative briefly but shockingly, and this intrusion of past memories drew the narrator emotionally close to the photographer. In the moment of telling each other "the hidden secrets in their hearts," "she" revealed how she cleaned the blood off her father's corpse as a 12-year-old child after her father was beaten to death by Red Guards. The narrator impulsively confessed, "I am shamed by them. Blame me, as I was a Red Guard" (Zhang 2001: 26). However, the narrator (or Zhang) soon explained that he undertook the guilt of other Red Guards rather than his own. "Although I was a Red Guard," the narrator claimed, "I have never hurt anybody" (Zhang 2001: 26). Through Zhang's momentarily dealing with his Red Guards past through his protagonist, we can detect his conflict in recognizing the two sides of revolution: rebellion which he continued to support and violence that he detested. While he was shamed by the brutality of the Red Guards, he positively comments on the rebellious spirit, which assists him to overcome barriers in the new era. This flashback provides a brief glimpse at Zhang's attempt to cope with his anxiety in the post-Red Guards period, but this coping process was disrupted by Zhang's abrupt statement of his innocence.

Zhang's conflict to assimilate his post-Red Guards anxiety is more explicit in his confessional narratives in *The Golden Farm* (1987). Literary critics believe that in this novel, Zhang employed three plots to trace the life and thoughts of the protagonist through his experiences from 1966 to the 1980s. The first plot is about a Red Guard's revolutionary pilgrimage. The protagonist (sometimes referred to as "I" and sometimes as "He") and four other Red Guards conducted their Red

Journey to trace Mao's Long March. The second plot involves the lives of the former Red Guards during re-education among the Mongolians. The last plot regards the narrator's later experiences in Japan as a historian. This novel was perceived as the best picture of Zhang's autobiographical narrative as a Red Guard (Xu Zidong 1997 and Leung 1994). It represents Zhang's personal thoughts, experiences and confusion/obsession with the period of the Red Guards, nostalgia of the grasslands, refusal to accept the present culture, critique of urbanized civilization, idealization of minority cultures, positive and negative impressions of Japan, satire of some Chinese intellectuals in Japan, and patriotism but also distance from Confucian culture. As Zhang admitted, this novel is a messy work as he put too many thoughts into it.

What is ignored by literary critics about this story is another plot: Zhang's religious pilgrimage as a Muslim. The narratives following this line occupied 5 out of over 300 pages of the book. However, this religious pilgrimage is pivotal to understand Zhang's transformation of self-recognition from 1966 to the 1990s.

In this novel, Zhang exposes a momentary traumatic psychological experience of a Red Guard in a massive fight:

> Fists, chains of bicycles and wooden sticks fall like drops of rain. The dullness and hardness when beating bodies bounced in the hands. Blood stirred. Fear, like a fish, jumped to the surface of the water and submerged to the bottom. Screams and wrath were pouring out all things inside the skin. Screams appeared from sparks of fear. Heart convulsed when touched the sparks of fear […] In the fighting, a person suddenly was

> converted […] only beat only attack only destroy the weakness in the heart only explode energy heavily and shortly only antagonistic, ferocious and fierce. Originally there is such a wicked thing hidden in my body. Is such wickless my nature? [...] The former me is so naïve so weak and so ridiculous! But am I steadfast, mature and rational? Only attack, massive fight expended. They called for supportive arms […] (Zhang 2007: 283)

The chaotic narrative presents the narrator's dual processes of acting out and working through his traumatic memories. Disordered narrative is abruptly inserted into the narrative flow about the narrator's re-education in Mongolia. The narrator's normal language of his previous recollection of his life in Mongolia shifts into language fragments. Such change mimics a flashback of memories, which project as pseudo-presence. With this overlapping of the past and present, the narrator is absent, being disassociated from his narrative. As we can see in these fragments of language, the subject of the experience was not presented. Who was the person doing the telling? Whose experience was it? Moreover, the narrator is overwhelmed by complicated feelings of fear, helplessness, numbing, and desperateness. "Fear" is repeatedly employed during the violence, which soon leads to a conversion of personality. Another self comes up, replacing the frightened self, at least on the surface. Interacting with this transformation of the personality, the narrator suddenly appears in his traumatic narrative. The narrator kept a critical distance to judge the self, "Is it my nature?" In his questioning, the subject "I" appears, claiming the subjectivity of the traumatic experience. But

such momentary working through is soon disrupted by the recurrence of the memories.

Then the questions are how the narrator resolved his anxiety which was provoked by his traumatic memories, and how he recognized his nature. If we follow the chronological order rather than the narrative sequence in this novel, we can see that the narrator started his religious pilgrimage (which similarly appears as fragmented narratives) after his Red Journey and re-education. His revolutionary ideal was challenged by what he witnessed along the road of Mao's Long March, the real stories told by the veterans of the Red Army which were different than what he read and saw in Maoist propagandistic stories and movies, and the wickedness of the Red Guards in remote towns. His revolutionary zeal dampened further during his period of re-education. Given that, the religious pilgrimage could be regarded as his ongoing effort in seeking idealism and heroism.

Also, tracing the narrator's religious pilgrimage and his later confessional moment chronologically elucidates the important function of the religious pilgrimage in the narrator's self-recognition. The narrator was converted at the moment when he suddenly read the *Qur'an* following Imam Yang. As it is depicted in the story, "Suddenly he spoke out 'Allah is the only God!' He was shocked by the words from his mouth, which used to shout 'to be a communist successor.' He felt betrayal and faithfulness, which tore him apart in a moment" (Zhang 2007: 115). This is an overwhelming moment in the narrator's conversion from a fervent follower of Mao to a similarly fervent follower of Islam.

Enlightened by Islamic culture, the narrator confessed at the end of this novel when the narrator says goodbye to Xia Mu, a Japanese woman who admires him:

> "I am a person of guilt […] I said I am guilty not because I also hurt others […] I indeed attacked others, three times […] I saw a Mongolian old man hang himself to death, bullet shot through the chest of a man who was banded in an electric chair, and a young girl who was a high school student[…]"
>
> "Do you want to be a saint to undertake the guilt of history?"
>
> […]
>
> "No, no, my sin is myself. You know I have been many places. I have a heart of poet, and I have the methodology of a historian. Around ten years have passed. One day I suddenly was woken up by the truth of history, but also on the same day, I could see myself: all the sins of history have been hidden in my flesh. And, and, I also—don't think that I am kind, I am a blood sucker!" (Zhang 2007: 351-352).

In this conversation, the narrator reflects on his previous violence and reveals that he witnessed other people's deaths in the Cultural Revolution. Unlike the previous moment of mimicking traumatic memories, the past is distinguished from and judged by the narrator in the present. In addition, the secular communication is transformed into a confession which resulted from his religious reflections about his guilt and shame. Due to his complete submission to his religious reflections about guilt and shame, he dismissed the transference of personal guilt to historical mistake. As he admitted, the wickedness of history is

embodied in his body, yet apart from this, "I am a blood sucker." This draws his confession to a profundity and subtlety.

Li and Zhang epitomize two tendencies regarding assimilating the anxiety of guilt or shame of the ex-Red Guards. Li Ping idealized the victims, who either forgive him before they were tortured to death, or "forget" his crime. This idealization diminishes his crime so that the story softens his guilt and hides the truth in his claim of shame. Zhang Chengzhi transplants the Red Guard's idealism and heroism into religion and minority civilization. This transplantation provides a new foundation for him to revalue the past. Zhang idealized the peripheral civilizations as a counterpart of the Han culture, which provides a useful perspective to re-consider the grand narrative of historical truth. In addition, appropriating the interpretation of the catastrophe through the new ideological lens, Li artificially reconciles the problem and confusion in his confessions. For Zhang, submission to religion may reconcile his pride and guilt as an ex-Red Guard. In both cases, their past experiences are revalued, mediated, and assimilated, though to different degrees. Both cases also indicate that the confession of the Red Guards perhaps has a long way to go and perhaps the temporary ideological denial could not completely recover them from their guilt or shame.

Images of cadres and intellectuals

Most scar stories depicted or included images of senior and middle-aged intellectuals and cadres, who were the major casualties of the Cultural Revolution (Karl 2010: 160). However, given that most of the writers underscored these

characters' heroic spirits or silent endurance during the revolution, most of these images lack subtlety about the psychological transformation of these victims. For example, the communist intellectual Zhang Junshi, whom Liu Xinwu portrayed in "The Homeroom Teacher" (1977), seems not to bear any memories about his traumatic experience during the revolution. A similar image was repeatedly presented by Liu in his "Awake, My Brother" (1978). Abandoned by his wife and daughter when he was persecuted by the Gang of Four, Lu, a communist senior cadre, indeed shows a short moment of pain but soon directs his passion and energy to the new era. Liu emphasized that Lu's complete dedication derives from his faith in the Party and the country. As Lu declares, "I love my country. I want her to be strong and prosperous. I trust in our Party" (Liu 1979: 198). In "The Scar", Xiaohua's mother, who was physically and emotionally mistreated, maintained her faith in the Party until she died. These earliest images in the scar movement formulated the literary models for the later scar stories. In "A Branch Road Paved with Flowers", Feng Jicai portrayed both cadres and intellectuals in contrast to the characters of the Red Guards. Bai Hui's father, a communist cadre, possessed undefeatable spirit in fighting against the Gang of Four. Chang Ming's mother insisted on her commitment to the Party even though she was tortured to death. Likewise, in "Over the Other Side of the Brook", Kong Jiesheng had the mother express her loyalty to communism in her will. More steadfast and indomitable communist heroic characters can be found in stories written by middle-aged writers, such as Wang Gongbo in "A Sacred Mission" (Wang Yaping, 1979), Li Wen in "What should I do" (Chen Guokai, 1979), Ge Xiang in

"Red Magnolias Beneath the Walls" (Cong Weixi, 1979), Luo Qun in "Legend of Mount Tianyun" (Lu Yanzhou, 1978), and Yan Wenxing in "Something Most Precious" (Wang Meng, 1978). Overall, the main victims of the revolutionary disaster in most of these stories present greater continuity with the heroes which can be readily observed in Maoist literature. However, because scar writers imbued these heroes with new ideological content, these heroes substantiated Deng's slogan, "putting down the burden and looking forward."

Beyond these iconic images, many questions deserve to be reconsidered. How do we perceive the psychology of these victims? Were they traumatized? Had they confronted fear and terror in the public trials, prisons, and concentration camps? Could Deng's modernization easily eradicate these victims' traumatic memories if some of these victims were traumatized in reality? What did the ideological segregation and physical ordeals mean to them during the revolution and how did they perceive these experiences after Mao? Did the dramatic change of ideologies affect their assumptive world and self? As survivors, did witnessing the suffering or death of family members and colleagues bring about anxiety? Although most scar stories avoided these questions with their oversimplified heroes, "Second Encounter", written by Jin He (1943-)[40] during the scar period, presents different voices of the victims and heroes. It may shed some light on the subtlety of anxiety of psychological trauma and survivor guilt among the communist cadres.

[40] Jin He was a fervent Red Guard in a university at the beginning of the Cultural Revolution. Unlike many teenagers during the Red Guards movement, Jin soon turned to be a mature observer. After he was re-educated in the army, he worked as a journalist for a newspaper in Chifeng city. Later, he was appointed as a director of Communist Party in Chifeng hospital.

