

## War and the Body, June 11<sup>th</sup> 2010 - Abstracts

### Mediating the Body

**Andrew Hoskins & Ben O'Loughlin**

#### **Digitized bodies and diffused war: the ethics of informational infrastructures**

This paper presents ongoing empirical research evaluating war casualty coverage of individual news providers against an unprecedented benchmark: the availability of total reported casualty data from the 2003 Iraq war. This is made possible by the Iraq Body Count database - a uniquely comprehensive, systematic data-extraction process. The analysis (here, January 2006 – June 2008) will enable a comparison of the volume and type of information news media provide to British and international audiences, including that provided by the BBC, about civilian casualties in Iraq. The paper then situates such analysis within the broader historical transition to what the authors label 'diffused war'. As media coverage of violent conflict becomes increasingly politicised and scrutinised and a new global 'informational infrastructure' transforms the extent of information recorded, stored and disseminated from warzones, the analysis presented in this paper provides a platform for reflecting on the ethics and politics of digitizing, and making public, bodies of war.

**Jeanne Clark**

#### **Docu-animation and the broken body**

In *Regarding the Pain of Others*, Susan Sontag (2003, p.8) tells us photography forces us to confront the horrors of war, to see how it "tears, rends." For twenty years B'Tselem, the Israeli Information Center for Human Rights in the Occupied Territories, has collected video and audio testimony of human rights abuses, seeking to enable people to see what they otherwise cannot or do not choose to see: how the violence associated with the occupation is not only rending the bodies of the occupied, but also tearing the conscience of the soldiers enforcing the occupation, and fracturing the body of Israeli society itself.

In November 2009, B'Tselem began an internet campaign within Israel about the widespread affects of soldier violence against Palestinians. The centerpiece of that campaign is an animated video based on film of a highly publicized 2008 incident when a soldier shot a bound Palestinian prisoner on the orders of his commanding officer. The original video, part of the B'Tselem video archive documenting human rights abuses in the Occupied Territories,

was filmed by a witness to the incident in Ni'lin; the campaign video manipulates that photographic record. Mixing photographic stills and animated depictions of stills from the original film the campaign video heightens the sense of atrocity enacted on the victim's body by unexpectedly obscuring the actual physical results of the incident. It simultaneously intensifies the psycho-social effects as the viewer watches the animated figures of the prisoner, the commanding officer's epaulettes, the shooter, and a wall of faces representing Israeli society crumble like broken stone as the violence of the occupation is said to "fracture" all of society. In the animated video the minor physical injury (the prisoner was shot in the toe) is manipulated so that it might be understood as a killing shot; it becomes a symptom of the way the decades of ongoing occupation violence and war have scarred the body of Israeli society; as the pious belief in Israeli "purity of arms" is undercut, Israeli society and the military are seen as being victimized by the policies they enact on other victims.

Focusing on an artifact that manipulates images of the body in order to demonstrate the ways war rends the body of society, this study uses the canons of documentary and the Burkean concerns of victimage and piety to examine the original video of the human rights violation at Ni'lin and the way that video is transformed for the B'Tselem internet campaign. Through the manipulation of animation the video reveals the deadly trauma to the body politic caused by the violence of the ongoing occupation as well as the bound prisoner's body. That violence renders a state that might be merely non-peace, into a condition of war.

**Neil Jenkins & Rachel Woodward**

#### **'Yes, Corporal': accounts of soldiers' bodies in military memoirs**

Studies of the military body have long viewed it as trained, disciplined, abused, gendered, sexualized, and sensory. This paper focuses on accounts of the military body in military memoirs. Military memoirs are recognised by popular and academic readerships as sources of observation and commentary about the lived experiences of military personnel. A defining feature of the genre, and crucial for its marketing, are the claims to authenticity of these first-person accounts. That authenticity is grounded in the body, in the claims of presence on the battlefield, aircraft or ship, and in the descriptions of the physical experience of military participation. Military memoirs inform civilian cultural understanding of military experience as fundamentally embodied. It is also notable that whilst not directly influential on defence policy and practice, they share and speak to many of the same concerns as policy. These include the body and combat-readiness, the self-regulation of the body, the body as conditioned and trained, and the body that requires care and protection. Military memoirs, then, are texts about war bodies. This paper discusses how

this is so, with reference to autobiographical accounts by military personnel of service in the British armed forces from 1980 onwards, in conflicts from the Falklands War (1982) to the war in Afghanistan in the present.

We explore two different ideas about these stories of war bodies. Firstly, taking from the literature an understanding of embodiment as a sensory and emotional capacity, this paper looks at some of the ways military bodies are described in memoirs. These include the operational body, subject to a scale of physical actions in various environments, and described through an emotional register ranging from alert rationality to hypothermic confusion, from numb boredom to adrenalized fear. Here we also consider the injured body as many memoirs are shaped in structure and content by accounts of injury. These include the failed body that lets the military operative down, and the injured body subject to violent war trauma.

The second idea explored in this paper concerns the genre itself. Military memoirs constitute a genre of life-writing that is segmented in specific ways, and we examine how this segmentation is in part a consequence of memoirs as different types of war body stories. Military memoirs are, variously, instruction manuals for bodily care and preparation; narratives about the transcendence of bodily and embodied trauma, tales of heroic physical survival and endurance; and descriptions of taking part in armed violence. We discuss how production practices around these different types of armed forces stories reflect these bodily concerns.

*Jane Tynan*

**Khaki: fashioning civilian bodies for war**

Fashion frequently draws on military themes. This could be attributed to the mobilising effect of military uniform during wartime. Historically, soldiers' bodies have been imagined and created by images and experiences of army clothing. However, it could equally reflect the concerns with body discipline and transformation shared by fashion and military discourses. This paper considers clothing as an agent of militarization; it reconstructs war values through the (male) body. While clothing might appear to represent the 'soft' side of military culture, khaki uniform has become central to designing the civilian body for war.

With khaki came a whole popular culture in Britain that focused on transforming civilians into soldiers. For instance, the recent introduction of a new camouflage pattern and kit for infantrymen in Iraq and Afghanistan was widely reported in the British media. Inadequacies of field clothing and equipment have long fed popular fears about the vulnerability of fighting soldiers. Indeed, the official focus on their improvement reflects the endless search for durable solutions for bodies facing war. Recent changes to the

British army uniform have seen the new Multi-Terrain Pattern (MTP) replace the traditional four-colour woodland uniform. A flexible colour scheme was devised to respond to the diversity of terrain experienced by British soldiers in the Helmand province of Afghanistan. This also became a major news story.

Military uniform offers an acceptable focus of popular interest in war. Whereas high fashion values the spectacle of pre-modern military styles, more recent urban wear looks to the realities of the modern battlefield for inspiration. This paper explores the pre-occupation with military clothing in fashion to consider whether it reflects public interest in military models of social organisation.

During the First World War, 'fashioning' the soldier emerged as a theme in popular culture, by describing the military body through the language of consumerism. Khaki service dress articulated war values throughout British popular culture, and a discourse emerged which sought solutions to military problems through visual and material 'transformations.' This popular culture found in the ever-improving materials for war a solution to social concerns about military fitness. While references to clothing emphasised 'care' of men's bodies, they also suggested that their bodies could be 'improved' by scientifically developed techniques. This paper considers how fashion's playful referencing of military culture works alongside the growing acceptance that army clothing militarizes civilians. These crosscurrents are used to explore how 'fashioning the body' has become a key feature of media and political discourses about war.

