Mediated Holocaust memories in Italy from 1945 to present

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Abstract: The present work aims to address the relationship between war memory and media culture, along with present political and social issues. Through an analysis of the Italian development and construction of Holocaust memory by means of movies and television, I endevour to show how the subject of war memory has been the result of the interplay of both media logic and political ideology, whose aim vary according to the socio-political needs of the ruling class and of the cultural industry. The disappointing absence in the Italian memory of the Holocaust, of any conscientious attempt to face the historical responsibility of the war, of the racial laws (1938), and of the Shoa itself, reveal how the inclusion of narratives of victimhood, of innocence, and of redemptive Resistance, are not only the result of aesthetic representational choices, but are part of a wider cultural practice which, by all means, is ideological.

Keywords: cultural memory, Holocaust, media culture, ideology, identity

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Mémoires médiatisées de l'Holocauste en Italie depuis 1945 jusqu'à nos jours

Résumé: Le présent travail vise à aborder la relation entre la mémoire de guerre et la culture médiatique, ainsi que les problèmes politiques et sociaux actuels. Grâce à une analyse du développement et de la construction italiens de la mémoire de l'Holocauste au moyen du cinéma et de la télévision, je m'efforce de montrer comment le sujet de la mémoire de guerre a été le résultat de l'interaction de la logique médiatique et de l'idéologie politique dont le but varie selon la Les besoins socio-politiques de la classe dirigeante et de l'industrie culturelle. L'absence décevante dans la mémoire italienne de l'Holocauste, de toute tentative consciencieuse de faire face à la responsabilité historique de la guerre, des lois raciales (1938) et du Shoa lui-même révèle comment l'inclusion des récits de victimisation, d'innocence, et de la Résistance rédemptrice, ne sont pas seulement le résultat de choix de représenta-

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tion esthétique, mais font partie d'une pratique culturelle plus large qui, à tous égards, est idéologique.

Mots-clés: mémoire culturelle, Holocauste, culture médiatique, idéologie, identité

Introduction

The present work is a theoretical attempt to weave the socio-cultural network that is supposed to describe, and to a certain extent to interpret, the mediated memories of the Holocaust in Italy since the post-war era. It precisely aims at addressing the intrinsic relationships between the production of historical memory and the media practices related to both its production and consumption. Through an analysis of the Italian construction and development of the Holocaust memory, and by means of cinematic and televisual encoding processes, I endevour to show how the subject of war memory has been the result of the interplay of both media logics and political ideologies, whose aims have varied according to the socio-political needs of the ruling class and of the cultural industry. By putting into question the canonical quality of national memories, namely that of being *naturally historical*, and by addressing its contingent properties, I have tried to trace in Latourian terms the associations and reassembling of a "*set of affairs*" (Latour, 2005, p. 7) that is composed of a group of actors and agencies as vary as that of the media culture and industry, of the Italian political parties and their respective ideologies, of the nation-building process, of the postwar reconstruction of Italy, of the European unification, and last but not least of the production and consumption of the Holocaust memory.

In the first section, I discuss in very general terms the historical and political circumstances in which Italy, a defeated country, had to struggle both internally and towards the other Western countries to build a renewed national identity simultaneously recognized by its citizens and the international actors. The Italian parties configuration is laid out to account for the different ideologies and interests that drove the political initiatives of the two major parties since the post-war era, namely the PCI (the Italian Communist Party) and the DC (the Christian Democratic Party), and thus follow this two political actors throughout the second half of the twentieth century to analyze their political involvement in the construction of a historical memory of the war, and thus of the Holocaust, in accordance with then present exigencies – to build the Italian nation in compliance with the American (and then also European) liberal principles of individual liberty, economic capitalism, and political democracy. Furthermore, in this section, I also scrutinize the total amount of capitals provided by the Marshall Plan (*European Recovery Plan*)[1] for the re-organization of a driven-entertainment media industry (the RAI, Italy's national public broadcasting

[1] The Marshall Plan was a project instituted at the Paris Economic Conference (July, 1947) to foster economic recovery in certain European countries after World War II. The financial aids were provided by the USA.

service) that, as we shall see, will play a fundamental role in the production and dissemination of the national memory of WWII and of the Holocaust.