"Second Encounter" ("Chongfeng") was published in *Shanghai Literature* (*Shanghai wenyi*) in 1979. It was controversial when it was published because it described a surviving communist cadre who was persecuted by the Gang of Four but who also was an indirect initiator of a massive fight between two factions of a city. In the story, massive military fights occurred in 1967 in the city of Beining. The people there were divided into two groups. Zhu Chunxin, as a leader of the city, had to decide which group he supported. After careful consideration, Zhu recognized the Red East group as the proper revolutionary organization, while he denounced the other group, Red Alliances, as an anti-revolutionary organization. Zhu then became the leader who the Red East protected but also a target that the Red Alliances planned to kill. Ye Hui, the leader of the Red Guards, was assigned by the Red East to protect Zhu. One night, when Zhu was surrounded by the armed people of the Red Alliances, Ye and a group of Red Guards fought back in order to protect Zhu. At a critical part of the fight, Zhu assisted Ye's group by handing them bricks which were used as weapons. In the massive fight, Ye killed a young Red Guard by accident.

After the downfall of the Gang of Four, Zhu Chunxin was reinstated to his position as the district's deputy party secretary, who was in charge of "the campaign of rectifying disorders." To set up several typical cases for the public trials, he went to the district's public Security Bureau to investigate problems in public security, prosecution, and courts, where he encountered Ye Hui. Their positions changed ironically in the second encounter. Zhu was a reinstated communist cadre — though victimized but also idealized as a hero, while Ye was

a criminal who was waiting for a sentence from Zhu. Ye accepted his guilty sentence without resistance. However, Zhu was confused when confronting his past. The question, "Am I a criminal?", like a specter, kept haunting Zhu during his investigation.

The theme of this story is "political capriciousness" (Siu and Stern 1983: 158). As Jin He stated, his aim for this story is "to let readers think about such a question: how do we see the Red Guards' crimes and mistakes?" (Jin He 1979). Literary critics think that this story "raised the question of responsibility in a society where violent acts have been committed for vacillating political ideals. Who is to blame?" (Siu and Stern 1983: 158). In my point of view, the question of "who to blame" suggests an anxiety of guilt — how the Red Guards perceive their past mistakes or crimes and how cadres, although regarded as victims, recognized their mistakes in the revolution. As an ex-Red Guard, Jin understood that most teenagers participated in the revolution due to their admiration for Mao. He therefore challenged the prevalent tendency to demonize the Red Guards after Mao. In addition, Jin observed most communist cadres supported the Gang of Four in reality rather than deprecating the Gang of Four as the media propagandized in the post-Mao period. Jin disparaged these cadres when they consented to be labeled as heroes and victims, letting the Red Guards alone take the responsibility. As Jin He remarked regarding these cadres, "When the Red Guards fought, they helped carry the bricks as weapons. When their colleagues were branded as anti-revolutionary, they put their colleagues into 'cow sheds',

should those people feel guilty?" (Jin He 1979). In Jin He's opinion, they committed misconduct similar to that of the Red Guards.

Jin manifested his observation and critique of communist cadres in his protagonist, Zhu Chunxin. In Zhu's investigation of Ye Hui's crime, he gradually recognized his own guilt. This recognition, however, was elaborated through a complicated process of Zhu's resistance to the memories, his unwilling confessions, and his rhetorical justification of his crime.

At the beginning of the story, Zhu defied being drawn back to the memories of the past, but somehow such confrontation was inevitable. When Zhu read the file of Ye Hui's case, some remote memories irritated him:

> A shadow of surprise and anxiety appeared on Zhu Chunxin's solemn face. Sensing this, he immediately calmed himself, laughed lightly, and said 'I was being struggled against at that time. As for the fighting, I only heard of it later. I don't know this person Ye Hui. Both sides suffered causalities — what a terrible thing!" Zhu Chunxin shook his head sadly. Then, lifting up his square chin, he asked, 'what did Ye Hui do then?'
>
> 'He was the leader of a Red Guard organization in a middle school.'
>
> "A Red Guard organization in a middle school?" Zhu Chunxin's eyes rolled a little, as if he were muttering to himself but also as if he were asking Department Head Li.
>
> "Yes."

> "Hm….These disorderly elements with blood on their hands should be dealt with severely," Zhu Chunxin said with solemn air. Then he thought of another matter, "Did he go by another name?" (Jin He 1983: 180)

Zhu demonstrates hesitation and ambivalence in first touching his memories. He resisted the anxiety elicited by Ye's file, but each time he tried to withdraw from the memories, he stepped further forward to tap into the truth. Meanwhile, aware of his identity as a leader of the Party, Zhu attempted to maintain his solemn air as a judge. This denial of his anxiety while inexorably touching the truth little by little draws Zhu Chunxin further into his memories. When Zhu recognized Ye Hui through a scar on Ye's forehead, Zhu's confrontation with his past is inescapable.

In his later flashbacks of the Cultural Revolution, Zhu vacillates between his mimesis of and his critical distance from his memories. As Jin He describes, "No matter where he went, he was consistently troubled by fear, irritability, and shame. He felt extremely uneasy with the contradiction between his status as deputy secretary of the Beining Municipal Committee and his fugitive life" (Jin He 1983: 193). Each time the anxiety came up in his memories, Zhu immediately maintained a critical distance from his memories by arguing repeatedly: "What should I do? What else would I do? I did not wish it so!" With these rhetorical questions, he reproached but also argued for his failure to fulfill expectations for a communist cadre in the communist culture. He admitted his fear of encountering possible death once he was captured, and the fear brought him a sense of shame because as a senior cadre, communist morality and doctrine required him to bravely "stand up for himself and his followers" in the revolution. Such

vacillation between his weak argument for his weakness as a human being and shame because of his failure to act according to the ideological norms suggests Zhu's helplessness when he tried to avoid the anxiety of guilt and shame.

When he returns to reality from his memories, Zhu demonstrates a similar helplessness and ambivalence on how to sentence Ye Hui justly. From Ye's mother, Zhu knew that Ye was a naïve and kind young man before the revolution. If Ye hadn't been involved in protecting Zhu, Ye would have been a father and husband of a happy family. The truth that Ye's mother revealed pushed Zhu into psychological turmoil. His ego was split into two contradictory parts. One part condemned his cowardice and criticized that "he had committed a crime! This was a trial of his conscience….when he was pushed into the trap, he had dragged this innocent, lovable young man with him" (Jin He 1983: 194-195). Another part hopelessly argued, "What should I do?" Zhu was overwhelmed by his anxiety of guilt. To moderate guilt, Zhu eventually decided to confess his guilt to Ye alone:

> Ye Hui entered. He wore the same clothes he had worn that morning, and the same expression — neither excited nor startled. Smiling, he stood before Zhu Chunxin.
>
> "Do sit, Ye Hui."He was going to rise slightly in a greeting, but involuntarily he stood up instead. "Shall we talk?"
>
> "I was already examined this morning." Ye Hui smiled a little.
>
> […]
>
> "I haven't seen you since the fighting. But you left a deep impression on me."

> "I nearly died from not having taken immediately care of my injury. After I recuperated for a few months in bed, the two factions joined, and the revolutionary committee was set up. I went to the country-side. I never expected that we would meet again."
>
> Zhu Chunxin felt that he was at a loss for words with which to reply to this young man, so he changed the topic: "during the Cultural Revolution, owing to the negative disruptions of the Gang of Four, many people, including myself, committed the same kind of mistake. We must learn from experience and raise our political consciousness. We still believe education […]"
>
> "The forms of the crime are different; the forms of the 'education' are different," Ye Hui interrupted Zhu Chunxin smiling. "You committed a mistake, but you can justifiably and forcefully accuse Lin Biao and the Gang of Four of having persecuted you. I committed a mistake, but I have to admit I followed Lin Biao and the Gang of Four in undermining the Cultural Revolution."
>
> Zhu Chunxin stood up, speechless, and paced back and forth. The more he was afraid of being touched, the more he was touched. He felt that Ye Hui's every sentence was hitting him where he was most vulnerable. (Jin He 1983: 196-197)[41]

In this last conversation between Zhu and Ye, we see the similar ambivalence between resisting but finally having to confront his guilt and shame,

[41] All translations of this story are from Siu and Stern ed. *Mao's Harvest*. Oxford University Press. 1983.

which he demonstrated in his first instance of going back to his memory. With this ambiguity, the process of the interrogation between the two protagonists is transformed. His "standing up" unconsciously when he saw Ye betrays his unease of guilt and shame, despite his endeavor to maintain his role as a judge. Then to alleviate his unease, he employs ideological rhetoric — to blame the Gang of Four so as to diminish personal responsibility. However, with Ye's cynical comments about his rhetoric, Zhu gave up his defense and confessed his guilt. Although Zhu wavered between self-defense and confession, his final choice of hiding the truth rather than exposing the truth to the public prevents him from working through his guilt completely. The word "criminal," which startles him at the end of the story, indicates this encounter leaves a mark of guilt and shame on his recognizing the past, despite that the memories are temporarily repressed.

Wilson asserts, "The dissonance between actions enacted during the stressful situation and their inhuman and deadly consequences generates potential for shame and guilt" (Wilson et al 2006: 135). In this story, what Zhu attempts to avoid but eventually encounters is his previous fear during the factional battles. The fear, a normal reaction to an encounter with death, makes Zhu shamed and guilty because "fear" contradicts "fearlessness," which was emphasized by the communist culture as a basic quality of cadres. This failure to act according to the social and ideological norms and expectations during the factional battles further shifts the roles in the legal interrogations between the criminal (Ye Hui) and judge (Zhu Chunxin). Although legally Ye has to undertake his responsibility for his killing, Zhu is a "criminal" according to communist morality and ideology. Zhu

Chunxin was an exceptional image of communist cadres presented in the scar literature movement. Zhu's working through his guilt and shame might not be complete, as the ending of the story indicated, but it sheds some light on the difficulties of some communist cadres' coping with their posttraumatic anxiety of guilt or shame.

The 57 writers: avoidance of guilt and trauma

During the scar period, another group of middle-aged writers, including Wang Meng (1934-), Lu Wenfu (1928-2005), Li Guowen (1930-), Zhang Xianliang (1936-) and Cong Weixi (1933-), who were entitled "the 57 writers" or "the returning writers," published many short stories about the Cultural Revolution. Unlike most former Red Guard writers who provoked controversy and criticism due to their audacity to express their true feelings about the Cultural Revolution, writers of this group were exclusively welcomed by both readers and the establishment after Mao. Extending the historical backdrop from the Cultural Revolution to the Anti-Rightist Movement in 1957, this group of writers created heroic intellectuals and cadres. However, in their later memoirs and essays, many of them enunciate different understandings about the revolution. Comparing these writers' recent memoirs with what they presented during the scar period, the following part explains the transformation of their reflections about their lives in exile during Mao's period.

A brief introduction to the Anti-Rightist Movement in 1957 is needed to better understand the works of this group of writers. In 1956, encouraged by the success of the social reformation in the economy, politics and Chinese people's

worldview, Mao judged that the main social contradictions had changed (Mao's "On the Ten Great Relationships", April 1956). Particularly, Mao assumed that most intellectuals had already been transformed into "a part of the workers and peasants, who we can rely upon" (Zhou Enlai's "A Report about Intellectuals", January 1956), and intellectuals' intelligence should be respected in the next socialist construction (Mao's talk in Conference for Intellectuals, January 1956). Given that Mao and his followers were confident that it was safe to encourage multiple voices within Marxism, in May 1956 Mao launched a campaign called "Hundreds of flowers blooming and hundreds of schools speaking" (Lu Dingyi, "Hundreds of flowers blooming and hundreds of schools speaking" *People's Daily*, June 13th 1957). Mao explained that "the hundreds of flowers" movement would promote free discussions which would better settle and clarify the problems and conflicts in humanity, literature, arts and science. During this sudden political thaw, intellectuals who went through the rigidity of reformation in thought in the first half of the 1950s found a chance to revalue their previous opinions and ideas about socialism, and re-consider the self-criticism that they made during the early 1950s (Hong 2010: 1-39).