## **Militarization of Bodies**

*Tamara Ehs*

### **Educating the body for war. The issue of corporeal 'Wehrfähigkeit' in austrofascism**

In October 1933, Bernhard Schleich, retired commander for military construction at the Austrian ministry for national defence, finishes his doctoral thesis on "Wehrfähigkeit und ihre nationalökonomische und soziologische Bedeutung" (translated: "Fitness for Military Service and its Economical and Sociological Meaning", published in 1934) at the University of Vienna, Faculty of Law and State. Under supervision of the professors Othmar Spann and Alfred Verdroß he submits a text deeply attached to the ideology of the new authoritarian regime established in Austria in 1933. This text glorifies the "steely bodies" of the rural population that are a "wehrhaftes Volk" (a well-fortified people) and in contrast deplores the weak bodies of the townfolk. Schleich's thesis – that will be in the centre of my presentation – gives an interesting insight in Austrofascist ideas on pre-military education of young people as well as on the relation of fascist body aesthetics and the glorification of war as the "steeling of the body". Moreover, we will see how the connotation of "the body" is going to be shifted from the individual body to the "Volkskörper".

The author, who is supporting his ideas by racist theories of Joseph-Arthur Gobineau and by fascist theories of his doctoral adviser Othmar Spann, writes about the importance of physical exercise for university students. He, a veteran of World War I himself, claims that these city dwellers are not fit for war due to their weak physical constitution and recommends including compulsory military exercise in university studies. Indeed, only a few months later the Austrofascist regime, precisely the minister for education Kurt Schuschnigg, passes an act called "Bundesgesetz, betreffend die Erziehungsaufgaben der Hochschulen" (Federal Law concerning the Educational Duties of Universities). Henceforth, male university students have to take part in so-called "vormilitärische Übungen" (pre-military exercises) before being allowed to take their final exams.

For my presentation I will concentrate on Bernhard Schleich's doctoral thesis as an example of genuine Austrofascist ideas, focussing on the fascist body aesthetics as a preparation for war (Nota bene, Schleich's book was branded "NS-literature" and was listed as "literature to be withdrawn" by the Allied occupation in 1947). I will explain the connection of body aesthetics and racism and will show how the pre-military exercises for male university students were finally carried out. Moreover, I will look into the matter of the

female body and explore the Austrofascist inculcation in women. To demonstrate the context of Schleich's thesis I will also talk about the body politics of "Wehrwirtschaft" (military economics) – a very popular German and Austrian contribution to economics devoted to the social and economic determinants of military power in the 1930s. "Wehrwirtschaft" dehumanises peoples to pure instruments of war, and those instruments have to be stalwart bodies; the weakness respectively the strongness of the body becomes a determinant of military and therefore political power.

My paper on "Educating the Body for War" presents findings of my current research project "The Viennese Faculty of Law and State 1918-1938" (<http://www.univie.ac.at/restawi/>) and is based on recently found new documents from the University's archive as well as the Austrian Public Records Office.

*Emma Riley*

### **Preparing the body for war: training in the British Army, 1939-1945**

Focusing on the British conscript army of the Second World War, this paper explores the physiological processes by which civilians were turned into soldiers, and the extent to which military values were inculcated in the recruit's body during the period of training. It suggests that there were two stages to this process; control and transformation. Through close supervision over the soldier's dress, hygiene, diet, sexual behaviour, and personal movement, the army first sought to establish authority over the recruit's body. This achieved, instructors then proceeded turn his body into an effective fighting machine, using drill, physical, recreational and battle training, in order to render it fitter, more productive, and ultimately self-regulating.

Drawing upon a selection of soldiers' personal testimonies, in the form of oral histories, letters, diaries and autobiographies, this paper also, however, suggests that the army recruit was not simply a subjected being. Even within the confines of the military camp or barracks, men developed a range of tactics by which to counter the demands being placed upon their bodies. These included more public acts of opposition, such as malingering, self-inflicting wounds and the ultimate reclamation of one's own body, suicide, but also more subtle or legitimate strategies, such as cross-dressing and the development of homosexual relationships within the ranks. By drawing attention to these sorts of behaviours, this paper thus reveals the agency of the embodied social actor, as recruits were able to resist the army's efforts to shape and control their bodies.

**John Hockey**

**Doing sensory work in the infantry**

There has been little sociological research on work and occupations at the sensory level. This paper adds to the small literature on the topic by examining the sensory activity of one particular working group that of infantrymen. Using ethnographic data the paper portrays the sensory work of movement, seeing, hearing, smelling and touching during infantry patrols. The paper utilises a framework of analysis using theoretical and conceptual resources from philosophical phenomenology, human geography and the anthropology of the senses. The paper is based on ethnographic data collected in the contexts of barracks, military training areas and South Armagh when the conflict with the Provisional IRA was ongoing.

**Michelle Bentley**

**Bodies as weapons: biological warfare and conceptions of the body within conflict**

This paper analyses the impact of biological warfare/weapons (BW) on conceptions of the body within conflict. It aims to challenge and expand existing discourse by outlining a new theoretical model of the body as based on unconventional/BW forms of aggression. Specifically, it will argue that BW transforms the body into a weapon. The ability of an infected body to transfer harm to others means that analytical comparisons can be drawn between the body and military armaments. Ultimately, this paper investigates how constructions of the body change where it adopts this more physical and direct instrumentality within war. It combines this with a discussion as to how the relationship between the body and organic technologies of unconventional lethality differs from standard approaches based on conventional violence.

There are three key aspects inherent to this argument:

1. BW establish a different relationship with the body than conventional warfare

BW efficacy is dependent on the fear of biological contamination. There is 'something' distinctly repulsive and sickening about the idea our bodies may be unwillingly infected by invisible disease. Specifically, this is more invasive/personal than the destruction of the body through conventional and/or explosive force. Therefore, BW constructs a different relationship with the body than the conventional warfare that tends to inform discussion in this field. However, the overall debate needs to consider this more intimate relationship to fully understand the role of the body in conflict.

2. BW turns the body into a physical weapon

However, this is not simply a question of weapons effect, but one where the body is transformed into a physical act of conflict. The body does not just experience war, but becomes war itself. The body is a weapon. The contagious nature of BW means those infected can (unintentionally or otherwise) infect others. Consequently, this turns the new victim into a weapon as well, in that they too can transmit the disease. This changes perception of the body and its role in conflict.

Moreover, this has relevance for the conference theme of the deterritorialization of warfare. The infected body acts as a vehicle whereby conflict can overcome the geographical boundaries associated with war. Disease is not confined by spatial limits.

3. The weaponisation of the body questions perceptions of the role of the body in war

This raises certain issues pertaining to the ethical consideration and perception of the body in conflict. Is the infected person a human, guaranteed the rights and protections in war as such? Or is the body now dehumanized as a weapon, which can be legitimately destroyed as any other military armament? Specifically, can the latter be applied where the body was unwillingly infected (although there are interesting examples where a body deliberately infects itself for the purposes of causing harm to the enemy)? This has implications both for academic study and accepted military principles pertaining to expectations of conduct within war.

## **Disabled Bodies**

***Suzannah Biernoff***

### **The rhetoric of facial injury in First World War Britain**

During the Great War, the horror of facial mutilation was evoked in journalism, poems, memoirs and fiction; but in Britain it was almost never represented visually outside the professional contexts of clinical medicine and medical history. This paper asks why, and offers an account of British visual culture in which visual anxiety and aversion are of central importance. By comparing the rhetoric of disfigurement to the parallel treatment of amputees, an asymmetrical picture emerges in which the 'worst loss of all' – the loss of one's face – is perceived as a loss of humanity. The only hope was surgical or, if that failed, prosthetic repair: improvised developments that were often wildly exaggerated in the popular press. Those responsible for remaking shattered faces – including the sculptor Francis Derwent Wood – drew attention to the role of art and artifice in the reconstruction of identity and humanity.

