

TRUTH AND ENTERTAINMENT: HISTORICAL FILM AS A REPRESENTATION OF THE
PAST IN THE WORKS OF SELECTED FILMMAKERS

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MARCH 2015

DECLARATION

I declare that this dissertation is my own work and has not been submitted previously for any degree or examination through any other institution.

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MARCH 2015

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ABSTRACT

The aim of this study is to interrogate the validity of Historical film as a representation of the past and a source of historical knowledge, in the work of Richard Attenborough, Claude Lanzmann, Angus Gibson and Jo Mennel and my film practice, using Robert Rosenstone's theories, the 6 Codes of Representation (Rosenstone, 1995a) and the 4 Modes of Invention (Rosenstone, 1995a) as a theoretical framework. The main research question is: How can Historical film preserve the historical integrity of a subject whilst entertaining the viewer?

Three different film genres were analyzed using this theoretical framework. Films included the Historical Drama **Gandhi** (1982), the Historical Documentary **Mandela** (1996) and the Experimental Historical film **Shoah** (1985). This research interrogates the degrees to which history presented on film can be altered, without becoming an invalid representation of the past. Research outcomes have concluded that the Historical film will inevitably dramatize a subject in order to appeal to a larger audience. However, in making a Historical film, a filmmaker's decision to stray from historical facts must be supported by a sufficient justification of any significant fabrication, and an explanation of how it benefits the historical subject.

This study informed my practical component, consisting of a treatment and storyboard for what I term a hypothetical Historical Experimental film, exploring the Aversion Therapy. These therapies were practiced on SADF conscripts in order to "cure" them of 'illnesses' such as homosexuality (Kaplan, 2001). It is my hope that this study and proposed film will encourage people to investigate and discuss the Aversion Therapies, creating an awareness of a subject that has had little exposure post 1994.

DEDICATION

I dedicate this paper to the brave victims of the Aversion Therapies, both living and deceased, as well as my father, mother, family and friends for encouraging me.

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

I must thank my committed supervisors, Mr. Anthony Starkey and Dr. Mikhail Peppas, for sharing their intellect, creativity and time with me throughout the course of writing this research paper and helping me create something I feel I can be proud of. I appreciate your guidance and patience. A thank you to Miss. Olivia le Roux and Miss. Lisa Herselman for managing to visualize, with unbelievable accuracy, the things I saw in my head.

I would like to thank Mr. Angus Gibson for his contribution to this paper, as well as inspiring me to become a filmmaker. A massive thanks to Miss. Tarryn Crossman for sharing her invaluable insight and years of research with me. I acknowledge and thank the Durban University of Technology Research Management Office for funding provided towards this research.

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Introduction

The aim of this study is to interrogate the validity of Historical film as a representation of the past and a source of historical knowledge in the work of selected filmmakers. Historical film is defined by historian Natalie Zemon-Davis as a motion picture in which “actual historical events, or historical figures are central and intrinsic to the story” (Zemon-Davis in Burgoyne, 2007: 369). This paper explores three genres of the Historical film through case study analyses of Attenborough’s Historical Drama **Gandhi** (1982), Angus Gibson and Jo Mennel’s Historical Documentary **Mandela** (1996) and Claude Lanzmann’s Experimental Historical film **Shoah** (1985).

Through a study of the works of filmmakers and the writings of film scholars, theorists and historians, this research will explore the qualities required in a Historical film for it to represent the past in an historically valid way and the dramatic elements necessary to entertain the viewer.

Robert Rosenstone (1995a :2) asks the question “why do most historians distrust the Historical film?” His reply was that the “overt answers might be: Films are inaccurate. They distort the past. They fictionalize, trivialize, and romanticize people, events, and movements. That they falsify history” (Rosenstone, 1995:2).

Historical film has raised controversy and significant debate among (and between) historians and film theorists on the limits of dramatic interpretation and the inherent risk of Historical film’s potential to influence popular understanding of the past (Burgoyne, 2007). However, there are film theorists, such as Robert Burgoyne, who argue that Historical film should be viewed as a promising and powerful channel for historical education. Burgoyne (2007: 369) argues that there have been “important and powerful Historical films that have reawakened interest in aspects of the past that were not previously well represented or understood...that have contributed to historical appreciation and understanding”.

This research will inform my practical outcome which will take the form of a treatment and storyboard for a hypothetical Historical film representing the Aversion Therapies, which took place in Ward 22 of the 1 Military Hospital in the apartheid era. The Aversion Therapies were a

series of systematic behavioral treatments and procedures performed with the intention of 'curing' patients of their supposed 'illnesses' such as drug-addiction and homosexuality. When I began this research in September 2011, the Aversion Therapies had received little coverage in media forms other than articles in press publications and medical journals. As a result the majority of South Africans were not aware of this dark chapter in our recent history. My belief was that should the Aversion Therapies be explored and represented in a cinematic form, it could bring the subject to the attention of a larger, previously uniformed community. Whilst writing this dissertation, the Aversion Therapies have been investigated by South African filmmaker, Tarryn Lee Crossman, who produced and directed an episode for the South African investigative journalist television series, *Carte Blanche* (2013). The episode investigated the criminal history and current activity of Dr. Aubrey Levin, who began performing the Aversion Therapies in Ward 22. He has been found guilty and imprisoned for sexual assault against patients in his psychiatric practice in Calgary, Canada. Crossman is in the process of creating a yet to be completed Historical Documentary titled **Ward 22**. **Ward 22** places a stronger focus on Levin's involvement in the Aversion Therapies and features interviews with Aversion Therapy victims, as well individuals who have researched the subject. Though Crossman and I are exploring the same subject and have gathered data from mostly the same sources, my practical outcome differs to the projects Crossman initiated in the manner in which I wish to represent the subject. I intend to create a short (30 minutes) Experimental Historical Drama film exploring the subject in a fictional narrative. The proposed film will be historically informed by research on the Aversion Therapies and will be guided in cinematic presentation by literature on Historical film through an application of the research outcomes provided by the theoretical framework used in this study.

Chapter 1.

An Introduction and Theoretical Contextualization of Historical film

Chapter one will provide an overview of the Historical film through a discussion of its position in the context of film theory and historical studies.

Historical film is defined by historian Natalie Zemon-Davis (in Burgoyne 2007: 369) in the *Schirmer Encyclopedia of Film* (2007), as a motion picture in which “actual historical events, or historical figures are central and intrinsic to the story”. David Wark Griffith’s **The Birth of a Nation** (1915) is credited as the motion picture that defined the Historical film category. There were films made prior to **The Birth of a Nation** (1915) that used historical settings, or drew characters from history. However, none either attempted to offer a serious interpretation of the past, or ask serious questions about history. Griffith drew his inspiration largely from the ‘Italian Epic’ era (1910-1914) of the early silent film period. These films were some of the first to extend the playing time of a feature, with films such as Giovanni Pastrone’s **Cabiria** (1914), which ran for over three hours. In addition, they introduced lavishly decorated sets and spectacular costumes (Figure 1). Presented in a similarly epic form **The Birth of a Nation** (1915), despite the controversy it raised in presenting a “deeply flawed interpretation of the meaning of the past” (Burgoyne, 2007: 371), in its artistic approach drew the blueprint for the future development of Historical films (Figure 2). It contained distinct characteristics that would later define the category, as well as reserving Historical film’s place in cinema as one of the most popular forms of both cinematic expression and historical reflection (Zemon-Davis in Burgoyne, 2007). Robert Burgoyne, in the *Schirmer Encyclopedia of Film* (2007), noted that Historical film has often excelled in studio prestige and artistic ambition.



Figure 1. **Cabiria** (1914) Directed by Giovanni Pastrone. Screen shot from film. Available at: http://3.bp.blogspot.com/pArid9DvBNw/UYe7imqDc_/AAAAAAAAHGw/EyQoKtQOrM/s1600/cabiria4.jpg



Figure 2. **The Birth of a Nation** (1915) Directed by David Wark Griffith. Screen shot from film. Available at: <http://www.newyorker.com/online/blogs/movies/birth-of-a-nation-465.jpg>

He cited directors such as Steven Spielberg (**Schindler's List**, 1993) and Oliver Stone (**JFK**, 1991) stating that these directors have made films (Figure 3 and Figure 4) that achieved both commercial success and made important contributions to the public's understanding of the past. Burgoyne (2007: 369) wrote that "powerful Historical films have been made that have reawakened interest in aspects of the past that were not previously well represented or understood". He added that Historical films may be of educational value, for their ability to foster desire to seek information on the past, and their potential to generate public discussion; all of which contribute, substantially, to historical appreciation (Burgoyne, 2007).

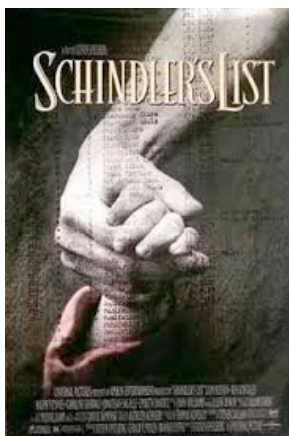


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Figure 4. **JFK** (1991) Directed by Oliver Stone. Theatrical Poster.

Available at: <http://cucugliato.files.wordpress.com/2012/02/cover-del-film-jfk-di-oliver-stone.jpg>

Historical film is considered to be an initiative of what historian Robert Rosenstone (Rosenstone in Herlihy, 1988: 1186) called “visual history”, which he described as “the presentation of historical themes in images and words, not just words alone”. Advocating this new form of historical expression, he argued “combined images and words will enliven the past and make it meaningful to the present. Visual history suits the style of contemporary culture” (Rosenstone in Herlihy, 1988: 1186). Rosenstone (1995) believes that Historical film should be viewed as a promising and powerful new channel for historical education. However, Historical film has raised much controversy and significant debate among, and between, historians and film theorists. This has centered largely on the limits of dramatic interpretation and the inherent risk of Historical film’s massive potential to influence popular understanding of the past (Burgoyne, 2007). In *Visions of the Past: The Challenge of Film to our Idea of History* (1995), Rosenstone (1995: 46) posed the question, “why do most historians distrust the Historical film?” He then answered by stating that “the overt answers might be: Films are inaccurate. They distort the past. They fictionalize, trivialize, and romanticize people, events, and movements. That they falsify history”. In response to this, fellow historian and film theorist Bryan LeBeau believed that the answers to this question might be more complex and that there is a covert answer that distresses historians. In *Historiography Meets Historiophoty: The Perils and Promise of Rendering the Past on Film* (1997), LeBeau (1997: 151) explained:

The covert answer: Film is out of the control of historians. Film shows we do not own the past ... creating a historical world with which books cannot compete, at least for popularity. Film is a disturbing symbol of an increasingly post-literate world – in which people can read, but won’t.

Rosenstone interestingly argued that Historical film might be the post-literate equivalent of pre-literate ways of exploring the past, by comparing cave paintings and medieval visual depictions of folklore to historical cinema, with both being considered forms of visual expression that deal with historical subjects and events (Rosenstone, 1995). He states that before the elite dominance of written history was established, historical discussion depended on “forms of historical representation, in which scientific, documentary accuracy was not yet a consideration” (Rosenstone, 1995: 23). Historian, Robert Toplin (1988: 1213) concurred with this view, arguing:

While films often fail to deliver a comprehensive view of a subject, they may, nevertheless contribute to understanding as stimuli for thought. Films work well, not in presenting a complete chronology of events...but in exciting feelings and emotions. The medium functions as poetry, not encyclopedia.

Toplin (1988: 1211) importantly noted that while there is substantial evidence of films treating historical subjects “superficially, insensitively, or inaccurately...the dismal record does not, in itself, negate film’s potential for contribution to historical study”.

This idea does, however, continue to provoke debate in the field of historical study, leading historians such as Gerda Lerner in the *Journal of American History* (1982) to criticize the medium for its “striking factual deficiency, present-mindedness, shallow-mindedness and uncritical handling of issues” (Lerner in Toplin, 1988: 1211). In agreement with Lerner, condemning the inevitably oversimplified history provided by film, historian Theodore K. Rabb (in Toplin, 1988: 210) stated that “there is a fundamental division of purpose between scholarship and television...Academics deal in nuances, qualifications and subtle distinctions, while filmmakers seek broad strokes, drama and simple vivid ideas”. Toplin (1988) agreed that the historian’s skepticism is not unjustified; simply in terms of the number of times they have seen history compromised, stretched, abused and fabricated in films. He does, however, not believe that the medium should be rejected entirely. He asked that perhaps the criteria set by historians in review of a Historical film may be unrealistic and inappropriate, in terms of the expectations filmmakers are required to meet. Toplin (1988) then suggested that an appropriate, common sense criterion would allow for discussion rather than immediate rejection. In his article, *Am I a Camera? Other Reflections on Films and History* (1988), historian David Herlihy (1988: 1187) put forward the view that “we should pursue any means of

representation that makes our message stronger, clearer, more appealing to often skeptical listeners. And yet the problem remains: can films genuinely interpret the past for the present?"

In the context of this study it is important to clarify the position of the historian, as well as that of written history, to discuss the validity of Historical film and the information presented in it. We must establish the chronological position of written history on the timeline of methods of documentation, from ancient to current, of historical record. Historian Anirudi Deshpande suggests that visual history is older than both written and oral history; this concurs with Rosenstone's statement that post-literate and pre-literate methods of representing the past may be compared as visual histories (Deshpande, 2004). Dating back to the Paleolithic period (18th century BC), communities used cave paintings to visually document history through a depiction of events in their lives (Figure 5). This pre-literate method of consciously bequeathing records has enriched our understanding of the past and is still considered important by most professional historians (Deshpande, 2004). Historians endorse the idea that large parts of documented history cannot be written about, without referring to these instances of pre-literate, visual history. The first move towards historical literacy is believed by historians to have been initiated with the advent of Babylonian calendar-art (Figure 6), in ancient Iraq. Other means of pre-literate historical representation that are noted as being important, such as medieval songs of eulogy and even metaphoric folklore, informed communities of popular history long before the advent of literacy. This is referred to as oral history. In the evolution of historical record, oral history became a prevalent means of discussing and preserving the past in the present. Historians believe that oral history, usually via interviews or verbal discussion, continues to hold importance as it is almost always referred to when a writing historical document. However, a subject's oral history is only recognized as valuable until it is subjected to the bias of historians, when it is then rejected, in preference to written history. Deshpande goes as far as to state that these historians, through their own arrogance, have often trivialized oral history and the information provided by it (Deshpande, 2004). This trivialization occurs through the historian's process of assessing and selecting parts of the subject's oral history that they believe to be valuable. They subsequently edit out the rest, describing the oral history as containing large doses of 'hear-say' and stating that the pen is superior to the human voice. As a result, they hypocritically write a history deficient in information (Deshpande, 2004).



Figure 5. **Paleolithic cave painting.** 18th Century BC.

Available at: <http://arthistory.about.com/cs/arthistory10one/a/paleolithic.htm>



Figure 6. **Ancient Iraqi Calendar Art.** 18th Century BC.

Available at: [http://media-cache-](http://media-cache-ak0.pinimg.com/736x/94/53/ca/9453ca70c7773476af4194b40b6cc7c9.jpg)

[ak0.pinimg.com/736x/94/53/ca/9453ca70c7773476af4194b40b6cc7c9.jpg](http://media-cache-ak0.pinimg.com/736x/94/53/ca/9453ca70c7773476af4194b40b6cc7c9.jpg)

However, in a less cynical mindset, one must ask that if historians respect the evolution of historical record, from pre-literate visual history, to pre-literate oral history, to semi-literate visual history, to now literate written history, should they not respect the progression to post-literate modes of historical representation; namely, the Historical film? Deshpande (2004) asks, should historians not apply the same methods of analyzing oral history (separating and classifying the 'useful and the useless' information) to Historical films, by 'reading' them and sifting through the data presented in these films? The historian could then gauge the validity of

the historical viewpoint offered in the film, versus the missing facts, therefore determining whether a film is, or is not, a legitimate representation. This approach could be considered significantly less discriminatory than the current means of critique by which historians dismiss cinematic representations of the past, as drama trespassing into the realm of history (Desphande, 2004). They could view film with scrutiny, yet remain open to the prospect of collaboration. This collaboration could inform Historical film as historians commit to assisting filmmakers in maintaining diligence to the historical subject, while simultaneously learning the commercial constraints within which the filmmakers must work; thus achieving an intellectual balance (Desphande, 2004). Deshpande (2004: 4458) commented that historians try to “paint a holistic picture of the past but very few of them are writers of prose good enough to successfully do so”. Yet by way of contrast, film has the power to express and bring alive these various dimensions of the past, sometimes achieving an academic clarity that is not possible in written history. It is clearly apparent that all means of historical representation have their limitations. As deficiencies in traditional means of historical representation are revealed, highlighted by the possibilities in a post-literate society, the need to seek new kinds of historical representation, or a new “vocabulary” to render history is crucial (Rosenstone in Nadel, 2009: 77).

In this context, Rosenstone in *History on Film/Film on History* (2006: 62) states that “Historical journals [five years ago] were never designed to mention film, and our doctoral advisers would have tossed us out...were we to have suggested a dissertation on a film topic or claim a film might successfully ‘do history’”, as they remained focused on fact rather than interpretation and representation. Rosenstone (in Nadel, 2009: 76) comments that beyond the limitations of the written word is “a world of colour, movement, sound, light and life...that unlike words, film/video/moving pictures capture something”. The belief that film will never be able to do what the written word does and the written historical document will never be able to accomplish what the Historical film does, created an unfortunate belief that no agreed method of comparing the two can be devised and used as a standard measure (Nadel, 2009). Judgments by historians regarding the historical validity of a film have often been made on unimportant grounds, such as the supposed suitability of an actor to play a role, scrutinizing their body language, voice, gestures and a myriad of other characteristics which can never fully be understood or explained by any historical record (Rosenstone, 2003). It is the authenticity of these traits that is argued by the historian. In order to exonerate themselves from their historical deficiencies, they point out these superficial faults in representation (Nadel, 2009). Rosenstone suggests

that this creates conflict out of ideological difference (Rosenstone, 2003) with the result being an attitude of hostility and misunderstanding. Anirudi Deshpande (2004: 4458) in commenting on the challenge of historical film to traditional representations of history, made the observation that:

Salt and pepper historians may continue to trash Historical films as essentially fiction, but none of us can ignore their having become a preferred mode of receiving and understanding the past in contemporary society... If historians want to bridge the widening chasm between public and academic histories they have no choice but to take relatively new forms of knowledge, like film, seriously.

However, when establishing the historian's position in the discussion of Historical film, it must be added that the respective positions of the professional historian and the film theorist are not mutually exclusive. A number of the film theorists referenced in this paper are graduated and professional historians by occupation. This illustrates the reality that there is movement within historical societies towards supporting the potential validity, and acceptance, of the Historical film. These film theorists include Robert Rosenstone (Professor of History at the California Institute of Technology), Bryan LeBeau (Dean at the University of Kansas City) and Natalie Zemon Davis (Professor of History at the University of Toronto).

Chapter 2.

This chapter will consist of two sections. Section One will provide an understanding of Rosenstone's Codes of Representation and Modes of Invention as they apply to Historical film. Section Two will, through an examination of the three main genres of Historical film, clarify the fundamental differences between them.