The second section of this paper focuses on the media and mediated representations of Holocaust memories in Italy since its inception in the late 1950's. In this part, I culturally analyze the role of specific Italian televisual and cinematic products in shaping, ideologically, the perception of an entire population towards an understanding of the recent past (WWII and the Holocaust) able to support, validate, and finally naturalize a set of values and beliefs that would implicitly legitimize the ruling class, the historical and political momentum, the European unification process, and the American liberalism. In this sense, I will show to what extent the Italian memory of the war fails to recognize the Italian responsibilities of the Jews persecutions in most media representations of the Holocaust, and explain the reasons of such failure, without which would be impossible to understand the motivations lying behind the Italian nation-building process.

1. Post-war reconstruction and identity

In Europe, the years after World War II, have been characterized by the necessity, in all fields of society, of a transformation and revitalization able to instill in the people's mind a sense of positive expectation fundamental for any kind of reconstruction, being it political, economic, cultural or moral. In Italy, where the ambiguous status of defeated country, and freed country would have played a crucial role in the shaping of a national identity, the formation of a new government, formed by new political forces – DC and PCI – promoted the reconstruction of the state apparatus based on renewed values. The Universal suffrage (1946), the destitution of monarchy (1946) in favour of the newly formed Republic, together with the drafting of a new Constitution - in effect from January 1, 1948 - became the *conditio sine qua non* for the post-war rebuilding of the entire Italian nation, and the shaping of a modern society whose values and beliefs would have been moulded on the principles of an economic liberalism leading to a consumeristic-driven society, in which popular culture and media-oriented culture would have become the primary source of (self-evident) knowledge.

After the end of the war, which had seen Italy allied to the two other defeated countries – Germany and Japan – the Marshall Plan, instituted by the American government to finance the reconstruction of Europe, had been put into effect in Italy through the concession of a *conditioned credit*, in favor of the national industry. The *conditioned credit* expected the disbursement of a loan subject to the obligation – for the Italian industries and private companies – of purchasing all necessary raw materials, as well as supplying materials, from the USA, financing in this way their exporting economy, and consequently raising their revenue and employement indexes. Beyond all understanding – rebuild the structural foundations of Italian industry and economy – the Marshall Plan sought to fulfill another essential social vacuum,

which the hardship of the war had generated and mantained for long time, that is to say, the need for a collective identity.

But how, could a state funding system granted by a foreign country in the form of international credit, be able to provide the means, and as I will argue later on also the content, for the constitution of a national identity and belonging? *What processes rather than essences* participate in the production of identity (Clifford, 1988, p. 275)? The end of World War II, marked in Europe the end of political ideologies or, at least, this is what many people thought. The end of *Fascism* and *Nazism*, and the celebration of those (anglo-american) principles of freedom, emancipation, individualism, free market, and last but not least, globalization, seemed to meet the needs of the Italian populace. If, until that moment, the understanding of the war had been highly politicised, for *Fascism*, like any other authoritative regime, had instituted through various means of propaganda an ideology that was of paramount importance in all aspects of social life, nevertheless this same ideology, in the long run and after years of suffering and afflictions, resulted too heavy to bear. In this context of grief and exhaustion, a new cultural form, apparently depoliticised and able to provide an exciting sense of mundanity, came into being articulating with determination new structures of social life. Naturally, this new cultural form was entertainment, and more exactly, media entertainment, able to convey relaxation to the rigid organization of the everyday life in the post-war era.

To have an idea of this fundamental change in the post-war years, it suffices to know that of the total amount of credit supplied to the Italian industries, the Marshall Plan envisioned and actually handed the sum of dollars 2.931.242, nearly three million dollars granted to the media and communication sector and industries thus distributed: $ 1.478.581 to telecommunications; $ 753.897 to RAI Italy; $ 648.764 in terms of scientific equipment to the Minister of Post and Telecommunications; $ 50.000 to the film industry. This huge investment in the Media and Communication system reflected, in my opinion, two interconnected interests: on one hand to create a profit-oriented business within a new Italian political economy, namely commercial entertainment; on the other hand to produce a visual culture – that of television but also of newspapers and magazines – which conveyed, by means of codes and through processes of decoding, dominant ideas that would have shaped people's sense of class, gender, nationality, and identity. It also served, as Baudrillard points out, a sort of resolution of tensions.