### ***Elsbeth Bosl: Corporeal reconstruction and embodied difference – prosthetics in Western Germany after WWII***

The paper seeks to explore prostheses as part of the corporeal reconstruction of disabled veterans in German disability politics and rehabilitation after WWII. It is derived from my recent research project on the history of disability politics in Germany from WWII to the 1970s. I will try to bring together the theoretical approaches of Disability Studies and the history of technology within the context of the corporeal aftermath of war in Western Germany.

I regard disability as a category based on assumptions about embodied difference and constructed within society. Technology on the one hand is initiated, formed and used in social and cultural contexts. On the other hand it influences the constitution of socio-cultural categories such as disability. While historicising both disability and technology I hope to find out how changing notions of and approaches to disability on the one hand and technology on the other hand relate to each other.

After WWII and right into the 1970s people with disabilities were approached from a deficiency orientated perspective which Disability History has recently termed the "medical model". In German scientific, medical and political discourse disability was defined as the inability to work and achieve gainful employment. Political attention focused on functional and vocational rehabilitation and relied on the means of the welfare state. Medical rehabilitation and prosthetics were predominant components of this approach.

The paper will demonstrate how prostheses were thus part of a technological construction of embodied difference.

Employing prostheses will be conceptualized as an attempt of normalisation: They were meant to compensate the functional deficiencies attest to the disabled men and to reconstruct bodies which had been destroyed, maimed or altered by war.

However, prostheses bore more than just a technical or medical meaning. They were also seen as reflecting democratic reconstruction. By trying to heal and complement disrupted or incomplete bodies the medical professions, politicians and welfare bureaucracies attempted a return to normality. Bodies representing physical violence and bearing witness to war and National Socialism were made unobtrusive – not necessarily in an aesthetic but rather in a functional way because in prosthetics function was prioritised over looks.

Fitting men with prostheses was also deemed to pacify the veterans who were regarded as harbouring much potential for political conflict. Prostheses were thus visible and tangible symbols of democratisation, pacification, repair but also of the efficiency and integration potential of the new welfare state.

Thus the utopias and enhancement discourse known from the Weimar Years – Homo prosthetics or Neuer Mensch – had disappeared and had probably been discredited by the experience of National Socialism. Other traits continued though. The euphoria of the 1920s may have vanished and the material starting position of prosthetics was dire in the early post-war period, but innovation energies grew once technological aid from the US set in, once the federal government began to fund research projects and sent experts to the US and Great Britain and once the reconstructed welfare state provided the means to endow users with high-quality prostheses.

Prostheses also continued to be directed predominantly to vocational applications. They were crafted for male users. Prostheses would remasculinise men returning from war and offer them a new democratic and demilitarised role model of civil masculinity: the male bread-winner.

I will show that the ideal figure during the late 1940s and 1950s was a man disabled by war – or sometimes by accident – who had lost limbs by amputation. This was not only true in prosthetics but also in disability politics on the whole.

This constrictive attitude will become particularly evident when looking at the aftermath of the Thalidomide scandal of 1961/62. Before, prosthetics for children, though widely applied in the US, had not been regarded necessary, affordable or useful in Germany. Suddenly the Contergan affair presented the nation state with a situation similar to that of the post-war period: Media and the public demanded prostheses for the children and the government which was held responsible for the scandal by parts of the public was quick to react in

order to avoid media pressure and the accusation of not helping the children enough. It was no longer questioned whether it was at all wise to fit children with prostheses. Technology and methods were transferred with very little alterations from adult prosthetics at first. Only gradually it became clear to that medical personnel, engineers and politicians that they were not just dealing with a smaller version of the prototypical war veteran. Supplying the children with prostheses was not a success and scarcely anyone was using them after a few years.

Experts had learned, however, that the ideal type of the war amputee had been outdated and that even physical disabilities alone were far more heterogeneous than the medical model and the focus on male adult workers had implied.

**Catherine Trundle: Memorialising the wounded military body: nuclear test veterans & the search for sacrificial identities**

In the late 1950s servicemen from Britain, New Zealand and Fiji participated in 'Operation Grapple,' a series of British nuclear bomb tests in the Pacific. Decades later many of these 'test veterans' – now in their 70s – claim to suffer from multiple health problems due to radiation exposure such as cancers and sterility. As a result veterans in New Zealand and Britain attempt to gain national military pensions and have launched ongoing legal efforts seeking billions of pounds in compensation from the British Ministry of Defence (MoD). Thus far, both governments have denied the men ever suffered physical harm, while the MoD is currently contesting compensation claims in the British High Court. This paper is based on ethnographic and archival research of such legal cases in Britain and New Zealand.

Test veterans frame their legal bids through a range of medical, legal and ethical lenses. In all such cases, the men must contend with what socially and legally constitutes a typical and deserving wounded military body. Military pensions and laws for compensation have historically assumed the legitimacy of particular theatres of militarism and certain injuries: an amputee wounded in active war duty is the quintessential deserving veteran body and his claims for support are usually straightforward: his sacrifice to the nation is visibly inscribed on his body, and his illness is socially symbolic of war. Yet for Operation Grapple veterans, proving that their bodies are indeed soldier sacrifices is fraught with problems. They took part in peace-time military activities in the 'idyllic Pacific' and their injuries often did not manifest for 30 years, making it scientifically hard to link to a military theatre. Furthermore, their illnesses are those common to old age in the civilian population, and are thus problematic medically to associate with ionising radiation. This paper will explore the test veterans' legal and ethical claims through an examination of

their use of medical studies, scientific experts and archival documents in court cases. Through this process the veterans seek to recast their bodies as military sacrifices deserving of nationalist memorialisation and veneration. I will argue that their claims are not merely individual quests for money and health benefits, but collective attempts to gain societal recognition that both reinforces the sacrificial military body as essential to the reproduction of the nation, while simultaneously challenging the types of harmed bodies that fall within such a category.

**Julie Hartley: War wounds: disabled bodies and the imagining of the modern state in post-civil war Lebanon**

The Lebanese Civil War (1975-1990) came to an end some twenty years ago, but this bloody conflict left deep scars and its legacy remains a constant presence in contemporary Lebanon. This paper examines the stories and experiences of the long-term residents of *Bayt Shebab*, a rehabilitation hospital set up during the Civil War to care for war-wounded soldiers from a Christian militia (*Uwwait al Lubna'aniya* or The Lebanese Forces). Rather than returning to their families, and be re-integrated into society, these militia-fighters have chosen to live permanently in the hospital, located in a remote mountain-top village, decades after the war ended. The data for this paper was collected during ethnographic fieldwork in Beirut and the surrounding areas in 2004 and 2005. Of central concern is the manner in which these individuals have made sense of and managed their shift in identity, from physically fit 'soldiers' to 'disabled' that are completely dependent on the care of others. Through an examination of their narratives of sacrifice, loyalty and honour, I explore how these men and women have made sense of their disability within a specific institution – an institution, however, that is increasingly isolated in the context of a changing political climate and a country that is eager to forget its sectarian past. The sectarian discourse, through which the residents of *Bayt Shebab* rationalise their war-wounds, is essentially at odds with the attempts of the wounded nation to heal itself. Disabled bodies represent a form of symbolic capital and the care for disabled may be said to be productive and constitutive of a modern secular Lebanese state. But the state-sponsored care for disabled in contemporary Lebanon is avowedly secular and informed by notions of disability rights that do not distinguish between different forms of disability and do not privilege war-wounds as being more 'worthy'. By leaving *Bayt Shebab*, the residents would have to abandon the very context in which they have made sense of their disability. This paper seeks to investigate the manner in which the war-wounded manage their identities but also how the sectarian past, which is embodied in *Bayt Shebab*, is incompatible with the imagining of the modern Lebanese state.

