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Memory and Affective Discourses in *Pepe Mujica, Lessons from the Flowerbed* (Heidi Specogna, 2015) and *El Pepe: A Supreme Life* (Emir Kusturica, 2018)

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ABSTRACT

José "Pepe" Mujica has become a charismatic figure not only in Latin American politics but across the world. This article analyzes the representation of memory and affect in two recent transnational documentaries that portray Mujica's personal and political life: *Pepe Mujica, Lessons from the Flowerbed* (Heidi Specogna, 2015) and *El Pepe: A Supreme Life* (Emir Kusturica, 2018). It explores how the films represent Mujica's memories and past, focusing specifically on his political militance as a member of the *Movimiento de Liberación Nacional-Tupamaros* (MLN-Tupamaros) during the 1960s and 1970s, and his experiences as political prisoner of the military dictatorship. Drawing from memory and screen studies, this work investigates the narrative devices and cinematic strategies used to create meaning out of the past. Finally, this article outlines how Mujica's discourses are embedded in these films to establish an affective and ethical connection between past and present that elicits a powerful emotional response.

KEYWORDS

José Mujica; affect; memory; documentary; Uruguay

Introduction

In October 2020, José Alberto Mujica Cordano, better known as Pepe Mujica, announced his retirement from political activity. The resignation of the 85-year-old leader of the *Frente Amplio* (the Broad Front) from the Senate of Uruguay signified the end of his extensive involvement in the Uruguayan political scene. As a member of the *Movimiento de Liberación Nacional-Tupamaros-MLN-Tupamaros* (National Liberation Movement-Tupamaros), Pepe Mujica participated in the armed insurgency during the 1960s and 1970s against the government of Jorge Pacheco.[1] He was already in prison when the military coup occurred in 1973 and subsequently spent almost fourteen years in jail, mostly in close confinement, until the end of the dictatorship in 1985 when he was released. After the restoration of democracy in Uruguay, he was actively involved in parliamentary politics. In 2010, he successfully led the presidential candidature for the left-wing coalition (the Broad Front), becoming one of the most popular Latin American presidents at the time.[2] During his five-year term, Mujica's government promoted social reform and progressive policies. His peculiar, non-conventional governmental approach

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and unassuming lifestyle drew much media attention. His public speeches have gained international recognition thanks to his humanist message as a representative of the dispossessed in Latin America. His critical voice in favor of human values and against capitalism and globalization, due to their negative impact on climate change, was the core message in his address to the United Nations General Assembly in September 2013.

Mujica's life, including the time he spent imprisoned for his guerrilla activities, has attracted the attention of documentary filmmakers.[3] This article examines the themes of memory and affect in two transnational documentaries, targeted at the national and international festival circuit, which portray the personal and political life of the Uruguayan leader: *Pepe Mujica, Lessons from the Flowerbed* (Heidi Specogna, 2015), produced by Maj.ja.de Filmproduktions (Germany), with the support of WDR Westdeutscher Rundfunk Köln, ARTE France and SRF; and *El Pepe: A Supreme Life* (Emir Kusturica, 2018), co-produced by K&S Films (Argentina), Rasta International (Serbia) and Moe (Uruguay).[4] The article focuses on the memory narratives embedded in these works. Drawing from memory and screen studies, it investigates the narrative and stylistic devices used to create meaning out of the past in cultural products aimed at an international audience. It explores how these documentaries represent individual and collective memories and how Mujica's lessons learnt from the past are embedded in his political program. It compares how each documentary makes use of intertextual references to evoke and/or mediate individual and collective memories. It analyzes how the mise-en-scène, editing and music are instrumental in generating an empathetic response. In the critical analysis of some of Mujica's speeches and conversations, this article considers how, on the one hand, they act as personal and collective memory markers and, on the other, they build bridges between past and future, eliciting a powerful emotional response to the values that Mujica defends.

Media Memory

The field of memory studies has developed considerably since the 1990s, addressing different questions related to historical events, methodological approaches and types of memories (autobiographical memory, individual memory, historical memory and collective memory).[5] According to Susannah Radstone and Bill Schwarz, "memory has become the site of, or the sign for, many intersecting issues: the temporal imaginings of past, present, and future; subjectivity and identification; the passage from the inner life to the outer world; even the politics of being in the world and of recognition."[6] This memory boom has been particularly connected with the study of trauma, including a wide range of discourses by witnesses and survivors. The increasing scholarly attention paid to the intersections between trauma, memory and creative arts became salient as an interdisciplinary area within the humanities at the turn of the twenty-first century. Among other scholars, Cathy Caruth has named literature, film, and political activism as ways of examining the impact of trauma experiences, as well as providing a "link between cultures."[7]