"*Everytime a tension differential is created, which leads to frustration and actions, we can expect a product to overcome this tension. The goal is to allow the drives that were previously blocked by mental determinants (instances) (taboo, superego, guilt) to cristallize on objects, concrete determinants where the explosive force of desire is annulled and the ritual repressive function of social organization is materialized*" (Baudrillard, 1968, p. 13).

As a result of the reconstruction following World War II, the RAI made various changes to its apparatus and services. In 1950, RAI became a founding member of

the EBU (European Broadcasting Union), and in 1954, under the IRI (Institute for the Industrial Reconstruction), RAI begun its television service.

The need in the present paper and context to trace back the reconstruction and evolution of the mass media apparatus, though in very general terms, lies in the necessity of mapping out and delineate the social network that had been put together in order to speak of memory, of war memory. Thereby, it is possible to state that the credit provided by the Marshall Plan programme, the scientific equipment lent to the Italian Minister of Post and Telecommunications, the reorganization of the cinematographic industry, the launch of an ordinary television service, along with other institutional and private contributions, represent part of the material constitution of memory in Italy in the post-war period. Indeed, if an analysis is to be conducted to be historical in character (Shapin & Schaffer, 1985, p. 3), we need to be able to account for the relationship between objects and people, between the actors and the agents that populate the network under scrutiny. In this way, we might look at our object of study, that is memory, neither as a self-evident knowledge, nor in its canonical status of indiscussed historical *truth*, but through the lens of specific cultural meanings, of subjectival perspectives, as well as of historical interests under which what we call memory has been produced.

2. The media and mediated representations of holocaust memory

The italian memory of the war is nearly absent until 1959, there had only been isolated attempts that bear witness the willingness of producing a collective memory of the war, such as the theatrical adaptation in 1957 of "*The Diary of Anna Frank*", represented by Giorgio de Lullo with the Youth Fellowship (Compagnia dei Giovani). From that moment on, different artists, literary authors, and film directors have addressed the story of Anna Frank, a German sixteen year old Jew who died in the concentration camp of Belsen (northern Germany), and whose diary has inspired an emotional reaction that touched millions of people all over Europe, making it one of the first foreign narratives able of creating a transnational memory of strong effect[2]. Today, the Holocaust or Shoa is a recurring transcultural theme, accepted almost worldwide within the cultural memory of World War II, and as such has demonstrated to be a dominant approach in terms of narrative formation and modes of representation.

In Italy, the memory of the war enters the scene of popular culture in 1959, but since its appearance it presents a distinctive narratological viewpoint that seems to fix the form of remembering. As Emiliano Perra tells us in his book "*Conflicts of Memory*", the entrance of the Left Party in the Italian political arena led to the (ideo-

[2] I personally attended a secondary school in Italy which was named after Anna Frank. This is to show that there has been and there still is a national policy that addresses the Holocaust memory as a central matter in education.

logical) legitimation of the *Resistance*[3] as the founding myth of the Italian Republican formation (Perra, 2010). This revealed at least two important aspects: first, the theme of the Shoa and that of the *Resistance* would be interdependent and supportive with each other for long time; second, these new political developments - which had seen the Left Party becoming strong enough to challenge the DC (Christian Democracy Party), and therefore to have a quite powerful reach on people – enabled a (political) construction of the memory of World War II based on a positive image of the national identity during the war period. As Perra informs us, the first TV show to appear on television "*History of the Third Reich*" conducted by Liliana Cavani[4], was a two hundred minutes documentary divided in four parts and broadcasted on RAI between November 1961 and October 1962. The program provided extensive evidence of the Nazis genocide and deportation of the Jews in Europe, showing for the first time graphic images of the camps to the Italian audience. Nevertheless, it made only one allusion to the persecution of the Jews in Italy, defining it an opaque imitation of Nazism, extraneous to the Italian culture (Perra, 2010, p. 75).

What are the causes of this clear ideological direction? Why the Shoa/Holocaust as the central theme of national memory, and not the Italian responsibilities, or the socio-political processes that induced Italy to be amongst the oppressor and executioner? What is the role of television as a medium? What is, then, memory?