## 'Other' Bodies

### *Erica Charters*

#### **Colonial Warfare, Disease and the Making of the Modern Body**

Often accurately called the first world war, the Seven Years War (1756-63) established Britain as the greatest military and imperial power of the modern age. British victories were won in North America, the Caribbean, Europe, the west coast of Africa, India, and even the Philippines. Like all pre-modern wars, far more troops were to die from disease than battle injuries, especially so in tropical climates. British victory depended on adaptation to foreign environments, through the adoption of native troops, styles of warfare, and habits of living. At the same time, British imperial might was secured through its demonstrated superiority - not only of military prowess, but also of physical difference as manifested by disease.

Fighting alongside native and American-born troops in North America, alongside black troops in the Caribbean, and alongside sepoy regiments in India, Europeans observed differences in how bodies responded to disease. In the American colonies, British officers noted that American-born soldiers were much more sickly, theorizing that this was a result of naturally weak and lazy physical constitution - a characteristic also observed in the laggardly American provincial assemblies. In India and the West Indies, European bodies did not adapt as easily to the climate as had been hoped; by the end of the war, officials were suggesting that European and native bodies were fundamentally different - an idea which hardened into theories of biological race. Disease, theorized as a disorder within an individual's constitution, was best prevented through a regularly ordered lifestyle. Physical and cultural superiority was thus to be maintained through discipline: the drilling of European-style military discipline for native regiments throughout the world, and the self-discipline that would characterize the British overseas: abstaining from all excess and maintaining the stiff upper lip that was to ensure good health and clear thinking in dangerous environments.

This paper demonstrates that this first global war is fundamental to our understanding of how theories of the modern body and European military superiority were shaped in the context of the emerging British imperial state. Based on the experience of war, theories of the body crystallized, including the nature of racial difference, physical constitutions, and environmental influence on the formation of national identity.

### *Bobby Wintermute*

#### **"The Negro should not be used as a combat soldier": reconfiguring racial identity in the United States Army, 1890-1918.**

In 1888 the colored regiments of the United States Army were considered valuable assets by senior officers. Yet thirty years later, the 9<sup>th</sup> and 10<sup>th</sup> Cavalry and the 24<sup>th</sup> and 25<sup>th</sup> Infantry Regiments were retained on garrison duty in the United States and its imperial possessions. Moreover the two larger African-American units - the 92<sup>nd</sup> and 93<sup>rd</sup> Divisions - sent to France were misused at every possibility. President Woodrow Wilson's great crusade against militarism was intended to be an all-white affair; the prospect of black men sharing in the glory of victory and the promise of democracy was anathema to American Progressives in 1918. Accordingly the status and reputation of black soldiers in the US Army declined after 1918, with the nation's four proud colored regiments reduced to a collection of equerries, stewards, and day laborers in the interwar years.

The previous summary serves as the standard narrative of race and the American military at the turn of the twentieth century. Missing from this account is the role played by the military physicians and sanitarians of the Army Medical Department in promoting the debasement of African-Americans in American society and in the military during America's imperial drive to the Caribbean and the Far East and the Progressive Era (roughly between 1890 and 1917). While much attention has been given to the pernicious spread of Jim Crow in the Army during this period, less has been said about how American medical officers advanced their own interpretations of whiteness as an entitled socio-political construct under threat from multiple currents of race and the degenerative effect of tropical nature during this period. Initially heralded as loyal and steadfast shock troops for empire on the basis of perceived immunities to tropical diseases, African-Americans were transformed body and soul in medical treatises and formal reports into a collection of untrustworthy malingerers, who threatened white American control in the Imperial Periphery and, in the case of the Mexican Intervention, along the disputed borderlands of whiteness. When Secretary of War Newton Baker and Army General John J. Pershing projected an all-white American Expeditionary Force in the summer of 1917, they employed these reports to justify the exclusion of the Regular Army's colored regiments, and to fight -- albeit unsuccessfully -- against the two National Guard/National Army colored divisions. In a very real sense, the Army's medical officers exerted their will on the construction of national military policy.

This paper consolidates the research and conclusions from several chapters of my forthcoming book on American public health and the US Army in the Progressive Era. While this abstract focuses on the issues of race and

military service, many of the primary accounts speak in terms of race and whiteness as physical constructs. Accordingly this proposal deals with questions of war and the body at an elemental level, as it deals with how military institutions, reflecting contemporary cultural outlooks and stereotypes, use race as a determinant factor for inclusion –or exclusion – for social equality through the crucible of armed conflict.

### *Jane McGaughey*

#### **The language of sacrifice: manliness in Northern Ireland and the consequences of war, 1916-1922**

Men's bodies were one of the more notable sites of conflict in Northern Ireland after the 1918 Armistice. Long before the war was over, Ulstermen had become part of a public legacy of blood-sacrifice and the epic mythology of warrior manliness surrounding the 36<sup>th</sup> (Ulster) Division. The predominantly Protestant north-east of Ireland revelled in heroic language and romantic sentiment about their losses and the consequences of their sacrifice for years after their most famous battle at the Somme on the 1<sup>st</sup> of July 1916, a vibrant communal memory that pointedly excluded the achievements and sacrifices of the 16<sup>th</sup> (Irish) and 10<sup>th</sup> (Irish) Divisions, to the detriment of northern Nationalist veterans. More importantly, the ramifications of northern society's understanding of soldiering masculinities directly led to some of the more infamous physical events of The Troubles from 1920 to 1922. These episodes included the violent shipyard expulsions in Belfast, the intimidation of shell-shocked ex-servicemen, membership in vigilante paramilitary societies, and government-mandated floggings of Catholic veterans in a society that prized service in the Great War as the greatest hallmark of modern Irish masculinity. The language of sacrifice within the public sphere, witnessed in public discourse and literally imprinted upon the bodies of those deemed unworthy and unmanly, mythologized one group of men at the expense of another, making the legacy of the Great War and the actions of and upon male bodies highly significant and influential factors in Northern Ireland for the rest of the twentieth century.

### *Wendy Ugolini*

#### **The embodiment of British Italian war memory? The curious marginalisation of Dennis Donnini, VC**

In January 1945, the British soldier, Fusilier Dennis Donnini, son of an Italian confectioner and English mother from County Durham, was awarded a posthumous VC for his 'gallantry and self sacrifice' on the battlefield in Holland. Donnini was only nineteen when he was killed whilst rescuing a wounded

companion and drawing enemy fire away from his comrades; an 'outstanding example' of personal bravery. Yet, whilst in wartime America, the Italian press lauded its 'battlefield heroes' such as Don Gentile of the USAAF or Marine Sgt John Basilone, honouring them with parades and war bond rallies, Donnini is not similarly revered within the British Italian community. His name is omitted from the key texts on the war and no campaigns have emerged to commemorate him. Conversely, those outwith the Italian community are increasingly keen to (re)claim his memory, indicated by his appearance in 2006 in a list of top 100 'North East Heroes', sandwiched between Tony Blair and Kevin Keegan. In his home town of Easington, his picture hangs in the local working men's club, a sheltered housing project has been named Donnini House, a bed in the local hospital bears a brass tablet in his memory and his story has been immortalised in folk song. His regiment, the Royal Scots Fusiliers, named a Scottish street Donnini Court whilst in England, his trade union, the General and Municipal Workers, claimed him as 'Our First VC'.