Section 1: Theoretical Framework (Codes of Representation and Modes of Invention)

The theoretical framework used in the analysis of the selected Historical films is derived from Robert Rosenstone's theory of the Six Codes of Representation (Rosenstone, 1995: 4-8) as well as his Four Modes of Invention (Rosenstone, 1995: 8). This framework is comprised of six points of examination which, when applied to the mainstream Historical film, help to investigate the validity of the information presented in the film, and thus the film's validity as a truthful representation of the past. Rosenstone's Four Modes of Invention (1995: 8) are systematically employed as a method of adapting a convoluted historical subject, so that it conforms to and fit within the limitations of a conventional cinematic narrative. The Six Codes of Representation (1995: 4-8) framework also assists in the task of characterizing the Experimental Historical film. Once the mainstream Historical film has been examined, it is possible to begin to understand the theoretical position of the Experimental Historical film.

2.1 The Six Codes of Representation in the Historical Film (Rosenstone, 1995)

Rosenstone's six codes of representation are as follows:

1. The Historical film tells history as a story, a tale with a beginning, middle, and an end: a tale that leaves you with a moral message, and (usually) a feeling of uplift (Rosenstone, 1995: 4).

Here Rosenstone points to the audience's desire to leave the cinema with a feeling of resolution and a conclusive understanding of the past they have just witnessed in the film. The audience believes that the history is complete and, although it has had an effect on the present, its relevance is strictly emotional with no concrete effect on their current lives.

2. Film insists on history as the story of individuals - either men or women (but usually men) who are already renowned, or men and women who are made to seem important because they have been singled out by the camera and appear before us in such a large image on the screen. Those not already famous are common people who have done heroic or admirable things, or who have suffered unusually bad circumstances of exploitation and oppression. The point: both dramatic features and documentaries put individuals in the forefront of the historical process. Which means that the solution of their personal problems tends to substitute itself for the solution of historical problems. More accurately, the personal becomes a way of avoiding the often difficult or insoluble social problems pointed out by the film (Rosenstone, 1995: 4).

Rosenstone has theorized that although the audience might recognize that the focus of the film is on social problems, they are more likely to lend their emotion to an individual. Thus an important individual is usually focused on, becoming a protagonist.

3. Film offers us history as the story of a closed, completed, and simple past. It provides no alternative possibilities to what we see happening on the screen, admits of no doubts, and promotes each historical assertion with the same degree of confidence. This is equally true of the documentary, despite the fact that it may call on various witnesses and experts who express alternative or opposing points of view. Through editing, these differences are never allowed to get out of hand or call into question the main theme of the work. The effect is much like that of dissenting minor characters in a drama, people whose opposing positions heighten the meaning of whatever tasks the heroes undertake. Ultimately, these alternative viewpoints make no real impact. They only serve to underline the truth and solidity of the main world or argument (Rosenstone, 1995: 5).

This code argues that audiences want to believe that they have received a well-balanced schooling in the history presented in the film. As with the typical mainstream 'blockbuster' film, resolution is necessary to ensure the viewer's satisfaction. Audiences are generally left dissatisfied if they have to further research the subject presented in the film they have viewed.

4. Film emotionalizes, personalizes and dramatizes history. Through actors and

historical witnesses: it gives us history as triumph, anguish, joy, despair, adventure, suffering and heroism. Both documentaries and dramatized works use the special capabilities of the medium – the close up, the quick juxtaposition of disparate images, the power of music and sound effect –to heighten and intensify the feelings of the audience about the events depicted on the screen. Written history is of course not devoid of emotion, but it usually points to emotion rather than inviting us to experience it. A historian has to be a very good writer to make us feel emotion, while the poorest filmmaker can easily touch our feelings. Film thus raises the following issues: To what extent do we wish emotion to become a historical category? Part of historical understanding? Does history gain something by being empathic? Does film, in short, add to our understanding of the past by making us feel immediately and deeply about particular historical people, events and situations? (Rosenstone, 1995: 5).

Here Rosenstone highlights how film's technical aspects have been developed to maintain the viewer's attention. These elements of filmmaking, although manipulative in attempting to direct the viewer's emotions, are considered inherent cinematic qualities. Therefore it is important to scrutinize these technical aspects, in understanding that they are characteristics of film that should not jeopardize the historical data.

5. Film shows history as process. The world on the screen brings together things that, for analytic or structural purposes, written history often has to split apart. Economics, politics, race, class and gender all come together in the lives and moments of individuals, groups and nations (Rosenstone, 1995: 5).

Here Rosenstone points to the reality that written history is multi-layered. However, Historical film is unable to explore the more multi-faceted aspects of the past, because a filmmaker cannot provide a thorough exploration of a segmented past in the time constraints of a conventional film. The audience must be able to understand the film without difficulty. To make this possible, elements of the past must be brought together to emphasize a single focus, the subject of the film.

6. Film so obviously gives us the look of the past – of buildings, landscapes and artifacts... So it is important to stress that more than simply the look of things, film provides a sense of how common objects appeared when they were in use. In film,

period clothing does not limply hang on a dummy in a glass case, as it does in a museum: rather it confines, emphasizes and expresses the moving body. In film, tools, utensils, weapons and furniture are not items on display or images reproduced on the pages of books, but are objects that people use and misuse, objects they depend on and cherish, objects that can help define their livelihoods, identities, lives and destinies. This capability of film slides into what might be called 'false historicity'. Or the myth of facticity – a mode that Hollywood has long depended on. This is the mistaken notion that mimesis is all - history is, in fact, no more than a period look. That things themselves are history, rather than becoming history because of what they mean to the people of a particular time and place (Rosenstone, 1995: 5-6).

In common with the technical aspects highlighted in Rosenstone's fourth code of representation, costuming and set design might also be considered an integral asset in the entertainment values of a film. However, Rosenstone cautions against the belief that history in film is "no more than a period look" (Rosenstone, 1995: 6). However, it is necessary that costumes and sets must be authentic to the time, setting and figures featured in the film for the audience to accept the past presented on screen as 'real'.

2.2 The Four Modes of Invention in the Historical Film (Rosenstone, 1995)

Rosenstone's Four Modes of Invention (1995: 8), which are commonly utilized in the Historical film, are as listed follows: the Mode of Compression, the Mode of Condensation, the Mode of Alteration, and the Mode of Metaphor. "It is these modes that ensure that history on film will create a different past from the one provided by written history; indeed, they mean that history on film will always violate the norms of written history" (Rosenstone, 1995: 6).

It is important to examine these 'Modes of Invention' individually to understand their role and significance when employed in the creation and critique of Historical film.

The Mode of Compression describes the acts of omission and conflation utilized (in necessity) to keep a film within the boundaries of conventional filmic time restraints (Rosenstone, 1995: 8)

The Mode of Condensation is explained as the simplification of complex events and ideas (so that can might fit into a generic dramatic structure) to maintain intensity of emotion and to keep

the story moving at a cinematic pace that is comfortable for the viewer (Rosenstone, 1995: 8). Toplin (1988: 1121) states that:

By presenting subjects in a conclusive manner, films imply that the study of history is a tidy operation, that it involves little more than laying out a chronology and getting the story straight... film displays significant inadequacies if it does not communicate some of the ambiguity and complexity of life. The causes of problems are not always so singular as films frequently make them, solutions not always so obvious, good and evil not always so stark.

The Mode of Alteration describes all aspects of invention in Historical film, from the smallest to the largest. It proposes that every fictional element applied in the creation of an Historical film, even the obvious and most simple factors of cinema, must be considered acts of invention; from the casting of actors, to the construction of sets, the scoring of soundtracks and the use of props. Rosenstone (1995: 7) says "to obtain the full benefits of the motion-picture dramatic story - surmised as character, look, sound - the process is to use film's power to the fullest, ensuring these alterations".

The Mode of Metaphor is the basis of dramatization in Historical film. It is here that the entertainment values of the film most often conflict with historical validity. This is where the Historical film begins to ignite controversy and demand skepticism from its viewers. It is the mode of invention that most sets apart history in film from written history (Rosenstone, 1995: 8).

In *Writing History in Film* (2006), historian William Guynn (2006: 225) states that "it is a risky business to write seriously about Historical films" because negative reaction, as a consequence, seems almost inevitable. He theorizes that this is due to the reality that reviews of Historical film are unfairly dependent on a "cross-disciplinary understanding of what constitutes historical understanding in a Historical film" (Guynn, 2006: 225). For any filmmaker, or film theorist, this makes the subject treacherous, as most Historians will always dismiss and disparage the film as nothing more than a "costume-drama" (Guynn, 2006: 225). In *Writing History in Film* (2006) Guynn sets out to defend the Historical film, in constructing a framework within which the Historical film can be studied as fundamentally different to written history. The relationship with the past that Historical film provides cannot be compared to the written

representation of history; the two mediums require different judgments. Though there is an overarching critique, which Guynn calls the “validity” of historical representation when studying the Historical film, he argues that it requires a different theoretical concern (Guynn, 2006: 225). A typical approach to studying Historical film should not mimic the way historians review the past, but should explore new perspectives on “basic structures of meaning and techniques of representation” (Guynn, 2006: 225). His framework consists of a study of narrative and its “principle of fidelity...and representation of the past” (Guynn, 2006: 225) throughout mainstream Historical film, via the simple separation of fiction and nonfiction. Intended to be an interrogation of the validity of the information provided in the genres of Historical film, Guynn’s study and theories are limited in terms of their critical breadth when investigating the different genres. In the context of this limitation, Rosenstone’s Six Codes of Representation (Rosenstone, 1995) were selected as a theoretical framework because of their focus on the genres of Historical film. A comparison of Historical film genres (Drama, Documentary, and Experimental) and their varying codes of representation and modes of cinematic invention will be undertaken in the context of Rosenstone’s Codes of representation and Modes of Invention. The Historical films selected for discussion are Richard Attenborough’s **Gandhi** (1982), Angus Gibson and Jo Mennel’s **Mandela** (1996) and Claude Lanzmann’s **Shoah** (1985).

In *One Cut Too Many? History and Film: A practice based case study* (2013: 6) Professors Desmond Bell and Fearghal McGarry state:

The exploration of the way Historical films narrate, visualize, and dramatically orchestrate the events of the past, the exploration Rosenstone describes as ‘how that vanished world can be, and has been represented in film’ has for the most part not been taken up... case studies of the way historical films employing a practice-based methodology are certainly in short supply.

In the examination of the three selected historical films I will employ a practice-based methodology, which in this context is defined by Bell and McGarry (2013) as the process of investigating methods of historical representation in a filmic format, whilst using these research outcomes to guide a film practice. Based on the findings of the analysis of the three historical films I will write a treatment and story board for a proposed film that explores the Aversion Therapy Project undertaken at No 1 Military Hospital, Pretoria, during the apartheid era.

Section 2: An Introduction to Historical Film Genres

Section Two examines the three main genres of Historical film and clarifies the fundamental differences between them. The three main genres selected for discussion are the Historical Drama film, the Historical Documentary film and the Experimental Historical film.

In his book *Am I Camera? Other Reflections on Films and History* (1988), historian David Herlihy (1988: 187) puts forward the view that “we should pursue any means of representation that makes our message stronger, clearer, more appealing to often skeptical listeners. And yet the problem remains: can films genuinely interpret the past for the present?” Robert Burgoyne (2007:369) comments that:

In order to comprehend Herlihy’s question, it is important to investigate the Historical film, scrutinizing the legitimacy of the information offered in the film – and how, through the filmmaker’s interpretation of this history, this information is presented. Commonly, films are studied within their genre types – groups of films which share consistent characteristics in cinematic aesthetic, subject matter and narrative structure, are gathered into categories, labeled as ‘genres’.

2.1 The Historical Drama

The Historical Drama is defined by Natalie Zemon Davis (in Burgoyne, 2007: 369) as a “dramatic feature film in which the primary plot is based on actual historical events” applying fictional narratives to real life, historical subjects. Historian Robert Rosenstone (1995: 7) states:

Certainly the most popular form of history on film, the Historical Drama, is shot through with fiction and invention, from the smallest details to the largest events. The cameras need to fill out the specifics of a particular historical scene, or to create a coherent (and moving) visual sequence. This will always ensure large doses of invention.

Robert Burgoyne (2007: 377) argues that the Historical Drama could be classified in accordance with the varying degrees of fictionalization it employs. The film may even be derived from, or based on, fictional historical literature; thus framing historical events and individuals rather than representing them on a strict and factual level. By utilizing modes of invention, it recreates the subject or time it is exploring, “allowing the viewer to become a

voyeur of the past...providing a source of sensual pleasure that equates history with emotion and passion" (Burgoyne, 2007: 377).

2.2 The Historical Documentary

Essentially a research based film, the Historical Documentary genre might be considered significantly more committed to fact than a film in the Historical Drama genre. The Historical Documentary, though often flawed, acts more in pursuit of investigating the past and revealing it to the audience. There is a stronger focus on educating, rather than entertaining, the viewers. However, film theorist David Herlihy (1988: 6) explains that:

The Historical Documentary film is not completely exempt from the requirement that disbelief be suspended. As Rosenstone observes, the documentary film often truncates actions: we see cannon fire and the shell explode in another place, almost instantaneously. Usually, too, the documentary film forces the events into a narrative scheme – with a beginning, middle, and end: with crisis and resolution. This code is similar to Rosenstone's first code of representation (Rosenstone, 1995: 4)

Linda Williams (1996: 12), in *Mirrors without Memories: Truth, History and the New Documentary* (1996), clarifies the relationship between truth and fiction in a Historical Documentary film:

An overly simplified dichotomy between truth and fiction is at the root of our difficulty in thinking about the truth in documentary. The choice is not between two entirely separate regimes of truth and fiction. The choice, rather, is in strategies of fiction for the approach to relative truths. Documentary is not fiction and should not be conflated with it. But documentary can and should use all the strategies of fictional construction to get at truths.

In partial agreement with this view, Toplin (1988: 1121) states that "Historical Documentaries, with their supposedly educational format, disappoint, too, in that filmmakers often construct them with an eye to entertainment value rather than the priorities of scholarship". This has resulted in a drastic increase in mainstream popularity of the documentary film. "When we survey the field of recent documentary films two things stand out: first, their unprecedented popularity among general audiences, who now line up for documentaries as eagerly as for

fiction films; second, their willingness to tackle often grim, historically complex subjects” (Williams, 1996: 11).

2.3 The Experimental Historical film

Experimental Historical film contests the codes of representation offered in the mainstream Historical film. This genre will, in one-way or another, violate the codes of representation employed by the Historical Drama and Historical Documentary, either through refusal to conform, or intention to oppose. Thus, the Experimental Historical film becomes both awkward and difficult to define. Rosenstone, in *Historical Film as Real History* (1995) has deduced that only by examining the inherent characteristics of the Historical Drama and Historical Documentary, can we explain the Experimental Historical film. “The aim is not to tell everything, but to point to past events, or to converse about history, or to show why history should be meaningful to people in the present. Experimental Historical films rarely sanitize, dramatize, or rationalize the past, though they often ideologize it” (Rosenstone, 1995: 10).

Chapter 3.

Case Study Analyses

Chapter Three consists of an analysis of three Historical films, in the context of Rosenstone's Codes of Representation (1995) and Modes of Invention (1995), in order to interrogate the validity of Historical film as a representation of the past and a source of historical knowledge.

3.1 Historical Drama: **Gandhi** (Richard Attenborough, 1982)

3.2 Historical Documentary: **Mandela** (Angus Gibson, 1996)

3.3 Experimental Historical film: **Shoah** (Claude Lanzmann, 1985)

These three films were selected as they each explore and represent parts of history where particular communities suffered violent oppression. I have chosen to examine how these three different genres represent these similar themes of struggle and oppression.

3.1 Historical Drama: **Gandhi (1982)**. Figure 7. Directed by Richard Attenborough (b.1923)

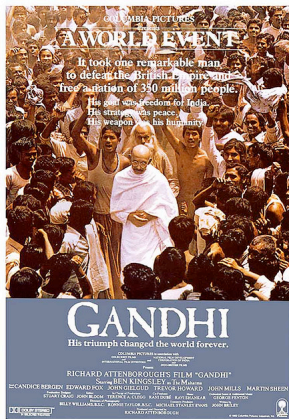


Figure 7. **Gandhi (1982)** Directed by Richard Attenborough. Theatrical Poster

Available at: https://farm4.staticflickr.com/3650/3568561578_b24447fe53_z.jpg?zz=1

The film **Gandhi** (1982) begins with a disclaimer, written by the director, Richard Attenborough (**Gandhi**, 1982), in which he states:

No man's life can be encompassed in one telling... least of all Gandhi's, whose passage through life was so entwined with his nation's struggle for freedom. There is no way to give each year its allotted weight, to recount the deeds and sacrifices of all the great men and women to whom he and India owe such immense debts. What can be done is to be faithful in spirit to the record of his journey, and to try to find one's way

to the heart of the man.

David Herlihy (1988: 7) poses the question, “We, the viewers of Historical films are cameras. But how can we be warned, without destroying the illusion, that the lenses through which we view the past may be faulty?” He later references historian, Natalie Zemon-Davis (in Herlihy, 1988: 7) who he believes:

Proposed several ingenious ways by which the viewer might be subtly informed concerning the quality of the sources, the bases for conclusions, and the possibility of alternate interpretations. For example, some references to sources and their weaknesses might be introduced early in the film, to serve a warning that what follows is an interpretation - perhaps not the right interpretation and usually not the only possible interpretation.