Correspondingly, many academics working on memory studies are concerned with the relationship between history and the present. Dominick LaCapra argues that memory draws on history to identify issues that still exist and to deal with unresolved questions that continue to affect the present.[8] The portrayal of historical events and testimonies constitutes a challenging process. Notwithstanding the

difficulties of representation, Marita Sturken, drawing upon Foucault's ideas on the role of popular culture, distinguishes between cultural memory, personal memory and historical discourse. For Sturken, the process of cultural memory involves the participation of individuals in the creation of meaning and the negotiation of which narratives have a place in history.[9] According to Paul Grainge, the negotiation of memory "describes the echo and pressure of the past as it is configured in present-based struggles over the meaning of lived experiences."[10] He remarks how, in the remediation of cultural memory, mass media plays a pivotal role as digital technologies affect how media is transmitted, stored, remixed and shared in many different ways. It is precisely this process that opens up the "development of national and transnational modes of cultural remembrance."[11] Links between media and memory have deepened in the increasingly media-saturated twenty-first century. Within this interdisciplinary field, media memory explores a wide range of issues; for instance, the role that the media plays in creating and shaping different version of past events and as a means of triggering collective memories; the connections between film and television genres and the different manifestations of the past; the interconnection between media and socio-political and economic contexts; and the interaction between commercial and public media in local or global settings to facilitate a dialogue between these two rich and increasingly intertwined areas of study.[12]

Emma Hutchison argues that the "residual links between trauma and community can last for years or decades."[13] Indeed, film can provide a space for personal and political performance of trauma and, as noted by Fernando Canet, cinema "is one of the main sources of public narratives that contribute to the construction of the collective memories of a nation."[14] Hutchison's perspective on the connection between the representations of trauma and the creation of "affective communities" can help to explain how media images and film, in particular, generate new "emotional cultures" that emerge from traumatic events (for instance, the dictatorships' state terrorism in the countries of the Southern Cone), and how the experiences of survivors and witnesses are followed by contemporary media explorations carried out by second and third generations.[15]

Numerous scholars have begun to theorize the role of emotions, affects and bodily experiences. Considering how a body has the ability to affect or be affected, in *The Politics of Affect* Brian Massumi defines affect as "being right where you are—more intensely" while "emotion is the way the depth of that ongoing experience registers personally at a given moment."[16] Works on emotions also consider the link between individual emotions in a social framework. Sara Ahmed argues that emotions are socially situated and embodied in specific cultural contexts: "emotions do things, and they align individual with communities—or bodily space with social space, through the very intensity of their attachments."[17] For many film scholars, the representation of the traumatic past and the role of memory in documentaries are signs of the revival of social and affective memories in Uruguay after the dictatorship.[18] However, understanding that individual emotions "are always collective and political" and that emotional cultures are also linked to the "changing landscape of world politics," Hutchison argues that transnational media can "emotionally empower and mobilize communities" beyond the borders of a nation.[19]

José Mujica, Lessons from the Flowerbed

In *José Mujica, Lessons from the Flowerbed*, Heide Specogna, a Swiss documentary filmmaker based in Berlin, returns to the story and personal journey of the charismatic President of Uruguay.[20] Specogna, together with Rainer Hoffmann, had tackled the recent history of Uruguay in the documentary *Tupamaros* (1997), in which they interviewed a group of ex-members of the MLN-Tupamaros, including Pepe Mujica.[21] This section seeks to explore connections between the two films and other media texts to represent memory and other manifestations of the past. The aim is also to examine strategies used to connect past and present.

Alison Landsberg's work has focused on the negotiation of memory, history, and media. She has explored how audiences' engagement with past events projected in film results in a "prosthetic memory." She argues that this emotional connection with past events "might be instrumental in generating empathy and articulating an ethical relation to the other."[22] Fundamentally, *José Mujica, Lessons from the Flowerbed* establishes a dialogue with the story told eighteen years earlier in *Tupamaros* (1997) and follows the ideological evolution of a generation that took arms to fight for their socialist ideals. The opening shot first scene from *Tupamaros* is reused in the more recent documentary with a voiceover by Lucía Topolansky, addressed to the filmmaker, recounting the many changes that have taken place. As well as the use of archival video material from her previous film, there are recent images, for example the moment when Mujica took up his position as the constitutional President of Uruguay and his meeting with the U.S. President Barack Obama. This first part, which acts as a prologue, also contains newsreel clips of key events in Mujica's life that create a prosthetic memory. They provide the chronological framework and set up continuity between the two films. For instance, archival footage and different scenes from *Tupamaros* are incorporated in *José Mujica, Lessons from the Flowerbed* to contextualize the Uruguayan dictatorship and explain Mujica's ideology of political militancy as a member of the MLN-Tupamaros.[23] This process of remediation is facilitated by the use of the same model of narration in both documentaries: memory/interview-based narration in which the image and voice of the filmmaker/s is rarely shown on screen. The reuse of images taken from *Tupamaros* is deployed in three different ways: first, to illustrate the historical context; second, to complement other elements such as interviews with Mujica and Topolansky on their active involvement in military actions; and third, to establish a continuity between the past and the present, particularly with the images of their *chacra* (farm). This recycling process becomes an act of hypermediacy, "which reminds the viewer of the medium, points to the potential self-reflexivity of all memorial media."[24]