The curious silence surrounding Donnini within the Italian community reflects the contested nature of 'remembrance' of the war amongst those who lived through it. When Italy declared war on Britain in June 1940, the Italian population in Britain stood at around 35, 000, including 10-15,000 children born and raised in Britain. The outbreak of war between the two countries dramatically illuminated the existence of competing or overlapping 'communities of allegiance' amongst this second generation. Around 600 men of Italian origin were interned, usually on the grounds of 'Fascist associations', whilst thousands more enlisted in the British Forces. Yet, British Italian memory of the war is most commonly configured around the male internee, who has come to represent what it meant to 'be Italian' in World War Two Britain. This commemorative focus on the internee is rooted in a wartime tragedy when a ship deporting Italian internees to Canada, the *Arandora Star*, was torpedoed killing hundreds. The increasing memorialisation of the *Arandora Star* disaster, with memorials appearing in Liverpool, Cardiff, Middlesbrough and Glasgow at the beginning of the twenty first century, threatens to displace the memories of those Italians who served, and died, in British uniform. Indeed, the legend of Donnini's death raises difficult questions over who embodies the memory of an ethnic community. His story is an uncomfortable reminder that most Italians were not interned and throws a spotlight on the tangled question of loyalties and allegiances amongst second generation immigrants at a time of conflict. This paper will explore the reasons behind communal neglect of Donnini and suggest that whilst the VC winner embodies heroism and martial valour, his experience does not conform to the dominant Italian narrative of the war, which by focusing on the 'injustice' of internment aims to divert attention from an inter-war community elite compromised by its support of Fascism.

## **Embodying War**

***Kevin McDonald***

### **Grammars of violence, modes of embodiment and frontiers of the subject**

There is increasing evidence that we are experiencing the end of the model of war that emerged in post-1815 Europe, premised upon a separation of zones of war and zones of peace, combatant and non-combatant, civilian and military, leading to the demilitarization of war and possibly military forces as well. This transformation is associated with shifts in paradigms of violence, associated with a new significance of extreme violence that may represent a new type of violence, evident in practices ranging from the desire to make the body of the victim 'speak' and the increasing importance of a visual practices and the construction of public spheres through violence, to new modes of (hyper)violence associated with avoiding the death of the soldier. Located within these transformations is a mode of embodiment that this paper explores through examining the place of embodied experience, imagination and boundaries in emerging jihadi movements, examining both the role of violence as mediation between increasing personalised subjects and increasingly globalized worlds, and the increasing significance of the unimaginable and the inexperiencable in contemporary violence.

***Carol Mann***

### **Consequences of war on the female body in Afghanistan**

During the last thirty years in Afghanistan, a near-continuous state of war has engendered every kind of violence in civil society which blur the distinction between battle and 'home' front. Here as elsewhere, rape, defilement, ritualized brutality, domestic violence have all been on the increase as ways of imprinting war on unconsenting bodies.

This paper is in two parts. First it attempts to show how war in Afghanistan has put the female body at the centre of its ideological discourse, using sartorial obligation as a means of ideological enforcement. Second, I will show how suicide has become the ultimate form of refusal by Afghan women claiming the right of a personal, albeit desperate, area of decision for the themselves and the refusal of the life-style that is being imposed upon them without their consent.

In the Islamic world, different forms of covering have been used to express conflicting discourses on modernity, best summarized by the controversy surrounding the burqa, especially since 9/11. This all encompassing blue veil has become the symbol of the Taliban rule and everything the

Western military forces have been trying to eradicate since it launched 'Operation Enduring Freedom' following 9/11. This was a traditional Pashtun/Pathan outdoor costume by mainly rural women. It was originally imported from the Ottoman empire as a symbol of middle-class respectability. The Taliban imposed this on all women at all times, not as a return to tradition but a symbol of the Islamic renewal and pious modernity through which they sought to cleanse Afghan society. This burqa also symbolized the eradication of Western influence (largely Soviet) which had allowed the a relatively privileged urban middle class of women to benefit from higher education and professional activities, especially in the Civil Service, medicine and teaching undertaken in westernized dress. The burqa which is still largely worn in Afghanistan, is more than an accessory: it imposes, through a unique form of passive violence, a certain carriage and bearing onto the wearer that emphasizes a body language of submission and the impossibility of any form of activity, professional or other in public space. The imposition of this costume has made the lack of it dishonourable, still today all over rural Afghanistan. This has had dire consequences on the dire state of health of the female population, as places where women would have to disrobe - such as hospitals - are not viewed as respectable by a conservative population. From an ideological point of view, the Taliban imposed this as an alternative to the potent counter-model of the black Iranian-style veil which was made emblematic of the revolution led by Ayatollah Khomeini in neighbouring and highly influential Iran. This reveals the face and allows for participation in public space. Thus female body was made the battleground for two forms of radical Islamic modernity.

Today, Afghan women are experiencing alternative forms of modernity, sartorial and otherwise, that are shown mainly by the media and returnees coming back from exile in Pakistan and Iran. The realities of life in Afghanistan remain so harsh that these examples appear unattainable, despite the official disappearance of the Taliban regime. Whereas some change is observable mainly in Kabul, women's lives in the provinces actually seem to be getting worse in face of escalating and uncontrolled brutality coming from men who are frustrated by their loss of control and authority in an increasingly anarchic, war-ridden society. As a result, women - and often young girls - are increasingly turning to suicide by self-immolation, at once a sacrifice on the relentless altar of war and a refusal to be at the centre of unending conflict.

***Markus Kienscherf***

### **Insurgent bodies and pacified populations – docile bodies and unruly populations: the problematic of counterinsurgency strategy**

War both produces and destroys bodies: war mobilizes, disciplines and assembles bodies into large military machines, but also tracks, targets, maims

and kills them. However, individual bodies are only one site of contemporary warfare, for war is also waged both to secure and destroy entire populations. Indeed, the body and the population are two central sites in which both the productive and the destructive potentialities of war manifest themselves. The destructive forces of war can only be unleashed through the deployment and articulation of what, in Foucault's terms, we may call the productive forces of disciplinary power and biopower. Disciplinary power consists in localized micro-tactics aimed at assembling bodies and machines into integrated systems, in order to increase their efficiency in both battle and production. Biopower, on the other hand, operates on a strategic level, insofar as individual battles and instances of production are articulated with certain macro-objectives which ultimately converge on the biopolitical master objective of securing the life of the population.

In my paper, I will draw on Foucault's analytics of power in order to map out the contradictions and paradoxes of a rather prominent contemporary form of Western warfare. In fact, counterinsurgency strategy is now frequently touted as an effective means for pacifying politically unstable regions, which are commonly said to provide the breeding grounds for global terrorism (Cassidy 2006; Kilcullen 2005, 2009). Above all, counterinsurgency strategy seeks to control targeted populations through managing the circulation of bodies, resources and information. The management and control of the so-called "host-nation population", moreover, hinges on the production of knowledge about the targeted population and the individual bodies that compose it (Army 2007). But to what extent do these supposedly benevolent practices of population control, which are said to help provide security to civilian bodies, and the modes of knowledge production, on which they depend, open the door to acts of brutality against civilian bodies? And to what extent do acts of brutality and even torture, which can and do occur within the context of population control, promote or undermine the biopolitical goal of securing the life of the population?