Attenborough’s statement differs to Zemon-Davis’ suggestion, in both purpose and effect. Zemon-Davis proposes that Historical film should admit shortcomings in its ability to provide a comprehensive representation of a subject, by suggesting that other sources be referenced and that the viewers be notified that what they are seeing is the filmmaker’s interpretation of the subject. Attenborough’s disclaimer, though seemingly sincere, simply reads as nothing more than an apology that the film may lack, due to filmic time constraints, the ability to fully describe the more complex details of Gandhi’s story. It implies that what the viewers are about to see is in fact completely true to history and that they need not think critically about the information presented in the film. The term ‘record’ in Attenborough’s description of the film, as being “faithful in spirit to the record of his journey”, references the recorded history of Gandhi’s life in support of the film’s historical validity. However, it might, to the skeptic, be read as an excuse for historical inaccuracy. Steven Hay in his review of **Gandhi** (1982) in *The Public Historian* (1983), writes that Attenborough later explained this statement as a justification of the necessity to dramatize parts of Gandhi’s life in order to make the film linear in structure and to maintain emotional intensity (Hay, 1983). This highlights the fact that his sole aim was to represent the life of Gandhi dramatically, as an individual of historical significance, without complicating the film by revealing the more convoluted aspects of history. This concurs with Rosenstone’s fourth and fifth Codes of Representation (Rosenstone, 1995) which highlight the Historical film’s limitations in exploring the larger historical context, when wishing to tell the story of a single individual in a dramatic narrative, within a conventional filmic time constraint

(Rosenstone, 1995). The most notable limitation observed in **Gandhi** (1982), as a successful dramatic narrative, is the nature of its compromised historical accuracy. The 'Alteration' and 'Metaphor' Modes of Invention (Rosenstone, 1995) are most prominent in the film's portrayal of Gandhi's experiences in South Africa, which exaggerated Gandhi's treatment by white authorities. Activist and author Akhil Gupta in his publication *Attenborough's Truth: the politics of Gandhi* (1983), argued that Gandhi was never thrown head first out of a train (Figure 8) because of his colour, that he was never brutally assaulted by police, and that he never led workers in defiance against mounted policemen (Gupta, 1983: 32). The latter of these inaccuracies does, however, describe an incident which took place in India 30 years later (Gupta, 1983: 32). The basic chronology in the film is distorted to such an extreme that even Attenborough (in Hays, 1983: 89) admitted "we cheated like mad, in amalgamating historical events". The Reverend Charlie Andrews, Gandhi's white Christian missionary friend (Figure 9), is another victim of Attenborough's fiction. Not only was he not present in South Africa for the duration of time portrayed in the film, only arriving just before Gandhi left, but he also did not visit Gandhi in a Bihar jail, as Gandhi was never jailed there (Gupta, 1983). Effectively, these inaccuracies and examples of 'metaphor' transform Gandhi into a 'dramatic icon' as described by Rosenstone in his Six Codes of Representation (Rosenstone, 1995); his entire life story is told as the overcoming of endless, back-to-back conflicts. In a number of instances these radically dramatized scenes place the film in an American styled, protagonist-as-messiah narrative. An example of this is evident in the scene where during Gandhi's Calcutta fast he stated that in order for him to eat, the Hindu man must adopt a Muslim child in place of his murdered son (Figure 10). This example of fabrication again concurs strongly with the 'Metaphor' Mode of Invention theorized by Rosenstone (1995) and, being completely historically inaccurate, serves no other purpose than to glorify Gandhi as a messiah-like figure (Gupta, 1983).



Figure 8. **Gandhi** (1982) Directed by Richard Attenborough. Screen shot from film.



Figure 9. **Gandhi** (1982) Directed by Richard Attenborough. Screen shot from film.



Figure 10. **Gandhi** (1982) Directed by Richard Attenborough. Screen shot from film.

The reduction in numbers of political and social groups, now exemplified by a few characters, and the convergence of multiple (significant) incidents into one dramatic encounter, is an Historical Drama film mode of condensation employed consistently throughout the film (Rosenstone, 1995). It is evident, particularly with regard to the representation of the Indian National Congress, where a small number of characters represent the entire party and its ideologies at one single meeting (Gupta, 1983). An example of what Rosenstone (1995) calls character alteration can be seen in the character of Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru, who is portrayed as weak, submissive and in awe of Gandhi. However, in terms of historical accuracy, he was ideologically divergent from Gandhi and persistently expressed his political beliefs (Gupta, 1983). In compliance with the traditional Hollywood 'dramatic icon' narrative, Gandhi is revered in the film as a man who was respected by all and whose policies were never questioned by the righteous and loyal. As a result of this idolization, the film requires an accessible and distinctive villain, of which there are two. The first is an evil caricature in the form of Mohammed Ali Jinnah (Figure 11), a sinister; British dressed Muslim who wishes to divide the country. Gupta (1983: 22) argues that "Jinnah is demonized, as he poses opposition of Gandhi's ideology, yet in the film we are never exposed to his or any one else's point of view". Though the term 'opposition' might be a slightly exaggerated description of their differing political stances, the representation of Gandhi as the hero in the film consequently and by default causes Jinnah to take the form of a 'nemesis' in the dramatic narrative. The British, especially their police and government officials, are presented as the other form of villain in the film. They are portrayed as being incompetent and foolish characters, experiencing humiliation

as the film shows them being 'driven' out of India by Gandhi. In historical actuality, Britain left India voluntarily due to the Indian call for independence (Gupta, 1983).



Figure 11. **Gandhi** (1982) Directed by Richard Attenborough. Screen shot from film.

Available at: [http://movie-dude.co.uk/Alyque%20Padamsee%20%20Gandhi%20\(1982\).jpg](http://movie-dude.co.uk/Alyque%20Padamsee%20%20Gandhi%20(1982).jpg)

The film follows Gandhi from major event to major event, presenting what is regarded by many as a realistic portrayal of the physicality and personality of Gandhi. However, Gandhi is presented as what Rosenstone describes as a one-dimensional hero (Rosenstone, 1995). This is largely due to the focus on Gandhi's political life at the expense of his religious, spiritual and family life. **Gandhi** (1982) leads one to believe that Gandhi was a flawless, moral, intelligent human being his entire life, providing no character evolution in the film. His change of attire suggests that Gandhi changed as a person when he moved from South Africa to India. However it is never explained how, or why, Gandhi changed from being a lawyer to a political and spiritual icon, at least in an internal ideological sense (Hay, 1983). Gandhi is regarded as a deity, even though he had many faults, such as his racist attitude towards black Africans (Gupta, 1983). In the film this is not explored, thus creating a historical character that whose traits stand in stark contrast to written history. Due to the multitude of historical inaccuracies, the fabrications, and the obvious commitment to the Hollywood styled dramatic narrative, **Gandhi** (1982) does not successfully represent the figure with historical accuracy. In effect, it tells the story of a hero. It is therefore possible to argue that Richard Attenborough's **Gandhi** (1982), in the Historical Drama genre of Historical film, could be considered a misrepresentation of the past.

3.2 The Historical Documentary: Mandela (1996) Figure 12. Directed by Angus Gibson (b.1957) and Jo Mennel (b. 1938)

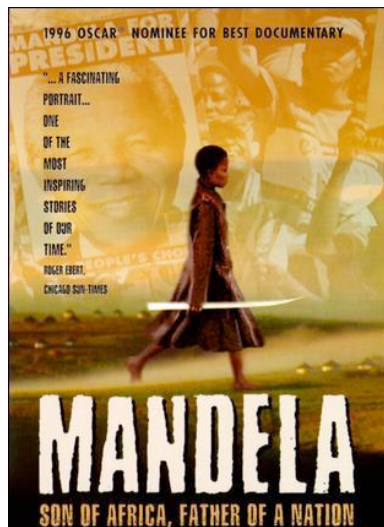


Figure 12. **Mandela** (1985) Directed by Angus Gibson and Joe Mennel. Theatrical poster Available at: http://cineplex.media.baselineresearch.com/images/445503/445503_medium.jpg

A personal interview with **Mandela** (1996) director, Angus Gibson, was conducted on the 28th of September 2014 at his residence in Johannesburg (Read: Addendum A. Gibson, 2014: Personal Communication).

Stating that “there’s no doubt that film is much more accessible, to a contemporary generation of young people, than literature” (Gibson, 2014) Gibson explains that it was clear that he and Jo Mennel (the film’s co-director) wanted to create an accessible film that a younger generation could watch and relate to. Gibson (Gibson, 2014) elaborates:

He [Mennel] specifically felt that in the case of Mandela – here was a role model, in the context of a world where there are not too many role models, certainly not in that kind of leadership position. So he wanted it to be a film that reached a lot of people, and so we used a lot of music and I think the narrative is linear in construction.

This approach concurs with Rosenstone’s second Code of Representation, which theorizes that film tells history as the story and struggle of an individual, whose character embodies a larger historical process (Rosenstone, 1995). In accord with Rosenstone’s first Code of Representation (Rosenstone, 1995), the narrative in **Mandela** (1996) is almost completely

linear, with only one reordering of time, which takes place at the very beginning of the film. This is evident in a number of black and white shots of Robben Island and subsequent cuts to 1994 footage of various ANC rallies around South Africa. After Nelson Mandela, at 76 years of age, is introduced to a crowd of ANC supporters, the film's narrative makes a chronological regression back to the early nineteen hundreds when Nelson Mandela was a child. This is presented in both archived and original footage of the Transkei and the areas in which he grew up (Figure 13). This mode of presentation is a convention theorized in Rosenstone's sixth Code of Representation, which states that film gives us "the look of the past – buildings, landscapes..." (Rosenstone 1995: 5). The footage of landscapes, Xhosa villages and tribesmen is intercut with a video interview with Nelson Mandela, in which he reflects on aspects of his adolescence in compelling detail; such as the games he used to play, his father's death, his agonizing circumcision, his schooling and interest in the past battles fought by the Xhosa people. As Rosenstone's fifth Code of Representation (1995: 5) states 'Films show history as process... it brings things together that, for analytic or structural purposes, often have to be split apart' such as cultural details. In this context, **Mandela** (1996) explores, in explicit detail (for example his circumcision) Nelson Mandela's cultural position. The film also includes footage of Mandela in 1994, walking through the village where he lived and visiting the schools that he attended. Though he does address the camera regularly, the majority of this footage witnesses him engaging the crowds and the villagers walking with him, with the camera capturing these moments of unscripted communication. This style of filmmaking is called 'observational cinema' or '*cinéma vérité*'. Originally, Gibson wanted the film to take an observational approach in portraying the subject; however, this became difficult to achieve for a number of reasons, as Gibson (Gibson, 2014) explains:

The cut down [in duration] of the film ... was simply making it shorter so that it could be shown in cinemas. And the film that I really missed was quite a lot of *vérité* material. There'd been quite a lot of material where we had simply observed Mandela in conversation, dealing with different things, and quite a lot of that was lifted out of the film. And because he is such, in a way, a controlled and private person, my view was that through the *vérité* material, an audience could get a better sense of person.

The original cut of the film was four hours long, which the editors managed to reduce to two hours, which is close enough to the ideal 90 minutes preferred by cinemas. The directors

wanted the film to possess the cinematic feeling of a feature film, rather than that of a long form documentary (Gibson, 2014).



Figure 13. **Mandela** (1996) Directed by Angus Gibson and Jo Mennel. Screen shot from film

Gibson recalls the difficulty in executing projects like these during the apartheid era; he explains that prior to the making of **Mandela** (1996), he wanted to create a cinema vérité film in which he followed a group of ANC 'comrades' over the period of one year. However, when he received funding for the film, the Emergency Restrictions (which prevented anyone from filming authorities or certain locations) were enforced; these restrictions became an obstacle to the making of a political film, especially a film in the '*cinéma vérité*' tradition. Gibson (Gibson, 2014) further explains that "...also what was happening was that the subjects of films were becoming victims, so it suddenly felt very difficult to make films...and so I decided then that perhaps a way to do it was to start doing historical work" (Gibson, 2014). Gibson began his research of historical records by visiting libraries and reviewing every Drum (a South African publication printed over a ten year period). Founded in the 1950s by Jim Bailey, Drum Magazine reflected the dynamic changes that were taking place among the aimed mainly at urban Black communities (sahistory, 2014) He then began to look through every available archive in South Africa, the United Kingdom and the United States, searching for film material that had been shot. Gibson (Gibson, 2014) believes:

I think it was kind of why I was brought on to the project [**Mandela**, 1996]...because I had this real kind of sense of what was out there in the world in terms of archive material, and I'd already done a lot of interviews with key people.

Gibson (Gibson, 2014) continues by stating "Of course the **Mandela** (1996) film did have a lot of money attached to it, so there were researchers..." However, **Mandela** (1996) is one of the very few films about Nelson Mandela that spends time speaking to, and spending time with,

him. Gibson (Gibson, 2014) believes that Mandela himself could be considered the primary source of research for the film. Gibson (Gibson, 2014) explains:

The very first thing I did [when joining the project] was we went to the Bahamas and spent ten days...speaking to Mandela every day (Figure 14). And he was kind of captive in a sense that South Africa was a long way away...and in many ways I think it's his best interview, having looked at many, many, many hours of interviews that he did about other things. So there was that at the core of the film.

Whereas many Historical films of this nature shy away from offensive truths, it is apparent early in the documentary that, although the film ultimately presents Mandela as a heroic figure, it does not shy away from an investigation of darker aspects of his life. An example of this is evident in a scene where the film explores Nelson Mandela's support of, and involvement in, the armed struggle (Figure 15) carried out by the ANC's military wing *Umkhonto We Sizwe* (Spear of the Nation). This takes the form of an interview with Nelson Mandela in which he states that he will not end the violent retaliation (Figure 16) by black Africans, until the National Party finds itself ready to discuss the prospect of a democratic South Africa. Although this position is subjective, seen either as morally wrong or a necessary measure, the audience is given the opportunity to form their own opinion on these actions, providing objectivity in the documentary.

Juxtaposed with Mandela's comments on the rationale for an armed struggle the film provides footage of public addresses and television interviews with National Party leaders, Pieter Willem Botha, Pik Botha and Daniel Francois Malan, as well as far-right political group AWB leader Eugene Terreblanche (Figure 17). The statements made by these figures are presented in a manner that is neither convincing nor compelling. They are used to reinforce the film's argument that these views on the subject could not be considered legitimate. Discussing this shared aspect of the Historical film, Rosenstone (1995: 5) states in his third Code of Representation:

Through editing, these differences are never allowed to get out of hand or call into question the main theme of the work. The effect is much like that of dissenting minor characters in a drama, people whose opposing positions heighten the meaning of whatever tasks the heroes undertake. Ultimately, these alternative viewpoints make no

real impact. They only serve to underline the truth and solidity of the main world or argument.

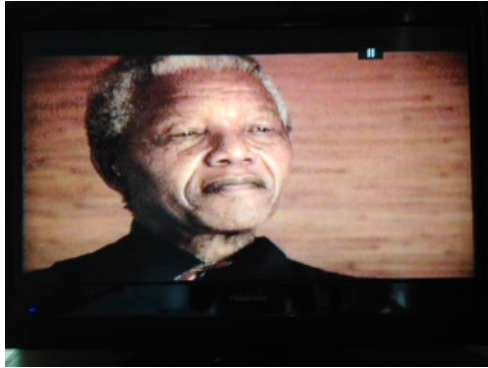


Figure 14. **Mandela** (1996) Directed by Angus Gibson and Jo Mennel. Screen shot from film.



Figure 15. **Mandela** (1996) Directed by Angus Gibson and Jo Mennel. Screen shot from film.



Figure 16. **Mandela** (1996) Directed by Angus Gibson and Jo Mennel. Screen shot from film.



Figure 17. **Mandela** (1996) Directed by Angus Gibson and Jo Mennel. Screen shot from film.

Gibson (Gibson, 2014) believes that “there’s a value in having alternative views” and states that ‘activist cinema’, in which a filmmaker “takes a particular viewpoint and drives it home” (Gibson, 2014) is not a style he is very interested in. He favours an approach to documentary filmmaking that utilizes opposed and differing historical interpretations. He does, however, admit that when making a documentary such as **Mandela** (1996), he will use a similar approach to that of a drama; he argues that “You want to tell a story with a beginning, a middle and an end...you want the story to be continually compelling” (Gibson, 2014). This concurs with Rosenstone’s first Code of Representation (1995: 4) that “film tells history as a story, with a beginning, middle and end”; a resolved situation leaves the viewer in a positive emotional state. This approach is appropriate to **Mandela** (1996), as the film’s focus is on the struggle leading to the end of apartheid, a period which can be considered one of the darkest times in South African history.

On the power of Historical film, Gibson (Gibson, 2014) believes that there is “no doubt that films can change things”. As an example, he discusses American filmmaker, Erol Morris’ **Thin Blue Line** (1988). This film (Figure 18) investigates a murder trial that took place in Texas in 1976, in which a man was wrongly convicted of murder and sentenced to death. As a result of the film, the wrongly accused was retried and acquitted one year after the film’s release in 1988. In terms of encouraging or reigniting general public awareness of a past subject, Gibson (Gibson, 2014) discusses the South African filmmaker, Riaad Desai’s documentary **Miners Shot Down** (2013) Figure 19:

I think the current film that Riaad Desai made around Marikana is putting the spotlight back on that incident. And I think it is definitely sort of 'activist cinema... And I imagine Rehad [Desai] would say that you need that kind of activism because news, for example, continually provides you – certainly in this country – SABC News is a mouthpiece for the government and what the government is wanting to say.



Figure 18. **Thin Blue Line** (1988) Directed by Erol Morris. Theatrical poster.
Available at: http://ordet1.blogspot.com/2010_07_01_archive.html



Figure 19. **Miners Shot Down** (2014) Directed by Riaad Desai. Theatrical Poster
Available at: <http://nfvf.co.za/home/index.php?ipkMenuID=&ipkArticleID=90>

When questioned on the subject of post-literacy, Gibson (Gibson, 2014) explains that while at school he became very disengaged and turned to film as a form of alternative education:

I had grown up...in this perfect apartheid moment...through my adolescence I didn't even know who Mandela was. So when I realized how much had been shut off from me, I had a real thirst to absorb and find out everything I could about black South Africa and its struggle.

Gibson (Gibson, 2014) believes that a Historical film's success may largely be attributed to its modes and degrees of distribution. For example, if an informative film is not shown on a channel in which young people or the general public will see it, or if it is shown primarily on a human rights film festival circuit, it will only reach a niche audience who are likely to already know a fair deal on the subject. Gibson (Gibson, 2014) elaborates on this when he says "I do think that how a film is distributed is an incredibly important thing. So the power of, for example, a channel like SABC1 is enormous because it just brings, willy-nilly, a vast audience". He cites an example of this when he recalls that, shortly after Mandela died, SABC aired **Mandela** (1996) a number of times, which resulted in many people contacting his company saying "I never saw your film until I saw it on SABC" (Gibson, 2014) and requesting copies of the film. This, in addition to the critical acclaim it received from major institutions such as the Academy Awards, confirmed for Gibson that the film had been a success in terms of accessibility and engagement with a wide audience.

South African filmmaker Anant Singh produced **Long Walk to Freedom** (2013), an Historical drama portraying the life and struggle of Nelson Mandela (Figure 20). Perhaps the most interesting difference between **Mandela** (1996) and **Long Walk to Freedom** (2013) was the reception of the film by the general public. With a \$35 million production budget, and a box office turnover of \$27 million, Singh's **Long Walk to Freedom** (2013) was considered a box office failure. In a remarkable coincidence, the film premiered on the 5th December 2013, the night that Mandela passed away. This should have contributed to the film's mainstream success.

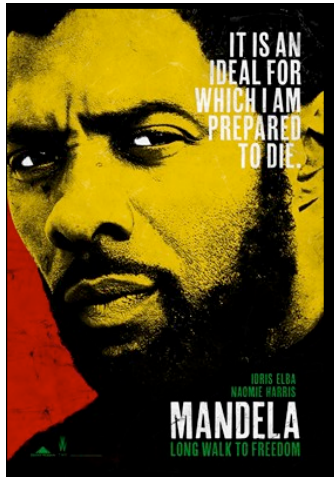


Figure 20. **Long Walk to Freedom** (2013). Directed by Justin Chadwick. Theatrical Poster. Available at: <http://reelandunscripted.com/wp-content/uploads/2013/12/Mandela-Long-Walk-to-Freedom-Movie-Poster.jpg>

What follows is a comparative analysis of the two films, consisting of an evaluation of the degrees of historical accuracy provided by both films, as well as an illustration of the major differences between the Historical documentary and Historical drama genres.