Putting aside the estimate that around three million intellectuals were persecuted mentally in one way or another (physical torture was not popular during this period), what makes this period remarkable in literature is the dramatic change – the quick emergence and downfall within one year of a group of young writers, who were in their 20s at that time.[42] These writers, including Wang Meng,

[42] Senior intellectuals were also attacked during the Anti-Rightist Movement. A typical example is the episode of so-called Ding Ling's anti-revolutionary conspiracy.

Lu Wenfu, Li Guowen, Zhang Xianliang and Cong Weixi, were teenagers during the civil war (1945-1949). Witnessing the dark side of the pre-Mao period, they had been converted into faithful believers of communism (the so-called young Bolshevik) and later passionately contributed to the socialist construction of Mao's new China. As we can observe in *Youth Has Long Life* (Wang Meng, 1953), they high-spiritedly eulogized Mao's China and enthusiastically pursued communist China as their idealistic society. In 1955, motivated by the loosened political atmosphere, many of these young intellectuals publicly expressed their criticism about the problems in society through their stories. Unsatisfied by the gap between their ideal of communist utopia and the social reality, they advocated that "literature should intervene in life" so as to promote the socialist construction. Wang Meng's "A New Arrival at the Organization Department", Lu Wenfu's "Little Road", Cong Weixi and Liu Shaotang's criticism about Mao's "Yan'an Talk" in 1942 were praised as "fresh flowers," but after several months were criticized as "poisonous weeds." In May 1957 the political atmosphere suddenly changed. Mao issued his article "Things are Changing" ("shiqing zhengzai qi bianhua") on May 15, 1957. One month later, another article by Mao, "Organizing the Power to Fight Against the Crazy Attack of Rightists", recognized that "the hundred flowers" movement was "a rightist movement." On the same day, echoing Mao's article, *People's Daily* published "What Is It For?" authorized by "the Social Critic." The Anti-Rightist Movement had thus been launched. Wang Meng and nearly all of the other young writers became targets of ideological attack. Deprived of the right to write, some of them, such as Lu Wenfu

and Liang Xiaosheng, were sent to factories and villages for reformation through manual labor; some, such as Wang Meng, were exiled to borderlands; and some, like Cong Weixi, were even put into jail. During the Cultural Revolution, they remained targets of persecution.

In 1978, however, their previous stories were included in a collection, which was entitled *Re-bloomed Fragrant Flowers*. The revived important literary journals asked them to contribute stories, which brought them back to the notice of readers as "cultural heroes after the catastrophe" (Hong 2010: 73). From 1979 these writers contributed stories to these newly revived literary journals; these stories had shared the same themes as, and were considered part of, the scar literature movement. Their stories also present a certain degree of the spontaneity and the bright tails common in scar literature. Perhaps because of this group's contributions, many literary critics regarded scar literature as a continuation of the so-called "exposure literature." However, these writers "maintained a certain distance from the forms of the [pre-Cultural Revolution] 'seventeen years of literature'" (Hong 2007: 269).

One question is how these writers interpreted their 20 years of turmoil from fresh flowers to poisonous weeds to re-booming fragrant flowers. Wang Meng recounted an episode that, after the downfall of the Gang of Four, a writer went to Beijing from his exiled village with two stories in his pockets — one praising the Cultural Revolution, and the other critiquing the Gang of Four. This episode indicated that after 20 years of exile, they were politically tamed. The 57 writers learned to arm their stories rhetorically with ideologically correct language.

Most of them tested the political waters with their stories; therefore, their conspicuous ideologically correct protagonists eclipsed their true emotions and recognitions. However, from some moments of confusion in their stories, and their later writings which contradict or clarify their previous writing, the difficulty of working-through can be detected.

The story "Dedication" ("Xianshen"), written by Lu Wenfu, is an example. "Dedication" centers on a soil scientist, Lu Yimin, who was persecuted during the revolution but demonstrates "revolutionary spirit and faith to the Party." Lu was humiliated during the revolution, and what made his life worse is that his wife Tang Ling divorced him. However, Lu Yimin was not defeated by his personal suffering. After the downfall of the Gang of Four, putting his personal adversity aside, Lu dedicated the rest of his life entirely and enthusiastically to a socialist career. His wife and daughter finally returned to him.

This story, naïve and dressed up in ideological rhetoric, was welcomed by literary critics and received an award as the best short story in 1978. In many ways, Lu Yimin figuratively substantiated one of the newly established models admired by most Chinese people at the end of the 1970s and in the early 1980s. In 1977, to make his slogan "respect knowledge and respect the talent" more tangible, Deng Xiaoping conversed with a mathematician, Chen Jingrun (1933-1996). Chen had pursued important mathematical research during the chaotic revolution. In 1978, the poet Xu Chi (1914-1996) published reportage about Chen in which Xu depicted Chen as an idiot genius. Chen became a living model of intellectuals overnight. Regardless of his poor material conditions and chaotic

political environment, Chen had persisted in his research. In addition, he also maintained his integrity and morality during the Cultural Revolution. Chen refused to falsify evidence when the Gang of Four persecuted other intellectuals. Compared with young heroes set up by Mao such as Lei Feng, Deng reiterated Mao's criteria "red and expert" for modeling intellectuals, but through substantiating the criteria in Chen, Deng emphasized that "red and expert" lay in Chen's scientific contributions to the four modernizations (1978) and in Chen's moral integrity during the political turmoil. These two qualities were especially welcomed by most Chinese people who had just gone through moral corruption and disillusionment. The experience of modernity in the new era urgently demanded reconstruction of an orderly society with morality and intellectuals who held a passionate devotion to the "four modernizations."

Lu Yimin as depicted by Lu Wenfu resembles Chen Jingrun in many aspects. Lu Yimin endured his humiliation and his wife divorced him. However, what made him suffer most was deprivation of his right to conduct his research because Lu perceived his scientific contribution as his faith to the socialist cause. After the Cultural Revolution, Lu sets aside personal "grief and happiness" (Lu 1979: 96). He believes that "the family is just a cell of the social organism, if the country falls, then everything will suffer" therefore before "talking about pain and suffering" people should first think how to entirely devote oneself to the new socialist career (Lu 1979: 96-97). We can assume that Lu might represent some ideal intellectuals who were armed by the faith of Maoist communism so that they might not be traumatized even if they were maltreated by Mao's regime. However,

this undefeatable character may illustrate the enchanting power of the internalization of ideology; it also explains the idealism and optimism of many Chinese intellectuals which lasted from the transitional period between Mao and Deng and through the entire 1980s. There might be many intellectuals in reality who, like Lu Yimin, indeed recovered from personal grief due to their excitement to "make up for lost time" by working hard for the socialist modernization, and some of them may still have maintained their loyalty to the Party and Country. For example, Chen's faith in socialism had never changed, even when Chen's iconic position was dramatically challenged due to the changed social values. Since the late 1980s, because Chen's research was regarded as having less functional value, Chen experienced a lack of funding for, and fewer followers of, his research. But when asked about the doctrine that he followed in his life in 1991, Chen replied, "The meaning of life does not lie in getting something, but dedication to society."[43]

Nevertheless, the real story of Xu Chi, who was the promoter of the iconic image of Chen, suggests that the untraumatizability of some intellectuals might be a complex issue. In 1996 Chen's death drew much Chinese attention again to this out-of-date icon during the new era (1979-1989). Chen was officially honoured as a "People's Hero." After Chen died, Xu Chi mentioned that he felt guilty toward Chen as he had ruined Chen's peaceful life. In the same year, Xu committed suicide due to severe depression. Since the exact reasons that Xu killed himself were unknown, it is arguable that Xu's suicide is connected with his guilt over

[43] See Chen Jingrun's interview in 1991. Web. http://baike.baidu.com/view/2125.htm

converting an honest scientist into a political icon made use of by Deng's regime. However, Xu's tragedy implied that the process of intellectuals' evaluation of their value and construction of meaning of their traumatic experience is linked with the changing societal recognition of intellectual values.

Then a question is: provided that the Chen-Lu type of steadfast intellectuals represented some intellectuals, did Deng's ideology remove all the personal trauma and problems in other intellectuals' lives, including Lu Wenfu, the writer himself? I approach this question by examining two aspects: (1) Lu Yimin's counterpart in this story, and (2) Lu Wenfu's subtlety in his transformation concerning recognizing his past.

First, the story takes the narrative perspective of Tang Ling, Lu's wife. Her sentimentality, vacillation, and hesitation to confront her guilt over divorcing her husband create a melancholic mood in the story, which disturbs the otherwise optimistic and idealistic mood permeating the story. The story is centered on the gradual changes of Tang Lin's irresolution about her self-question, "should she go in, or not go in?" (Lu 1979: 74)[44] in front of the house that she had left ten years ago. Although she felt guilty about deserting Lu, she also realized that the separation did not only derive from political necessity, but also flowed from an ideological gap between herself and her husband. Tang Lin is an idealistic socialist. For her, socialism is a rosy picture in "the paintings and pamphlets" (Lu 1979: 76). This diverges from Lu Yimin's pragmatic socialism. Lu believes socialism cannot be realized by words but by action. The gap between them is

[44] All translations of this story are from Barmé and Lee's *The Wounded*.

analogous to the one between Maoist Utopianism and Dengist pragmatic socialism.

While Tang felt guilt about her betrayal, her refusal to reunite with Lu also demonstrates her confusion about how to recognize her guilt morally and ideologically. Although Tang Lin's hesitant exploration of her guilt was halted by the bright tail – Tang Lin's confusion suddenly was removed by Lu's passionate words, "great prospects are before us. If you want to talk about happiness and good fortune, then this is life's greatest happiness and good fortune…." (Lu 1979: 97). However, she then agrees to "make a new mirror altogether, one that is solid and unbreakable" (Lu 1979: 97), but she also explain that the "mirror," a conventional metaphor of marriage, refers to "friendship" between her and Lu (Lu 1979: 97). This transference of metaphorical target indicates that somehow the new ideology does not remove all the problems between them.

The character Tang Lin herein constitutes a counterpart to the steadfast hero, which may indicate the difficulties of completely eradicating the experience of the Cultural Revolution for other Chinese intellectuals. Intellectual images like Tang Ling can also be found in a few other scar stories. In Chen Guokai's "What Should I Do?" (1979) the female protagonist Zi Jun was completely lost when her former husband, who she believed died suddenly, returns to her. In "A Bitter Fruit" (1979), Wang Anyi also explores the guilt of a female teacher, Zhao Yu. In Zhao's class there is a boy, named Cheng Hairui, whose dead father was branded a rightist. Cheng loves his father and preserves his father's photo as precious. Based on Zhao's persistent education and persuasion, Cheng burnt his "rightist"

father's photo to show his resolution to hate his father. Later, when Zhao became a target of the Red Guards' torture, Cheng brutally hurt her. Zhao was shocked by the physical torture and the sudden shift of her social status, but more distressed by self-questioning as to whether what she did to Cheng was wrong. Although the hesitation and confusion of intellectuals is exceptional among the images of intellectual characters in the scar movement, it may shed light on the difficulty of confronting guilt.