My paper will consist of three parts. First, I will briefly discuss how an analysis of counterinsurgency can benefit from Foucault's analytics of power. Secondly, I will outline some of the central paradoxes and contradictions of counterinsurgency. Last but not least, I will probe particular historical instances of population control, such as the strategic hamlet program in Vietnam, in order to demonstrate the limitations, contradictions and breaking points inherent in the actual practices by means of which counterinsurgency strategy targets both individual bodies and populations.

## **Trauma and the Body**

***Lucy Robinson***

**'My writings on the war have caused me many wounds – but they are all self-inflicted' - Soldiers' stories and the Falklands War**

The twenty-fifth anniversary of the Falklands War has seen a number of research, media and archival responses to the war, these invariably privilege personal testimony as historical evidence. These Stories become acts of commemoration to mark the anniversaries; They are also marketed as timely commodities. The ways in which Falkland's soldiers have described the impact of their experiences sheds light on more recent debates over the treatment, safety and conditions of soldiers serving both in Afghanistan and Iraq and also in residence in Britain. The key areas of concern today relate directly to those raised in published accounts of soldiers' experiences in the Falklands especially problems with medical treatment, especially of the use of civilian hospitals for military wounded, the high incidence of Post-Traumatic Stress Disorder (PTSD) and suicide amongst serving and recently returned military personnel. (The number of Falkland veterans who committed suicide reached 264 in 2002).

The PTSD diagnostic constructs a narrative of trauma around a singular particular moment. Whilst recognising some of the problems around the mind/body relationship in PTSD diagnosis, this paper will look at the impact this model has had on ex-combatants accounts of the War. This will be organised around two themes: the moment that is constructed as traumatic trigger and the 'healing' processes ascribed to the writing of memoirs.

***Philippa Lovatt***

**The acoustemology of war: soundscapes, trauma and embodied memory in the films of Bahman Ghobadi**

*"The roar of the bombers and explosions has become part of the Kurdish music. We are so used to it that it does not terrify us anymore...War has turned into a melody for me. It used to be a sad melody, but now we have heard it so often that we have learned to dance to it."*

*Bahman Ghobadi*

Steven Feld employs the term 'acoustemology' to investigate the centrality of sound in the ways in which we experience and understand our worlds. Because, Feld argues, "sound both emanates from and penetrates bodies", it is involved in a reciprocal process of "reflection and absorption" that orientates the body in time and place. "Hearing and producing sound," he continues, "are thus

embodied competencies that situate actors and their agency in particular historical worlds." This paper explores the acoustemology of Bahman Ghobadi's films to see how sound is used to situate characters and express subjectivity and agency in the particular historical world of the post-Iran-Iraq War. The soundscapes of Ghobadi's war films are all in some ways 'occupied' acoustic spaces dominated by the sound of Iraqi fighter jets which punctuate and fragment the acoustic space that might in other times have been largely characterised by pastoral sounds.

Trauma theorists, such as Roberta Culbertson, have argued that in the recollection of traumatic events, such as the experience of war, sounds and images take on a heightened almost surreal quality perceived not through the conscious mind (which has become "anesthetized" by the body), but through the senses. Yet, while the memories of trauma may be held deeply in the body, she argues that the act of narration distances the horror of experience from the body, without diminishing or dismissing its presence. As she writes, "Telling, in short, is a process of disembodying memory." Drawing together the work of Feld and Culbertson, this paper analyses the films' use of sound in the narrativisation of the experience of the Iran-Iraq war from the perspective of Kurdish refugees, orphans and victims of rape. The paper argues that Ghobadi's films foreground an account of war that is based on the acoustemology of embodied memory, enabling these memories to be released from their fixed position in the past, creating a space for them in the discourse of the present.

#### ***Chava Brownfield-Stein***

##### **The 1973 War: Gendered aspects of "secondary traumatization" and militarized bodies**

The paper addresses the daily on-going consequences of ended wars on the bodies and lives of women in Israel. Relying on studies dealing with "Post Traumatic Stress Disorder" (PTSD) and researches about spouses of shell-shocked veterans, who are inflicted by secondary traumatization", I discuss a paradigmatic case-study from the 1973 war. Following studies on militarization (Enloe, 2000) and researches about the body and embodiment (Csordas, 1994; 2002), the paper seeks to illuminate gendered perspectives of wars and highlights the unending story of living alongside an injured, shell-shocked partner. With a particular focus upon Foucault's work on bio-power, and ideas that culture is grounded in the human body it discusses the acceleration of militarized ideals, and describes Lives-Experiences and the engravings of wars into the civilian bodies of women in Israel.

The term "secondary traumatization" was coined in 1985 by the researchers Rosenheck & Natan (1985) to describe the intergenerational affect of PTSD in the context of the children of Vietnam War veterans. Later the term

was expanded, as Solomon, Waysman et al. (1992) suggest, defining a phenomenon in which some of those living near the victim are indirectly affected by trauma themselves.

In Israel the issue started being targeted specifically in the aftermath of the Lebanon War. In 1989 Lieutenant Colonel Dr. Zehava Solomon, the former head of the Shell-Shocked Division (IDF) published an article about the results of a research conducted within the military framework. Solomon (1989) presents several suggestions for therapeutic interventions and emphasizes that there is a need to diagnose family members, -wives and children-, as well as the affected person himself. Her recommendations were received with skepticism.

Following ideas of the body and embodiment as the existential ground of culture, and in the spirit of the term "collective consciousness," we might ask:

- Was it a "collective loss of sight"?
- Was it because of indifference or a conscious policy?
- Was it an example of an increasing preeminence of military values in the formulation of governmental policies which converts, inculcates and inscribes on women's body?
- Is there a linkage between Gender and the fact the "public secret" was relegated to the margins of "public awareness"?
- Are body-blind and "gender blindness" involved?

According to Sheffer and Barak (2007) in Israel, there is a "Security Network". The paper argues that alongside the "Security Network" exists a "Network of Suffering and Pain" which like the former is informal and hidden. Both have quintessentially gender aspects.

#### ***Makiko Oku***

##### **Beyond Life and Death: A Biopolitical Analysis of Sexual and Gender-based Violence in Armed Conflict**

Rape and sexual violence has been used as a widespread, systematic tactic in wars and conflicts. Women and men become victims of rape, gang rape, sexual slavery, forced incest, forced marriage, forced impregnation, amputation or mutilation of victims' breasts, vaginas and buttocks, and so forth. These victims are kept alive—their hearts beating and showing signs of life. But the "bared life" of raped bodies is zombie-like, death-like, and ironically, life-less. Many suffer tremendous physical and emotional trauma. Many carry HIV contracted from the rape, unable to obtain jobs and sustain a livelihood. It is common to hear the assertion that women and men who were raped and survived are "lucky" they were not killed, and there is a broad perception that rape is somehow lesser of a crime. Raped bodies speak to and question what life and

death means, and why rape is widely used as a tactic to harm, degrade, and traumatize the civilian population. I argue that it is precisely the production of these abject bodies that the rapists and war strategists are targeting—to leave the victims/bodies wandering between/around life and death. This has a significant implication to the notion of peace, security, and citizenship, complicating the “post-conflict” reconstruction and peace-building process.