In exploring Mandela's cultural heritage, **Long Walk to Freedom** (2013) simply shows him and his mother parting ways under a voice-over speech given by a Xhosa elder, motivating young Xhosa boys to go out and become men. It depicts, without any contextual explanation, Mandela's childhood hut being burnt down (Figure 21); this scene in **Mandela** (1996) is explained as a ritual performed by the tribe when a young male Xhosa transitions from adolescence to manhood.

Long Walk to Freedom (2013) misses a substantial part of Mandela's past by fast forwarding to his life and career in Johannesburg as a lawyer (Figure 22) in 1942, where he is depicted as a partner in Mandela and Tambo Attorneys (which in reality was founded in 1953). A large amount of contextual information, critical to an understanding of Mandela the man, exists in the time period between Mandela's youth in the Transkei and him owning a law firm in Johannesburg. The Mode of Condensation (Rosenstone, 1995) is almost inevitably utilized in the Historical film, as it would appear to be impossible to fit an entire time period of information into, ideally, ninety minutes. However, the 142-minute duration of **Long Walk to Freedom** (2013) could have included more detail in the exploration of the period between his youth and his position as a lawyer in Johannesburg. In this respect a significant amount of valuable

information was neglected and, without any focus on these years, the audience is left to speculate about how Mandela arrived at this position.

Another conflict in narrative in the two films can be found in the retelling of how Nelson Mandela and his second wife Winnie (Born Nomzamo Winifred Madikizela on September 26, 1936) came to be acquainted. In an interview with Winnie Mandela in Gibson's documentary, she recalls Mandela contacting her via telephone to arrange a meeting, which she tried to avoid, but eventually his persistence resulted in them meeting each other (Figure 23).

Whereas, in **Long Walk to Freedom** (2013) Mandela simply approaches Winnie at a bus stop (Figure 24), love-struck, and begins dating her almost immediately. It is typical of the historical drama to romanticize elements of love interest (Rosenstone, 1995).



Figure 21. **Long Walk to Freedom** (2013) Directed by Justin Chadwick. Screen shot from film.

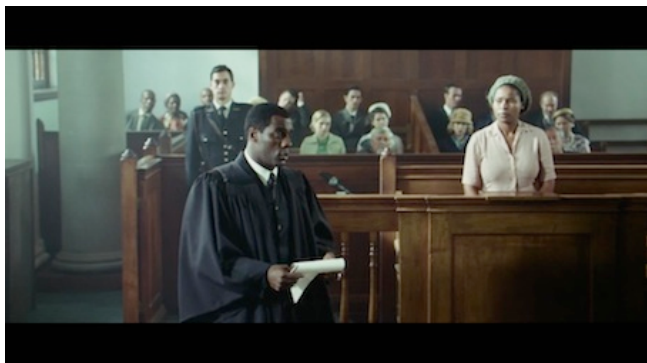


Figure 22. **Long Walk to Freedom** (2013) Directed by Justin Chadwick. Screen shot from film.



Figure 23. **Mandela** (1996) Directed by Angus Gibson and Jo Mennel. Screen shot from film.



Figure 24. **Long Walk to Freedom** (2013) Directed by Justin Chadwick. Screen shot from film.

Two major distortions in the historical timeline in **Long Walk to Freedom** (2013) are evident. Firstly, the absence of a chronological context implies that the launch of the Defiance Campaign (1952) and Freedom Charter (1955) took place in 1948. Secondly, in its portrayal of Mandela's final arrest, Mandela is caught in a high-speed chase (Figure 25) in South Africa, after which he is tried and sentenced to life on Robben Island for the crime of high treason. However, in historical accuracy, Mandela was sentenced to five years for illegally leaving the country. It was during this period of incarceration that he was charged with high treason and sentenced to life imprisonment, after an ANC safe house (Liliesleaf Farm) was raided in 1963 where weapons and incriminating documents were discovered. Though the omission and condensation of events is common in the Historical drama, in this case it results in severe historical inaccuracies.



Figure 25. **Long Walk to Freedom** (2013) Directed by Justin Chadwick. Screen shot from film.

The screenwriter of **Long Walk to Freedom** (2013), William Nicholson, in an article titled *How I turned Nelson Mandela's Life Into A Screenplay* (2013) explained that his intention was to make people, either who had never been exposed to the subject of apartheid or who knew very little about South African history, become aware of the intensity of Mandela's struggle.

Hollywood executives took years of convincing to believe that a successful feature film could be made on Mandela's life (Nicholson, 2013). Journalist Peter Wonacott, in an online Wall Street Journal article titled *Mandela's Long Walk to Hollywood* (2013), comments that "to get to the big screen, however, was no easy feat. There were at least 33 script drafts; four different directors; and years of Mr. Singh trying to convince wary Hollywood executives that Nelson Mandela's life could be a film" (Wonacott, 2013). The filmmakers originally wanted to make a "grittier film that showed the brutality of apartheid in South Africa's townships" (Wonacott, 2013). When writing the screenplay, Nicholson admits that he struggled to accommodate the story's political complexity into his script (Nicholson, 2013). After numerous draft revisions, he realized that the film could not be made as a full historical record and that he needed to consider taking a different approach to telling the story. "At this point, I began to see the entire screenplay in a new way" (Nicholson, 2013). He believes that the theme of **Long Walk to Freedom** (2013) is captured in one line of script he wrote, when Mandela declares "What they have done to my wife is their only victory over me" (Nicholson, 2013). He elaborates on this, stating:

Mandela and Winnie's love story – their love tragedy – was a metaphor for the struggle for freedom. Through their parallel lives we could represent the two paths to liberation. Mandela isolated on Robben island, learning to forgive. Winnie, tortured beyond endurance, learning to hate.

Nicholson (2013) concludes by noting that "...there it was, everything we'd always wanted: a great victory accompanied by great personal defeat; a hero who is human, who can be hurt; an emotional journey that is also the story of a nation". Rosenstone considers the Mode of Metaphor the "basis of dramatization in Historical film" (Rosenstone, 1995: 8) and the primary mode of invention that creates conflict between historical validity and entertainment values, thus causing controversy and arousing skepticism in the viewer. An example of this skepticism is evident in a comment made by African National Congress politician Ahmed Kathrada who, on reviewing the first drafted script of **Long Walk to Freedom** (2013), commented that the focus on Mandela's romantic life concerned him (Nicholson, 2013). Kathrada asked Nicholson if he didn't believe that to place emphasis on Mandela's failed relationships was disrespectful to Mandela. Nicholson (2013) motivated his approach, in a 1998 letter to Kathrada, when he said:

I have taken his marriages as a major theme, because through this side of his life so many people will be able to identify themselves with him. Very few have endured long prison sentences. Many have known the anguish of failed marriages, of loving and losing love, of feeling the guilt of failing loved ones. My belief is that the more human Mandela becomes to us, the more extraordinary and admirable his achievements become. Like you, I see Mandela as a role model: but I do not see him as a saint. If he is superhuman, his qualities are beyond our reach. If he is human, then we too can say, 'As he did, so can I.' That is the true role model.

In terms of historical legitimacy, Gibson's **Mandela** (1996) co-directed by Angus Gibson and Joe Menell can be considered a legitimate representation of the past and a source of historical knowledge, with the dramatic elements necessary to entertain the viewer. Anant Singh's **Long Walk to Freedom** (2013), as a drama film, whilst acknowledging the challenges in constructing the film's narrative, demonstrates an extreme manipulation of chronology and the reduction and omission of events and crucial information that damages the historical integrity of the film. This criticism is especially valid in the light of the film's budget and the longer than average duration. Gibson (Gibson, 2014) supports this view when he comments that:

It [**Long Walk to Freedom (2013)**] was like the Reader's Digest kind of take on Nelson Mandela and so fundamentally you never engage with any real element other than an engagement with the relationship with Winnie...but in it's most sketchy form...where as

if each of those chapters had real life and real characters, I think it could have been a great, epic narrative. And for the money they spent on it they could have easily done it.

3.3 The Experimental Historical Film: **Shoah** (1985). Figure 26. Directed by Claude Lanzmann (b. 1925).

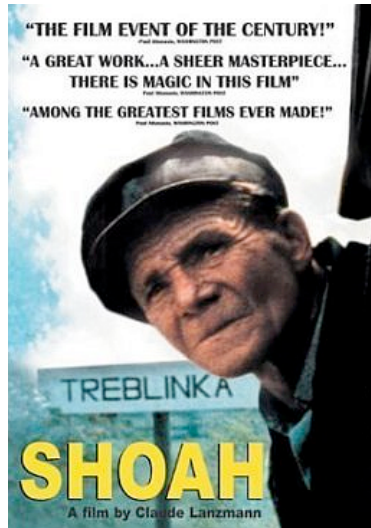


Figure 26. **Shoah** (1985) Directed by Claude Lanzmann. Film Theatrical Poster

Available at: http://moviecitynews.com/wp-content/uploads/2010/11/Shoah_orig-poster.jpg

French director Claude Lanzmann's **Shoah** (1985) explores the Holocaust through the gathered recollections of individuals immediately involved in the Holocaust [the film took eleven years to make and has a running time of just under nine hours]. Almost exclusively through interviews and verbal exchanges, Lanzmann (b. 1925) communicated with Holocaust survivors, Polish civilians and an ex-Nazi Treblinka SS Guard (Figure 27) who gave eyewitness testimonies to the atrocities discussed in the film. In *The Filmmaker as Historian* (2001) Robert Toplin (1988: 1210) stated that "Documentaries, with their supposedly educational format disappoint, too, in that filmmakers often construct them with an eye to entertainment value rather than scholarship". It is Lanzmann's rejection of 'scholarship' that prevents **Shoah** (1985) being characterized as a documentary in the traditional format, in as much as the film is not research driven. Historical facts were obtained from recalled experiences communicated by participants, rather than collected written historical data and archived materials. Similarly, it is Lanzmann's complete disregard of entertainment value that stops the film from being

characterized as a drama. Thus **Shoah** (1985) can be categorized as an Experimental Historical film.

Historians have theorized that Lanzmann's intent in **Shoah** (1985) was to explore an oral history of the Holocaust and to permanently preserve it in film (Ifediora, 2013). Fred Camper (1987: 3), in *Shoah's Absence* (1987), stated that "It is Lanzmann's knowledge of the limits of representation, and his willingness to acknowledge the impossibility of full cinematic mimesis of his subject, that is at the heart of the film's aesthetic and moral position". Experimental Historical film has gained the reputation of "see[ing] the screen as a window ... to a realistic world" (Rosenstone, 1995: 4)

In the context of this approach to filmmaking, Lanzmann abandoned the idea of presenting the film in a narrative format. He believed that should the film's subject, the history, be told as a story, viewers would be led to believe that a resolution been reached and that society had moved beyond this time of turmoil, when in fact the despair lives on (Camper, 1987). This approach is the antithesis of Rosenstone's third Code of Representation (Rosenstone, 1995), which postulates that film tells history as the story of a closed, completed and simple past (Rosenstone, 1995: 5). One example of this code's betrayal is found in the slow intercutting edits of landscapes, contrasting empty fields with giant buildings, belonging to prosperous German companies known to have contributed to and accepted benefit from the Nazi War Machine via slave labour. These are contrasted with present day location shots of Auschwitz, and Treblinka (Figure 28). Ruins, nature and successful industry exist together in the contemporary world as landscapes reminiscent of this depraved past. Shots of moving trains tie (Figure 29) these realities together, to lessen the distance between past and present. Camper (1987:3) noted that "the contemporary landscapes suggest that the memory and even the possibility of genocide still lives". In the publication *Shoah: an analysis of Lanzmann's memorialization of the Holocaust* (2013), John Ifediora (2013: 4) remarks that Lanzmann "abstained from a chronological format because it would necessarily imply a cause and effect of the Holocaust" and that:

At the core of **Shoah** (1985) is Lanzmann's determination to produce a specifically Jewish experience of the Holocaust, and if possible eliminate the distances in time and space. The aim, one can reasonably presume is to condition the mind to never forget

or acclimatize itself to the infinite human capacity for extreme inhumanity and destruction (Ifediora, 2013: 9).



Figure 27. **Shoah** (1985) Directed by Claude Lanzmann. Screen shot from film.



Figure 28. **Shoah** (1985) Directed by Claude Lanzmann. Screen shot from film.



Figure 29. **Shoah** (1985) Directed by Claude Lanzmann. Screen shot from film.

In the context of Ifediora's statement (Ifediora, 2013: 9) and Rosenstone's first Code of Representation (Rosenstone, 1995), **Shoah** (1985) does not comply with the conventions of mainstream cinema, as it does not tell history as a tale with a beginning, middle and end" (Rosenstone, 1995: 4); however it does intend to leave the viewer with a moral message (Rosenstone, 1995). When examined, though, the effect of the message may differ greatly to one found in a mainstream film on the same subject, such as American director Steven Spielberg's **Schindler's List** (1993). Lanzmann rejected Spielberg's film, stating that the film provided reconstructions and a fictional presence where there is only absence. This is

explained by Camper (1987: 8) when he said that “images of emaciated corpses may represent death, but they cannot represent the lost life that is as much a part of the present as the fact of death – the absence” and that:

The great Moral lesson of **Shoah** (1985) is in it's rejection of the filmmaker as autonomous artist, free to choose his imagery on emotional or aesthetic criteria alone...**Shoah's** great act of respect for the dead, which one might choose to call a kind of resurrection, consists of the filmmaker stepping back from which he cannot show or cannot know.

In the context of Rosenstone's Modes of Invention (Alteration, Compression, Condensation and Metaphor) it is possible to discern in **Shoah** (1985) both some regard and disregard of these modes. An example that could be considered metaphor appears in **Shoah** (1985) in the form of repeated shots of a train in motion. The repeated shots of the train in motion, at the very beginning and very end, can be seen as of Modes of Metaphor (Rosenstone, 1995). This is apparent in the film's final shot. The viewer witnesses a train in motion, moving through a Warsaw ghetto, in a long form cinematic shot. This shot provides an opportunity to examine the surroundings; a land that continues a desperate existence, unaffected by the passing of time. This shot cuts to an image of the same train rolling through a landscape resembling contemporary Poland. This train effectively performs the role of the metaphor. The effect of the Holocaust was and is unstoppable. Though the Nazi death machine (**Shoah**, 1985) is no longer active, it continues to exist as memory, embodied in this train, steadily passing through the same terrain.

Footage of this train is repeated throughout the film. A shot from a train car, moving towards the Auschwitz main gate (Figure 30), is repeated. With each repeat of this shot, the train moves closer to the gate. It is apparent here that the camera effectively places the viewer in the physical and psychological position of a prisoner in the train car destined for the camp and shares the feelings a prisoner might have experienced. After nine hours of build up, the camera zooms out as the train appears to enter the gates of Auschwitz. The view retreats back to outside the camp's gates. Camper (1987: 4) explains the effect this metaphor might have on the audience:

Lanzmann's use of the zoom here is his acknowledgement that neither he nor we can truly pass through the gates of Auschwitz as its inmates did; that no one can recover lost time: we have only our mind's eye, which too must finally fail. It would be an utter violation of Lanzmann's profound respect for those dead for him to move his camera physically through the gates, and so he must hold back, and acknowledge that he cannot live their loss.



Figure 30. **Shoah** (1985) Directed by Claude Lanzmann. Screen shot from film.

This is an example of the use of the camera, and cinematic technique, as metaphor in the film.

Rosenstone (1995) describes the Mode of Compression as the act of omission and conflation, used to keep the film entertaining and within conventional cinematic time constraints. This creates a “different past from the one provided by written history” (Rosenstone, 1995: 8). With a running time of nine and a half hours, **Shoah** (1985) shows a disregard for this convention. However, Ifediora (2013) explains that when transcribed, the almost ten hour long film barely reaches two hundred pages in written length. A variety of techniques, both cinematic and organic to the interview situation, are employed to achieve an effect that has been called both “brilliant” and “tedious” (Ifediora, 2013: 8). Lanzmann’s intention is to capture an oral, not a written, history on film; this is apparent in that no edits were made in the interview process. Long moments of silence and lapses in exchange are filmed. Lanzmann believed that in the capturing of the brief segment of the interviewee’s life, no moments should be discarded. All time spent with the participant makes up the interview (Ifediora, 2013). Fred Camper (1987) suggests that the film’s length is of significance, in so far as discussion of the Holocaust should not be something that complies with rhythm and comfort. It should be a subject that temporarily removes us from our daily lives. When observed in this context “It carves a significant space out of our temporal field. We attend to it differently; it intrudes more directly into our thoughts

and lives – an intrusion thoroughly appropriate to **Shoah**'s subject...the endless detail introduces an ineffable sadness. **Shoah** (1985) is not a minute too long" (Camper, 1987:2)

Holocaust survivor, Primo Levi (1989: 10-12) recalls in his book *The Drowned and The Saved* (1989) a statement made by an SS Guard to the prisoners of Auschwitz:

However the war may end, we have won the war against you; none of you will be left to bear witness ... There will perhaps be suspicions, discussions, research by historians, but there will be no certainties, because we will destroy the evidence together with you. And even if some proof should remain and some of you survive, people will say the events you describe are too monstrous to be believed. We will be the ones who dictate history

Camper (1987: 10) offers an insight to Lanzmann's intentions noting that, because the Nazi's went to great lengths to erase all evidence of the genocide, "Lanzmann sees it as a moral obligation to gather and preserve shared evidence through testimony immortalized in a cinematic medium".

It is apparent that **Shoah** (1985), as a Historical film, shows little adherence to the majority of Robert Rosenstone's Codes of Representation (Rosenstone, 1995). The extent to which it differs from the mainstream Historical film, even in the documentary genre, is so great that theorists struggle to characterize it within any cinematic genre. Thus **Shoah** (1985) is generally regarded quite simply as an oral history of the Holocaust, preserved on film reel (Camper, 1987). In the context of the film's legitimacy as a representation of the past, there is a resounding appreciation of the film by historians such as Fred Camper (1987) and Robert Rosenstone (1995). However, though Lanzmann's approach to **Shoah** (1985) is generally respected, there are scholars such as John Ifediora (2013: 3) who believe that his methods of information acquisition are ethically questionable, stating that:

The narrators whose testimonies occupied the film are also susceptible to the effects of time – memories fade and elapse, traumatic events are suppressed, other survivors' accounts are intermingled with one's own direct experiences, and after numerous recounting of the same events, one's own direct experience become indistinguishable

from those heard from others, thus making such eyewitness accounts most unreliable as statements of fact.

I believe that **Shoah** (1985) can be considered a legitimate, valid and important Historical film, in an experimental format, which is both compelling and educational. Toplin (1988: 1211) asks, “Can film introduce new ways of dealing with historical materials? And how do filmmakers approach the task of interpreting history through images and words?” In this example of Experimental Historical film, the provision of a rare insight into the actual events by individuals who witnessed, or played an active role in them, can be considered a valuable and informative exploration of this past.

Chapter 4.

Chapter Four provides an overview of the Aversion Therapy project and discussion of South African filmmaker Tarryn Lee Crossman's film **Ward 22** (2012).