At the same time, this remediation fills possible gaps in the narration of the past. Most of the fragments from the documentary *Tupamaros* incorporated in *Lesson from the Flowerbed* are related to the testimonial genre. In one of the scenes that is reused, Mujica is not reluctant to discuss his years of imprisonment, pain and suffering, as well as his persecution complex, which developed as a result of this. However, he is unwilling to talk in detail about that period as an ideologically formative one since his political commitment justifies the risks he assumed: "No me gusta hablar mucho de esto. Y no me gusta hablar porque [...] quien se enamora del cambio social y se considera revolucionario, tiene que tener el problema ... el riesgo de la muerte y de la

prisión como una de las eventualidades."[25] These scenes help to raise Mujica's status, promote a romantic image and highlight his pragmatic approach to politics. The latter category fits into the classification established by Montero in her analysis of Mujica's political discourses (from 2010–2015). From his speeches and interviews, Ana Soledad Montero extrapolates four main features. First, there are oscillations and tensions between oblivion and remembering—an ambivalence that must be read in the context of his desire to stay out of the debate on the annulment of the *Ley de Caducidad* (Law on the Expiration of the Punitive Claims of the State).[26] Second, Mujica's discourses focus on present local and global issues (poverty, consumerism, environmental issues, among others). Third, his militant past, associated with a democratic compromise, is not idealized. Finally, Mujica's discourses related to the past always contain elements of self-criticism.[27]

Dana L. Cloud and Kathleen Eaton Feyh define emotion as "the product of organizing affect and bringing it, albeit incompletely, into social intelligibility."[28] Understanding emotion as both a public and embodied practice, Brent Malin claims the importance of "theorizing emotions as public, embodied practices." He argues that "emotions exist in complicated relationships involving technological, institutional, and other cultural practices"; and, therefore, different forms of public communication (such as speeches, photographs, conversations, or television programs) are "active participants in a complex and shifting terrain of emotionological meanings."[29] In Specogna's documentary, Mujica's speeches and personal reflections during the interviews are communicative practices of emotion. Specogna's *José Mujica, Lessons from the Flowerbed* is firmly rooted in the present and in the political activity of the President. His political concerns are expressed in his speeches and media appearances. These allow us to perceive Mujica's emotion as well as triggering an emotional response within the audience themselves. In this sense, the filmmaker's selection of speeches is particularly relevant: one of his regular radio broadcasts on the legalization of marijuana, a local public speech for workers on self-management and capitalism, and the speech given during his visit to Germany. His speeches revolve around five themes: life as a religion, community, freedom, physical work, and the lessons of the past. He defends collective values over individual rights as an ethical responsibility to achieve equality and social justice, in solidarity with the most economically disadvantaged populations not only in Uruguay but also across Latin America and the world. For Mujica, lessons need to be learnt from the mistakes and failures of the past. Faithful to his pragmatic imperatives, he believes that one learns from positive and negative experiences in the political sphere; for instance, from the impossible dream of the revolution to the alienation created by the implementation of socialism at the expense of the population. This engagement with the current and future country's sociopolitical reality takes center-stage in Mujica's speeches. In each of these addresses, the past and painful memory informs the present, and although the wounds of traumatic experiences permeate Mujica's words, his message is an empathic discourse in favor of the betterment of Uruguayan society. For example, during the official act of handing over houses for the most underprivileged groups of society, he focuses primarily on supporting women and children, who need immediate and direct assistance: "que por embromados que estemos, por doloridos que estemos, por mal que no haya tratado la vida, siempre hay algo que podemos hacer por los demás."[30]

In *José Mujica, Lessons from the Flowerbed*, the presence of nostalgia is almost inevitable due to the reverberation of personal and political memories, mainly linked to the protagonist and his wife/political *compañera* (Lucía Topolansky). This yearning for the past is emphasized by the repetition of previously mediated images, mainly archival footage, when reimagining historical events. Furthermore, the use of the tango in the soundtrack, one of Mujica's favorite musical genres, lends the film a nostalgic tone, particularly with the notes of "Volver" (tango song composed by Carlos Gardel and Alfredo Le Pera). The etymology of the word nostalgia, which derives from the Greek *nostos* and *algia*, refers to the painful feeling of longing for home. The meaning has changed since the end of the eighteenth century, and the word nostalgia is frequently used to refer to the idea of absence and loss.[31] This meaning, longing for the past and for those objects, places or people associated with it, has often been seen as a conservative and regressive force, as a form of escape from an unsatisfactory present; a feeling manifested in the "belief that things were better then than now."[32] Therefore, nostalgia is often seen as a static impulse. For example, Annette Kuhn has argued that memory-work should act as "an aid to radicalized remembering [that] can create new understandings of both past and present, while yet refusing a nostalgia that embalms the past in a perfect, irretrievable, moment."[33] However, readings of nostalgia as fundamentally regressive have being subsequently questioned.[34]