Using Foucault’s biopolitics/biopower, Mbembe’s notion of necropolitics, and Agamben’s *homo sacer* as foundational concepts, I examine wartime sexual violence and raped bodies vis-à-vis the space between/around the duality of life and death, and the notion of peace and security. How does wartime rape speak to and complicate the notion of life and death? What meanings are mapped onto the bodies affected by wartime sexual violence from a biopolitical perspective? Why is it difficult to reintegrate victims of sexual violence back into the community and to reclaim their citizenship? How are these bodies codified in international human rights law and official UN documents? How is the notion of wartime rape vis-à-vis life and death problematized the “post-conflict” reconstruction and peace-building?

## **Visualising Bodies**

***Robert Burgoyne***

### **Abstraction and embodiment in the war film**

Suicide as a weapon or tactic of war has become the emblematic and most terrifying weapon of contemporary geopolitical conflict, confirming the horrifying potency of the body in the theater of combat. At a point when technology had seemed ubiquitous and overwhelming, the power of bodies in war has suddenly returned in the form of an agency whose traumatizing impact reverberates throughout the contemporary world. Understood by theorists such as Machiavelli and Clausewitz as the most important weapon of war, the body of the committed partisan seems to have freakishly metamorphosed into the figure of the “human bomb” in some sectors, a figure who is celebrated -- like the partisans of the past -- in areas of the society in which he or she lived, and demonized in the cultures under attack. Perceived either as a martyr to a historical cause or as an irrational agent of terror, the “human bomb” has generated an extensive literature on the history of political self-sacrifice, the emotion behind it, and the range of meanings it conveys for different cultures. On the one side, the growing phenomenon of suicide bombing has begun to influence Western military strategy, and even forced a reconsideration of established doctrines of nuclear containment. On the other, the rise in popular discourses of martyrdom, with suicide understood as both a weapon of war and as a speech act -- a means of bearing witness to a cause -- brings to light the social embeddedness of the act, with the act of martyrdom acquiring a social legitimacy and a historical basis. The starkly competing narratives that surround the act crystallize the remarkable reemergence of the body as the focus of meaning -- simultaneously idealized and demonized -- in the contested zones of the world.

***Joseph McGonagle & Edward Welch***

### **Paris, 17 October 1961: corporeality, grievability and visual culture**

On the evening of 17 October 1961, with the Algerian War of Independence at its height, several thousand Algerian immigrants converged on central Paris to stage a peaceful protest march against a curfew on their movements imposed by the Paris Police Chief, Maurice Papon. The protest was brutally repressed, with an estimated 200 Algerians (the exact figure unknown) being killed over the following hours and days. Since the end of the Algerian War in 1962, the events of 17 October have undertaken a remarkable historical trajectory. After provoking a brief controversy in their immediate aftermath, they were quietly

expelled from French collective memory for over two decades, before being disinterred by historians and memory activists during the 1980s and 1990s, who succeeded in establishing the massacre as one of the most significant and troubling moments of the conflict. This paper's aim is to explore the visual representation of the events of 17 October both at the time, and as they were re-introduced into the French public sphere from the 1980s. Engaging with Judith Butler's recent reflection on the conditions in which lives become 'grievable', the paper argues that the envisioning of the Algerian male body plays a crucial role not only in establishing the original understanding of the events, but also in their subsequent revalorization, as their political and historical meanings change, and the protestors' status within France shifts from an unruly rabble to victims. A notable aspect of contemporary French press coverage is that even if men, women and children all participated in the protest march, it was primarily visualized as a male event. Thus, if the protest caused controversy for the majority of the French population, at the time, it was not only because it briefly established the front line of the Algerian War in the colonial capital, but also because it involved the insistent, corporeal insurgence on to that capitals' streets of the colonial 'Other' in its most redoubtable, masculine form. This paper then argues that the Algerian male body subsequently becomes the principal vector for the re-presentation of the events and their meaning in the French public sphere from the 1980s. Central to this process is a body of images by the photojournalist Elie Kagan, depicting the dead and wounded bodies of Algerian men during and following police assaults. The paper examines how the visual rhetoric of the images themselves, and the ways in which they are deployed in historical and militant accounts of 17 October, work to transform understanding of the events, as memory activists and historians seek to make the victims of police repression more visible and, therefore, more grievable and worthy of (historical) justice. The paper concludes by considering what the (re)visioning of 17 October reveals more generally about the place of the body in the visual economy of war, and its role in shaping and changing historical understanding of conflict.

### **Marzena Sokolowska-Paryz**

#### **The naked body in cinematic war narratives**

The aim of this paper is to analyze how visual narratives create or deconstruct the meanings of war through the representation of the naked body and, concomitantly, how the cultural and political meanings of a military conflict influence the perception of nakedness. I would like to propose an overview of contexts into which the naked body has been embedded. Such contexts will include, among others, the naked soldier's body in combat narratives and the naked civilian's body in genocide narratives. One must all take into

consideration contexts where the body remains clothed – the refutation of nudity is as ideologically significant as its ostentatious foregrounding, e.g. in rape narratives. Such a classification must be considered provisional, given the extent of the proposed field of study, which ranges across the wars in the twentieth and twentieth-first centuries in different national traditions. Although typology carries the danger of oversimplification, its value resides in disclosing the diversity of cross-cultural representations of nakedness which, in turn, raises the question of the effect of the multiplication of the signifieds of nudity, which can ultimately lead to the erasure of meaning altogether, leaving the naked body an emblem of the commodification of war in contemporary culture. Films selected for my discussion will include: *El Alamein* (dir. Enzo Monteleone), *Behind the Lines* (dir. Åke Lindman), *Ghetto* (dir. Audrius Juzenas), *Anonyma: A Woman in Berlin* (dir. Max Fäberbröck), *Regeneration* (dir. Gillies MacKinnon), *The Fragments of Antonin* (dir. Gabriel Le Bonin), *The Reader* (dir. Stephen Daldry), *City of Life and Death* (dir. Chuan Lu), *1937: Don't Cry Nanking* (dir. Ziniu Wu), *The Mark of Cain* (dir. Marc Munden).

### **Jennifer Walden**

#### **Hiroshima Mon Amour – Inscriptions of war upon the body and the promise of justice**

50 years ago the film *Hiroshima Mon Amour* caused a scandal on its release for its audacity in apparently comparing the enormity of the atrocity of the atomic bombing of Hiroshima with the personal tragic love story of a French woman. This scandal was augmented by the opening sequence of the film which appeared to make a direct comparison between the ecstasy of love and the extreme agony and devastation of this act of war, by inscribing the effects of each upon two embracing bodies. Since then different readings of the film have negotiated that apparent personalisation and intensification upon the body, as a means to critique the desensitisation that has marked our means to respond to mass death post- 'Hiroshima'.

Such interpretation takes on new applicability in the wake of recent 'disavowals' of the death of some and those barriers, as Judith Butler has it, "against which we struggle when we try to find out about the losses that we are asked not to mourn" (*Butler (2004) Precarious Life, Verso p.46*). Such barriers drawn up by the "frames of war", can encounter resistance by way of alternative mediations of injustice written starkly upon the body and its abjection (*Butler (2009) Frames of War, Verso p.130 and passim*).

My paper engages with readings of the film *Hiroshima Mon Amour* and readings of more recent representations of the horrors of war (including those 'informal' mediations now available via mobile technologies), by way of the critical positions towards notions of war, justice, community and the body, that

the work of Butler and principally Jacques Derrida and Jean-Luc Nancy provides, in order to unravel what a 'just' resistance to and mourning for the injustices of past and present and a true sense of a justice-to-come might be. It is perhaps somewhere between an overarching impersonal notion of the abject and an over-wrought personalisation on the body, a denial of identity and an excessive inscription of identity, that an 'other' justice emerges.