4.1 An Introduction to the Aversion Therapies

In the South African Defense Force (SADF), under the Apartheid government, conscripts who displayed signs of anti social behavior were forced to undergo a series of corrective treatments in an attempt to 'cure' them of their disorders. These allegedly anti social conscripts included those who did not conform to the conservative ethical attitudes structure and zealous Christian moral judgment prevalent in the SADF; the selection process targeted individuals such as suspected drug addicts, eccentric men, masculine women, and homosexuals. Kelly Cogswell, author of *Property of the State: the torture of queer soldiers in the Apartheid military* (2000) wrote that "None of them had it easy, but gay conscripts suffered the worst" (2000: 3). In South Africa, gay men were subject to criminal law under the Immorality Amendment Act of 1969 (Van Zyl, 1999: 54). However, rather than report suspected homosexuals to the police, or implement an all-out ban from military service, the SADF tolerated homosexuals. The SADF was concerned that this condition in policy might provide young South Africans with an easy means to avoid conscription (Belkin, 2010: 3). Thus a dual policy was implemented.

Homosexuality among conscripts was tolerated, yet these individuals were deliberately positioned in unimportant posts, such as catering assistants and medical orderlies, with as little power as possible. They were classified as individuals suffering from 'behavioral disorders' and were considered to be deviants. As a result, homosexuals were routinely harassed, humiliated and even beaten up by SADF members to "build cohesion in a unit" (Belkin, 2010: 4). Aaron Belkin, in his South African Journal of Military Studies article titled *Assessing the integration of gays and lesbians: into the South African National Defense Force* (2010), quoted General Viljoen, Head of the Army, who ordered that "all possible steps must be taken to combat the phenomenon of homosexuality or lesbianism in the army" (Belkin, 2010: 3). It was this order that led to the establishment of what is now commonly referred to as the Aversion Therapies. Under this psychiatric project, homosexuals, if discovered, were sent to undergo aversion treatments, with the ultimate goal of turning them into heterosexuals (Van Zyl, 1999: 54). In the early stages of this project, treatments mostly entailed routine electroshock therapies, combined with the use of negative-association therapy. Male patients were shown images of naked men. If they became aroused, the patients were administered extremely painful electric

shocks. They would then be shown pictures of nude women from *Playboy* magazines, while the psychiatrist would verbally describe the women in “positive and glowing terms” (Kaplan, 2001: 16). Activist and writer of *The Aversion Project* report (1999), Miki Van Zyl (1999: 81) recalls:

Electrodes were strapped to the arms of the subject, and wires leading from these were in turn connected to a machine operated by a dial calibrated from one to ten. The subject was then shown black and white pictures of a naked man and encouraged to fantasize. The increase in the current would cause the muscles in the forearm to contract – an intensely painful sensation. When the subject was either screaming with pain, or verbally requested that the dial be turned off, the current would be stopped and a color *Playboy* centerfold substituted for the previous pictures ... This process would be repeated three times in a single session. Sessions were held twice daily for 3 to 4 days.

A new dimension regarding homosexuality in the SADF was introduced in 1969 when Dr. Aubrey Levin, a colonel in the SADF, became chief military psychiatrist and began coordinating treatment in Ward 22 of the 1 Military Hospital in Voortrekkehoogte, outside of Pretoria (McGreal, 2000: 1). Levin believed that should these electroshock therapies and behavioral treatments fail, that gay conscripts should then undergo castration procedures and hormonal treatments, resulting in a complete sexual reassignment. Forensic psychiatrist and medical writer, Dr. Robert Kaplan (2001: 216) in the South African Medical Journal article, *The Aversion Project: psychiatric abuses in the South African Defense Force during the Apartheid era* (2001) writes that:

Possibly 900 sex change operations were carried out (a rate of 50 a year for 18 years) under the auspices of the SADF... Once the operations were completed, subjects were discharged from military service, their birth certificates were changed and they were given new identity papers. Some were discharged before the sex change had been completed, leaving them in an uneasy state of limbo.

Chris McGreal (2000: 1), a journalist for *The US Guardian*, quoted a gay ex-conscript and victim of Aversion Therapy in an article titled *Gays tell of mutilation by Apartheid government* (2000) who said:

I now know that in one sense I was just unlucky. The army had whole gay battalions who they just shunted aside and let be. But if things went wrong and you ended up in the hands of the psychologists then it could get very bad. In my case it began with the electric shocks and only ended after they'd already given me breasts, and then the army said it had abandoned the whole policy.

Aversion procedures were not limited to male conscripts. Cogswell, in *Property of the State: the torture of queer soldiers in the Apartheid military* (2000) writes that “lesbians, or butch women who had volunteered for the military faced the same tortures, including forced sex changes” (Cogswell, 2000: 3). As all conscripts joined the SADF, they became the “property of the state” (Cogswell, 2000: 3) and therefore were obliged to obey any official command. This meant that all SADF personnel, regardless of their position in the military, were helpless in avoiding these therapies. Thus it was not only conscripted soldiers, exclusively, who were selected as patients. Medical orderlies, qualified nurses and other health workers were subjected to these treatments, often conducted by their fellow colleagues and friends, and were forced to implement these treatments. McGreal (2000: 4) quotes Miki van Zyl who confirmed that “Health workers in the military were expected to be loyal first to the state and it’s ideologies...this set the stage for human rights abuses...and that the doctors concerned broke international law” (Van Zyl in McGreal, 2000: 4). With the collapse of apartheid, Dr. Levin immigrated to Calgary, Canada in 1995 (McGreal, 2000: 4).

4.2 **Ward 22** (2012). Figure 31. Directed by Tarryn Lee Crossman (b. 1980)

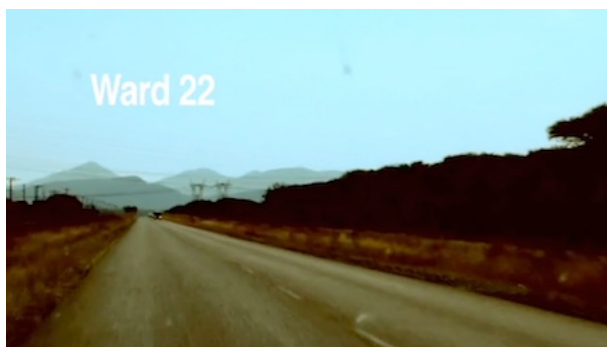


Figure 31. **Ward 22** (2012) Directed by Tarryn Crossman (b. 1980). Screen shot from film.

In 2011, South African filmmaker, Tarryn Lee Crossman began researching the life and criminal history of Doctor Aubrey Levin (Figure 32) after reading an article on the Aversion Therapies, written for the *Mail & Guardian* (2000) by South African journalist, Paul Kirk. A Skype interview with Crossman (Addendum B. Crossman, 2014) was conducted on the 16th of September 2014. During this interview we discussed the significance of this subject and her reasons for wishing to present it in a Historical film format. In May 2013, Crossman directed an insert for South African investigative news television series **Carte Blanche** (launched 1988), in which she explores Levin's malpractices and history of crimes against humanity. Though Crossman's **Carte Blanche** (2013) featurette does delve into Levin's past and his time spent at Ward 22, it is focused mainly on his psychiatric malpractices in Canada, where he was, at the time of filming, on trial for alleged sexual assault. On the 23rd April 2014 he was found guilty of three charges of sexual abuse and consequently sentenced to five years in prison. In 2012, Crossman began the production of a documentary focused on Levin and his Aversion Therapies titled **Ward 22** (2012). Though the film has not yet been completed, a half-hour short form edit of the film was released onto the short-film festival circuit. The film contains a number of interviews with journalists who have written about the Aversion Therapies; human rights activist and author of *The Aversion Project* report (1999) Miki Van Zyl; an SADF surgeon general; an SADF state intelligence operations officer; two of Levin's victims, as well as homosexual ex-convicts who discuss the rumors of gender reassignment operations taking place in Ward 22. The documentary also presents archived video content and cinematic reconstructions shot on location at the 1 Military Hospital (Figure 33) of medical scenarios such as patients being hooked up to electroshock machines (Figure 34).



Figure 32. **Ward 22** (2012) Directed by Tarryn Crossman. Screen shot from film.



Figure 33. **Ward 22** (2012) Directed by Tarryn Crossman. Screen shot from film.



Figure 34. **Ward 22** (2012) Directed by Tarryn Crossman. Screen shot from film.

Journalist, Paul Kirk wrote an article on the Aversion Therapies (Figure 35) titled *Mutilation by the Military* (Kirk, 2000) for the Mail and Guardian (2000) after he claims to have met a woman named Mary who had been given an incomplete sex change in Ward 22. Kirk (Figure 36), during his featured interview in **Ward 22** (2012), recalls:

I remember talking to her and...that she'd been given the hormone treatments, and that they'd removed her breasts...I can remember that halfway through [the sex change operation], it was stopped.

His article inspired other journalists, such as Chris McGreal (*US Guardian*, 2000), Robert Kaplan (*South African Medical Journal*, 2001) and Kelly Cogswell (*thegully.com*, 2000) to begin researching and writing about the Aversion Therapies. However, Crossman states that all of these articles recycle the information provided in Kirk's *Mail and Guardian* (2000) article and that she believes Kirk is the only person who has communicated with any of the victims who have undergone sexual reassignment (Crossman, 2014). However, McGreal (2000:1) claims to have spoken to what he calls a "part-man, part woman... who still calls himself Harold". Harold claims to have been given breasts and an incomplete sex change before the whole policy was

abandoned. In Crossman's **Ward 22** (2012) a transgender ex-conscript who goes by the name Lyndsey (Figure 37) states that rumours of forced sex change operations circulated among the ranks and that she herself was approached by a military surgeon who asked "Do you want me to fix you? Would you like a sex change?" Documentation proving that these sex changes occurred has been difficult to locate, and any acknowledgement or confession by SADF Military Health Services workers that the events took place has been equally difficult to obtain. Chris Therion, an SADF state intelligence operations officer claims that he has no knowledge of these operations having taken place in the 1 Military Hospital, stating "I would have known about it. But I never even heard rumours about sex change operations" (**Ward 22**, 2012). In addition to this, Crossman explains that when she requested the files of a woman named Tanya who was sent to Ward 22, she discovered that her papers had been burned (Crossman, 2014). Van Zyl, who spent two years gathering information on Ward 22 whilst writing the *Aversion Project* (1999), also reported that many of the files she attempted to locate had been destroyed (**Ward 22**, 2012). Therefore, without any documented proof, it has been difficult to substantiate these claims of sexual reassignment. Both Van Zyl and Crossman, however, believe that the lack of written evidence does not imply that these claims are false. Van Zyl, in **Ward 22** (2012) says "He [Levine] has got this mini human lab at his disposal...and he's trying out stuff. So who says he wouldn't have tried that out". Van Zyl (**Ward 22** 2012) also claims to have been approached by a victim who had been chemically castrated; this individual has since passed away.

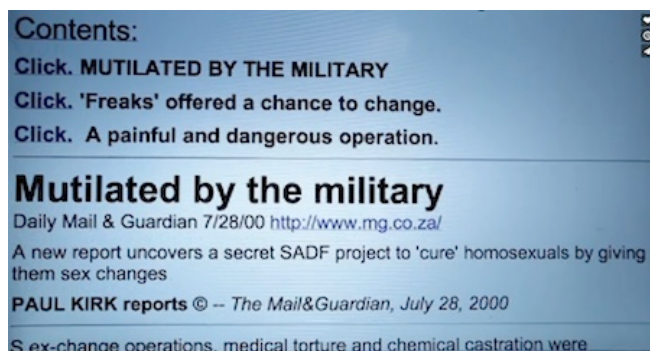


Figure 35. **Ward 22** (2012) Directed by Tarryn Crossman. Screen shot from film.



Figure 36. **Ward 22** (2012) Directed by Tarryn Crossman. Screen shot from film.



Figure 37. **Ward 22** (2012) Directed by Tarryn Crossman. Screen shot from film.

Crossman (Crossman, 2014) discusses her motivation for presenting the Aversion Therapies in a Historical film format, stating:

I think once the film comes out, there will be more [awareness] than this, because I have got some calls from the City Press saying “we need to do an expose on this” ... so when the film comes out I think there will be a spiral from other media platforms...to maybe investigate further.

She adds that after the **Carte Blanche** (2013) episode featuring her insert on the Aversion Therapies was aired in May 2013, she was asked to do an interview on Johannesburg based FM talk radio station, Radio 702. During the interview many people called in, wanting to know more about the subject. She also believes that the **Carte Blanche** (2013) episode has helped victims of the Aversion Therapies realize that they are not alone, that their stories are of importance and they have not been forgotten. Crossman states that “I do feel like the Carte

Blanche one [episode] has opened more doors and has allowed people [to become aware that]...there were other people that were there...it wasn't just me that this happened to" and that she got many people coming forward, saying "I had met Dr. Levin...I was in Ward 22" after the episode was broadcasted (Crossman, 2014). However, when Crossman conducted interviews with individuals subjected to the Aversion Therapies, she noticed that participants presented themselves in two different ways. Some were given hope that the telling of their stories could support their battle for the legal prosecution of Levin for his crimes against humanity, and pressure the government into subsidizing hormones for the victims who need it (Crossman, 2014). She believes that a public outcry is what is needed to support Van Zyl's *Aversion Project* (1999) report. This report was handed to the South African government in 2000 as a body of research detailing what occurred in Ward 22, so that action could be taken and support provided to the victims of the therapies who have been left psychologically and physically damaged. Aversion Therapy victim, Kevin Mann (Figure 38), states "It left a massive scar in me which I didn't know was there. I had a problem dealing with this thirty years after it had happened" (**Ward 22**, 2012). Crossman explains that there have been victims who distrust her motivations; many believe she might be "exploiting their stories" and that "a lot of people just want to put it behind them" (Crossman, 2014).

The number of claims by patients that sexual reassignment procedures took place in Ward 22 and incidents such as Lyndsey's, who was approached by a doctor and told there was a surgical procedure that could "fix" him (**Ward 22**, 2012), make it hard to dismiss the possibility that they did occur. Additionally, all statements offered by SADF medical figures, in response to media questioning, have been either defiant or uncertain. Levin claimed "Nobody was given electric shock treatment by me" (McGreal, 2000: 4) and a Military Health Services Surgeon General confessed, "I'm mature enough to know that there may have been [surgeries] that I was not aware of" (**Ward 22**, 2012). I believe that this uncertainty provides ample justification for further investigation, in order to create a greater public awareness of this dark period of South African history.



Figure 38. **Ward 22** (2012) Directed by Tarryn Crossman. Screen shot from film.

Chapter 5

22 BOYS (2014): A proposed film created by Alistair Heath.

This chapter consists of a discussion of selected scenes and narrative characteristics of the proposed film **22 BOYS** (2014), analyzed within Rosenstone's Six Codes of Representation (Rosenstone, 1995) and Four Modes of Invention in the Historical film (Rosenstone, 1995). Based on research findings that highlight how the Historical Drama film has the most success in informing and entertaining audiences, and wanting to treat the film with a unique artistic approach, **22 BOYS** (2014) (Figure 39) will incorporate elements of the Experimental Historical film into what I categorize as an Experimental Historical Drama film. The proposed film, which is presented in a treatment and storyboard form for a hypothetical film exploring the Aversion Therapies (Addendums C and D), was informed by research on the Aversion Therapy project.



Figure 39. **22 BOYS** (2014) Created by Alistair Heath (b. 1987). Theatrical poster.

Synopsis: **22 BOYS** (2014) is the story of Suzani Reitz, a twenty three year old Military Health Service nurse working in the psychiatric ward of a South African military hospital. Inelegant and antisocial, Suzani is suspected by colleagues to be homosexual and is chosen by Chief Military Psychiatrist, Dr. Alwyn Goffrey, to become a subject in what will come to be known as the 'Aversion Project' Through a crude and experimental series of corrective treatments and electroshock therapies, Goffrey believes that he is able to transform his patients' sexualities and cure them of their 'illnesses'. Though she is not the first, or only, victim of Goffrey's Aversion Therapies,

her case is certainly one of the most disturbing, as the original patient [this character has been fictionalized and will be discussed in this chapter] chosen to undergo an attempted sexual reassignment in the nightmarish Ward 22.

The film's title '**22 BOYS**' is in reference to Ward 22, where the Aversion Therapies took place. It is a fictionalized moniker given to the male Aversion Therapy victims. The title is intentionally misleading, as it suggests that the film's focus is on the masculine victims of the Aversion Therapies; however, the film's intention is to provide an alternate view on the subject, by exploring the reality that non-conscript females were also victims of the project. In the beginning of the film, conscripted male soldiers are subjected to the Aversion Therapies therefore playing into the title, **22 BOYS** (2014). However a new dimension is added as a female medical orderly falls victim to the project. It is my belief that this plot development adds a progressive dynamic to the representation of the subject, as the viewer believes that they know what to expect from the film, but are then presented an alternative view on the subject. It is my opinion that this element of surprise will both heighten interest and shock the viewer by demonstrating that the Aversion Therapies were more complex than the systematic persecution of homosexual males.

Rosenstone's first Code of Representation (Rosenstone, 1995) states that "The Historical film tells history as a story, a tale with a beginning, middle and end: a tale that leaves you with a moral message, and (usually) a feeling of uplift" (Rosenstone, 1995: 5). As is common in the Drama film genre, **22 BOYS** (2014) begins with a subject presented in their natural state, before a conflict occurs and upsets the balance of the subject's normal life and condition. In **22 BOYS** (2014), our subject is a female medical orderly named Suzani Reitz (Figure 40) who works as a nurse in Ward 22 of a military hospital. The film begins with Reitz performing her regular medical duties, until she is selected to become a patient in the Aversion Therapies, thus finding herself on the receiving end of the treatments she previously administered. The audience, though aware of the disturbing nature of her occupation, is now exposed to the traumatic reality of what Reitz's working life entailed. The film ends with Reitz becoming a victim of the act she once, albeit unwillingly, perpetrated on others. Although a moral message is clearly evident at the end of the film, it is not one of positive resolution; the victims of these therapies, in reality, have found little redemption.

In the context of Rosenstone's second Code of Representation (Rosenstone, 1995) in relation

to the Historical film, which states that “film insists on history as the story of individuals...people who have done heroic or admirable things, or who have suffered unusually bad circumstances...” (Rosenstone, 1995: 4), the fictional character Suzani Reitz (Military Health Service #1685) is not derived from any particular Aversion Therapy victim. In **22 BOYS** (2014) Reitz’s character is the personification of many characteristics that describes a particular group of Aversion Therapy victims. Kelly Kogswell explains, in *Property of the State: the torture of queer soldiers in the Apartheid military* (2000), that Aversion Therapy patients included not only soldiers, but also nurses and medical orderlies whose colleagues were encouraged to report them (Figure 41) to commanding officers (Kogswell, 2000). This also meant that colleagues would often end up conducting these treatments on each other, as “health workers in the military were expected to be loyal first to the state and its ideologies” (Van Zyl in Mcgreal, 2000: 4). In Van Zyl’s *Aversion Project* report (1999) a female ex-South African Navy conscript, named Linda, claims that she was labeled a lesbian, due to her short haircut and “tom boyishness” and became known as “the punk rocker from Durban” (Linda in Van Zyl, 1999: 66). Although Linda is homosexual, she explains that many heterosexuals were targeted, saying “People who were labeled gay, who actually weren’t gay, suffered equally. It was decided by the army who was gay. Your own insistence that you were not gay was not sufficient” (Van Zyl, 1999: 66). Reitz, who is presented as being unladylike and to an extent socially inept, arouses the suspicions of her colleagues. Following a hostile interaction with a conscript and fellow nurse she is referred to the Ward’s commanding officer, Dr. Alywn Goffrey. Doctor Goffrey’s character is based on Ward 22 chief psychiatrist, and mastermind of the Aversion Therapies, Dr. Aubrey Levin. As the figure that selects and subjects victims to these inhumane experiments, Goffrey’s role in the film is that of the antagonist. He is established as such in a pivotal scene where Goffrey partakes in a one-sided therapy session with a male conscript (Figure 42), after the patient has been administered a number of psychiatric drugs. In Miki Van Zyl’s *Aversion Project* (1999), victims recall being forced to take large doses of medication and were injected with drugs (Figure 43). It is not known which pharmaceuticals were being used on the patients; it has been speculated that victims were given Valium (a pill used to treat anxiety disorders), a variety of sleeping tablets and administered intravenous dosages of Sodium Pentothal (commonly referred to as a ‘truth serum’). The combination of these drugs effectively lowered the patient’s inhibitions whilst increasing their confidence; as a result they spoke with little thought of what they were actually saying.