Some studies have examined the presence of nostalgia as a complex phenomenon. This perspective has been developed by Svetlana Boym, who has coined two types of nostalgia: "restorative" nostalgia and "reflective" nostalgia.[35] In restorative nostalgia, the past is the perfect moment that one tries to recreate as it was. In contrast, reflective nostalgia "thrives in *algia*, the longing itself, and delays the homecoming—wistfully, ironically, desperately."[36] That is, reflective nostalgia maintains a distance with the past that allows the narration of the relationship that exists between past, present and future. Likewise, Boym emphasizes how this longing enables us to understand not only that this past no longer exists, but that the past is actualized in the present, charged with vitality. It is exactly this mode of nostalgia, reflective nostalgia, that is prevalent in the documentary. As has been declared by Mujica, looking at the past is the best way of building a future: "Miramos para atrás porque es la mejor manera de ir hacia el porvenir."[37] The construction of Mujica's image through nostalgia echoes the country's own nostalgia for those unattained dreams of political change and economic progress. The collective country's contemporary feelings of nostalgia are more explicit in the speech that Mujica delivers in his neighborhood about an emblematic figure, a model citizen with his conventional wisdom. This portrayal of the perfect past provides an excellent opportunity to put forward the dynamics of memory and change: "La única ley fundamental es que todo cambia, cambia, cambia. Este es mi barrio. Seguramente sí. Pero mi barrio ya no está. Lo tengo acá (mi cabeza). Como dice Borges: 'Esta esquina de Buenos Aires está allí, en mi cabeza.'"[38] The sole purpose of evoking memories is passing on the lessons learnt from their suffering to the new generations: "Para lo único que sirven es para decirle a las nuevas generaciones que no sean tan jodidas. ¿Por qué? Porque los que vinieron de atrás vaya que tuvieron dificultades para resolver los problemas y vivir."[39]

In summary, the tensions between the recent past and the present emerge in his interviews and speeches: the unattainability of his generation's past political dreams and projects, as well as the determination to keep alive the same fighting spirit to improve Uruguay's economic and social conditions. Ultimately, a nostalgic and romantic image of an emblematic figure prevails in this film.

El Pepe: A Supreme Life

Serbian director Emir Kusturica directed *El Pepe: A Supreme Life*, a documentary about the life and political utopias of Mujica. Shot between April 2013 and April 2015, it was premiered at Venice Film Festival in 2018 and is currently available on Netflix.[40] The film is structured around a series of interviews with Mujica following some of the President's daily activities. The portrayal of Mujica fits in with Kusturica's thematic concerns that Goran Gocić defines as the "cult for the margins."[41] The filmmaker's admiration for Mujica is also consistent with recurrent aesthetic patterns. For Giorgio Bertellini, Kusturica's poetic style is marked by an unmodernity and predilection for characters at odds with their cultural milieu, "operating against the dogmas of historical determinism, in an intimate relationship with nature and themselves."[42]

El Pepe: A Supreme Life has a stronger focus on memory than Specogna's *Pepe Mujica, Lessons from the Flowerbed*. Kusturica uses three main narrative strategies and stylistic resources for exploring the past and triggering an emotional response to those memories: interviews and speeches, film footage and archival materials, and music. The film begins with Mujica's voiceover. This account positions his story within a historical framework that provides an insight into his national and personal influences: the legacy of social democracy from the 1950s in Uruguay and his time spent in prison. Those years, in such dramatic and adverse circumstances, were formative; they shaped his character and philosophy of life, learning from pain and adversity: "Para mí, esto que te digo puede parecer cruel, pero creo que el hombre aprende mucho más del dolor y de la adversidad que de los triunfos y de las cosas fáciles."[43] Working with individual and collective memories and through trauma experiences requires the participation of different actors. Mujica's interviews are the core of the film, but Kusturica delves into the memories of other witnesses and coprotagonists of Mujica's past to project part of the collective memory: Lucía Topolansky, Mauricio Rosencof (poet and ex-member of the MLN) and, particularly, Eleuterio Fernández Huidobro (Ex-minister of Defense and Ex-member of the MLM), who provides a political analysis of the Tupamaros' actions and events leading to the military dictatorships in Uruguay, Argentina and Chile.