## **Memorialization**

### ***Andrew Keating: Graves “more sacred than the family tomb”: the evolution of British commemoration of the war dead during the 19th century***

During the Napoleonic Wars the British government did very little, if anything at all, to commemorate dead soldiers other than the heroic military leaders, such as Nelson, Abercromby, and Moore, who fell in battle. In one notable example from Lisbon in 1810 the British civilian community considered interring the bodies of military fatalities in their burial ground to be “profane.” Nonetheless, in the decades after the peace, there was a new emphasis in literary culture on the deaths and burials of military leaders. By the 1850s and the Crimean War the British government and public began to express a much more persistent interest in the condition of soldiers’ graves and burial grounds. Although much is known about the commemoration of the war dead that took place following the First World War, the newspaper articles, government correspondence, and other documents that suggest this increasing concern about the care of the British war dead during the nineteenth century have been largely overlooked.

This paper, part of a dissertation on British burial overseas, considers how dead soldiers became sacred in the British popular imagination and how their graves became national spaces during the nineteenth century. It examines the impact of the Crimean War and its aftermath on the evolution of national commemorative practices, and it traces the haphazard process through which the British public and government began to care about soldiers’ graves in a way that they had not during the Napoleonic Wars. Christian impulses and the rise of Evangelical Christianity in the British Army influenced the care of the dead. The widespread discussion of soldiers’ graves in a popular Evangelical conversion narrative of the time, Catherine Marsh’s *Memorials of Hedley Vicars*, brought them to the attention of a global public, which increasingly demanded that they be maintained. British cemeteries in the Crimea and the veneration of the war dead, instead of resulting from state planning from the top, came about because of public criticism of governmental inaction from below. The government itself was frequently ambivalent about spending money to care for the dead and was often unable to maintain graves and burial grounds effectively.

Ultimately, the somewhat surprising conclusion is that the Crimean War and its aftermath were pivotal moments during which the British soldier dead became sacred and took on newly national meanings through a contingent and unplanned process unlike the highly organized and bureaucratically driven war commemoration efforts of the twentieth century.

**Adrienne Harris**

**Memorializations of a martyr and her mutilated bodies: public monuments to Soviet war hero Zoia Kosmodemianskaia (1942 - present)**

This paper examines artistic representations of Zoia Kosmodemianskaia as a means of viewing the intersection of cultural memory, national myth-making, and constructions of femininity. Kosmodemianskaia was an 18-year-old Muscovite schoolgirl and partisan, supposedly tortured and hanged by Nazis on November 29, 1941 for allegedly burning houses and stables in Petrishchevo, a village near Moscow. In February 1942, she became the first woman during the war to be named a Hero of the Soviet Union and the Soviet propaganda machine began to exploit the unexpected outrage her image provoked in its citizenry. Memoirs and archival letters give evidence that the photograph of Kosmodemianskaia's brutalized body published in *Pravda*, along with witnesses' accounts of her torture and inspiring last words, unified the nation and motivated its citizenry to contribute more to the war effort, both at the front and on the home front.

In the postwar period, Kosmodemianskaia achieved new status in Soviet culture as a hero for children and a model of perfect behavior. As the years passed, her significance in the mythology of the war eclipsed that of other female Soviet war heroes, such as Liza Chaikina, Uliia Gromova, and Liubov' Shevtsova, who had been as well-known as Kosmodemianskaia during and immediately after the war. This paper posits that Kosmodemianskaia has remained a central figure in part because of the plurality of her representations. While archival evidence indicates that organs of state propaganda carefully shaped the initial appearance of Kosmodemianskaia's image in mass culture, her story so deeply inspired her fellow citizens that into the present, individuals, both professionals and non-professionals, have responded to her story by creating literary and artistic images of her that cannot be defined by a single femininity; she is at once a militarized woman warrior, a pure young woman, and an obedient child. While unsolicited, spontaneous works of art and literature show that those inspired by her story have always shaped her image in keeping with their own fantasies, this paper analyzes the manifestation and shaping of these fantasies in public monuments to Kosmodemianskaia.

In short, this paper endeavors to explain the complex Soviet mythologization process through the lens of one of its most revered heroes, while elucidating the often contradictory gender constructions one finds in Soviet and post-Soviet culture. The recent installation, desecration, and restoration of monuments to Kosmodemianskaia and her growing presence as a site of debate in blog forums point to her continued significance in the post-Soviet period, during which many other Soviet heroes have been neglected.

**Jackie Scully & Rachel Woodward**

**Known soldiers: DNA identification of military remains**

War produces bodies, and the practices of burial and identification (or otherwise) of these war bodies is specific to time and space. This paper discusses a specific moment in contemporary practices around these war bodies, emerging from the growing use of DNA technology in the identification of soldiers' remains. The routine identification of soldiers' remains is a practice of the late 20th century; during and immediately following the First World War, the difficulties of repatriation of massive numbers of bodies, the complete absence of bodies, and the presence of unidentifiable remains, plus an emergent sensibility about the memorialisation of mass death as sacrifice, led to the form of war graves and memorials we know today. We also see here the emergence of a particularly enigmatic and resonant war body, that of the unknown (because unidentifiable) soldier, the memorialisation of which has been adopted in a variety of forms by different nations.

Sophisticated and rapidly advancing techniques of DNA amplification have made possible the identification of remains, even when fragmented, decomposed, or very old. DNA analysis has been used to test soldiers' remains from the US Civil War, First and Second World wars, the Korean, Vietnam, Croatian, Bosnian and Chechen wars, and from the Israel-Palestine conflict. It is possible to trace not just the development and refinement of the techniques themselves, but also a number of themes in the evolution of attitudes towards, and the cultural meaning of, identification of previously unidentifiable war remains from both historical and contemporary conflicts.

In this paper, we focus on the analysis of older remains, with a view to looking at how seemingly stable practices of identification, recognition and loss are challenged through the application of this technology. We consider two examples where the use of DNA testing has changed the nature of these categories of unknown and absent war bodies. The first of these concerns the identification of the bodies of the "unknowns" buried at Arlington, Virginia. The second concerns the identification of remains of (mostly) ANZAC troops at Fromelles, Northern France. In both cases, recent choices were made that reflect an altered understanding of the anonymity of these bodies. Because the nature of DNA profiling means that, unless a known sample from the individual is available for comparison, identification requires samples from living relatives/descendants, potentially breaching past and present confidentiality, or creating a new hierarchy of the 'claimed' versus the 'unclaimed' dead. In this paper we discuss from both a sociological and an ethical point of view some of the novel questions these new practices raise about the meaning and consequences of the collapse of anonymity for the war body.

**Michael Drake**

**The war dead and the body politic: Rendering the dead soldier's body in the new global (dis)order**

Debates about embodiment and identity conventionally focus on the living, individual body, but recent work of philosophy (Butler, Rose) has drawn attention to the function of mourning in the formation of collective imaginaries, which imbue the body of the dead with cultural significance. The bodies of the war dead in particular stand in for the body politic in the formation and maintenance of national imaginaries. The repatriation and commemoration of the war dead in homecoming parades, tributes and ritual burials thus becomes a potential theatre of political contention.

Informed by these philosophical insights, this paper will undertake a comparative study of the very different US and UK public receptions of the return of the bodies of the war dead from Iraq and Afghanistan. Using documentation from the public sphere to produce insights into current conditions of collective national-cultural identity formation, the paper also draws comparisons with other recent controversies over the war dead in Spain, the Baltic states and Japan.

**Closing**

**Victor Seidler**

**Men's bodies, masculinities, war and human vulnerability**

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