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REALITIES AND PERSPECTIVES**Accessing the Trauma of Communism.
Language, Symbols and Representations****Delia Oprea¹**

Abstract: The Memorial of Pain – a TV series comprising 208 episodes – is a memorable documentary produced by the Romanian journalist-filmmaker Lucia Hossu-Longin, which assembles interviews with witnesses and actual victims, and testimonials to the horrors of prisons, forced labour concentration camps, Romanian Securitate’s repressive actions during the communist period, as well as to the atrocities suffered by those suspected of acting against the regime, especially intellectuals. Studies have estimated that two million Romanians were victims of the communist regime, experiencing deportation, confinement to political psychiatric asylums, killings in camps and prisons, imprisonment of war, etc. The present article focuses on the discourse of trauma, while attempting to foreground recurring themes in a set of six, randomly chosen episodes. Moreover, it aims at highlighting linguistic mediation (or the process whereby emotions, traumas, suffering are transferred into discourse) and the associated strategies and symbols which support it. Since emphasis on sociolinguistic topics such as conflict, violence, suffering, traumatic experiences, survivors (frequently taking shape through symbols) is deemed necessary in analyzing mediation (equally viewed as the dialectics between the singular and the collective), the article will look into their representation also.

Keywords: communism; linguistic mediation; trauma studies

1. Context

Immediately after the fall of communism in Romania, beginning with the year 1990, Romanian National Television gave Romanians the possibility to see, discover, understand and feel the stories and traumas of those persecuted by the communist regime.

On Wednesday, 14 August 1991, TVR was broadcasting the first episode of the Memorial of Pain. Six episodes in total would be broadcast, which presented the communist regime up to Nicolae Ceaușescu’s age, but the impact of the first stories recounted by the show team coordinated by Lucia Hossu-Longin, was so powerful, that she went further on, reaching at present 208 episodes.

The topic the show approaches is very clear, only that the topics brought to attention by various journalistic methods (interviews, inquiries, discovery of public and private, personal archives, testimonies of the victims or the connected persons who knew victims) are sometimes little or not at all probed to the depth of the details and implications, so that everything appears very new, unknown, maybe haunted yet never proven. What we propose in this article is to unearth, by recording key

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expressions from 6 episodes of these TV series, the discourse of trauma that is present throughout the entire series, dotted with terms, ideas, descriptions, testimonials, references to other anguish moments lived during that period of persecution of freedom and word, of opinion and individualization, but also weeping, painful remembrances, gestures of hugging the past, through word, subjection, forgiveness but without forgiving. In fact, the discourse considered a history page, a history crossed in the 20th century by great human catastrophes first of all. It is the discourse of the people who fell victim to a political system, who suffered for not being able to speak, for not being allowed to live, for not being accepted as they did something they opposed the totalitarian political regime through.

In identifying the trauma speech or when discussing trauma¹, we set off from the definition of trauma, which we borrow from Janody (2015: 9), who finds that this concept may have two acceptations starting from the Greek etymology: in the scientific sense, it may refer to a wound or lesion, in the psychological sense it is rather a “hole”, a lack. A lack of body but also of speech, widely apart from the previous subject’s expression manners. We will also be looking at trauma discourse through this last acceptance.

1.1. Methodological Framework

Throughout time, the Memorial of Pain presented the events that unfolded since the end of the Second World War until the early 1990s. Along the years, the episodes were broadcast within cycles, which presented the Mountains Resistance, the Romanian camps and concentrationary system, the dramas of collectivisations and purging of religious cults. In the former communist countries of Eastern Europe, the process of reconciliation with the past was approached using a variety of memory mechanisms that ranged from public commemorations, justice facts such as lustration law and process, to autobiographical references and historical public television collections, including both individual and collective recollections.

As referring to the methodology, a range of 130 expressions were collected from 6 episodes of the “Memorial of Pain” documentary that amounted to 208 episodes along 25 years of production. Our work focuses on the discourse of trauma while attempting to bring out, after reviewing some episodes, randomly chosen, the recurring themes of the victims’ discourse. Viewing the 6 episodes, from which I extracted the expressions used by both the interrogated victims, their family, event’s witnesses or even the narrator-producer, will place us in front of a trauma speech model, the trauma’s linguistic mediation model, which is viewed through the eyes of several involved characters. The real life, alongside a series of truths, was brought to fore so boldly and painfully at the same time, under the form of this television show, documented as a police investigation and “mounted” with the attention and spirit of a movie director, this time a movie of life and death, beyond time.