The embodiment of emotions in language is particularly relevant in Mujica's political discourses and conversations. The virtue of his speeches, as Lucía Topolansky explains during the documentary, lies in their versatility and the simplicity of the language that makes him a great communicator of political ideas. His speeches are full of philosophical, literary and political references. Mujica has an extraordinary capacity for using rhetorical figures, such as anaphors and antilogisms, to illustrate how the traumatic experience in prison has molded his personality. Without that time in solitude, he would be a very different person: "Sería más sutil, más frívolo, más superficial. Más exitista, más de corto plazo, más triunfador. Probablemente . . . más embebido por el triunfo. Más con pose de estatua. [. . .] A veces lo malo es bueno. Y a veces, a la vez, lo bueno es malo."[44]

His (political) speeches constitute another strategic and narrative resource for bridging memories and experiences, and present and future goals through lessons learnt. They project a political image that Montero defines as "un ethos sabio, reflexivo, viejo, superador, autocrítico y distante."[45] He states that cultural changes are as least as important as political ideologies: "Mi juventud pertence al mundo de la ilusión como tantos otros. [. . .] Y aprendimos esto: para tener una humanidad mejor, la cuestión

cultural es tan o más importante que la material." In some instances, Mujica's voluntary amnesia or displacement of certain traumatic experiences acts out as a transition strategy for bringing forward current issues in which Mujica is actively involved: reducing poverty levels, increasing access to education, and promoting cultural change that he defines as the "cotidinianidad de los valores con que nos movemos en la vida."[46] A significant example of his voluntary amnesia is when Mujica declares "Ni me acuerdo. Porque yo de las cosas que no me conviene no me acuerdo. Las borré."[47]

Certain film techniques drive viewers' "sensations, thoughts and feelings" and capture their attention (visually, mentally and emotionally).[48] The presence of the filmmaker on screen, for example, in the scenes recorded in the *chacra*, preserves the spontaneity and authenticity. A strong identification with a character creates a powerful emotional empathic response and there are numerous resources that allow the viewer to be placed in that position, such as the narrative discourses and the distance between camera and subject. The frequent use of close-ups and extreme close-ups of Mujica, particularly during the intimate reflections on the weight of the past, engages the audience emotionally.[49]

Another narrative and stylistic resource to represent memory and past is the montage of images from different temporal frames since the 1960s. In addition to newsreels, press cutting and photos, the film uses archival footage that contextualizes the development of the dictatorships in the Southern Cone. It comprises scenes and film clips from a wide range of documentaries: *Me gustan los estudiantes*, a Uruguayan short film, directed by Mario Handler in 1968; *Líber Arce Liberarse*, directed by Mario Handler, Mario Jacob and Marcos Banchero in 1969; *Los ojos en la nuca*, a political documentary produced by the Group Hacedor in 1988; and the television report by José Abril, *El regreso de los tupamaros*, TVE, 1987. Archival footage is also used to identify key locations from Mujica's past, followed by scenes in which Mujica and Kusturica visit them in the present; for instance, images of Punta Carretas prison, an emblematic space that is part of the painful history of Uruguay, are contrasted with the current location, a modern and dazzling shopping center. However, the most striking footage comes from Costa-Gavras's political thriller *State of Siege* (1972). This film focuses on the kidnapping, trial, and assassination of American agent Philip Michael Santore (Yves Montand) by the MLN-Tupamaro guerrillas in Uruguay in 1970. As pointed out by Elizabeth Montes Garcés, the Greek-French filmmaker uses the true story of the execution of Daniel Anthony Mitrione not only to present the US intervention in Uruguay supporting counterinsurgency tactics, but also to question the use of violence for political action.[50]

The scenes that Kusturica includes in *El Pepe: A Supreme Life* serve as a re-enactment of the historical events that preceded the dictatorship. They also provide a romanticized and nostalgic version of the past, as well as illustrating key political concepts related to the Tupamaros ideology and tactics: the urban guerrilla warfare, bank robberies as "expropriation," and revolutions as creative sources of law. In this sense, the documentary fails to analyze in depth the consequences and outcomes of the violent methods used by the MLN-Tupamaros. The unresolved tensions between different past events and contemporary political discourses are not fully explored, although a verbal altercation between Mujica and an unknown citizen is a significative example of the tensions between remembering and forgetting that continue to affect Uruguayan society.

In his discussion of Kusturica's filmography, Giorgio Bertellini remarks how music and sound are part of his auteur signature, informing the "texture of the films themselves."[51] In *El Pepe: A Supreme* Life, music provides time and period references. Music establishes emotional connections linking past and present; for example, Kusturica inserts the live performance of the Agarrate Catalina *murga* (a popular Uruguayan carnival music group), as well as the newsreel showing the celebration of the presidential inauguration in which Los Olimareños sing a version of "A Don José," a milonga by Rubén Lena dedicated to José Artigas, that was banned during the dictatorship.[52] Significantly, tango is a musical genre that is used repeatedly in different scenes. It captures the essence of nostalgia for those who have suffered defeats in life, as Mujica himself declares to Kusturica: "El tango es pura nostalgia. De lo que se tuvo, de lo que no se tuvo. Y es una cosa para gente que haya aprendido a perder en la vida."[53] The tango can be heard when Mujica confesses that his only regret in life is not having had children as he looks back on his family's story and the early loss of his father. The famous tango song "En esta tarde gris" ("On this grey afternoon"), written in 1941 by José María Contursi, and performed by Julio Sosa and Pepe Mujica, is the melody that characterized Pepe Mujica and Lucía Topolansky's partnership and the two utopias that they have shared—the utopia of love and the utopia of political activism. A live performance of the tango "La última cruda" ("The last drunkenness"), written by Cátulo Castillo with music by Anibal Troilo, is inserted in the last scene. It connects Pepe and Lucía's time in prison ("contame tu condena"—tell me about your sentence—is one of the verses) with their love story. Their affection and political militancy are reflected in the series of still photographs, depicting them since their youth up until the present day, which brings the documentary to a close.