Moreover, the character Tang Ling may also reveal the author's uncertainty about his representation of heroic intellectuals. His suspicion might have been temporarily suppressed by Dengist ideology during the scar period but gradually became palpable in Lu's post-scar period writing, particularly Lu's essays in the later 1980s and the 1990s. This change is exemplified in his communication with Gao Xiaosheng (1928-1999). During the "hundred flowers" movement in 1956, Lu Wenfu, Fang Zhi, Gao Xiaosheng, and Ye Zhicheng initiated a literary journal, entitled *Explorers*, which was intended to explore a new way of writing outside socialist realism. Before they could found it completely, they were branded as "an anti-communist party group". Under political pressure, three of them confessed that Gao Xiaosheng was the organizer of the "conspiracy." Although all of them were punished in one way or another, Gao's punishment was more serious. Gao was deprived of the right to write and remain in the city. After Mao, when Lu and the other three members of the group reunited, they avoided talking about the period from 1957 to 1977. "Memories can be changed," Lu said, "for this reason I refuse to write my memories" (Lu

2007: 199). However, some moments in his later daily life sometimes brought his memories back from the past. When he was interviewed, his thoughts suddenly jumped back to his physical suffering during the public trials. The pain he tried to forget came up (Lu 2007: 200-204 and 241-242). Such signs of memories and also the guilt of betraying Gao can be detected in his essays mourning his friends. Particularly, in 1999 when Gao passed away, Lu wrote a eulogy, "Again Seeing Gao Xiaosheng Away." Reflecting on Gao's tragedy, which partly was contributed to by Lu's and the other two friends' betrayal, Lu expressed his deep grief over losing his friend and his guilt (Lu 2007: 125-130).

A similar process of hiding personal emotions behind the hero in the scar period, but gradually exploring the true feelings in their later works, can be found among others writers such as Wang Meng and Cong Weixi. In his first story, "Something Most Precious", to announce his return from exile in 1978, Wang Meng depicted Yan Yixing, a Municipal Secretary, as an invincible hero. After the downfall of the Gang of Four, Yan found out that his son, Dandan, had informed a group of Red Guards of the hiding place of Chen, another communist cadre, and this indirectly resulted in Chen being tortured to death. After a short dilemma of anger toward and love for his son, he decided to report his son to the Party. The highlight of this story is the moment when Yan sternly accused Dandan:

> But you should always feel long-life regret and shed a few tears, not only for Uncle Chen's fate, but also for the loss of the something most precious. You should at least learn to hate the snakes and scorpions who used deceit

> and blackmail to destroy the faith and sincerity of young people. Like the sorcerer of a foreign tale, they stole the living heart from people and replaced it with a black stone. On this stone there is no revolutionary ideal, no principles, no pursuit of or dedication to the truth, no courage or loyalty, reverence or faith, warmth or light, only selfish cruelty and hypocrisy, power-seeking, vulgarity and desecration, dim insect-like armour, feelers and protective colouring. (Wang 1979: 210)[45]

This passionate accusation touched readers but puzzled literary critics when it was published. The critics complained that Wang lacked sympathy for Dandan. Reflecting on the writing process of this story in 2008, Wang confessed that his accusation was not only directed toward Dandan, the former Red Guard he dared to brutally critique, as most Chinese did during that period. It also ruthlessly implicated himself, as his 20 years of exile had transformed him into a man with a stone heart. When Wang recalled Yan's interrogation, "You should always feel a life-long regret and shed a few tears!" many years later, he admitted that Yan's words were like a fire which was burning in his heart and rekindling his conscience which had been numbed for many years (Wang 2008: 308-359). In this reflection, we can see that, apart from the heroic cadres that Wang mainly portrayed, Wang identified with Dandan and through this identification he recognized his numbing to peoples' tragedies around him. His self-reproach derives from his transformation as a person now lacking empathy, passion, ideals, and faith.

[45] The translation of this monologue is from Barmé and Lee's *The Wounded.*

Examining the change in content and forms in Cong Weixi's writing from the scar period until the present, we can see a similar transition from numbness to feeling to openly confessing one's true feelings. In 1956, because Cong expressed a different opinion about Mao's "Yan'an Talk," Cong was branded as an "anti-revolutionary." He had been jailed from 1957 to 1976. After being released from jail, Cong published some short stories about his life in jail, which were called the "big wall literature." In nearly all of Cong's stories about his life in jail, Cong created a group of communists cadres, intellectuals and average people, who fearlessly fought against the Gang of Four. However, in his memoir *Going to the Confusion,* published in 1989, Cong recorded a series of traumatic episodes, including brutality that he witnessed on the street, mutual betrayal among the intellectuals in public trials, his fear of alienation, his shock witnessing his colleagues jumping out the window of the tall building, and physical torture that he experienced. Contrasting the heroes and optimism that he presented in his "big wall literature," Cong repeatedly employed passages that confessed his inner feelings, such as "I am a timid person," "I was frightened," "I was shocked," and "my head was dizzy." Particularly, the most touching episode of this memoir is Cong's helplessness and guiltiness when he witnessed his mother being punished because of him.

For many of the 57 writers, self-recognition is a dynamic process which is closely connected with the changing recognition and revaluation of intellectuals during and in the transition between Maoism and Dengism. Although in the scar period, writers avoided autobiographical descriptions of their lives in exile, the

sub-characters and some impulsive moments revealed or betrayed their intentions to write politically favorable stories. Along with the external changes regarding recognizing intellectuals' value, their self-recognition gradually shifted from the manipulation of external criteria to inner exploration and exposure. This is partly because trauma at its core is belatedness; that is, the meaning of the past unassimilated experience is always coming from the future, and partly because their internalization of ideologies constituted their self-censorship on what, when and how they write.

Shame vs. guilt: memories of senior intellectuals

In addition to the ex-Red Guards and the 57 writers, some senior writers who survived the Cultural Revolution partook in the scar movement, but in a different way. These writers, the so-called "children of the May Fourth movement," include those writers, such as Ba Jin (1904-2005), Ding Ling (1904-1986), and Mao Dun (1896-1981), who were influenced by the May Fourth movement in the 1910s-1920s and were converted to believers of communism during the left-wing movement in the 1930s. Most of them voluntarily condemned their previous literary works (an explicit case is in Guo Muoruo (1892-1978)) during the brainwashing in the early 1950s. However, they could not have avoided being attacked in the Hu Feng Incident (1952-1955) and the Anti-Rightist Movement in 1957, and they remained main targets of physical and mental persecution during the Cultural Revolution. After 1977, they gradually were reinstated into their former literary and political positions.

This group of writers participated in the scar literature movement in two ways. At the initial stage of the scar movement, they encouraged the young scar writers to expose the truth of the Cultural Revolution. Thanks to their support, many scar stories of the former Red Guards' writers were published. In addition, since 1978 some senior intellectuals successively published memoirs and autobiographies to recount what they went through during the revolution. As for why they adopted memoirs and autobiographies rather than fiction, Hong Zicheng explained that living through many political upheavals from 1957-1977 damaged their creative abilities (Hong 2007: 268-269). This explanation is arguable. Perhaps the genres of life writing provided them with more convincing way to testify the truth of the political turmoil. Some of the memoirs or autobiographies testify about the history, such as *The "I" in the Cultural Revolution* (*Wenge zhong de wo*) by Yu Guangyuan in 2011, *Diaries in Silence* (*Jiankou riji*)by Chen Baicheng in 2005, *The Roads that I Passed By* (*Wo zouguo de daolu*) by Mao Dun in 1981, 1984, and 1988, and *Reflections of Pain* (*Sitong lu*) by Wei Junyi in 1998; and some of them, such as Ding Ling in her *Among the Ghosts in the Human World* (*Wangliang shijie; Fengxue renjian: Ding Ling di huiyi*) in 1989, provides a testimony of personal history which was wrongly perceived by the communist party. However, a few senior intellectuals, during their process of writing memoirs and testifying as victims of the Cultural Revolution, gradually shifted to reveal their guilt and shame. These memoirs created powerful confessions, inspiring readers to contemplate the truth of the history and the nature of human beings. In the following section, I take Ba Jin's *The Collection of Reflections*

(*Suixiang lu*) and Ji Xianlin's memoirs as examples. Through analyzing transformation and inner confusion as demonstrated in their works, I explore how this generation coped with the guilt and shame of revolutionary trauma.

Ba Jin started to write his *The Collection of Reflections* in 1978, and completed it in 1985. During these eight years his narrative direction and aim noticeably changed. His 150 essays demonstrate a process of Ba Jin's transformation – from initially writing for "grasping the lost time deprived by the Gang of Four" (Ba Jin 2005: 1), to "digging into his heart with a knife" (Ba Jin 2005: 2), and from criticizing the Gang of Four to recognizing the self through recording and analyzing his flashbacks regarding the Cultural Revolution.

These essays can be divided into two types in terms of their form and content. One is his flashbacks about the Cultural Revolution, consisting of his memories, self-criticism, shame, guilt and confusion about his behavior during the Cultural Revolution. The other type is his reflections about reality in the new era. His first volume, also entitled *The Collection of Reflections*, includes 33 essays that Ba Jin wrote from 1978 to 1979. Most of these essays deal with his reflections about literature, politics and the arts. The terms of "the Cultural Revolution" and "the Gang of Four" were frequently mentioned (about 40 times in his 33 essays), but, except for "Remembering Xiao Shan", no other concrete episodes about the revolution were recorded. In the second volume, *The Collection of Exploration*, Ba Jin responded to readers' criticism about his frequent use of "the Gang of Four," and announced he would talk more about "the Gang of Four" and he would "tell the truth" before he dies (Ba Jin 2005: 127).

Notwithstanding his statements, this volume mainly consists of his essays about his support for scar literature in the nationwide discussion about "Gede" and "Quede" (details about this discussion can be seen in the Introduction), and his encouragement to explore literary contents and form. Not until the end of this volume did Ba Jin put down some fragments of his memories of the Cultural Revolution. In "Saying the Truth Again", written on October 4, 1981, Ba Jin suddenly jumped from his critique of the social reality to recalling how he faithfully believed he was "guilty to people" and "only through physical torture could he be saved from his guilt" (Ba Jin 2005: 205-206). Soon after in "About Dreams," which was written on October 23, 1980, Ba Jin recounted that he was recurrently haunted by the same nightmare in which a group of monsters attack him:

> From August 1966, I started to suffer spiritual torture and humiliation in my body and dignity. Although at that time I worshipped "God", and I wished that I could salvage myself through hard work and reformation. My spirit was depressed. I had dreams in the daytime, but then I screamed at night. The Red Guards said that I had a ghost in my heart. Indeed I was surrounded by monsters and ghosts in my nightmares. When I was awake, I hoped to find treasure from the depth of my heart, but what I found was only garbage. (Ba Jin 2005: 231)

This record of the dream could be regarded as a shifting point in Ba Jin's 150 essays. This dream presents ambiguity in Ba Jin's recognition about himself and others. The "ghosts" may be the deformed dreaming images of the perpetrators;

however, paradoxically, in his dream Ba Jin did not segregate himself from the ghosts, but integrated himself into a category of ghosts. Ruth Leys points out that guilt derives from identification with others, and in most cases the aggressors (Leys 2008: 10). Ba Jin's identification with perpetrators who appear in his dreams as ghosts may reveal Ba Jin's guilt and anxiety when he confronted his past. With this identification, Ba Jin further rebuked his humanity through shockingly pointing out that even when he was awake, he only found "garbage" in his heart. Such self-castigation shifted him from criticizing the social reality to criticizing his inner self. In his following three volumes — *The Records of Truth, The Records in Sickness,* and *The Records of the Un-entitled* – confessional narratives occupied most of his flashbacks. His writing was directed to alleviating his pain and "a debt of the soul" (Ba Jin 2005: 235). Writing for testimony or for serving the new era gradually was converted into writing for exploring himself.