Figure 40. **22 BOYS** (2014) Created by Alistair Heath. Storyboard image.

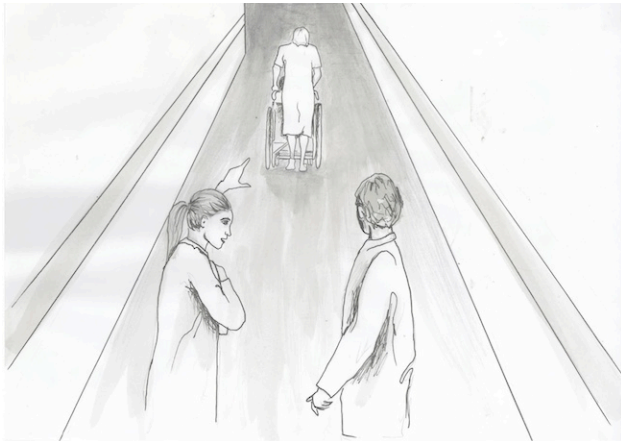


Figure 41. **22 BOYS** (2014) Created by Alistair Heath. Storyboard image.



Figure 42. **22 BOYS** (2014) Created by Alistair Heath. Storyboard image.

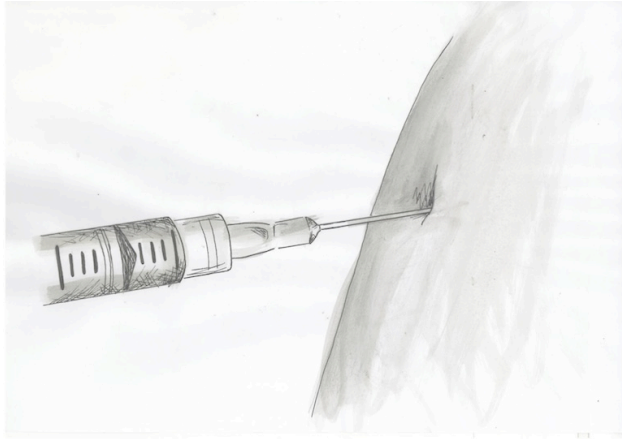


Figure 43. **22 BOYS** (2014) Created by Alistair Heath. Storyboard image.

Rosenstone's third Code of Representation (Rosenstone, 1995) states that "Film offers us history as the story of a closed, completed, and simple past. It provides no alternative possibilities to what we see happening on the screen, admits of no doubts, and promotes each historical assertion with the same degree of confidence" (Rosenstone, 1995: 5). Rosenstone, in discussing the role of characters whose viewpoints differ to those of the filmmakers, believes that opposing views in the Historical film are often used to support the filmmaker's message (Rosenstone, 1995). This strategy is evident in **22 BOYS** (2014) in the form of Dr. Alwyn Goffrey who, in his dialogue, demonstrates that he is convinced that he is treating ill patients by performing Aversion Therapy treatments on them. However, the deliberate sense of fear constructed in these scenes only makes his character seem darker and his agenda more terrifying, as it is unlikely that any audience member will support Goffrey's point of view. All of Goffrey's interactions only serve illustrate the sinister nature of his motives and clarify his position as the film's malevolent antagonist. This is apparent in an interaction Goffrey, in **22 BOYS** (2014), has with a suspected homosexual conscript. It is excerpted (from Addendum C) as follows:

Are you a drug user?

"Nee...No, sir, Colonel. When other people ask me if I want to, I don't...anymore..."

Are you attracted to any of your fellow force members?

"Sir, Colonel, I don't know what...How must I..."

Do you understand why I am asking you these questions?

“Yes, sir, Colonel, but the boys... They also sometimes make things up. Or make them...worse than they are, sir.

“Don’t sound so worried, Mr. Van Zyl. You can relax, it’s okay. I am a doctor and this is a hospital, you don’t need to panic. If you find yourself here it is because we believe we can help you with something. You can calm down, Mr Van Zyl”

“Mr. Van Zyl. Mrs. Jonker and Mrs. Reitz are going to take you to another part of the hospital now, okay? I will be there shortly. Just to do a few more things, just one more test and then we’ll see if you are okay or not. You might not think that you are sick, but sometimes you can be sick, and not know it. Stay calm, Mr. Van Zyl, you will be fine”

Rosenstone’s fourth Code of Representation (Rosenstone, 1995: 5) states that “Both documentaries and dramatized works use the special capabilities of the medium – the close up, the quick juxtaposition of disparate images”.

The storyboard and hypothetical film treatment for **22 BOYS** (2014) makes use of film’s cinematic elements to amplify and focus on the emotions I intend to share with the viewer. Examples of this are evident in the use of the close up shot, the pace of edited sequences, camera tracking motions and cinematic border effects such as the full screen tonal vignette which is used to indicate a shift from reality to fantasy (Figure 44).

Rosenstone’s fifth Code of Representation (Rosenstone, 1995: 5) states “Film shows history as process. The world on screen brings together things that, for analytic or structural purposes, written history often has to split apart”. There are two examples of this code being applied to **22 BOYS** (2014). The Aversion Therapies became something that exemplified the SADF’s dual policy on homosexuality, contextualized by the Immorality Amendment Act of 1969 (Van Zyl, 1999). Homosexuality, though illegal, was tolerated in the SADF; however homosexuals were considered deviants and treated as such. It is difficult to accomplish a thorough exploration of the legal and political circumstances surrounding the Aversion Therapies and successfully explain them in a dramatic and linear narrative. As a result an omission of information occurs in

that little South African history, outside of the Aversion Therapies, is explored in the film. Another example of this code is evident in the scenes where medicines are administered to the patients, as the drugs patients were administered are not specified in the film. However, victims and researchers of the Aversion Therapies have only speculated the types of drugs that were used. Therefore I believe that to label the drugs, when there is no evidence proving which drugs they actually were, could be considered equally, if not more irresponsible, than not labeling them at all. In a written historical document, these pharmaceuticals and their dosages would need to be investigated extensively, whilst in **22 BOYS** (2014) it is simply implied that the patients were given drugs that limited their coherence and induced fatigue. This omission of legal and political context as well as the undetailed representation of the drugs administered is characteristic of this fifth Code of Representation (Rosenstone, 1995); to explain all of these factors on the screen would result in a tangential narrative that would confuse the audience. In presenting the viewer with convoluted and general information, that might be important in fully exploring the subject, renders the storytelling experience one that is difficult to follow.

Rosenstone writes in his sixth Code of Representation (Rosenstone, 1995) in the context of the Historical film that film mimics the appearance and aesthetic of whichever Historical period it is representing. **22 BOYS** (2014) takes place in Ward 22 of a military hospital, now called 'A Military Hospital' modeled on the 1 Military Hospital (Figure 45) in Voortrekkehoogte, South Africa, where Dr. Levine performed the Aversion Therapies. The appearance of a number of locations, such as the hospital's exterior, hallways and electroshock facilities in **22 BOYS** (2014) have been constructed with reference to sourced footage and images of the 1 Military Hospital (Figure 46). However, some of the locations and props stray from Historical accuracy and have been altered to allow for elements of artistic freedom. An example of this can be found in the types of electroconvulsive machines used in **22 BOYS** (2014), which differ in appearance to those described by Van Zyl in the *Aversion Project* (1999) and Crossman in **Ward 22** (2012). The electroshock machine (Figure 47) in **22 BOYS** (2014) was modeled on the machine used in Milos Forman's **One Flew Over the Cuckoo's Nest** (1975), which is a film that is regularly referenced when the subject of humane experimentation represented in film is discussed; notably electroshock therapy. This decision to depart from historical accuracy was made in the belief that these machines (Figure 48) can be more easily read as electroshock machines. Additionally, these machines allow for the use of cinematic elements, such as the close up shots of victim's faces as they receive the shock therapy (Figure 49), while still providing a clear visual description of the action that is taking place. Were the

electrodes to be placed only on the arms of the victim, as is the case in traditional electroshock machines, facial close-ups could not be accompanied by images directly related to the machine.



Figure 44. **22 BOYS** (2014) Created by Alistair Heath. Storyboard image.



Figure 45. **22 BOYS** (2014) Created by Alistair Heath. Storyboard image.



Figure 46. **1 Military Hospital**. Image Search

Available at: http://4.bp.blogspot.com/_g2FRDOL2I7E/S-OuzSnxkAI/AAAAAAAAAwY/cjpf3-FsxV8/s1600/1+mil.jpg

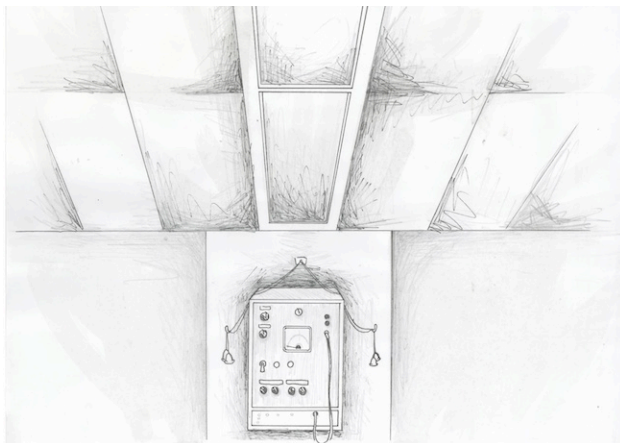


Figure 47. **22 BOYS** (2014) Created by Alistair Heath. Storyboard image.



Figure 48. **One Flew Over The Cuckoo's Nest** (1975) Directed by Milos Forman. Screenshot from film.



Figure 49. **22 BOYS** (2014) Created by Alistair Heath. Storyboard image.

Rosenstone's Modes of Compression and Condensation (Rosenstone, 1995) can be understood as acts of conflation and omission used to keep a film within a desired cinematic duration, as well as the convergence of two or more separate ideas into one. This strategy is used to prevent the possibility of the film becoming convoluted and difficult for the audience to understand. As **22 BOYS** (2014) is approximately 30 minutes in length, these two modes have been carefully utilized in order to tell the wider story of the Aversion Therapies in a limited amount of screen time, and to successfully explain the subject in an emotive and linear narrative structure. As explained above, in concurring with the second Code of Representation (Rosenstone, 1995), protagonist Suzani Reitz, rather than a character based on any specific individual, is the embodiment of a number of factors representative of the lesser-explored aspects of the Aversion Therapies. An example of this is the fact that selection processes included not only males and conscripted soldiers, but females and medical orderlies, and that a

number of the victims who were suspected of being homosexual were in fact not. Though **22 BOYS** (2014) does demonstrate that male conscripts underwent the treatments, Reitz's character can be seen as a conflation of a number of characters, an individual representing a larger Historical truth rather the single story of one victim.

Rosenstone's Mode of Metaphor (Rosenstone, 1995) can be found in the transitioning between reality and fantasy in the film, with fantasies acting as a metaphor for concepts that would be difficult to explain in a dramatic narrative. An example of this can be found early in the film as the audience witnesses Reitz masturbating to a fantasy of sexual intercourse with a male in what appears to be the military hospital shower facilities (Figure 50). These scenes are used to establish that Reitz is in fact heterosexual. Another instance of metaphor is evident in a scene in which Reitz responds negatively to a conscripted soldier's sexual advances. This harassment leads to Reitz being reported to Goffrey, as a suspected homosexual. The film concludes with Reitz's gender being altered as a result of the Aversion Therapies; her breasts and ovaries removed. Her scarred torso and crew cut hairstyle serve as a metaphor to indicate that the goal of these therapies was to transform the victim's physical and psychological identity.

The variations in cinematography such as the intercutting of shots of the subject, with shots from the subject's point of view (POV), can be considered Modes of Alteration (Rosenstone, 1995), as they are aspects of cinematic invention used to amplify moods and tensions specific to the action occurring on screen. These POV shots (Figure 51) are intended to put the viewer in the position of the subject and to share the element of suspense in the narrative with the audience.



Figure 50. **22 BOYS** (2014) Created by Alistair Heath. Storyboard image.



Figure 51. **22 BOYS** (2014) Created by Alistair Heath. Storyboard image.

Research findings have highlighted how the Historical Drama film has achieved success in entertaining audiences, while still demonstrating the potential to provide valid historical information. In line with my intention to treat the film with a unique artistic approach, **22 BOYS** (2014) will incorporate elements of the Experimental Historical film, into what I categorize as an Experimental Historical Drama film. Besides the misleading title of the film discussed above, **22 BOYS** (2014) diligently adheres to a conventional, linear, dramatic narrative. Rosenstone's Six Codes of Representation (Rosenstone, 1995) and Four Modes of Invention (Rosenstone, 1995) suggest that the film might therefore be appropriately categorized as a Historical Drama film. However, a number of characteristics, mostly found in the cinematic execution of the film, do demonstrate a degree of departure from these generic modes of dramatic storytelling. **22 BOYS** (2014) is largely a silent film, with little dialogue offered by the characters. Rather than vocal exchanges, the film develops an emotional intensity through atmosphere and mood, using aspects of technical cinematic invention such as camera actions and audio voice over. Examples of this dramatic strategy can be found in the scene where Reitz undergoes electroconvulsive therapy. The first visual in this scene is a medium-close-up tracking camera shot of Reitz being prepared for the electroshock therapy, moving from the left to the right, head to foot, along the length of a hospital bed, to which she is pinned down by nurses (Figure 52). These visuals are accompanied by Dr. Goffrey's voice as he explains, with disturbing conviction, that Reitz is in fact very ill and is fortunate to have access to facilities and personnel that can help and 'cure' her. As the electroshock machine is activated and the procedure begins, our camera moves to a long and wide shot (Figure 53) making Reitz appear small, submissive and defenseless as she writhes in agony on the hospital bed. Over this visual we

hear an intense yet quiet electronic buzz and an agonized yet muted scream, both of which are almost completely buried under the natural noise level of a hospital.

Throughout the duration of the film, we hear only three voices; that of the antagonist (Dr. Alwyn Goffrey), an Aversion Therapy victim who only speaks in response to questions put to him by Goffrey in a therapy session, and finally Suzani Reitz. Reitz, when she speaks, does not share her own thoughts; she only recites Goffrey's prognosis, in a moment of total defeat (Figure 54). The only vocalizations made by characters, other than Goffrey, are either over overwhelmed by Goffrey's voice or referencing something Goffrey has said. This illustrates the futility felt by these victims in the merciless plight of Ward 22. Consistent dialogue, used to propel a story, is considered important in the conventional Drama film. Thus this limited use of dialogue could be considered an experimental approach in telling the story, as we focus almost entirely on the voice of the oppressor. In addition, Rosenstone's third Code of Representation (Rosenstone, 1995) states that opposing views are used to heighten the film's message. However, the convention here has been altered in the sense that the voice of the oppressed characters, that would usually illustrate the film's objective, is suppressed.

I believe that these experimental approaches contribute to the creation of a moral message that is uncomplicated enough for an audience to easily grasp, yet interesting enough to challenge the audience to think about the subject, empathize with the victims and be touched by the emotions generated in the film. All of which will hopefully raise public awareness and encourage audiences to discuss and understand this lesser known part of a dark South African history.



Figure 52. **22 BOYS** (2014) Created by Alistair Heath. Storyboard image.

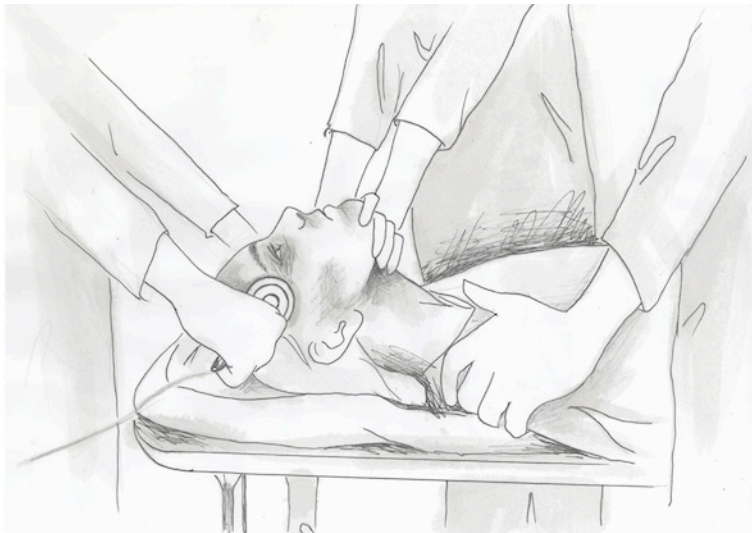


Figure 53. **22 BOYS** (2014) Created by Alistair Heath. Storyboard image.



Figure 54. **22 BOYS** (2014) Created by Alistair Heath. Storyboard image.

Conclusion.

Historian David Herlihy (1988: 1187) writes that “We should pursue any means that makes the message stronger, clearer, more appealing to often skeptical listeners”, whilst posing the question “Can films genuinely interpret the past for the present?” (Herlihy, 2001: 1187). This research paper set out to investigate the Historical film’s ability to maintain a balance of historical fact and entertainment value, and to discuss reasons why historians might hesitate in accepting film as a legitimate means of historical representation. However, research has demonstrated that historians are beginning to acknowledge Historical film’s power and potential in making a contribution to the field of historical studies. This is especially true in the context of what Rosenstone calls the age of post-literacy, where a population gathers a substantial amount of information via modes of visual history, such as film, rather than written history (Rosenstone, 1995). Guy Westwell (2007: 578) argues that, “film must not be judged simply as a poor substitute for written history but as a powerful form of historical representation in its own right” and states that it must be judged for its potential rather than its specificity (Westwell, 2007). Thus Historical films must be studied in terms of how they engage the past and translate it into a language suited to the present.

This historical legitimacy of a film can be appropriately criticized when the viewer is aware of the genre in which the information is presented. The film’s genre categorization will determine its role within Historical film theory, and thus the degree of scrutiny with which it must be read. It is important to firstly establish whether the film is fictional or non-fictional in its narrative and secondly, if the historical events taking place and significant characters that represent the past are based on factual events and actual people. This understanding will inform the viewer whether the film is a dramatic historical, or explorative, interpretation of the past.