Conclusion

Pepe Mujica, Lessons from the Flowerbed and *El Pepe: A Supreme Life* illustrate the "presentness of memory" that characterizes our era.[54] Both documentaries use similar narrative devices and cinematic strategies in order to emotionally engage the audience in the process of remembering past events. As cultural artefacts that are anchored first in reconstruction of the past, they rely on archival materials and footage from other documentaries and films to set up Mujica and Uruguay's socio-cultural, political and historical set of conditions. These prosthetic memories provide a touch of fuzziness associated with traumatic events. However, they also convey an emotional closeness to what could be felt as distant trauma and they exploit the transnational potential of emotions. In fact, in his speeches, Mujica is able to transform affect into a language of emotion that resonates across all kinds of people. Each film employs Mujica's speeches in the intimate framework of the conversation with the directors or in the public arena. These addresses give meaningful value to the lessons he has learnt from the past, acknowledging the importance of cultural change for current and future generations. Furthermore, Mujica's speeches play a crucial role in engaging different communities—locally, nationally and internationally—to reflect critically on the humanitarian value of his messages. In summary, these documentaries depict the past but fail to address fully the unresolved consequence of past political violence. Nevertheless, they illustrate how Mujica's individual memories

shape collective memories beyond the boundaries of the nation-state. They are also mass media representations in which reflective nostalgia is used in a dynamic mode to elicit emotions and a spirit of reconciliation, and most importantly, to create new forms of collective solidarity that can be echoed around the world.

It is indisputable that there is still a need for research on how transnational documentaries, grounded in local production of remembrance, circulate across borders and how they are received in different cultural and political spaces. As both films circulate in different media platforms (Specogna's film can be found on YouTube and Kusturica's documentary on Netflix), they constitute ideal examples of how transcultural memory practices can help to understand new paradigms of memory from a global perspective.[55]

Notes

1. The Tupamaros attracted international attention in the late 1960s, as a left-wing movement that used violence to bring about political change in Uruguay. Lindsey Churchill notes that, "(b)ecause of their violent actions against an increasingly repressive state, for their admirers, the Tupamaros were successful revolutionaries who challenged their country's dictatorship and won the support of a large portion of the Uruguayan people." Lindsey Churchill, *Becoming the Tupamaros: Solidarity and Transnational Revolutionaries in Uruguay and the United States* (Nashville: Vanderbilt University Press, 2014), 29. For a review of the history and politics of the MLN-Tupamaros see the following works: Herbert Gatto, *El cielo por asalto: El movimiento de liberación nacional (tupamaros) y la izquierda uruguaya, 1963–1972* (Montevideo: Taurus, 2000); Clara Aldrighi, *La izquierda armada: Ideología, ética e identidad en el MLN-Tupamaros* (Montevideo: Trilce, 2001); Alfonso Lessa, *La revolución silenciosa: Los tupamaros y el fracaso de la vía armada en el Uruguay del siglo XX* (Montevideo: Fin de Siglo, 2002); Clara Aldrighi, *Memorias de insurgencia: Historias de vida y militancia en el MLN-Tupamaros1965–1975* (Montevideo: Banda Oriental, 2009); María Esther Gilio, *Pepe Mujica, de Tupamaro a Presidente* (Buenos Aires: Capital Intelectual, 2010).
2. This change of tactics by the Tupamaros, from violent guerrilla warfare to democratic participation in elections after 1989, can be understood as part of the group's refusal to be labelled even during the Cold War. As Lindsey Churchill argues, this apparent contradiction can explain Mujica's criticism of the extreme left ideologies from the 1970s: "The group's disdain for confining categories continues to the present day as MLN-members hope to create a new left, influenced by their own unique experiences as Uruguayan revolutionaries." Churchill, 156.
3. Mujica has participated in a series of international documentaries, including *Human* (Yann Arthus-Bertrand, 2015), *In the Same Boat* (Rudy Gnutti, 2016), *Latinoamérica, territorio en disputa* (Nicolás Trotta, 2019) and *Hosé! José Mujica!—Just Keep Walking* (Kazuma Tabei, 2021). His story has also been portrayed in *La noche de doce años* (*A Twelve-Year Night*), a feature film directed by Álvaro Brechner, an Uruguyan director who has lived in Spain since 2000. Set during the Uruguayan military dictatorship, A *Twelve-Year Night* shows the physical and mental journey of three Tupamaro leaders during their twelve-year imprisonment in isolation and the inhumane conditions they suffered: Mujica, Mauricio Rosencof (a famous writer and poet), and Eleuterio Fernández Huidobro, former Defence Minister of Uruguay. This film, based on the book *Memorias del calabozo (Memoirs from the Cell)* by Rosencof and Fernández Huidobro, was produced by Tornasol/Alcaravan (Spain), with the participation of Haddock Films-Aleph Media (Argentina), Manny Films (France) and Salado (Uruguay).