The objectives and topics we wish to approach concern (1) to present a specific social and historical context in which trauma narratives are produced and received, (2) to pay attention to the various representation and strategies such as linguistic mediation in trauma studies.

1.2 Linguistic Mediation and Trauma Studies

Linguistic mediation is a dynamic interaction of meaning-making, not meaning-finding but meaning-making. In general, the mediation function consists of placing an intermediary between a person, a higher entity or an object – physical, cultural or social; linguistic mediation kicks off from a meaning-

¹ The term “trauma” appeared in the 19th century medical language (Janody, 2015, p. 9).

construction interactional dynamic and is shaped like a process in which emotions, trauma, suffering, memory pass into the discourse.

The field of trauma studies emerged in the early 1990s and it was considered “as an attempt to construct an ethical response to human suffering forms and their cultural and artistic representation” (Andermahr, 2015: 500). Trauma theory’s mission was to bear witness to traumatic histories in such a way as to reach to the suffering of the others. In numerous accounts, trauma is defined as “a frightening event outside of ordinary experience” (Bessel, 1995:172), trauma studies including different contexts of traumatic events, forms that traumatic suffering takes and myriad of representations in literary or journalistic (in our case) works.

Linguistic mediation means the process whereby emotions, traumas, suffering are transferred into the discourse. The implementation of linguistic mediation requires a series of strategies and symbols that we will emphasize in our paper. Mediation, equally viewed as the dialectics between the singular and the collective, focuses on the sociolinguistic topics such as conflict, violent, suffering, traumatic experiences, and survivors. These topics that are represented by territories of symbols shall also be found at the core of our research.

2 Discourse of Trauma in “The Memorial of Pain” Documentary

2.1 Media Memory, Life-story and Witnessing

Totalitarian regimes have undoubtedly marked one of the highest levels of unfreedom of the individual in any social and political framework. The Romanian TV documentary belongs to the early efforts of the journalists that, very soon after the Revolution, attempted to rescue a version and a vision, a realistic vision of the past including the years of anti-communist opposition. The Memorial is a way of fighting for the justice against of communist crimes that have frightened the Romanian people in the past 50 years before the ‘89 events. The series is focused on “the beginning of anti-communism, insists on its very early roots, and privileges a continuity of resistance that does not tip the balance of memory and justice in favour of the 1989 events” (Popescu, 2017).

The documentary we chose to analyse might be seen as a recounting of a life story. A story, with a smell of investigation, but which through the script it follows neither remains at the level of journalistic investigation nor goes to the level of complete memory (if it exists) of historical times that happened under a totalitarian political regime. Individuals rarely tell their ‘life stories’ from beginning to end, aiming at a coherent, exhaustive narrative. The show brings together a few life stories in order to dig into the past, through the memories and stories behind the memories. ‘I remember’ can be the opening sentence of every life-story and then, the words, pictures, memory and/or emotions mark the discourse that surfaces experiences from dark periods. We can talk about ‘memories’ in such cases, but we think ‘life-story’ conveys something more precise: “what is collected in life-story research is a coherent narrative, in the first person, which is perceived as a fragment of a wider narrative” (Bourdon, 2011, p. 62).

The reconstructive nature of memory impresses on the entire discourse a form of saying, pain yell, which ultimately leads not only to finding the truth, a rather subjective truth, but also to the catharsis by word, by the lament of the involved. Even if truth penetration is not absolute, at least the attempt to save by remembrance a few of the victims of a period of resistance against a regime that would prove ill-fated, has led to the shaping of an overview of horrors and, sometimes, of forgiveness. Cognitivists and social

scientists do not agree on much about memories, except on one point: memory is reconstructive; it constantly re-elaborates the past, thus preparing a future or at least proposing to shape a different future, if that past has brought along terror, violence, blood and death.

The trauma cannot be fully verbalized or understood as expressed in Caruth's oft quoted statement that "the most direct seeing of a violent event may occur as an absolute inability to know it" (1996, pp. 91-92). Nevertheless, the therapeutic and recuperative value of narrative is undeniable as long as the personal histories touched a sensitive audience and made aware an even younger audience, who did not live in the concerned period and who, only through the stories of those involved, got to reach the quiver of the terror instilled back then, at the debut of the Romanian communism. The documentary offers a unique blend of testimonial and narrative commentary, an empathetic connectivity in the reception of trauma narratives.