Ba Jin's self-recognition is elaborated through two aspects. One is mourning his loss. The other is exposing his feeling of shame. These two aspects are intermingled in his confession. In "Remembering Xiao Shan" Ba Jin recalled in a calm and peaceful tone his wife Xiao Shan's life and death during the Cultural Revolution. The target of telling exposed more of his remorse over his inability to alleviate her pain and worries rather than how he and his wife were maltreated. After four years, in 1982, Ba Jin wrote "Again Remembering Xiao Shan" (Ba Jin 2005: 485-486). In this essay, Ba Jin re-articulated his grief over losing his wife. Ba Jin's mourning is mixed with melancholia. In his painful exploring of helplessness, he reproached his surrender to dehumanization. Due to

his surrender to "transformation from a man to a beast," he passively witnessed his wife's pain. When he reflected on this transformation, he was shamed:

> The Cultural Revolution is the biggest event in my life. I couldn't forget it. It was haunting around in my mind. […] Everybody was living in fear and trembling. For saving our lives, we betrayed others and sold all beautiful things to the devils. That life! That life! That relationship between human beings! It was a dark world; it seems I was punished in hell. I was curious what kind of medicine that I took so that I sold my soul. I hold up my two hands, I shouted "beat down Ba Jin, beat down myself!" I surrendered to my sin; I surrendered to be deprived of my right as a human being […] Everybody seemed to be bewitched. We lacked empathy with our friends who committed suicide, but we criticized them; we shouted slogans; and used bitter words to attack the dead. (Ba Jin 2005: 607- 608)

Ba Jin's unsettlement from his self-recognition can be detected in this confessional narrative. He vacillates between "I" and "We" in his self-recognition. Memories of personal experience are presented as fragments mixed with his observation of other people's experiences and behaviors. He shifts unevenly between blaming others and seriously interrogating himself, then ends his examination as a universal critique to all survivors. This unstable transformation in his narrative from personal confessions to testimony and vice versa suggests his confusion and anxiety in dealing with his sorrow and shame. Anxiety arises when he recognizes being dehumanized as partly contributing to his wife's death, and

his inability to assist his wife further reinforced his sense of guilt. However, associating his behavior with others' immorality might momentarily constitute a psychological defense to lessen his anxiety of guilt. This momentary denial indicates the difficulty for Ba Jin to reunite his split ego — Ba Jin as an intellectual and Ba Jin as a monster during the revolution.

Then the question is, what truth was enlightened in Ba Jin's confessional essays? Ba Jin did not provide the answer in his *The Collection of Reflections*. However, in 1999 Ba Jin published a short announcement "There is No God" in *New People's Daily* (*Xinmin wanbao*) , which indicates his view of the accomplishment of his confession:

> I explicitly remember that I used to be transformed from a human being into a beast. I was told that it was just a ten year's dream. Will I have a dream again? Why not? My heart is still hurting. It is still bleeding. But I don't want the dream. I won't forget that I am a man. I've decided that I won't be transformed into a beast. No matter who whips my back, I won't go to the dream. I won't believe the dream talk!
>
> If there is no God, there is no beast. We all are human beings.[46]

Ba Jin included this short statement into his *The Collection of Reflections* republished in 2005 to conclude his self-recognition and the truth that Ba Jin gained from his eight years of reflections. His shame and guilt derive from his surrender to "God" (which refers to Mao but could be extended to any model worshipped). As for value in his confession, as his last sentence indicates, his self-

[46] This short announcement initially published in *Xinmin Wanbao* on July 15, 1993. The editor included it into Ba Jin's *Sui xiang lu* published by zuojia chu ban she in 2005.

reflection extends to the truth for most Chinese people — only when we break the myth of deification of a leader can we be real human beings.

Similar transformations in thoughts and worldviews can be detected in the memoirs of Ji Xianlin (1911-2009), one of the most prestigious scholars in contemporary China. He initially wrote memoirs to testify about the terrors within the cow shed (*Niupeng*, a concentration camp) and the wickedness of some people during the Cultural Revolution. In 1992, unsatisfied by the silence of both victims and perpetrators of the Cultural Revolution, which Ji believed resulted in the younger generation's ignorance of the catastrophe, Ji Xianlin decided to "honestly present the historical catastrophe, and let it be a mirror of our great nation" (Ji 2008: 13). However, his testimony gradually elaborated into an examination of his inner self. In 1998, after six years of working on his *Memoir of the Cow Shed* (*Niupeng zayi*), Ji confessed that he resented some people who attacked him during the revolution, but he had never gotten revenge on them. His forgiveness, however, did not derive from his generosity. Ji stated that, living through his own dehumanization, he understood that "everybody in that period seemed to be bewitched. We were transformed into non-humans" (Ji 2008: 3). It was this self-recognition in his ruminations of his experience that let him forgive others.

In addition, Ji confessed that his worldview changed after Mao's ideology was held in disrepute. Similar to Ba Jin, Ji used to be a sincere follower of communism. In the 1950s, Ji was passionately involved in social activities. Ji worshipped communist leaders and communist heroes in fictional works so much that he sincerely reformed himself according to these models. As Ji confessed, he

"naively swore in his heart that he would learn from the heroes" (Ji 2008: 160). During the Cultural Revolution, when he was beaten nearly to death by the Red Guards, he still had faith in the correctness of the revolution. Only after the downfall of the Gang of Four, Ji realized that "what I had worshipped for 40 years, for me it used to be very sacred, but it was broken" (Ji 2008: 117). In this respect, similar to the Red Guards, Ji also constructed his assumptive world and self through identifying with figurative heroes and communist leaders. Also similarly, he underwent disillusionment and a shattering of the assumptive world and self.

Unlike Ba Jin, Ji's memoirs demonstrate his confusion and contradictions between his early statements and his actual confessional narratives. He initially intended to record the history impartially, but as Ji admitted in his prologue, he gradually wrote with "tears" and "anger" (Ji 2008: 165). He claimed forgiveness and understanding of his perpetrators; however, when he impetuously satirized the ugliness of his colleagues who attacked him, Ji explicitly revealed his revulsion toward those people. Also, like Ding Ling, who released her hatred toward the Red Guards in her memoir *Ghosts in the Human World*, Ji satirically depicted how the Red Guards "invented the most brutal punishments" to torture the intellectuals. Each time Ji mentioned the Red Guards, he called them "little revolutionary heroes" in parody of Mao. Ji's repeatedly mocking the Red Guards gave away Ji's deep aversion to the perpetrators. These moments illustrated Ji's acting out trauma when he attempted to work through it, and his testimony in recording this history sometimes was interrupted by his acting out his traumatic memories.

In addition, shame was frequently employed when Ji exposed his secrets. But paradoxically, Ji's exploration of the sense of shame in most moments was hindered by his confusion, and sometimes, his impulsive arguments. For example, in his essay "Abandoning Me to Despair," Ji disclosed some of his covert behaviors in the concentration camp. He lied to others, stole food, and picked up money that was dropped on the road. What makes him "tremble" was that during the Cultural Revolution, he "completely lost the sense of shame" (Ji 2008: 135). In this essay, Ji started to recount some stories (such as returning pieces of gold which were not his) to prove how he was morally perfect in the pre-revolution period. These episodes suggest that Ji attempted to excuse, or argue for, his later senselessness and lack of shame. Then such effort is brought to a halt by his deep uncertainty exemplified by his questioning, "Who should be responsible for it?" (Ji 2008: 136).

Similar moments can be found in many of his confessional narratives. While he celebrated that he survived the catastrophes, he was shamed by his survival. "I should kill myself, but I didn't. I am ashamed of survival" (Ji 2008: 117). However, later he contradictorily argued for himself, "if I killed myself, I couldn't produce these works [which he wrote after the Gang of Four] — is it fortunate? Or not fortunate? I could not answer these questions, so let it go" (Ji 2008: 166). Also, when he announced that his deification of communist heroes had vanished in him, he nonetheless conveyed his "dedication to the people and country" (Ji 2008: 2 and Ji 2010: 108-109). Then in his later memoirs he

announced his intention to clarify "what kind of person am I?" (Ji 2010: 308), which in my opinion he never did clarify.

The inconsistency and self-contradictions demonstrated Ji's confusion. And the confusion that Ji honestly presented suggests that for the senior generation, traumatic experience and memories may temporarily be coped with but also denied during the shift of ideologies. However, memories were still wandering there, requiring understanding and assimilating. As Ji pointed out based on his observation, the Cultural Revolution has not passed yet, neither for the intellectuals nor for the communist cadres (Ji 2008: 157).

In addition, unlike the ex-Red Guard writers and 57 writers who either project victimization or idealization of the communists, "shame" is frequently employed in their confessional narratives when they convey their emotions and testify the truth. The feeling of shame about their humiliation seems to be more painful to them than the physical torture that they suffered. Wilson's explanation of shame helps to understand this posttraumatic symptom. Wilson points out, "in posttraumatic shame, there is a loss of countenance, a feeling that one has lost virtue, wholeness, integrity, and ethics. In some cases, it is the feeling of loss of soul, spirit, identity, human essence, and vitality" (Wilson et al. 2006: 137). For both Ba Jin and Ji Xianlin, acceptance of their dehumanization in the stressful situation damaged their integrity. In addition, Ji Xianlin's transformation from a moral perfectionist in the pre-revolution period to a morally defective person during the Cultural Revolution shames him because of his loss of cultural values as a Chinese intellectual, which he had received in his traditional education in the

pre-Mao period. Such loss results in "the loss of self-continuity in synchrony with cultural values" (Wilson et al. 2006: 137), which induces his feeling of shame.

Conclusion

This chapter examines how people coped with post-revolutionary traumatic guilt and shame during the shift of ideologies through studying confessional narratives and other literary forms in the scar literature movement and later periods. As noted, there is a relative paucity of written material that directly reveals this issue, and even for some which does exist in literature, the material often does not address guilt and shame cleanly and directly.

Further, due to the different statuses and personal experiences of different generations, a range of psychologies can be found in confessions among different writers. The younger generation tended to argue against their responsibility to counter the social denouncement of their aggressive behaviors. Meanwhile, their writings indicate or suggest that their anxiety provoked by guilt was repressed or denied. For the 57 writers, as their entire youth was destroyed by political turmoil, their lives in exile appear to have tamed them, to different degrees, so that they may be viewed as an obedient or numbed generation. The steadfast heroes that they exclusively extolled in their stories contrast with their own guilt in their timidity and lack of empathy. Senior intellectuals' memoirs reveal their resolution of exposing the self, but nonetheless confusion and difficulties can be found in their confessions.

In addition, this chapter also demonstrates the transformation of their recognition of themselves since the scar period. Telling the truth is beyond the

narratives in the sense of literature. The confessional narrative draws the writers to the inner level of recognizing and revaluing the self. Although such exploration of the self in many cases was hindered by argument or confusion due to the ideological complexity and denial, it sheds light on the difficulties of confessing revolutionary trauma.