4. Andrés Copelmayer, Marcelo Carrasco and Julián Kanarek were the governmental advisers that jointly drove the project with Kusturica. See "Entrevista con Julián Kanarek y Andrés Copelmayer," *El Observador TV* (11 March 2015) https://youtu.be/CEUjaFNz2VQ (accessed 10 June 2020).
5. Classical works on memory include Maurice Halbwachs, *On Collective Memory* (Chicago and London: The University of Chicago Press, 1992); Andreas Huyssen, *Twilight Memories: Marking Time in a Culture of Amnesia* (New York and London: Routledge, 1995); and Pierre Nora, *Realms of Memory: Rethinking the French Past* (New York: Columbia University Press, 1996). See also Susannah Radstone, ed., *Memory and Methodology* (Oxford: Berge, 2000) and Paul Connerton, *How Modernity Forgets* (New York: Cambridge University Press, 2009).
6. Susannah Radstone and Bill Schwarz, "Introduction: Mapping Memory," in *Memory: Histories, Theories, Debates*, ed. Susannah Radstone and Bill Schwarz (New York: Fordham University Press, 2010), 1–10.
7. Cathy Caruth outlines this link through "speaking and listening from the site of trauma." Cathy Caruth, *Trauma: Explorations in Memory* (Baltimore and London: The John Hopkins University Press, 1995), 11. See also Michael O'Laughlin, ed., *The Ethics of Remembering and the Consequences of Forgetting: Essays on Trauma, History and Memory* (Lanham, Boulder, New York and London: Rowman & Littlefield, 2015).
8. Dominick LaCapra, *History and Memory after Auschwitz* (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 1998).
9. Marita Sturken, *Tangled Memories: The Vietnam War, The AIDS Epidemic, and The Politics of Remembering* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1997), 1.
10. Paul Grainge, "Introduction: Memory and Popular Film," in *Memory and Popular Film*, ed. Paul Grainge (Manchester: Manchester UP), 1–20, 3.
11. Grainge, 7.
12. Motti Neiger, Oren Meyers, and Eyal Zandberg. "On Media Memory: Editors' Introduction," in *On Media Memory*, ed. Motti Neiger, Oren Meyers, and Eyal Zandberg (London: Palgrave Macmillan, 2011), 1–24.
13. Emma Hutchison, *Affective Communities in World Politics: Collective Emotions after Trauma* (Cambridge and New York: Cambridge University Press, 2016), 11.
14. Fernando Canet, "Documenting the Legacies of the Chilean Dictatorship: Questioning the Family Relationship in the Documentary Films *El Pacto de Adriana* and *El Color del Camaleón*," *International Journal of Media and Cultural Politics* 15, no. 2 (2019): 125–42, 126.
15. Hutchison, 3–4.
16. Brian Massumi, "Navigating Movements: Interview by Mary Zournazi," *The Politics of Affect* (Cambridge: Polity Press), 1–46, and 3–4.
17. Sara Ahmed, "Affective Economies," *Social Text* 79, no. 2 (2004): 117–39, 119.
18. See Soledad Montáñez and David Martin-Jones, "(Des)localizando el cine uruguayo/(Dis)locating Uruguayan Cinema," *33 Cines* 1, no. 1 (2012): 6–16; and Beatriz Tadeo Fuica, "¿Cómo representar la dictadura? Recorrido por estrategias cinematográficas en documentales uruguayos," *Amérique Latine Histoire et Mémoire. Les Cahiers ALHIM. Les Cahiers ALHIM* 30 (2015) https://doi.org/10.4000/alhim.5357 (accessed 10 June 2020).
19. Hutchison, xii and 300.
20. Filmmaker Heidi Specogna is a lecturer in documentary film. Many of her documentaries have focused on Latin America and Africa, including *Tania la guerrillera* (1991), *Tupamaros* (1997), *The Short Life of José Antonio Gutiérrez* (2006), *Carte Blanche* (2011), *Pepe Mujica, Lessons from the Flowerbed* (2015), and *Cahier Africain* (2016). More information on her filmography can be found on her website: http://www.heidispecogna.de (accessed 10 June 2020).
21. Heidi Specogna and Rainer Hoffmann, *Tupamaros* (First Run/Icarus Films, 1997).
22. Alison Landsberg, "Prosthetic Memory: The Ethics and Politics of Memory in an Age of Mass Culture," in *Memory and Popular Film*, ed. Paul Grainge (Manchester: Manchester UP, 2003), 144–61, 149.