The goal of the series that the director, Lucia Hossu-Longin, stated from the very beginning was to conduct a series of investigations and shed light where injustice took place by turning the spotlights, cameras, on the direct and indirect witnesses of the events that seemed to be buried into the dark past and forgiveness, events that would suspend the lives of those involved somewhere between life and death. She has always claimed that we were all entitled to the truth and made these efforts to recover history, that which is not taught in school, as the series subtitle claims, in order to build an interstitial space between memory/recollection / remembrance and justice, truth. „The memorial was an act of justice. This was my wish, for it to be an act of justice for those who died, unknown by anyone, that day they were shot. The Memorial of Pain is a unique, monumental enterprise in the Eastern Europe. And I also believe it is a fulfilled duty of the Romanian Television for the 45 years of communism and 2 million victims of the communist repression" (Lucia Hossu-Longin¹). The discursive area also circumscribes to this act of justice, which, alongside the images, history/fact history, recordings made (in due time to "catch" the survivors on camera), compose an image of the terror instilled within the population by the Romanian communist regime. „Lucia Hossu was the first person to go many places. She opened the gates of Sighet", recounts Alexandru Munteanu, the show producer, member of the Memorial team ever since 1993.

The mix of voices reflects a consideration for both the visual craft and the political message. Film critic Eugenia Voda comments that "The Memorial of Pain no longer represents a TV series; it first and foremost represents a (moral and political) phenomenon and only then a documentary film." (Hossu-Longin, 2007, p. 5).

2.2. Forms and Aims of Linguistic Mediation of Trauma

In 1990, François Six brings into discussion the functions of mediation, identifying among others the curative, healing function that seems to be applicable in the case of the trauma speech from the "Memorial of Pain" documentary. Thus, Six (1990) identifies various types of linguistic mediation in accordance to the trauma studies such as: (1) the creative mediation the purpose of which is to kindle new relationships among people or groups, (2) the renewing mediation - reactivates weakened relationships, (3) the preventive mediation in order to avoid the breakout of conflict, (4) the curative mediation in order to help the conflicting parties find a solution (Six, 1990, p. 164).

This classification appears to be required in order to distinguish the various application fields of mediation; the fact remains that everybody revolves around the core which is the creation and

¹ Source tvr.ro.

maintenance, the reconstruction of the social relationship. With reference to our case study, I identified that writing or speaking and visualising trauma are used as a witness for the future and for the past. Linguistic mediation consists of a feeling of survival and survivance at the same time. This documentary is similar to a cinematography *mise-en-scène* (often used in the film) to bring to the fore (1) the shame and traumas the Romanians felt in that period, (2) the courage in the face of absolute opposition on the part of the Romanian authorities. Using various examples from oral testimonies, autobiographical writings, literary works, TV series, films, we obtain a (a) therapeutic and recuperative value of the narrative, (b) an empathetic connectivity in the reception of trauma narratives.

Beyond the therapeutic role of confessions, the description of personal dramas in an effort of unforgetting, of discovering the truth, is, in fact, the author-director's ultimate goal – that of fighting against a system that seemed to perpetuate even after the events of 1989. Hossu-Longin, in the same effort of healing through confessions, makes a political assessment, including through the storyline political events rather than historical ones.

The Memorial is part of the early efforts through which, immediately after the Revolution, the recovery of a vision of the past was attempted, which included the first years of the anti-Communist opposition. The series appears to solicit the enforcement of justice on the Communism crimes. The narrative provided by the interviewer, Lucia Hossu-Longin, edited by the director Valentin Hossu-Longin, who is also her husband, serves as an explanatory frame calling for justice. The entire *mise-en-scène* represents an interference between the narrative tone, the shots and symbols of the regime the authors recall through their voice, but especially through the voice of those interviewed. The documentary is actually a discussion between the interviewer and her interlocutors, victims of persecution in the communist prisons. Each episode represents a testimony so that Hossu-Longin can create, each time, a finite story-telling universe, using archival material, images, voice-overs, and commentary. Each episode is orchestrated like a real film that starts with a name, firstly introduced with “what sounds like three loud, echoing thuds on a heavy metal door, suggestive of a prison gate or a cell door” (Popescu, 2017).