Conclusion

I conclude my dissertation by summarizing what I believe is at stake in my project. This project thoroughly and theoretically studies the process of some Chinese people (represented by protagonists, writers and readers) working through trauma in the scar literature movement. With this study, I provide a spectrum of posttraumatic symptoms present in Chinese people immediately after Mao and the complexities of the collective unconscious during the ideological shift between Maoism and Deng's modernization. Rather than searching for a hidden meaning by studying the traumatic symptoms, I focus on the traumatic representation itself. I do not attempt to find pieces of the puzzle of the Cultural Revolution in scar literature stories which provide narratives of this catastrophe. Rather, I demonstrate how the scar literature movement formulated itself and what this phenomenon says about the time in which the traumatic experience was fresh but in retrospect.

To avoid misrepresentation of this project as a study of the Cultural Revolution, or a study of the Red Guards' literature, I make the following two statements. First, I do not intend to (and it is impossible to) conclude that all Chinese people had been traumatized by the Cultural Revolution, nor do I universalize all Chinese people's experiences of the Cultural Revolution. The subjects studied here are those people who were traumatized in one way or another during the Cultural Revolution, and who were represented by protagonists, writers and readers during the scar literature movement. Second, although in chapter three I focus on the relationship between identification and working

through trauma of the Red Guards generation, this project is not only about the Red Guards generation. As I also demonstrate in the other three chapters, I examine Chinese people from diverse backgrounds and age groups.

Given that immediately after the Cultural Revolution, a majority of Chinese people claimed through various social activities, the scar literature movement in particular, that they were victims of the Cultural Revolution, I argue that this social phenomenon indicates a posttraumatic symptom of what I call revolutionary trauma. Revolutionary trauma had its roots in the shattering of the previous Maoist assumptive world, which was founded on hegemonic communist ideology. Revolutionary trauma differs from other types of traumatic experiences. For example, whereas in the Holocaust, generally speaking, Nazi racists tried to eliminate the Jewish population (and others who did not fit their ideology) to purify the blood, the Chinese Cultural Revolution alienated but also assimilated a small group of people (or the ideological "other") so as to purify the socialist ideology. The quintessence of revolutionary trauma is the profound influence of ideology in producing and coping with individual trauma. In this case, Chinese people who were traumatized in one way or another had a common experience due to the internalization of hegemonic ideology.

To study this interplay between ideology and trauma, I began my dissertation with the elaboration of a theoretical framework about working through revolutionary trauma to approach the scar literature movement from the end of the 1970s to the early 1980s. I argue that the scar literature movement was formed in the framework of some Chinese people's interactions with the radical

ideological shift. The original trauma (of both the perpetrators and victims) generated during the Cultural Revolution might be repressed or suppressed by the Maoist assumptive world. The dramatic shift from Maoism to Deng's modernization might shatter one's assumptive world based on Maoism, despite the fact that individuals might have diverse psychological responses due to differing personal psychological factors and life backgrounds. Deng's modernization also provided a schema for Chinese people to assimilate their previous experiences and reconstruct a collective assumptive world, and this collective assumptive world further promoted Chinese people's new identity during the modernization after the Maoist revolution.

I then examine three aspects of the complex interplay between ideology and working through revolutionary trauma. The first aspect is how the scar culture, created by the scar metaphor, presented the ambiguity of Chinese people's recognizing and assimilating their revolutionary trauma. The scar metaphor was suddenly adopted by writers and was well received by readers in the scar movement. What was conveyed through the scar metaphor was complicated: people might use it for a mark of suffering, a sign of victimization, or as evidence to excuse their misdeeds, and through this metaphor most people unequivocally articulated a desire to be cured, to be healed, and to be excused by the new regime.

To explore the depths of the mechanisms of revolutionary trauma, I examine psychological identification as the second aspect that reveals producing and working through revolutionary trauma. Given that the Red Guards were the main perpetrators of the Red Terror and later nearly became a sign of the Cultural

Revolution, I focus on the Red Guards' generation in analyzing mechanisms of psychological identification. The Red Guards' identification illustrates that the two qualities shared by the Red Guards, sacrifice and violence, derived from their identification with heroes of the propaganda of Mao's period. Also, the new heroes set up by the new regime after Mao provided new objects for the traumatized young people to imitate and learn from.

The last aspect of this project focuses on the posttraumatic guilt and shame which have long been ignored by both literary critics and many Chinese people, notwithstanding that guilt and shame have circulated as a sub-voice in Chinese people's testimonies about the personal and national catastrophes of the Cultural Revolution. Examining the confessional narratives in the scar period and the post-scar period shows that working through the guilt and shame entangled to a great extent with the counter-guilt/shame created by the ideological argument and excuse.

The trajectory of this dissertation is defined by two lines. One is the working-through process during the scar movement. The incomplete working-through at the ideological shift profoundly influenced many Chinese people's recognition of the Cultural Revolution. To understand this incomplete working-through helps us better understand various later political cultural movements, such as the democratic demonstrations in 1989; all of these, to some extent, can be seen as the recurrence of trauma of the Cultural Revolution, calling for assimilating.

Another line is the transformation of Chinese people's identity in the communist culture. The Cultural Revolution, without a doubt, is a point of radical

change in Chinese communist culture. More importantly, working through revolutionary trauma impelled Chinese people to reconsider their identities in their experiences of modernity during the 20th and early 21st centuries. Trauma is not only an indelible mark in personal memories and national history, it is also a constructive process by which people who lived through catastrophes can learn about the world and revalue the self. Working through revolutionary trauma during the scar period touched the truth, even if such tapping of the truth was soon halted by the new ideology. It is this destructive and constructive force in the interplay of ideology and working-through that exhorted many people to think, to learn, and to change the world and self. Correspondent with this process is the transformation of Chinese people's social identity: from the revolution in Mao's period, to modernism in the new era, and to the combination of cynical communism, nationalism and commercialism in the new century.

The best evidence of the connection between the working-through of revolutionary trauma and transformation of Chinese identity may be the trajectory of writing about the Cultural Revolution after the scar period. Chinese intellectuals after the mid-1980s appear more concerned with what happened during the Cultural Revolution, and why such a disaster happened, by examining the root of the trauma from the deep dimension of culture and tradition. At the same time, the image of communist heroes is substituted for average individuals and their traumatic memories. In the 1990s the ex-Red Guards and intellectuals who lived through the Cultural Revolution started to re-value and re-write their experiences in autobiographies and memoirs. Many Chinese writers and

intellectuals, such as Ji Xianlin, Zhang Xianliang, Liang Xiaosheng, and Wang Xiaobo, published memoirs or stories to recount their traumatic memories that were either neglected or misrepresented in the Scar movement. For example, in *Golden Age*, Wang Xiaobo recounts the ex-Red Guards' reeducation. However, as Huang Yibing points out, by bestowing a tragedy involving two lovers with comical features, Wang somehow presents the revolution "as period a world of wildness which obeys its nature" (Huang 2007: 143). In the 2000s, the Red Classics, a genre of literature during the Cultural Revolution and Mao's time, was adopted into television programs which reinterpreted the history from a perspective of humanitarian concern and pop-cultural elements. Recently, *Blowing the North Wind* was a popular television program which presented the Cultural Revolution as a drama in which people established the purest of friendships and love. This nostalgia is more explicitly indicated in the popularity of *Under the Hawthorn Tree* on the internet. Zhang Yimou, the most famous director in China, adapted this internet fiction into a film in 2010. This so-called "purest love in history" during the Cultural Revolution is riding the trend of recollection of the Cultural Revolution in the present-day media and society: the Cultural Revolution is relegated to a remote memory of a crude and naive time, and hence is transferred into nostalgia, painful but beautiful.

This trajectory of representing the Cultural Revolution reveals how Chinese people recognize the trauma of the Cultural Revolution with transformation of their identities. It is because the ways in which people work through trauma reveal more about the present than about the truth. The symptoms

of revolutionary trauma are there, calling our attention to the truth, but this truth is always skipping out of our hand once we attempt to catch it. The Real, like a firefly, sparkling in reality, reminds us of its existence, but it also reminds us of the limits of our knowledge. On the other hand, however, the trauma of the Cultural Revolution is also a complex entity which is related to significant social, political, ideological, and historical effects, as well as immense suffering. So that when we approach it, we are not seeing the past. What we see more is the present and its meaning for the future: to prevent the recurrence of this type of trauma. And, I believe, this is the ultimate aim of my study of scar literature in its cultural and literary sense.

Bibliography

Alexander, Jeffrey C. *Cultural Trauma and Collective Identity.* University of California Press, 2004. Print.

Aristotle. *Poetics*. Penguin Books, 1996. Print.

Ba Jin. *Suixiang lu*. Beijing: zuojia chubanshe, 2005. Print.

Barmé, Ceremie and Bennett Lee, trans. *The Wounded: New Stories of the Cultural Revolution*. Hong Kong: Joint Publishing Company, 1979. Print.

Barnouin, Barbara and Changgen Yu. *Ten Years of Turbulence: The Chinese Cultural Revolution*. London ; New York: Kegan Paul International, 1993. Print.

Bei Dao. "Jujue shanghen wenxue." *Nanfang dushi bao* 5 Dec. 2007: B1.

Berger, James. "Trauma and Literary Theory." *Contemporary Literature* 38 (1997): 569-582.

Blowing the North Wind. Dir. An Jian. Putongren yingshi gongsi. 2008. TV Operas.

Borbely, Antal F. "Metaphor and Psychoanalysis." *The Cambridge Handbook of Metaphor and Thought***.** Ed. Raymond W Gibbs. New York: Cambridge University Press, 2008. Print.

Bracken, Patrick J. *Trauma: Culture, Meaning and Philosophy.* Whurr, 2002. Print.

Braester, Yomi. *Witness Against History: Literature, Film, and Public Discourse in Twentieth-Century China*. Stanford, Calif: Stanford University Press, 2003. Print.

Breuer and Sigmund Freud. *Studies on Hysteria*. Trans. James Strachey. New York: Basic Books, Inc., 1957. Print.

Brockmeire, Jens. "Remembering and Forgetting: Narrative as Cultural Memory." *Cultural and Psychology* 33 (2005):15-43.

Brown, Laura S. "Cultural competence: A new way of thinking about integration in therapy." *Journal of Psychotherapy Integration* 19 (2008): 340-353.

Busink, R., & Kuiken, D. "Identifying types of impactful dreams: A replication." *Dreaming* 6 (1995): 97-119.

Cai Xiang. "Yige youdang de lixiang zhuyi de linghun." *Wenxue lilun: Zhongguo xin wenxue daxi1976-2000* Vo. 3. Ed. Chen Sihe. Shanghai: Shanghai wenyi chubanshe, 2009. Print.

Caruth, Cathy. *Trauma: Explorations in Memory.* Johns Hopkins University Press, 1995. Print.

---. *Unclaimed Experience: Trauma, Narrative, and History.* Johns Hopkins University Press, 1996. Print.

Chao Getu and Yang Jibin. "Lishi shenchu de laixin." *Nanfang zhoumuo* 4 Nov. 2010: A 1.

Chen Baichen. *Jiankou riji*. Zhengzhou: daxiang chubanshe: 2005. Print.

Chen Guokai. "What Should I Do." *Stubborn Weeds: Popular and Controversial Chinese Literature after the Cultural Revolution*. Ed. Perry Link. Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 1983. Print.

---. *Chen Guokai*. Beijing: renmin wenxue chubanshe. 1993. Print.

Chen Sihe. *Dangdai dalu wenxueshi jiaocheng, 1949-1999*. Taibei: lianhe wenxue chubanshe, 2001. Print.

Chen Yixin. "Lost in Revolution and Reform: the Socioeconomic Pains of China's Red Guards Generation, 1966-1996." *Journal of Contemporary China* 21 (1999): 219-240.