23. It includes the following archival audio-visual materials: *Me gustan los estudiantes*, directed by Mario Handler in 1968; *Líber Arce Liberarse*, directed by Mario Handler, Mario Jacob and Marcos Banchero in 1969; and *El regreso de los tupamaros*, TVE program directed by José Abril in 1987.
24. Astrid Erll and Ann Rigney, "Introduction: Cultural Memory and its Dynamics," in *Mediation, Remediation and The Dynamics of Cultural Memory*, ed. Astrid Erll and Ann Rigney (Walter de Gruyter, Berlin and New York, 2009), 1–30.
25. Heide Specogna, *Lessons from the Flowerbed* (Maj.ja.de Filmproduktions, 2015), 0:38:02.
26. See Ana Soledad Montero, "Memoria y litigio. Los debates sobre las 'leyes del perdón' en Argentina y Uruguay," *Clepsidra, Revista Interdisciplinaria de Estudios sobre Memoria* 2, no. 4 (2015): 34–65.
27. Ana Soledad Montero, "Del joven militante al viejo sabio: relatos sobre el pasado reciente y ethos discursivo en Néstor Kirchner (Argentina, 2003–2007) y José Mujica (Uruguay, 2010–2015)," *Revista Uruguaya de Ciencia Política* 24, SPE (2015): 121–37.
28. Dana L. Cloud and Kathleen Eaton Feyh, "Reason in Revolt: Emotional Fidelity and Working Class Standpoint in the *Internationale*," *Rhetoric Society Quarterly* 45, no. 4 (2015): 300–23, 301.
29. Brent Malin, "Communication with Feeling: Emotion, Publicness, and Embodiment," *Quarterly Journal of Speech* 87, no. 2 (2001): 216–30, 217, 229.
30. Heidi Specogna, *Lessons from the Flowerbed*, 0:21:26.
31. Elspeth Probyn, *Outside Belongings* (London: Routledge, 1996).
32. Fred David, *Yearning for Yesterday: A Sociology of Nostalgia* (Nueva York: Free Press, 1979), 18.
33. Annette Kuhn, *Family Secrets: Acts of Memory and Imagination* (New York: Verso, 1995), 8.
34. See, for instance, Vera Dika, *Recycled Culture in Contemporary Art and Film: The Uses of Nostalgia* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2003).
35. Svetlana Boym, *The Future of Nostalgia* (New York: Basic Books, 2001), XVIII.
36. Boym, *The Future of Nostalgia*, XVIII.
37. Heidi Specogna, *Lessons from the Flowerbed*, 1:21:02.
38. Ibid., 1:06:08.
39. Ibid., 1:06:52.
40. The celebrated Bosnian-born Emir Kusturica is one of the most controversial auteurs, both admired for his fascinating aesthetics and criticized for the contradictions and particularities of his ideology and his political stance. See Goran Gocić, *Notes from the Underground: The Cinema of Emir Kusturica* (London: Wallflower Press, 2001); Dina Iordanova, *Emir Kusturica* (London: British Film Institute, 2002); and Giorgio Bertellini, *Emir Kusturica* (Urbana, Chicago and Springfield, University of Illinois Press, 2014).
41. Gocić, 47.
42. Bertellini, 3.
43. Emir Kuturica, El Pepe: A Supreme Life, 0:03:10.
44. Ibid.,, 0:08:36.
45. Montero, 135.
46. Emir Kuturica, El Pepe: A Supreme Life, 0:47:50.
47. Ibid., 0:39:31.
48. Arthur P. Shimamura, "Psychocinematics: Issues and Directions," in *Psychocinematics: Exploring Cognition at the Movies*, ed. Arthur P. Shimamura (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2013), 1–26, 1. Carl Plantinga argues that films elicit moods and emotions in viewers: "Moods, emotions and various automatic body responses make up the affective dimension of film. All of these sometimes run independently of affective experience, but generally both cognition and affect work together in a holistic and mutually dependent interplay." Plantinga defines a close-up as "scene of empathy." Carl Plantinga, "The Affective Power of Movies," in *Psychocinematics: Exploring Cognition at the Movies*, ed. Arthur P. Shimamura (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2013), 94–122, 95 and 101.
49. Plantinga, 101.

50. See Elizabeth Montes Garcés, "Thriller and Performance in *State of Siege* (1972)," in *The Films of Costa-Gavras: New Perspectives*, ed. Homer B. Pettey (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 2020), https://doi.org/10.7765/9781526146939.00012.
51. Bertellini, 7.
52. See Leo Masliah, "Popular Music: Censorship and Repression," in *Repression, Exile, and Democracy: Uruguayan Culture*, ed. Saúl Sosnowski and Louise B. Popkin (Durham and London, Duke University Press, 1993), 108–19; and Abril Trigo, "Modern Foundations of Uruguayan Popular Music," in *The Militant Song Movement in Latin America: Chile, Uruguay, and Argentina*, ed. Pablo Vila (Plymouth: Lexington Books, 2014), 97–120.
53. *Emir Kuturica, El Pepe: A Supreme Life*, 0:12:34.
54. Radstone and Schwarz, 2.
55. Currently Netflix does not offer film viewing figures by countries.

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