The actual interviews flow relatively freely, as Hossu-Longin asks few questions and mostly lets the interviewees tell their stories. Sometimes, Hossu-Longin asks for clarifications, or she prompts her interlocutors to comment on their feelings, but most of the interpretive work is done “outside” the interview. While the interviewee is allowed to recount events and impressions with little interruption, the rest of the episode engages an impressive array of tools to explain, amplify, and streamline the message – to lead the message right on target, to centre and match it in the context...

3. Drama, Humiliation, Fight and Torture: Symbols and Linguistic Representations

The collective memory of communism centres on the notions of violence and illegitimacy, at least, this is the conclusion that can be drawn from the 300 phrases recorded from the six episodes under the lens: (1) Deportation, (2) Students, (3) Concentrationary system, (4) The boys of Făgăraș Mountains, (5) The Death Canal, (6) The Night of the Resurrection in the lead mines.

The texts and documents contained therein “universalize or objectify, create forms of consciousness that override the ‘naturally’ occurring diversity of perspectives and experiences” (Smith, 2004, pp. 195-196). Yet, the communist regime was not only “an administratively constituted knowledge,” (Smith, 1974, p.

261) but also knowledge incorporated into various types of witnessing and testimonies, and into other public sources of memory.

Hossu-Longin takes the victims to prisons, mines, mental institutions, graveyards, to the forests, fields, and villages where they had been hunted, tortured and confined, and asks them to retrace their steps. The sense of reliving the experience “lends the documentary experiential authenticity, although it was not filmed when the original events happened” (Jones, 2012, p. 205).

The Narrator is perceived like an extension of the victims: often the viewers are unsure whose words they are hearing. This latter voice, militant and relentless, focuses on connecting the past and the future into a cycle of injustice that has to be publicly brought to an end. The magnitude of some events poses a problem of representation. An important upshot result of this discussion is the observation that documentaries, even those based primarily on testimony, are “a representational medium that is mediated and governed by conventions just as is written work.” (Rothberg, 2000, p. 118). The superimposed commentary of the narrator offers an ordering principle for the testimonies, a means of arranging them into a cohesive message. The narrator’s words are interpretations that assert his “authority over the witness,” thinks Rothberg. He continues with the assertion that a version of history is actively made “when we speak of the survivor instead of the victim and of martyrdom instead of murder” and “we draw on an arsenal of words” to project “verbal fences” (Rothberg, 2000, p. 121). The Memorial, as a documentary, participates in the process of understanding the past, but is problematic as a historical record. Its testimonies are interpretive pieces that reflect on the past, rather than merely reproducing it. The mediation of the narrative determines how and what we remember.

The interviewees’ depiction of history recalls, rebuilds the past in the terms that each of them remembered, recorded or lived at a certain moment and make a time bridge, bringing history to the present moment of the documentary’s broadcast/viewing. The main approached topics circumscribe to the political, but the recurrent subtopics, present both in the narrator’s voice and the testimony of the interviewed victims belong to the sphere of suffering and trauma.

The documentary unifies past voices into a call for justice and rehabilitation. Hossu-Longin proposes the series as a means of building a historical record employed for the purpose of justice, as she publicly stated in various interventions in the media.

The narrative thread of the analyzed episodes is actually revealed as an interpretation of the past through the present, equally entangled into the injustice of the politics, corruption and fight for freedom. Multiple meanings, information, context elements are all present in order to give the measure of a setting worthy of the horror movies:

*A century of camps (the 20th century),
The second greatest deportation (1951), Kolkhozes,
They had to frighten the people, to scare them,
1949: liquidation of the rural bourgeoisie,
A destiny worth of a Greek tragedy,
An experiment of organizing and imposing terror,
Successive waves of prosecution,
The lands were relinquished only at gun point and after being forcefully thrown into Bărăgan Plain
The instauration of terror,
Roughness and tragedy,
Subversive armed groups,
Captures and executions,*

*Wounded and arrested,
Ion Hașu is investigated and tortured,
We were arrested two days after the wedding,
They tied them with wire and rope, pulled them on the banks of Târnava and buried them,
An indescribable woefulness was created.*

The individual memory of the testimonials intertwines with the experts' analyses but also with the on-site investigations of the producer and highlight the awe, the fear, terror, suffering of the life those opposing the political regime had to live. Phrases such as the following ones outline a tableau of traumatic experiences, of human suffering, leading to dehumanizing:

*This will happen to you unless you submit,
Huge suffering capital, boundless pain,
The regime that scourged them,
They gave way to wrongdoings and abuses,
The map of human suffering places should count at least 200 crosses,
Hungry, tired and fearful, the people are terrified.*

The reconstitutions, the documents she had access to with great difficulty to no access, the experts' comments but especially the testimonials, shape along the 6 viewed episodes, two paradigms of trauma: one of violence and the one of the uprooting. When victims make confessions about the endured violence, they bring into discussion sociolinguistic topics such as conflict, suffering, fear, traumatic experiences. Then, the highlighted trauma is that of uprooting, the recorded expressions relate to family, distance, family portraits, the sometimes entirely broken family connections.

A lesson united by memory is given to us all when the testimonies of dozens of victims bring into discussion the same topics of uprooting, alienation from family, at the cost of saving its members but at the risk of losing the connections maybe for the entire life:

*We were taken away by carriage – deportation plan,
I was dislodged together with my family, we were told be ready within two hours,
The association of the former deportees to Bărăgan,
Border guards ordered the entire family to gather in front,
You will be dislodged, moved to another region of the country,
The border guards came at night,
We didn't come here to have fun, we're here to take you away,
There was big wailing,
Whatever you can load in a cart,
They would recite the formula, the party and the government decided that you be moved elsewhere,
Men taken to the forest,
The axe of separation.*

The testimonials of pain and humiliation are also inscribed in the logic of death, reminding of roads blocked by the army and the security, the hastily and forcefully built roads and a cart where a few belongings were thrown, the way they were imprisoned, mocked, forced to live in inhuman conditions, with sick family who had no way to care for them, famished and tortured:

*The roads to the communes were blocked by the army and the Securitate,
The traffic was stopped,
We walked by the cart, like the horses, not nearby houses,
He would mock us, yelling,
Kulaks,
Axe handle,
We built a hut,
The houses were wet,
The child fell sick,
The girl fell asleep in the cradle, he inside a vat,
We needed food, we called for it and were betrayed,
Re-education through torture on batches of students,
Mailmen, guards, forest rangers, priests and monks are used by intimidation and threats,
We slept in the railway station,
They didn't give us carriages,
The deportees were ordered to pack within two hours, during which time they could hardly grab anything,
We asked for bread, we hadn't eaten for three days.*

The rebirth would not be possible without a fight and victory. Even if, despite the trauma, the scars, sometimes unequalled losses, but with the hope that at least in the future, for those who remained at home or for the survivors the future would be different. The fight and persecution endured by those targeted by the repressive political regime of the early Communist epoch in Romania were “written” by the testimonials of those present in the Testimonial of pain. To this effect, I have recorded a few dozen expressions (from the six monitored episodes) that not only give the measure of the inner fire that burned in those involved, but also build into the viewers' memory the picture of a horror that should never happen again:

*He had to hide in Breaza, in the church tower,
The Securitate was engaged in a strong offensive,
Everybody would be stopped and checked,
He stayed for three days under the floor of the community centre,
We could see the futility of the fight even back then, yet we couldn't find another solution,
They kept telling us to surrender as we'll be fine,
We were hoping for a miracle,
They re-joined after the clashes but two students were missing,
Corneliu Coposu stayed in isolation for eight years without speaking to anyone,
Fight against the people's enemies,
We'd better arrest ten innocents rather than let a bandit escape,
They endured the war,
The Canal, the captivity, the confiscations the deportations, the arrests,
Combat-ready,
Bent on dying for freedom, Făgăraş resists guns at the ready,
They found us while cleaning the weapons*

The discourse of torture becomes the discourse of death when, beyond words, there are people who were dragged into prisons, beaten, racked and famished. All these situations go beyond their history through

the testimonials full of emotions, transfused by the quiver of continued fear, but also in the hope of salvation not by forgetting but by saying, telling:

*Gherla – an underground den, a machinery for testing human resistance, a prison of intellectuals, a scream of ultimate silence against the guard’s satisfaction,
Paul Goma tells us what he was beaten and flagellated with,
Codlea – liquidation centre of the German lot who built the Black Church,
Târgșor – this is where the flower of youth perished,
Aiud – the largest prison of death, a coffin,
Romania became a prison as large as the country itself,
Râmnicu-Sărat – prison for the stubborn,
Sighet – an archipelago of horror,
To crush, liquidate, eradicate, annihilate, shoot, mercilessly hit were the supreme commandments,
Sometimes, the final gesture belonged to them,
They hit him in the head with the rifle,
The shooting lasted for a long time since they couldn’t find out how many of them were there,
They told him (the traitor) to offer the (food) bowl and drop on the ground so that bullets won’t touch him.*

Perhaps an effect of Hossu-Longin’s documentary is that it constructs a version of national myth. As Bucur argues, after the fall of communism in Romania, “the most important debates in politics and culture were about authenticity, rebirth, traditions, and truth that needed to be uttered in order to restore moral order in a Romanian society deeply corrupted by the communist regime” (Bucur 2009, p. 223). For the Romanians at the beginning of a difficult road, that of transition, the lack of trust in the political system allowed for a public reorientation towards the “subterranean truths and authentic forms of resistance” (Bucur, 2009, p. 243). And all these resistance forms described, filmed, spoken, almost half a century later are a raw model of the brutal, criminal way it was conceived throughout that period. The Memorial impacted a whole generation of young people and “fundamentally influenced how victimization and resistance under communism were to be viewed” concluded Bucur (Bucur, 2009, p. 243).

The testimonials of the “simple heroes” are an effort, not just of the Memorial, but also of the “heroes”, for the remembrance itself is extremely painful, it is a recreation that privileges the (re)living of certain emotions, most times negatives, with regard to the life of the victims who had become heroes just because of the documentary instrumented by Lucia Hossu-Longin. The fluctuation between testimony and narrator commentary allows the series to piece together a homogeneous image of the Romanian nation in the communist era. Statements became narrative metaphors which had a great impact on public.

“Documentaries with great impact do not just reflect on the present by framing the past, they also inform the future by framing the present” Delia Popescu affirms (2017). On the past-present-future axis is also placed the sociolinguistic construction of the thematic axes identified in our documentary: horror, fear, terror, suffering, trauma, violence, uprooting, humiliation, fight, torture, death. The order is not fixed, the amalgamation of memories, sensations, emotions pervade each episode that effectively flows like a pain in the veins. A discourse of inclusion in the collective memory of the historical events, but which lacked from history’s puzzle, is the means whereby the documentary reaches the vulnerable points by emphasizing the messages of pain, transforming pain into fight, as an example for the descendants and a time-bridge of understanding history, a history that is not taught in school, as the series subtitle claims.

Conclusions

In the majority of the former communist states, reckoning with a painful communist past has presupposed different forms of recuperation and reassessment of communist memory and history through “empowering the victims, identifying the victimizers, and revealing the nature and the extent of crimes and abuses perpetrated by the defunct communist regime” (Stan 2013, pp. 126-127).

The TVR2 website, the Romanian public television channel, describes the series noting that: “The Memorial of Pain remained in the collective memory of the Romanian people, and twenty years after the first episodes were broadcast, it is more than a TVR brand; it is a symbol for the fight to keep Romanian memory alive”¹.

These examples from a dark Romanian historical period indicate a new, future-oriented paradigm of commemoration that seeks to use knowledge of the past – and especially its traumas and violence – to create a better present and future.” The Memorial was an act of justice. This was my wish, to be an act of justice for those who died in prisons, unknown by anyone. The Memorial of Pain is a monumental enterprise, unique in the Eastern Europe. And I do believe it is a fulfilled duty of the Romanian Television for the 45 years of communism and for the two million victims of communist repression” (Lucia Hossu-Longin, source tvr.ro).

Following in the footsteps of the scholars who deal with Romania’s communist past from the perspective of the Memory Studies, one can regard this documentary as a platform for the intergenerational transmission of memory and knowledge for those who did not live under the Communist regime. This article explored the idea of “recuperative memory” with respect to the process of coming to terms with the past after the fall of the Romanian Communist regime in 1989. The role of recuperative memory is not only to facilitate the process of reconciliation with the past, but also to offer the material necessary “to sustain a viable politics of memory regarding the Communist past” (Mitroiu, 2016, p. 756). The entire series is an active remembering, selective forgetting, and collective identity effort.

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¹ http://tvr2.tvr.ro/emisiuni/memorialul-durerii_4182.html.

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