Cheng Guangwei. "Shanghen wenxue zai jiedu." *Wenyi pinglun* 34 .1 (2005): 1-18. Print.

Chiu, Melissa, Sheng Tian Zheng, and Asia Society. *Art and China's Revolution*. New York; New Haven: Yale University Press, 2008. Print.

Clark, Paul. *The Chinese Cultural Revolution: A History*. Cambridge; New York: Cambridge University Press, 2008. Print.

Coetzee, J. M. "Confession and Double Thoughts: Tolstoy, Rousseau, Dostoevsky." *Comparative Literature* 37.3 (1985):193-232.

Cong Weixi. *Zou xiang hundun.* Beijing: fengyun shidai chuban gongsi, 1989. Print.

Cooper, David Edward. *Metaphor*. Basil Blackwell, 1986. Print.

Cunningham and LAB. *Dress and Popular Culture*. Bowling Green State University Popular Press. 1991.

Cushing, Lincoln, and Ann Tompkins. *Chinese Posters: Art from the Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution*. San Francisco: Chronicle Books, 2007. Print.

Dan Sanya. "Dandang: Zhongguo zhishifenzi de sanshi nianlun." *Guangming Daily* 16 Dec. 2008: A2.

Deng Xiaoping. “Talk on the Fourth National Conference of the Representatives of Workers of Arts.” *Deng Xiaoping wenxuan*. Beijing: renmin chubanshe, 1983. Print.

Ding Ling. *Wangliang shijie; Fengxue renjian: Ding Ling di huiyi*. Beijing: renmin wenxue chubanshe, 1989. Print.

Dong Zhilin. *Re feng shijie: Dangdai zhongguo zhiqing xiaoshuo lun*. Shanghai: Shanghai fudian chubanshe: 2010. Print.

Duke, Michael S. *Blooming and Contending: Chinese Literature in the Post-Mao Era*. Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 1985. Print.

---. *Contemporary Chinese Literature: An Anthology of Post-Mao Fiction and Poetry*. Armonk, N.Y: M.E. Sharpe, 1985. Print.

Duval, M., & Zadra, A. “Frequency and Content of Dreams Associated with Trauma.” *Sleep Medicine Clinics* 5 (2010): 249-260.

Eyerman, Ron. *Cultural Trauma: Slavery and the Formation of African American Identity.* Cambridge University Press, 2001. Print.

Farrell, Kirby. *Post-traumatic Culture: Injury and Interpretation in the Nineties.* Johns Hopkins University Press, 1998. Print.

Felman, Shoshana. *The Claims of Literature*. New York: Fordham University Press, 2007. Print.

Feng, Jicai. “Mingyun de quishi.” *Wenyi Bao* 6 (1980): 38.

---. *Shehui wenti xiaoshuo*. Zhengzhou: guji chubanshe, 2005. Print.

Frenichel, Otto. *The Psychoanalytic Theory of Neurosis*. London: W. W. Norton & company 1945. Print.

Freud, Anne. *The Harvard Lectures*. International Universities Press, 1992.

Freud, Sigmund. "Remembering, repeating and working-through." *The Standard Edition of the Complete Psychological Works of Sigmund Freud*, Volume XII. J. Strachey Ed. London: Hogarth, 2001. Print.

---. *Beyond the Pleasure Principle and Other Writings.* Penguin Books, 2003. Print.

---. *On Murder, Mourning, and Melancholia 1856-1939*. Penguin Books, 2005. Print.

---. *Totem and Taboo: Some Points of Agreement Between the Mental Lives of Savages and Neurotics.* W. W. Norton. 1950. Print.

---. "Mourning and Melancholia." *Internationale Zeitschrift für Ärztliche Psychoanalyse* 4 (1917): 288-301.

Goldhammer, Jesse. *The Headless Republic: Sacrifice Violence in Modern French Thought*. Connell University: 2005.

Hacking, Ian. *Rewriting the Soul: Multiple Personality and Sciences of Memory*. Princeton University Press, 1998. Print.

Heaslet , Juliana Pennington. "The Red Guards: Instruments of Destruction in the Cultural Revolution." *Asian Survey* 12 (1972): 1032-1047.

Herman, Judith Lewis. *Trauma and Recovery.* BasicBooks, 1997. Print.

Hollan, Douglas. "The Influence of Culture on the Experience and interpretation of disturbing Dreams." *Cult Med Psychiatry* 33 (2009): 331-322.

Hong Zicheng. *1956, Baihua shidai.* Beijing: Beijingdaxue chubanshe, 2010. Print.

---. *A History of Contemporary Chinese Literature*. Leiden&Boston: Brill, 2007. Print.

Hu Yiqin, Fang Wei and Hu Jianling. *Zhongguo xinshiqi xiaoshuo yanjiu ziliao*. Jinan: Shandong wenyi chubanshe, 2006. Print.

Huang, Alice Aizhen. *Psychology of the Red Guard: A Psychosocial Study of the Cultural Revolution in China*. M.Ed. University of Alberta, 1991. Print.

Huang Yibing. *Contemporary Chinese Literature from the Cultural Revolution to the Future*. Palgrave macmillan. 2007. Print.

Huang Zhigang. *Chinese Scar Literature on the Cultural Revolution as Testimony* [Ph.D. dissertation]. Canada: Carleton University (Canada). 2001.

Janoff-Bulman, Ronnie. *Shattered Assumptions: towards a New Psychology of Trauma.* Free Press, 1992. Print.

Ji Xianlin. *Niupeng zayi*. Beijing: waiyu jiaoxue yu yanjiu chubanshe. 2008. Print.

---. *You han wu hui: Ji Xianlin huiyilu*. Beijing: gongren chubanshe, 2010. Print.

Jiang Qing. "Tan jingju' geming." *Hongqi* 6 (1967): 25-26.

Jin He. "Second Encounter." *Mao's Harvest.* Ed. Sui and Stern. Oxford University Press, 1983. Print.

---. "Wo weishenme xie 'Chongfeng.'" *Shanghai wenxue* 8 (1979). Web. 20 Sep. 2011.

Karl, Rebecca E. Karl. *Mao Zedong and China in the Twentieth-century World: a Concise History*. Duke University Press. 2010. Print.

King, Richard. "'Wounds' and 'Exposure': Chinese Literature after the Gang of Four." *Pacific Affairs* 54 (Spring, 1981): 82-99.

Kinkley, Jeffrey C. ed. *After Mao: Chinese Literature and Society, 1978-1981*. Cambridge: Mass: Council on East Asian Studies, Harvard University, 1985. Print.

Kirby, John T. "Aristotle on Metaphor." *The American Journal of Philosophy* 118. 4 (1997): 517-554.

Kirmayer, Laurence J. "Nightmares, Neurophenomenology and the Cultural Logic of Trauma." *Cult Med Pschiatry* 33 (2009): 323-331.

Klenck, Margaret. "The Psychological and Spiritual Efficacy of Confession." *Journal of Religion and Health*. 43. 2 (2004): 139-150.

Knight, Deirdre Sabina. "Scar Literature and the Memory of Trauma." *Columbia Companion to modern East Asian literature.* Ed. Joshua S Mostow. Columbia University Press, 2003. Print.

Knight, Sabina. *The Heart of the Time: Moral Agency in Twentieth-Century Chinese Fictions*. Harvard East Asian Monographs. 2006. Print.

Kong Jiesheng. *Zhuiqiu*: *duanpian xiaoshuo ji.* Meizhou: huacheng chubanshe, 1980. Print.

Lacan, Jacques. *The Four Fundamental Concepts of Psycho-Analysis.* W.W. Norton, 1981. Print.

LaCapra, Dominick. "Trauma, Absence, Loss." *Critical Inquiry* 25 (1999): 696-727.

---. *History in Transit: Experience, Identity, Critical Theory*. Ithaca, N.Y: Cornell University Press, 2004. Print.

Laplanche, Jean. *The Language of Psycho-analysis*. Norton and Co.,1974. Print.

Law, Kam-yee, ed. *The Chinese Cultural Revolution Reconsidered: Beyond Purge and Holocaust*. New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2003. Print.

Lazarus, Richard S. "The Cost and Benefit of Denial." *The Denial of Stress.* Ed Shlomo Breznitz. International Universities Press, 1983. Print.

Lee, Yee, ed. *The New Realism: Writing from China after the Cultural Revolution*. New York: Hippocrene, 1983. Print.

Leung Laifong. *Morning Sun: Interview with Chinese Writers of the Lost Generation*. M.E. Sharpe, 1994. Print.

Leys, Ruth. *From Guilt to Shame: Auschwitz and After*. Princeton University Press, 2007. Print.

---. *Trauma: a Genealogy*. University of Chicago Press, 2000. Print.

Li Dazhong. "ping 'xinglaiba, didi'" *Jintian* 1 (1978). Web. 10 April 2011.

Li Jian. "'Gede' yu 'quede.'" *Zhongguo xin wenxue daxi*. Ed. Chen Sihe. Shanghai wenyi chubanshe. 2009. Print.

---. "Shui niang de kujiu." *Wenhui yuekan* 8 (1981): 54.

Li Ping. "Wanxia xiaoshi de shihou." *Shiyue* 1 (1981): 1-35.

Liang Xiaosheng. *Yige hongweibing de zibai*. yiyuan chubanshe, 1992. Print.

Lifton, Robert Jay, *Boundaries.* C.B.C. Publications. 1967.

---. *Hiroshima in America: Fifty Years of Denial*. Putnam's Sons, 1995. Print.

---. *The Protean Self: Human Resilience in an Age of Fragmentation*. University of Chicago Press, 1999. Print.

---. *The Broken Boundaries*. University of Chicago Press, 1977. Print.

Lindsay, Micheal. "The Great Cultural Revolution and the Red Guards." *World Affairs* 129. 4 (1967): 225-232.

Link, E. Perry, ed. *Roses and Thorns: The Second Blooming of the Hundred Flowers in Chinese Fiction, 1979-80*. Berkeley: University of California Press, 1984. Print.

---. *Stubborn Weeds: Popular and Controversial Chinese Literature After the Cultural Revolution*. Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 1983. Print.

---. *The Uses of Literature: Life in the Socialist Chinese Literary System*. Princeton, N.J: Princeton University Press, 2000. Print.

Liu Xinwu. "'Banzhuren' fabiao de qianqian houhou.'" *Yanzhao doushibao* 3 November, 2008. Web. 10 Nov. 2010.

---. "Awake, My Brother." *The Wounded: New Stories of the Cultural Revolution*. Trans and Eds. Barmé, Ceremie and Bennett Lee. Hong Kong: Joint Publishing Company, 1979. Print.

Lu Dingyi. "'Baihuaqifang' he 'baijiazhengming.'" *Lu Dingyi wen ji*. Beijing: renmin chubanshe, 1992. Print.

Lu Wenfu. *Wenfu sanwe*n. Beijing: renmin wenxue chubanshe. 2007. Print.

---. "Dedication." *The Wounded: New Stories of the Cultural Revolution*. Trans and Eds. Barmé, Ceremie and Bennett Lee. Hong Kong: Joint Publishing Company, 1979. Print.

Lu Xinhua. “Shanghen de yi wenshi de jige tebie de yinyuan” *Jintian*. (Fall) 2008. Web. 10 Oct. 2011.

---. “Shanghen.” *Shanghen: zhongguo dalu xiaohuo xuan*. Taibei: Youshi wenhua shiye gongsi. 1982. Print.

---. “The Wounded.” *The Wounded: New Stories of the Cultural Revolution*. Trans. Barmé, Ceremie and Bennett Lee. Hong Kong: Joint Publishing Company, 1979. Print.