Different factors contributed to this specific ideological orientation of the Italian memory of the War, which imposed the Shoa as the hegemonic narrative. On the one hand, there is the process of European unification at its very first steps, and in need of a *reconciled memory* all over Europe; on the other hand, both parties, the PCI (Italian Communist Party) and the DC (Christian Democracy Party), although disagreeing almost on every political and social question, complied with the necessity of channeling the issue(s) of the war's responsibilities toward a demonization of the Nazis. *"The reason for the construction of this narrative of the Holocaust*, maintains Perra, *is simple: the more Italy and Germany could be distanced from one another, the less reponsibility lay on Italians, and the better the Repubblic of Italy would fare in post-war agreements"* (Perra, 2010, p. 6). Furthermore, the two parties' alliance over the dominant narrative of memory, is to be seen through the understanding of the political identities that were at stake in the post-war period. Communism and Catholicism were the two hegemonic cultures, at least politically, and both had reasons that were not as clear as they might be today. The communist needed to present the Resistance and the anti-fascism as a mass movement of national liberation (Perra, 2010, p. 5), in order to provide legitimacy to the PCI (Italian Communist Party). Notably, the theme of the Resistance will endure within the memory of the Shoa only until the 1970's, when the politcal situation dictated by the *Cold War* will allow the DC (Christian Democracy Party) to advance an anti-soviet

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[3] It refers to the struggle that saw anti-fascists people militarly opposing the Fascist regime led by Benito Mussolini.

[4] Liliana Cavani is an Italian film director and screenwriter.

propaganda and thus depriving the Resistance, and the role communist played in it, of any broader social and political aims (Perra, 2010, p. 5). On the other side, the ambiguous association of the Catholic Church with Fascism, dating back to the year 1921, and its moral responsibilities for the Church's political silence during the Jews deportations in Rome under the embarassed eyes of Pope Pius XII, represented a guilt and a blame that had to be concealed, if not cleansed, for the survival of the Church itself as a moral global institution.

In Italy, the national memory of the Holocaust may be periodised in accordance to national and international political developments. The silence untill the mid 1950's and early 1960's - though there had already been various literary attempts wishing to create a memory based on tragic personal experiences of the war, in which the leading figure was, and still is, that of Primo Levi[5] - the general silence around the theme was partly motivated by the effect of the reconstruction process in many European countries. For instance, the Italian editor Einaudi decided to publish Primo Levi's famous book "*If This Is a Man*" only in 1958, after Natalia Ginzburg, at that time working for the Turin publisher, had rejected it more than ten years before, in the mid-1940's. The decision to publish the book a decade later had been taken only after the success of the first exhibition on deportation in 1955, noticed by Einaudi himself (Perra, 2010, p. 13). Therefore, the 1960's and 1970's were characterized by a gradual centralization of the focus on the memory of the Shoa, with TV shows, movies, and public debates aired on TV, not only in Italy, but also in other western countries, mostly France and USA. In Italy, as mentioned before, those were the years in which the theme of the Shoa was strictly interconnected with that of the Resistance and of anti-*Fascism*, a narration that has been fundamental in fixing a positive perception of the national identity for the years to come. In the 1980's, as the focus on the Resistance narratology gradually faded away, we assist to an increasing mass awareness on the remembrance of the Shoa, which became prominent in the 1990's. In this two decades, in fact, the shift in the discourse of the Shoa to issues of personal memories became the priority. The RAI increased considerably its number of representations and discussions on the theme.

Television shows such as "*Italian Holocaust, Why*" ("*Olocausto Italiano, Perché"*) and "*Courage and Compassion*" ("*Il coraggio e la Pietà"*), highlighted the role of the Italians as saviors, and figures such as that of Giorgio Perlasca, a fascist who saved more than five thousand Hungharian Jews, became national heroes, celebrated in present days during the "*Day of Memory*"[6] (January, 27th). Another example of this shift to biographical stories in the memory of the Holocaust, is marked by the television program "*Springs of Lifes*" ("*Sorgenti di Vita"*) created by the Israelite Community, and broadcasted by RAI, which went along to document the visit of Primo Levi who returned to Auschwitz in 1982, forty years after his impri-

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5 Primo Levi was an Italian Jewish who survived Auschwitz and wrote the famous book "*If This Is a Man*" in 1947.