A case study analysis of Attenborough’s Historical Drama **Gandhi** (1982), Angus Gibson and Jo Mennel’s Historical Documentary **Mandela** (1996) and Claude Lanzmann’s Experimental Historical film **Shoah** (1985) revealed a number of critical differences in their ability to maintain a balance of historical fact and entertainment value, in the context of Rosenstone’s Codes of Representation (1995) and Modes of Invention (1995).

Toplin (1988: 1210) argues that “Documentaries, with their supposedly educational format, disappoint too, in that filmmakers often construct them with an eye to entertainment value

rather than the priorities of scholarship". Unlike the Historical Drama film, the Historical Documentary provides little indication that the viewer should view the film as an interpretation of history, thus casual audiences often consider documentaries accurate representations of the past and rarely view the film with skepticism (Herlihy, 1988). Rosenstone (1995: 5), in discussing the Historical Documentary, states that "the confidence of the screen in its own assertions can trouble even historians who are sympathetic to visual media". In the Historical Documentary, it is necessary that factuality takes priority over dramatic storytelling, and historical accuracy cannot be sacrificed for the sake of entertainment values. However, in this context, education and entertainment are not mutually exclusive concepts; and documentaries can be appealing to audiences who wish to be entertained, without negating the historical integrity of the subject being explored. Gibson (2014), in discussing the film **Mandela** (1996), says that "I don't think it's a very complex film, but I don't think it shies away from truths". I believe that this is the approach filmmakers should take towards the Historical Documentary. This approach would result in accessible films that encourage viewers to ask questions and foster a desire to explore historical subjects, rather than believe that what they witnessed on screen is the sole cinematic interpretation of the past.

As In terms of the Experimental Historical film, Rosenstone (1995: 5) states "Certainly most Experimental films will include some of the six characteristics [Codes of Representation] but each will also attack or violate more than one of the mainstream conventions". Accessibility is not necessarily a priority and Experimental films approach historical representation differently to the mainstream Historical film genres, and often reject the qualities that entertain larger, casual audiences. As Rosenstone (1995: 5) states Experimental Historical films are known to be "analytic, unemotional, distanced" or alternatively, they can use these betrayals of the mainstream Codes of Representation and Modes of Invention (Rosenstone, 1995) to heighten emotions in creative and effective ways (Rosenstone, 1995: 5). This is evident in **Shoah** (1985), as the film provides no "look of the past" (Rosenstone, 1995: 5) using archived images or visual content from 1930s or 1940s, and is shot entirely in the 1970s and 1980s. Thus, it doesn't put us in the position of those who suffered this oppression, but allows us to hear their stories, resulting in a unique and, detached, yet emotional, understanding of this past.

Historical Drama films often contain an imbalance of factual content and entertainment value due to their extensive use of invention. This, however, should be expected of the Drama film as it will tend to focus on telling an historical story in an accessible and appealing narrative, in

order to reach a larger audience who wish to be entertained rather than educated. Even in this context, however, the film must be informed by an acceptable foundation of historical research. Filmmakers must be able to explain the dramatizations and support their reasons for taking artistic liberties with the portrayal of the past in their film, at the expense of historical truth. In doing so they are able to demonstrate that they possess extensive knowledge and a thorough understanding of the relevant history. I believe that historians should become involved in the research stages of Historical film production. This intervention would provide an assurance that a narrative doesn't misrepresent historical information to the point at which the film becomes an invalid portrayal of the past. Historians, or individuals with scholarly knowledge on an historical subject, could be coopted to ensure that historical accuracy is a priority. In addition this would ensure that historians do not, as many do now, criticize and reject the Historical film because of its lack of historical integrity.

It is a combination of aspects of the Experimental Historical film and the Historical Drama that have informed my practical component, which takes the form of a treatment and storyboard for a proposed film that presents the Aversion Therapies in a dramatic, linear narrative, yet using characteristics of the Experimental Historical film. The film has been categorized as a dramatic work of fiction. The story contains characteristics of Rosenstone's Codes of Representation (Rosenstone, 1995) and Modes of Invention (Rosenstone, 1995) as well as experimental cinematic approaches such as the use of point-of-view camera angles, which attempt to put the viewer in the position of the victim. Although the story is fictional, it is supported by a large body of research, consisting of literature studies and interviews with individuals associated with the Aversion Therapies. I believe that the proposed film, titled **22 BOYS** (2014), has the potential to both entertain audiences as well as expose them to a shocking part of South African history that they might have been previously unaware of.

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Addendum A

Edited transcript of personal interview.

Participant: Angus Gibson.

Age: Fifty-seven years old.

Occupation: Filmmaker.

Projects discussed: **Mandela** (1996)

Education: University of Witwatersrand.

Date: 27th September 2014 (13:00PM – 13:30PM)

QUESTION 1:

What is your personal opinion on the power and effect of Historical film: discussing it's value in sharing historical information, contextualized by the current state of 'post-literacy' – where a substantial section of an educated society can read but choose not? Where people might acquire knowledge on an historical subject via film rather than document.

"There's no doubt that film is much more accessible, to a contemporary generation of young people, than literature" (01:17)

"I think there are many ways of telling a story, and I think making a documentary is like the same thing...there are many ways of making a documentary, and documentaries can be very inaccessible or they can be accessible" (01:45)

"The Mandela film is quite an interesting case-in-point...I didn't make it alone, I co-directed it with a filmmaker called Jo Mennel, and he had a real clarity around one thing, which was: he wanted to make an accessible film that young people would be able to watch and relate to. He specifically felt that in the case of Mandela – here was a role model, in the context of a world where there are not too many role models, certainly in that kind of leadership position. So he wanted it to be a film that reached a lot of people, and so we used a lot of music, I think the narrative is linear in construction" (02:06)

"At the time of making the film, originally there was a four hour cut, and then it was cut down to two hours, and personally I felt that in the cut down, quite a lot had been lost...and so I had quite a jaundiced view of the film, that finally we had made. [The cut down] was because began to feel that it was potentially a feature project that could be screen in cinemas, and ideally, something like that should be ninety minutes...and in fact that was the quest...to cut it down to ninety minutes" (03:37)

"I had quite a complicated relationship with the final product. I didn't watch it for many, many years after it was completed and then I was invited to a screening in Soweto, at a very big cinema, in the Maponya Mall. And it was a very packed cinema, and it was very badly projected, and my heart sort of sank. Despite the bad projection the screening was completely rocked. People absolutely engaged with the film. And I suppose in that moment I kind of felt, well...it kind of lived up to Jo's need of the film, which was to, in some time be able to communicate heroic narrative, I suppose, to an audience starved of heroic narrative" (04:47)

“But of course film is also about how it is distributed. If a great, informative film is made and is shown on a channel in which your average young person is not going to see it, then it remains a niche audience, then it’s pretty useless in that sense” (06:11)

“A film shown in film festival human rights circuit...the kind of people seeing it are people that are convicted. So I do think that how a film is distributed is an incredibly important thing. So the power of, for example, a channel like SABC1 is enormous because it just brings, willy-nilly, a fast audience. Where your films are shown is a very big thing” (10:58)

“The cut down [in duration] of the film did not have much to do with making it more accessible, it was simply making it shorter so that it could be shown in cinemas. And the film that I really missed was quite a lot of verite material. There’d been quite a lot of material where we had simply observed Mandela in conversation, dealing with different things, and quite a lot of that was lifted out of the film. And because he is such, in a way, a controlled and private person, my view was that through the verite material, an audience could get a better sense of person, than what was spoken...so that was what I missed in what came out” (12:29)

“In terms of being accessible...I don’t approach a documentary any differently to the way I approach a drama, in that you want to tell a story with a beginning a middle and an end. That you want the story to be continually compelling. And I think I kind of have a gut instinct around what is compelling. I’ve never done scriptwriting courses or any such things...I personally don’t have formulae that I subscribe to” (13:32)

“There’s no doubt that films can change things. Erol Morris made **Thin Blue Line** (1988) and as a result of that and as a basis of that the guy [Randall Dale Adams] was retried. And the film that was made about Rodriguez and his particular strange relationship with South Africa reignited his career. I think the current film that Riaad Desai has made around Marikana is putting the spotlight back on that incident. And I think it is definitely sort of ‘activist cinema’... he takes a particular viewpoint...and he drives it home...which is not the form I’m most interested in. I suppose fundamentally I’m more interested in the sort of Roshomon (certain and different viewpoints) rather than one” (14:52)

“And I imagine Riaad would say that you need that kind of activism because news, for example, continually provides you – certainly in this country – *SABC News* is a mouthpiece for the government and what the government is wanting to say” (16:57)

“There’s a value in having alternative views...certainly one of my favorite films of all time is the **Battle of Algiers** (1966)...it tells a story of a liberation war. Clearly what stood out for me was that the French, who were the antagonists of the piece were well rounded and well thought through characters. I very seldom see in a film...that kind of even-handedness...and that they were not pastiche kind of characters” (17:39)

“I grew up in South Africa, and certainly when I did archive research in South Africa, the Nationalist Party constantly churned out film which was showing their particular view of the world...and it was a lie. It was a quite crudely executed lie. Well sometimes not so crudely executed, but on the whole, a lie” (20:54)

QUESTION 2:

Please briefly describe your research process and the methodology performed when working on these productions?

“On the project that I did (**Mandela** 1996) was different to pretty much anybody else’s project on Mandela in that I interviewed him...it’s the only film where he has been interviewed about his own life, so he was the primary research. So it was different to other projects” (0:21)

“The very first thing I did [when joining the project] was we went to the Bahamas and spent ten days...speaking to Mandela every day. And he was kind of captive in a sense that South Africa was a long way away...and in many ways I think it’s his best interview, having looked at many, many, many hours of interviews that he did about other things. So there was that at the core of the film” (01:38)

“I originally wanted to do a verite project in Soweto, and at the time, I wanted to follow a group of comrades over a period of a year...and as I got money to do the film, the Emergency Restrictions came in, and it meant that you could not film the police...and also what was happening was that the subjects of films were becoming victims, so it suddenly felt very difficult to make films...and so I decided then that perhaps a way to do it was to start doing historical work, as it felt like the message was the same” (02:48)

“The first project I did was on Sophiatown...then I literally started by going to the library and taking out every *Drum Magazine* over ten years and going through those...the history workshop at WITS asked me to do a project on Soweto, and I sort of continued the research, and so it meant that I kind of looked through every imaginable archive I could think of – everywhere in this country, everywhere in America, everywhere in the UK, in search of material that had been shot. So in fact I looked through all of the propaganda material that had been made, because in some ways that was where I could find imagery at least...and I think it was kind of why I was brought on to the project [Mandela] was because I had this real kind of sense of what was out there in the world in terms of archive material, and I’d already done a lot of interviews with key people” (03:44)

“I kind of disengaged [at school] so it felt like almost this was kind of an alternative education. It was kind of something I did on my own and it completely absorbed me. And it was quite a personal one in that I had grown up...in this perfect apartheid moment...through my adolescence I didn’t even know who Mandela was. So when I realized how much had been shut off from me, I had a real thirst to absorb and find out everything I could about black South Africa and it’s struggle. So that preempted me getting on board with the Mandela film. And of course the Mandela film had a lot of money attached to it so there were researchers...and people looking at every archive to see which archive has the crispest footage of Sharpsville...so it came down to those kinds of things” (06:08)

QUESTION 3

In your opinion do you believe that you achieved your ambition and satisfied your reasoning – thus far, since your productions’ release - for representing the aforementioned subject? I.e. Bringing the subject to a public light? What evidence is there to show that you did?

"I do think it (**Mandela**) is a successful, accessible documentary. Whether it is as complex as I might have been interested in it being...I don't think it's a very complex film, but I don't think it shies away from truths and I think that watching it in Soweto ten years after I had made it, for me, confirmed that it was successful. And interestingly, when Mandela died, many people contacted me from around the world and wanted to know how to get hold of the film, and the footage from the film, and the kind of consensus was that of all the films made about Mandela, it was the one, and that it was the most successful and the most engaging. And in fact, when Madiba died, the showed the film on SABC many times over, so quite often people come up to me and say "I never saw your film until I saw it on SABC...and people have been engaged by it. Partly because he gives a very engaging interview at the heart of it, and partly because it is, it was constructed to be accessible, and I think it is" (00:28)

"It [**Long Walk to Freedom** (2013)] turned over no money whatsoever. And it came out just when he died, so it was perfect timing, and in that week it took less than a million dollars" (03:09)

(04:26) "It [**Long Walk to Freedom**(2013)] was like the Reader's Digest kind of take on Nelson Mandela and so fundamentally you never engage with any real element other than an engagement with the relationship with Winnie...but in it's most sketchy form...where as if each of those chapters had real life and real characters, I think it could have been a great, epic narrative. And for the money they spent on it they could have easily done it"

Addendum B
Edited transcript of Skype interview.

Participant: Tarryn Lee Crossman.

Age: Thirty-four years old.

Occupation: Filmmaker.

Projects discussed: Carte Blanche Aubrey Levine episode (May 2013) and **WARD 22** (in production)

Education: AFDA (JHB) and New York Film Academy (NYC)

Date: 16th September 2014 (12:32PM – 13:13PM)

Question 1:

What is your personal opinion on the power and effect of Historical film: discussing it's value in sharing historical information, contextualized by the current state of 'post-literacy' – where a substantial section of an educated society can read but choose not? Where people might acquire knowledge on an historical subject via film rather than document.

"You can't make a non-subjective film" (02:26)

"[WARD 22] is not a film I can make, subjectively, like a verite film. It's not voyeuristic; it's very much based on fact. Which took a lot of research and time" (02:37)

"Why it's so hard... is that nothing can be untrue...nothing can be blasé-ly put together. We are kind of literally going into an archive that doesn't exist anymore. And trying to tell a story from people's memories...from the 1970s...so we have to check "where is this fictional?" from what people have remembered...and "where is it factual?" from what we can get. The archives are so slim" (03:08)

"That's why it's so hard...and this is the first historical film I'm trying to make. I'm still making it...and I started in 2011. (03:39)

"Just because it's so difficult to match the two worlds. You try and tell a story, which needs to be interesting to everyone, because I mean I'm not a historian or I'm not THAT kind of filmmaker at all." (03:48)

"You try and make a film based on interviews. And how many of them are true, and how many aren't. And a lot of the interviews have been fictional [fabricated] Like a lot of the information we got is like "that can't be possible" (03:59)

"And because it's a scandalous story...some of the interviews we have done, people fabricated 'facts'... like Levine did this, or Levine did that...you have to start questioning your subject matter" (04:15)

"They've forgotten...I think that happened with a lot of guys that were under conscription...They don't remember anymore, because A: they were trained never to speak... So you're trying to get South African history... But they were trained to believe in the SADF and to believe in the code of secrecy in the SADF. Now you're asking them to betray that code, and access a part of their lives that many of them, in this circumstance, were ashamed of. (05:12)

“So there [are] a lot of complications with the film, just to get basic information” (05:52)

“I feel like documentary films on a whole have become a new form of journalism. The news budgets are small so people aren’t investigating as much as they used to. Stories are very much just headlines now. You read a headline and the story is the same...whereas documentary films are now fulfilling that role. And it’s great, we have so much more of our history documented...we’re in the generation now where everything is archived” (07:06)

“He [Dr. Robert Kaplan of the South African Medical Journal] wrote things on Facebook about how it [the film] wasn’t legitimate and how I had ulterior motives for what I was doing...” (08:50)

Question 2:

Having investigated an historical subject (the aversion therapies) and represented it via film/television (WARD 22 and Carte Blanche could you please describe your introduction to the aforementioned subject (the aversion therapies) - and explain your motivation for wanting to explore and portray it in a visual medium? Please briefly describe your research process and the methodology performed when working on these productions?

“Paul Kirk was the breakthrough journalist. A lot of Paul’s information can’t be backed up by documentation. So even Paul, as a witness, is questionable. Because Paul’s article was based on the fact that there were sex change operations taking place...that this is what Levine ordered these guys to do, but he can’t give you any evidence and there’s no paper trail. It could’ve been destroyed. But I battle to prove that section of Paul’s story.” (10:18)

“Levine left in ’76. So he was there running the thing for about six years. There were about 100 patients. The ward was tiny. When I was speaking to the guys [participants] they said there would’nt have been more than about 10 patients in there at the same time” (11:12)

“Everyone is just repeating Paul Kirk’s article...everyone is just feeding off Paul’s information. He’s the only person that’s spoken to those victims” (12:38)

“There are still people trying to protect the archives” (15:46)

“There are still people there trying to protect the old values of the SADF. They burnt a lot of documentation...a lot of the paper work was burnt” (16:07)

“Look at this woman called Tanya, now she was sent to Ward 22, was there for a week, and has no recollection of being there...we did a request with her number, asking for her files, and all her files had been destroyed. So whatever they did to her, and whatever happened to her, has been hidden” (16:43)

“I started researching it because I was absorbed by the scandal of sex changes, and then I started to have more empathy for these boys and what they went through. And now the film has come full circle and it’s very much a film about Levine. And how these ex-soldiers that have committed crimes against humanity have been allowed to move all over the world and continue this reign of terror in ways that we don’t even know” (19:57)

Question 3:

In your opinion do you believe that you achieved your ambition and satisfied your reasoning – thus far, since your productions’ release - for representing the aforementioned subject? I.e. Bringing the subject to a public light? What evidence is there to show that you did?

“That [the Levine Carte Blanche episode] was a huge move forward for the film, because when Carte Blanche broadcasted...we got so many people coming forward, saying “I had met Dr. Levin, I was in Ward 22...we got a lot more information” (20:35)

“Most of the research has come from interviews with people. That’s predominantly where we found information. Trying to find paper trails and access archives has just led us to closed doors. There’s just nothing. There are no paper trails for Ward 22. You can’t even find a document that somebody signed saying “this is why it was opened” ... I’d say literally 80% of our research has been face-to-face interviews” (21:09)

“That [the Aversion Project report] was the only big document... the only problem with that document, is that all the names are false, and all the real names are under a 50 year embargo...and they were done in 1999...she [Miki Van Zyl] did a good two years doing that research” (21:57)

“Paul Kirk’s main witness was a crack head he met in Durban, who had had a sex change from Levine...and she was now a drug addict...[as a result of] trauma” (23:15)

“I feel like I’ve set up a lot of hope for the people that I’ve interviewed...people thought that they would get redemption, by coming forward and speaking, something would happen, people would know what they had been through. And the film hasn’t come out yet, but in a way, I have to do that [finish the film] for the people that have come forward. I do feel like the Carte Blanche one [episode] has opened more doors and has allowed more people started going “oh...there were other people that were there...it wasn’t just me that this happened to” (27:47)

“When I was busy with the film, the government made an announcement [in 2013] that they acknowledged that sex change operations had taken place in the SADF and that they were willing to subsidize hormones to people that had been left halfway through their treatment” (29:07)

“I think once the film comes out, there will be more than this [awareness] because I have got some calls from the City Press saying “we need to do an expose on this” ... so when the film comes out I think there will be a spiral from other media platforms...to maybe investigate further... I did an interview on [radio] 702, post Carte Blanche...and a lot of people called in” (29:57)

“There’s a lot of mistrust, so when trying to do these interviews, nobody trusts your motivations...It’s like you’re exploiting their stories again...a lot of people just want to put it behind them. That’s another reason it’s a hard film to make, and a history to access” (32:09)

"I did do a second level of research this year [2014] ... for two months I had a researcher trying to find all the paper trails, so she did a lot of requests...went to the SADF archives, went to the Jewish archives" (34:04)

"The film will never be that [strictly factual] but the film will be a story..." (35:04)

"Recollection of history and to try and tell the story of history is so hard when there's no archived material" (36:14)

[In discussion of Claude Lanzmann's **Shoah** (1985)] "Those are the kinds of films I want...history told through the eyes of a person...that's a character...but you have to have context... How do you tell history through the perspective of now? ... I feel like you can't judge, without having a full understanding of the context" (37:28)

ADDENDUM C

Film treatment for the proposed film 22 BOYS (2014)

Written by Alistair Heath

Part 1 Factory Settings

A male patient is in motion, being wheeled down a corridor on a hospital bed. He is staring at the ceiling. The rectangular white lights move past in a uniformed blur. Our vision transforms to a flesh-tone pink gradient as the patient blinks.