Ma Licheng and Ling Zhijun. *Jiaofeng: dangdai zhongguo sanci sixiang jiefang shilu*. Baoding: jinri chubanshe. 1998. Print.

MacFarquhar, Roderick. *Mao's Last Revolution*. Belknap Press of Harvard University Press. 2006. Print.

Mao Dun. *Wo zouguo de daolu*. Beijing: renmin wenxue chubanshe. 1988. Print.

Mao Zedong. “A Single Spake Can Start A Prairie Fire.” *Selected Works of Mao Tse-Tung*. Honolulu: University Press of the Pacific. 2001. Print.

---. “Jinian Baiqiuen” *Mao Zedong xuanji dacidian*. Taiyuan: Shanxi renmin chubanshe. 1993. Print.

---. “Gongchandangyuan zai minzu zhangzheng zhong de zuoyong.” *Mao Zedong xuanji dacidian*. Taiyuan: Shanxi renmin chubanshe. 1993. Print.

---. “Wei renmin fuwu.” *Mao Zedong xuanji dacidian*. Taiyuan: Shanxi renmin chubanshe. 1993. Print.

---. “YuGong yishan.” *Mao Zedong xuanji dacidian.* Taiyuan: Shanxi renmin chubanshe. 1993. Print.

---. “Xinminzhu zhuyi lun.” *Mao Zedong xuanji dacidian*. Taiyuan: Shanxi renmin chubanshe. 1993. Print.

---. “Paoda silingbu.” *People’s Daily* 15 Aug. 1966: A1.

---. “Report on an Investigation of the Peasant Movement in Hunan.” *Selected Works of Mao Tse-Tung* Honolulu: University Press of the Pacific. 2001. Print.

---. “Supreme Order” *People’s Daily* 22 Dec. 1968: A1.

---. “Why is it that Red Political Power can Exist in China.” *Selected Works of Mao Tse-Tung* Honolulu: University Press of the Pacific. 2001. Print.

Martin, Helmut and Jeffery Kinkley, eds. *Modern Chinese Writers Self-portrayals*. An Eat Gate Book. M.E Sharpe, Inc. 1992. Print.

McDougall, Bonnie S. *Mao Zedong's "Talks at the Yan'an Conference on Literature and Art": a Translation of the 1943 Text with Commentary Center for Chinese Studies*. University of Michigan, 1980. Print.

---. *Fictional Authors, Imaginary Audiences: Modern Chinese Literature in the Twentieth Centuty*. Hong Kong: Chinese University Press, 2003. Print.

Meisner, Maurice. “Utopian Goals and Ascetic Values in Chinese Communist Ideology.” *The Journal of Asian Studies* 28. 1 (1968): 101-110.

Meissner, M. M. “Notes on Identification 1. Origin in Freud.” *The Psychoanalytic Quarterly* 39 (1970): 563-589.

Melissa Ptacek. “Sacrificing Sacrifice.” *Theory and Society* 35. 5/6 (2006): 587-600.

Michelson, Peter. "Cultural Scars: Feng Jicai Interview." *Rolling Stock* 3 (Summer 1982).

Mikulincer, M.and Shaver, P. R. "An attachment perspective on bereavement." *Handbook of bereavement research and practice: Advances in theory and intervention*. Margaret S Stroebe, Robert O Hansson, Henk Schut, Wolfgang Stroebe, Emme Van den Blink Eds. Washington, DC, US: American Psychological Association; US. 2008. Print.

Mitchell, J. "Trauma, Recognition, and the Place of Language." *Diacritics* 28 (1998): 121-33.

Moody, Peter R. *Chinese Politics After Mao: Development and Liberalization, 1976 to 1983*. New York, N.Y., U.S.A: Praeger, 1983. Print.

Munro, Donald J. *The Concept of Man in Contemporary China*. Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Press, 1977. Print.

Nathan Joseph. *Uniforms and Nonuniforms: Communicating through Clothing*. Greenwood press. 1986. Print.

Richard W. and Amy A. Wilson. "The Red Guards and the World Student Movement" *The China Quarterly* 42 (1970): 88-104.

Richards, Ivor. A. *The Philosophy of Rhetorics*. Oxford University Press. 1936.

Ricoeur, Paul. *The Ruke of Metaphor: Multi-diciplinary Studies of the Creation of Meaning in Languages*. Toronto University Press, 1977. Print.

Roach-Higgins, Mary Ellen, Joanne B. Eicher and Kim K. P. Johnson, eds. *Dress and Identity*. Fairchild Publications New York: 1995.

Robert L. Worden, Andrea Matles Savada and Ronald E. Dolan, eds. *China: A Country Study*. Washington: GPO for the Library of Congress, 1987. Print.

Rubin, D. C., Boals, A., & Berntsen, D. "Memory in posttraumatic stress disorder: Properties of voluntary and involuntary, traumatic and non-traumatic autobiographical memories in people with and without PTSD symptoms." *Journal of Experimental Psychology* 137 (2008): 591–614.

Shen Jiawei. "The Fate of Painting." *Art and China's Revolution*. Ed. Melissa Chiu and Zheng Shengtian. New York: Yale University Press. 2009. Print.

Siu, Helen F and Stern. *Mao's Harvest: Voices from China's New Generation*. Oxford University Press. 1983. Print.

Svensson, Tom G. "Clothing in the Arctic: A Means of Protection, a Statement of Identity." *Arcitic* 45.1 (1992): 62-73.

Tsang Chiu-Sam. "The Red Guards and the Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution." *Comparative Education* 3. 3 (1967): 195-205.

Turner, John C and Michael A Hogg. "Interpersonal attraction, social identification and psychological group formation." *European Journal of Social Psychology* 15.1 (1985): 51-66.

Under the Hawthorn Tree. Dir. Zhang Yimou. New Pictures Co., 2010. Film.

Unger, Jonathan. *Education Under Mao: Class and Competition in Canton Schools, 1960-1980*. New York: Columbia University Press, 1982. Print.

Walder, Andrew G. *Fractured Rebellion: The Beijing Red Guard Movement*. Cambridge, Mass: Harvard University Press, 2009. Print.

Wang Anyi. “Kuguo.” *Wang Anyi duanpain xiaoshuo biannian 1978-1981*. Beijing: renmin wenxue chubanshe, 2009. Print.

Wang Bin and Li Ping. “zhi shi dang shi yi wang ran.” *Nanfang zhoumuo* 13 July 2009. Web. 25 Jan. 2012.

Wang Jianqiang. “‘Shanghen wenxue’ diyiren: Lu Xinhua.” *Memories and Archives* 6 (2008): 10-12. Print.

Wang Meng. “Dakuai wenzhang.” *Qin li li shi*. Ed. Yang Xianyi and Zhang Xianliang. Zhongxin chubanshe, 2008. Print.

---. “Something Most Precious.” *The Wounded: New Stories of the Cultural Revolution*. Trans. Barmé, Ceremie and Bennett Lee. Hong Kong: Joint Publishing Company, 1979. Print.

---. *Wang Meng zizhuan*. Meizhou: huacheng chubanshe, 2006. Print.

Wang Ruoshui. “Zaitan ‘Nanshan de zhexue.’” *Wenhui Daily* 24 Jun. 1985. Web. 15 Jan. 2012.

Wang Shaoguang. “‘New Trends of Thought' on the Cultural Revolution.” *Journal of Contemporary China* 8 (l999): 21.

Wei Junyi. *Sitong lu*. Beijing: shiyue wenyi chubanshe, 1998. Print.

Wei Zhou. “Yige yongyuan chuyu qingchunqi de gudu yiduan.” *Guangzhou Daily* 17 Sep. 2007: A4.

White, Lynn T. *Policies of Chaos: The Organizational Causes of Violence in China's Cultural Revolution*. Princeton, N.J: Princeton University Press, 1989. Print.

Wilson, John P., Boris Drozdek and Silvana Turkovic. "Posttraumatic Shame and Guilt**."** *Trauma Violence Abuse* 7 (2006): 122-141.

Wu Yiqing, ed. *Zhongguo xinshiqi xiaoshuo yanjiu ziliao*. Ji'nan: Shandong wenyi chuhanshe, 2006. Print.

Xia Yan. *Xia Yan dai biao zuo*. Huanghe wenyi chubanshe, 1986. Print.

Xu Chi. "Gedebake cai xiang." *Renmin wenxue* 1 (1978): 1-15. Print.

Xu Qingquan."Hu Yaobang yu shanghen wenxue de zhenglun." *Shuzhai* 5 (2005): 10-12.

Xu Zhiying and Ding Fen. *Zhongguo xinshiqi xiaoshuo zhuchao*. Bijing: renmin wenxue chubanshe. Beijing: 2002. Print.

Xu Zidong. "Du Zhang Chengzhi de 'Jin Muchang' yu 'Jin Caodi.'" *Dangdai xiaoshuo yuedu biji*. Huadong shifandaxue chubanshe, 1997. Print.

---. "Qiangqiang sanren xing." *Phoenix TV*, Web. 20 Oct. 2008.

---. *Dangdai xiaoshui yu jiti jiyi: xushu wenge*. Maitian chubanshe. 2000. Print.

Yang Guobin "The Liminal Effects of Social Movements: Red Guards and the Transformation of Identity" *Sociological Forum* 15. 3 (Sep., 2000): 379-406.

---. "Days of Old Are Not Puff of Smoke: Three Hypotheses on Collective Memories of the Cultural Revolution" *China review*. 5. 02 (2005a): 13-42.

---. "Introduction: Gilded-Age Memories of the Cultural Revolution." *China Review* 5.02 (2005b): 1-12.

Yang Jian. *Zhiqing wenxue shi*. Beijing: Zhongguo gongren chubanshe, 2002. Print.

Yao Wenyuan. *Ping xinbian lishiju "Hai Rui baguan."* Shanghai: Sahnghai renmin chubanshe, 1965. Print.

Yu Guangyuan. *Wenge zhong de wo*. Shanghai: Shanghai yuandong chubanshe, 1996. Print.

Yu Hua. *To live: a Novel.* Anchor Books, 2003. Print.

Yu Xiaolan. "Shanghen 30 nian de jiyi." *Zhongguo yishubao* 03 (December, 2008): 10-14.

Zhang Chengzhi. *Beifang de he.* Shandong wenyi chubanshe. 2001. Print.

---. *Jin muchang.* Beijing: renmin wenxue chubanshe, 2007. Print.

---. *Qingjie de jingshen*. Hefei: Anhui wenyi chubanshe, 1994. Print.

Zhang Songye. "Dakai 'shanghenwenxue'de lijie kongjian." *Dangdai zuojia pinglun* 03 (2005): 19-26.

Zhang Xianliang and Yang Xianyi. *Qin li li shi*. Beijing: zhongxin chubanshe, 2008. Print.

Zhao Zhenxian. "Ping 'shanghen' de shehui yiyi" *Jintian* 4 (1979). Web. 10 May 2009.

Zhu Dake. "Wubi jiannan de daoqian: guanyu Zhongguo shehui de daoqian jizhi" *Dongfang Daily*. 28 Dec. 2010: 23 A.

Zhu Sai, ed. *Zhongguo dangdai wenxue sichao*. Beijing: renmin wenxue chubanshe, 1978. Print.

Žižek, Slavoj. *The Sublime Object of Ideology*, New York: Verso. 1989. Print.

---. *Mapping Ideology.* London; New York: Verso, 1994. Print.

---. *On Practice and Contradiction*. Verso, 2007. Print.