6 The Italian *Day of Memory* is celebrated every year since 2000 on January 27th.

sonment into the Nazi concentration camp. Therefore, we are presented with a double complementary face of the Shoa: the hero on one side, and the victim on the other, two faces of the same collective identity that these kind of narratives convey through techniques of identification with the leading figures' emotions. However, what is central is also the Italian character of these two figures, indeed, Giorgio Perlasca with his famous actions embodies, through a specific codification process, the myth of the *good Italian* who is talented, clever and wise. In 1990 his story has been broadcasted on TV by the magazine *Mixer*, and in 2002 a TV miniseries has been produced with the unquestionable title "*Perlasca: The Courage of a Just Man, an Italian Hero*". The figure of Primo Levi, albeit an agency of nationality and of a more general collective belonging, traverses different cultural territories in order to mobilize senses of identification to its image, and it does so through strategies for the deployement of specific values and meanings that legitimate and naturalize distinct, as well as dominant, views of history, of national history. Primo Levi's personal experience, and the tragic aspect of his story, the deportation, the humiliation, and the annihilation of the *Man*, are not in question here; nevertheless, the media is never neutral, nor unbiased, nor is the visual culture that the media promotes. "*In visual culture the history becomes that of the viewer or that of the authorizing discourse rather than that of the object*" (Rogoff, 1998, p. 20). The power of visual images, being that of TV and cinema, or that of the Internet digital images, as well as photographic images, their power to produce and convey a variety of emotions and responses in the audience – pleasure, shock, sadness, anger, desire, bewilderment, and so on – all these are central aspects in the process production of a visual representation, they are never neutral, and they are the result of specific political, economic, institutional or private interests.

In 2000, the Italian adoption, along with other European countries, of the Euro currency, represented a moment of social confusion, expressed in feelings of individual alienation and political-territorial dissociation that gave rise to sentiments of sceptiscism, hostility and even strong criticism, often supported by minor political parties as the "*Northern League Party*" (Lega Nord). As Perra indicates, the 2002 TV miniseries on the Italian hero Giorgio Perlasca, shows "*a remarkable lack of willingness to face fascism's responsibility for the Holocaust*". The TV event has been broadcasted by the RAI, which as stated above, is owned by the state, and its chief executives are nominated by the Italian government. It is thus obvious how, considered the characteristics of the series, as a cultural expression it reflects power relations within Italian politics and society (Perra, 2010, p. 16). The victimhood quality present in the representation of, and on Primo Levi 's experience, is not an isolated case, but becomes since the 1980's a regular and persistent narrative in the memory of the Shoa. The representation of violence in the Nazis concentration camps, on the bodies and minds of the deported Jews, as well as on children – emotionally more dramatic – as in Roberto Faenza's movie, "*Jona who lived in the wale*" ("*Jona che visse nella balena*"), indicates the choice to display openly the brutal extermination of the Jews, which in turn is determined by the need of positioning the Holocaust "*beyond the grasp of human understanding*" (Perra, 2010, p.

162), in order to call the attention to the irrational unhuman logic behind this episodes.

This peculiar choice of narrative and point of view, says Perra, serves the need for the *universalisation* of the Holocaust, or better, for a universal reading of the Shoa, in which the transposition of local values to a world audience becomes a way to homogenise values and perception of world histories. Furthermore, the 1990's were the years of the war in Yugoslavia, which demanded a legitimation process in order to militarly intervene in the area; the memory of the atrocity of the Shoa, imposed a moral obligation to save millions of people from ethnic cleansic, and to prevent crimes against humanity. Levy and Sznaider "*claim that Holocaust memory has developed a temporal duality, according to which the Holocaust is particular (uniquely Jewish) in relation to the past, and universal for the present and the future*" (Perra, 2010, p. 164).

In the Italian context, the highest point of the victimhood genre in Holocaust narrative, was probably reached by the 1997 "*Life is Beautiful*" ("*La Vita è Bella*"), Roberto Benigni's three academic awards winning movie. The film, as many other in its genre, failed to question the causes of the Shoa, focusing instead on a quite comic representation of the tragic events that saw the Jewish persecuted and deported. The attention on the emotional side of the story, resulted in fact in a depoliticisation of the Holocaust, as well as of the Italian responsibilities, thus emphasizing the *universal* character of the event.

"*The film's huge impact in the media*", inform us Perra, "*helped situate Holocaust themes at the centre of memory culture*" (Perra, 2010, p. 174).

In the same year the Italian filmmaker Francesco Rosi directed "*The Truce*" ("*La Tregua*"), a screen adaptation of Pimo Levi's journey back from Auwschitz to Turin. The movie is centered on Primo Levi's identity formation in the concluding phases of the war, and recalls the attention on the important role that the memory of World War II had for thousand or million of European Jews in constructing their identities an therefore in repositioning them, both culturally and politically, within world society. As for "*Life Is Beautiful*", "*The Truce*" emerges as an important contribution to the public interest and awareness in the Holocaust, but again, the Italian political processes and responsibilities are not enquired.