The patient is wheeled into a room and we see a piece of machinery with dials on its face and wires protruding from its sides. There are two paddles resting on either side of the machine.

The bed is then slowly spun around as the patient now faces the side of the room parallel to the machine. We see a doctor on the far side of the room. He is busy prepping something, hunched over a table.

A nurse leans in above us. She shines a light into our eyes. She proceeds to move the patient's head side to side – our point of view now shifting in a firm grasp. LEFT. STRAIGHT. RIGHT. STRAIGHT. She stands up and disappears from our line of sight.

A high angle shot of a young male patient. He shakes violently, in slow motion, as an electric current is passed through his body. This is intercut with a POV shot of a naked male centerfold from a *Playgirl* magazine being held in front of the patient.

Part 2

My Own Skin: introducing, to the theatre, Suzani Reitz (MHS1685)

Suzani Reitz lies in her military styled bunk bed. We see a close up of her face as she masturbates, discreetly, under the sheets. She is fantasizing about having sex in a shower with a tall, dark-haired man.

We've seen this man before in a centerfold torn from a *Playgirl* magazine; an image shown to the man receiving the shock therapy in the prior scene. In her fantasy she is pushed up firmly against the shower wall while he has sex with her.

We intercut between Reitz's face, as she lies in bed, and her fantasy; using rapid cuts of her face and the sex shots as the scene draws to a climactic end. The scene concludes with a high angle shot of Reitz, breathless, lying in her bed.

Reitz stands motionless, under an active showerhead, staring at the wall in front of her. A brunette woman walks into the large communal shower from an entrance on the far side of the room. She removes her towel, hangs it in up on a hook near the door and moves towards a showerhead on the opposite side of the room, situated behind Reitz.

Reitz turns around as the brunette woman begins showering. After some time, the woman starts to notice Reitz gazing at her. They hold a moment of prolonged eye contact. The woman turns off the faucet and leaves the shower in a rush, looking slightly unnerved. Reitz watches as she leaves. She turns around and continues staring at the wall.

Reitz stands over a desk, preparing a hypodermic needle and dispensing various tablets into a small transparent cup.

A group of male soldiers enter the room. One approaches Reitz from behind, as she works, and begins whispering into her ear as he caresses her side. Reitz, distressed, uncomfortably shrugs the man off, and escapes the room as the group of soldiers begins to laugh and heckle her.

As Reitz flees the room she collides with the brunette nurse from the shower, with whom Reitz shared a moment of discomfort. The nurse falls to the ground, spilling a hospital tray carrying medical instruments. Reitz doesn't hesitate, or

attempt to apologize, as she rushes off. Feeling violated and harassed, Reitz appears emotional and panicked.

The same group of soldiers comes from the room to aid the brunette nurse and collect the fallen items.

The brunette nurse appears furious as she points and shouts at Reitz who is now a distance away, but can still be seen running down the hall. The soldiers nod their heads and agree with what the nurse is saying.

Reitz is in a small white room in a hospital ward. She administers a shot of Sodium Pentothal (truth serum) into a young male patient's left upper arm. He is seated on a white leather reclining hospital bench.

A doctor enters the room with the brunette nurse in tow. He wastes little time in addressing the patient. He sits down and requests the patient's folder as his eyes dart back and forth between the two nurses, clicking his fingers and muttering:

Come come come...

He begins asking the patient questions, all the while scribbling in a folder:

Are you a drug user?

"Nee...No, sir, Colonel. When other people ask me if I want to, I don't...anymore..."

Are you attracted to any of your fellow force members?

"Sir, Colonel, I don't know what...How must I..."

Do you understand why I am asking you these questions?

"Yes, sir, Colonel, but the boys... They also sometimes make things up. Or make them...worse than they are, sir..."

Don't sound so worried, Mr. Van Zyl. You can relax, it's okay. I am a doctor and this is a hospital, you don't need to panic. If you find yourself here it is because we believe we can help you with something. You can calm down, Mr Van Zyl.

Mr. Van Zyl. Nurse Jonker and Nurse Reitz are going to take you to another part of the hospital now, okay? I will be there shortly. Just to

do a few more things, just one more test and then we'll see if you are okay or not. You might not think that you are sick, but sometimes you can be sick, but not know it. Stay calm, Mr. Van Zyl, you will be fine

The patient stands up as the doctor leads him to Reitz who delicately assists the patient into a wheelchair.

"Yes sir, Colonel"

Reitz exits the doctor's office, wheeling the patient down the hospital corridor.

The doctor and brunette nurse then leave the room. The nurse points at Reitz, shaking her head; she informs the doctor that she suspects there is something not right about Reitz.

Part 3

Left Right under a microscope, Left to think about making love.

Reitz is standing in the communal shower. She dries herself off with a clean white towel. An unfamiliar nurse stands at the shower's entrance.

The nurse hands Reitz a hospital gown and assists in dressing her.

Reitz is pushed down a corridor in a wheelchair. She sits, sedated and limp, with her arms resting in her lap. There is a piece of cotton taped to her upper arm.

She is slowly wheeled past a dimly lit room. Through an open door we notice that this room is a small and bare hospital chapel. The brunette nurse is sitting alone in the chapel, gazing towards a tall statue of a crucified Jesus. On either side of the statue are two large stained glass windows. Both windows colourfully depict a pair of beautiful female angels blowing golden horns.

The nurse continues wheeling Reitz past the dark chapel.

Part 4.

Factory Settings II: measures to make you fuck like we all do.

Reitz is laid down on a hospital bed with two nurses on either side of her; they attach circular electrodes to her temples and forearms. A third nurse rests on her haunches at the foot of the bed. She is peering up Reitz's hospital gown. This nurse is gloved and holds a piece of colored paper. It is a Playgirl Magazine centerfold page. We see Dr. Goffrey standing at the upper end of the bed, towering over the actions taking place. He says:

Nurse Reitz...Suzani... by now, you are familiar with this procedure.

It is unfortunate that you've been brought in like this. It is very, very unfortunate. But we must help you, Suzani.

Reitz offers no response, before she attempts a weak struggle, tugging at the cables connecting the electrodes now stuck to her arms. The two nurses firmly grasp her. One pins her down at the shoulders; the other holds her hands, pressing them against the hospital bed.

Dr. Goffrey gently strokes her forehead in a clumsy effort to calm her, inserting a rubber block into her mouth as he does so. He says:

You're in the position that we can provide you with the necessary help. For this you should be thankful... that your colleagues, your friends, care enough about you to have brought you forward to receive this help.

A fourth nurse holds two paddles to either side of Reitz's head. Reitz appears exhausted. The doctor begins activating the machine to which all devices attached to Sunzani are connected.

The word "cure", to me, Mrs. Reitz...Suzani... can be defined as the elimination of sickness, returning one to a natural healthy state.

A buzzing noise rings throughout the room as Reitz's body shakes violently; her body darting in every direction as though some invisible force is trying to toss her off the bed.

The buzzing noise comes to an abrupt end.

To destroy, by whatever means we can, the properties of illness.

The process is repeated. The sound emitted from the electrodes is now even louder. We see Dr. Goffrey standing by the machine. Reitz's nursing shoes slide off of her feet as her toes curl up, clenched and white.

When the buzz subsides we hear a muted scream followed by a muffled weeping.

Allow us, Suzani...

Dr. Goffrey turns a circular dial to a 120 Degree angle.

...Please, to cure you.

Part 5. Amendments (the process of rebirth)

Suzani lies tangled in the dirty white sheets of her top-bunk hospital bed. She wears a look of defeat and looks older. Her lips part and she begins mouthing words. We can't hear them at first but after a moment they become audible.

Procedure has sadly been unsuccessful. Patient continues to display symptoms of the disorder, as attempts at treatment have appeared to show little result. This has been informed by the professional medical opinion of colleagues and the patient's failure to effectively lubricate when presented with stimuli encouraging sexual arousal.

Via flashback we return to the moment of Reitz's electroconvulsive therapy. We hear the electric current subside and watch as Reitz stops shaking. The nurse at the foot of the bed reaches up Suzani's hospital gown. After a moment she removes her hands and shakes her head, looking up at the doctor. Over this, we hear:

After much deliberation it has been decided that nurse, Suzani Martine Reitz, Military Health Service #1685, undergo surgery consisting of chemical castration, complete mastectomy and oophorectomy. Until the time we are able to outsource surgical expertise to perform phalloplasty, surgical removal will be limited and the patient's genitalia will be subject to refrain.

Part 6.

Factory Settings III: Sister of Christ, Son of the Ward.

We are in the Hospital chapel during a sermon. The room is moderately full with about 10 of the 20 chairs taken by various people. In the front row of the left column we see a group of four soldiers. They are the soldiers who harassed Reitz earlier in the film. Seated in the front row of the right column is a group of four nurses. The soldier closest to the aisle is the soldier who harassed Suzani and the nurse closest to the aisle is the nurse who reported her.

A person is wheeled into the chapel from an entrance at on the back of the room, and slowly moved to the center, positioned in front of the chapel's occupants. This person in a hospital gown looks old, frail and limp. As Dr. Goffrey enters the room and stands behind the person in the wheelchair, all goes silent. From a view from behind the people seated in the church we see, for the first time, that this person is Suzani Reitz. She looks different; her hair is shaved into a crew cut and her eyes carrying dark blue bags. In Reitz's eyes we see the reflection of her audience's faces. We see the soldier and the nurse. They look terrified. Dr Goffrey gestures to two of the nurses to rise and approach Reitz. They delicately pull Reitz up from her wheelchair, handling her as though she might fall apart should they use much force. As the nurses hold Reitz in an upright position, Goffrey removes the wheelchair from behind her. He positions himself behind her and slowly begins doing something to Suzani's upper back.

Her hospital gown falls to the floor. She has three scars; one wrapping around her abdomen and two on her chest. She no longer has breasts.

From the back of the room we see the backs of the seated people (situated left and right). At the end of the center aisle we Reitz, either side of her a nurse and standing behind her, Dr. Alwyn Goffrey. He stands beneath the statue of Christ, as light pours in through the stained glass windows and illuminates the scene. He says:

Meneere.

Mevrouwe.

... Marius Reitz.

END

ADDENDUM D

Storyboard for the proposed film 22 BOYS (2014)

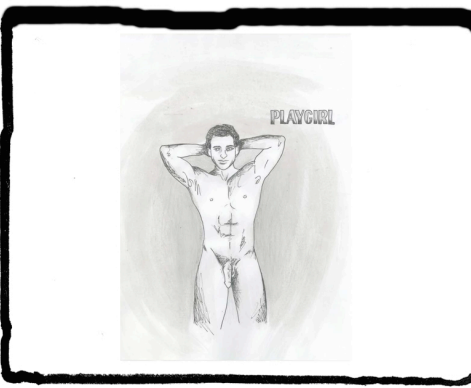
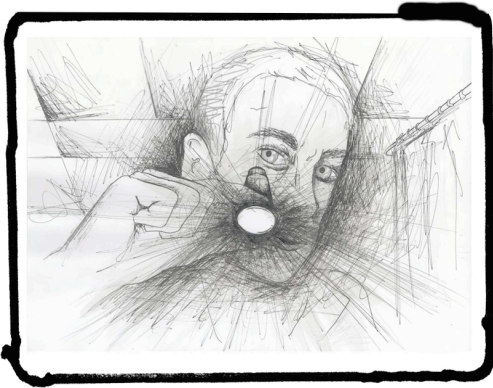
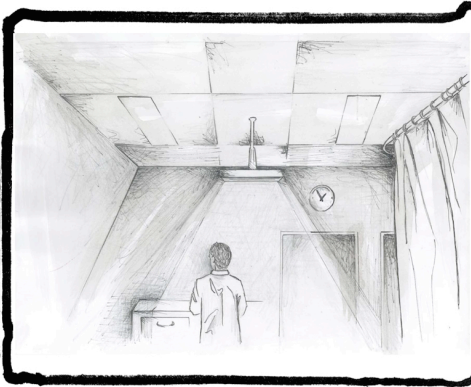
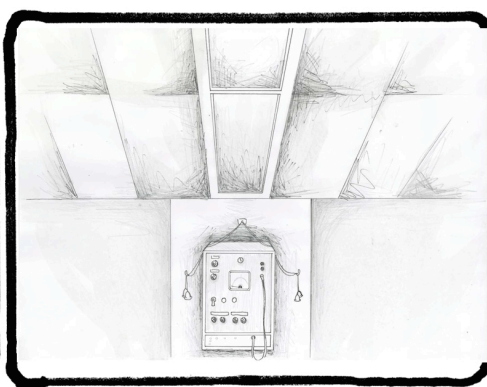
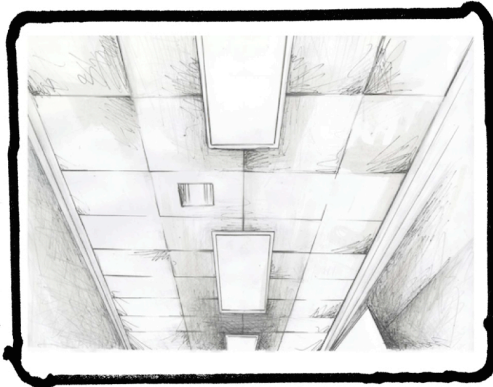
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Original illustrations by Lisa Herselman

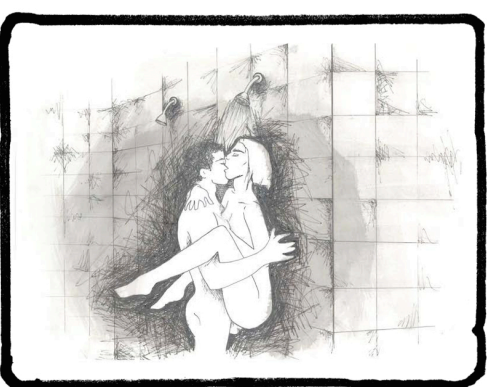
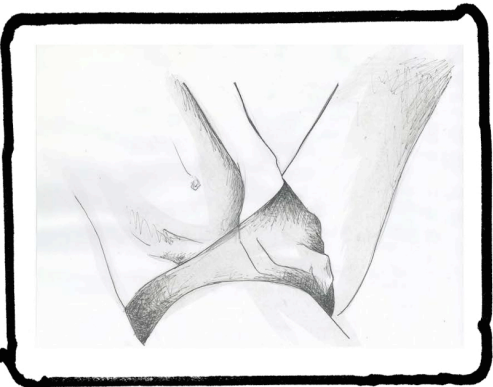
22 BOYS (2014)

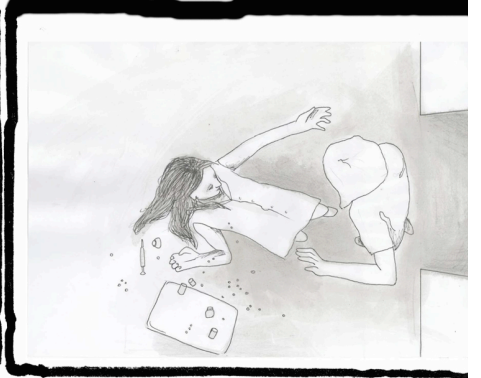
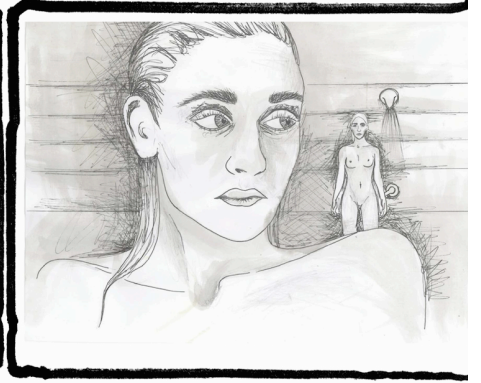
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Illustrated by Lisa Herselman

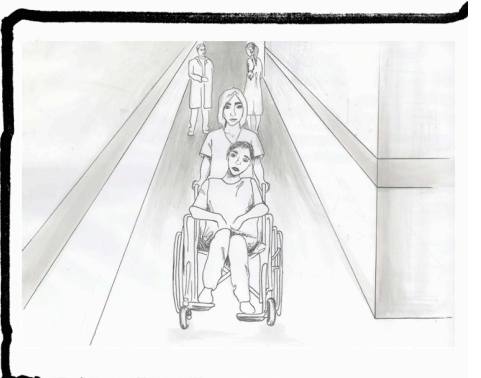
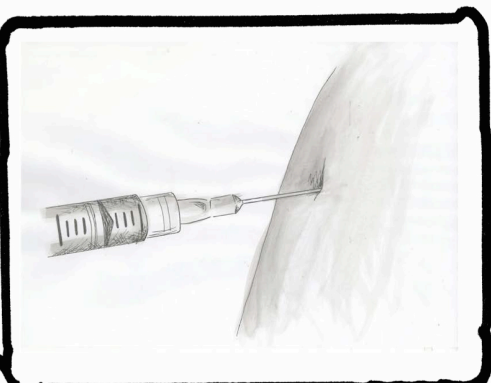


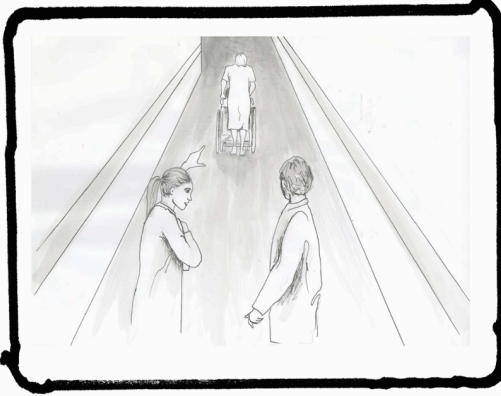
MY OWN SKIN:
INTRODUCING TO THE THEATRE,
SUZANI REITZ
(MHS1685)





LEFT RIGHT UNDER A
MICROSCOPE:
LEFT TO THINK ABOUT
MAKING LOVE





FACTORY SETTINGS II:
TO MAKE YOU FUCK LIKE WE ALL DO