Naturally, Steven Spielberg's "*Schindler's List*", though not an Italian product, represented and still is the most acclaimed movie on the memory of the Holocaust, at least in Italy. Emiliano Perra in his outstanding work on the memory of the Shoa, provides detailed information on the media behaviour in Italy the day in which "*Schindler's List*" premiered. "*Italian television created a Holocaust-centred TV event. From early in the morning until late at night, the whole programming of RAI One (RAI's first broadcasting channel) revolved around the Holocaust, with in-studio debates and programmes*" (Perra, 2010, p. 185)" More than twelve millions people actually watched the movie. As for the overall meaning conveyed and the role the movie's narrative had on Italian society, will suffice the statement of a fa-

mous left-winged journalist in the aftermath of the Italian airing: "*we were all victims*" (Perra, 2010, p. 185), gathering in four words the connotation of the movie, which fixed once and for all the *universalising* quality of the Holocaust.

Conclusion

The Holocaust memory has proved to be a troubled process of cultural production through which many problematic aspects of contemporary society and politics have been dealt with. The disappointing absence in the Italian memory of the Holocaust, of any conscientious attempt to face the historical responsibility of the war, of the racial laws (1938), and of the Shoa itself, reveal how the inclusion of narratives of victimhood, of innocence, and of redemptive Resistance, are not only the result of aesthetic representational choices, but are part of a wider cultural practice which, by all means, is ideological. Indeed, the appropriation of specific themes within the Holocaust debates, such as that of the Resistance, or that concerning the heroic gestures of the *good Italians*, are emblematic of the politicisation of the Holocaust memory that favoured political parties' interests, among which *historical legitimation* seems to be the most compelling.

In the first pages of this paper I mentioned the role media and visual culture were about to have after the post-war era with the assimilation of the anglo-american popular culture and values, pointing out how liberal economy is linked to the development of a media culture. We have also seen the relevance that movies, TV shows and debates, as well as journalistic press had and still have in shaping people's peculiar views of the Holocaust memory. "*Media stories and images provide the symbols, myths, and resources which help constitute a common culture for the majority of individuals in many part of the world today. Media culture is industrial culture, organised on the mode of mass production and produced for a mass audience according to types (genres), following conventional formulas, codes, and rules*" (Kellner, 1995, p. 1).

Indeed, since the advent of modern media technology - television (movies and TV shows), and the Internet - dominant representations, ideologies and myths have been able to be communicated through media, inducing both individual as well as collective identification. In fact, the infinite flow of images and sounds – we shouldn't forget the role music has in emotionally charging a film scene in order to signify it – to which individuals are subjected, since the advent of television after World War II, has changed the way we experience everyday life, the way we perceive space, be it national, historical, public or private. Distinctions between reality and media images are disappearing, and *representation*, is becoming more and more a dominant way for influencing, controlling and governing people's behaviour and social practices, among which historical memory is a mechanism for the functioning of a broader social apparatus that sustains the ideological understanding of history and of the past, which in turn sustains nationalism and nations in their building pro-

cess, and last but not least activates agencies for the legitimation of the ruling class in the exercise of power.

This is not to say that cultural memory exists only since modern media technology have entered our social landscape and cultural texture, nor I'm saying that ideology is a characteristic exclusive of the media, quite the opposite. As Zheng Wang tells us, "*a state education system constitutes a major instrument for socializing young people to society's dominant values*" (Zheng, 2008, p. 786). David Lowenthal (1985) argues that it is us, the contemporaries, who construct our past selectively and for a variety of different reasons. Historical memories have the power to bind a group of people to the territory, memories signify the space around us and link past and present as if time were a progressive line in which we are supposed to be in the front line. In this way the nation state is granted with historical legitimacy, and makes us become part of an "*imagined community*" (Anderson, 1991). As Agnes Teller maintains, "*the centrality of cultural memory in identity building was known since times immemorial*" (Teller, 2001, p. 139). In this sense, the media as a technology becomes a powerful instrument to effectively create memories, but also to reinterpret them, or by extending their functional capacity to other fields of the social, of the political, and of the economy, both at national and international level.

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