

Building Narratives: Cinema and Controversial Events in the 1948 War in Israel

Bruno Szlak

University of São Paulo, São Paulo, Brazil

The objective of a more extensive research is to explore documentary filmography in Israeli and Palestinian cinema about some of the controversial events that occurred in the process of creating the State of Israel, between November 1947 until 1949. The focus of the research is how the cinema built and presented the events, in this article particularly a Arab village named Tantura. I call controversial those events that, in addition to the facts, gave rise to two major narratives. In these events, in addition to the displacement of thousands of Palestinians, there may have been massacres committed by Jews against Arab populations and vice versa. I am not delving deeper into the subject, which has been the subject of extensive work in Israeli historiography, but to highlight that, in this case, the facts gave rise to disputes over narratives, where the blame for this exodus is made up of either the Israelis who “expelled” the Palestinians from their homes, or Arab governments and the Palestinian leadership are held responsible for encouraging “the flight”. Through film analysis, we seek to understand how meanings are produced in viewers by the narrative and even ideological choices of these productions. Between presences and absences, between editing and assembly, between sounds and silences, it is plausible to take as a premise that given that productions are the result of their time, they mirror an intentionality in narrative construction.

Keywords: Cinema, Israel, Palestine, conflict

Introduction

The exodus of the Palestinian population in 1947/48, in what the Israeli narrative calls the War of Independence or Liberation (Milchemet haHatzmaut or Shichrur) and the Palestinian narrative calls The Catastrophe (Al Nakba), is a fact. It is estimated that more than 700,000 Palestinians fled or were expelled¹. The objective of this work is to analyze the film Tantura (2022) by Alon Schwarz, but first it is necessary to contextualize the historical facts that have been the subject of extensive work in Israeli historiography², and thus highlight that, in this case, the facts gave rise to disputes over narratives, where responsibility for this exodus is attributed either to the Israelis for the expulsion or to the Arab governments for encouraging the flight.

Some events of the period contributed to the Palestinian exodus. These are the events that I call controversial, because beyond the facts, they gave rise to two major narratives. In these events, in addition to the displacement

Bruno Szlak, Ph.D., Faculty of Philosophy, Letters and Human Sciences, University of São Paulo, São Paulo, Brazil.

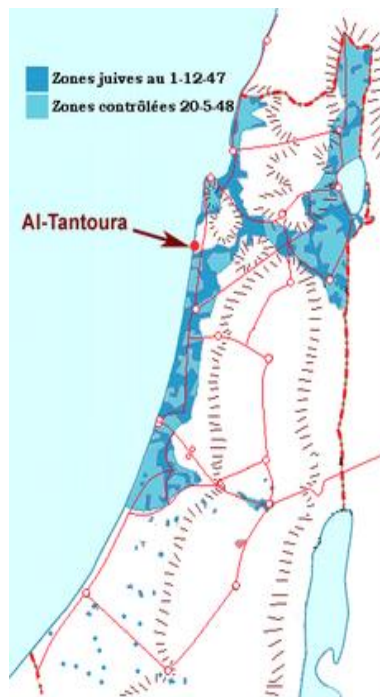
¹ Although the sources present different numbers, they converge on a figure between 700,000 and 800,000. Several Israeli scholars have researched the subject, among them Benny Morris, Ilan Pappé Tom Segev, Simcha Flapan, Avi Shlaim, Uri Milstein, Anita Shapira, and Mario Sznajder. According to the Final Report of the United Nations Economic Survey Mission for the Middle East, published by the United Nations Conciliation Commission on December 28, 1949, the number is 726,000 refugees.

² Several Israeli scholars have researched the subject, among them Benny Morris, Ilan Pappé Tom Segev, Simcha Flapan, Avi Shlaim, Uri Milstein, Anita Shapira, and Mario Sznajder.

of thousands of Palestinians, massacres may have been committed by Jews against Arab populations and vice versa.

As we know, cultural manifestations are excellent tools for understanding many of the movements and transformations that societies undergo. Audiovisual media is an excellent resource for better understanding a reality and also the narratives that are employed at a given historical moment. These transpositions into images reflect the constructions that certain societies make about their collective memory, about formative myths, about their pains and achievements.

The event depicted in the film *Tantura* took place in the Arab village of Tantura on May 22-23, 1948. This event was the subject of a master's thesis presented by Teddy Katz at the University of Haifa, in which he argues that after the conquest of the village of Tantura by the Alexandroni Brigade of the Haganah³, the soldiers perpetrated a massacre of approximately 200 unarmed inhabitants, mostly young men. His thesis is based on interviews with soldiers and surviving Arab refugees.



Tantura location⁴

The film *Tantura* leads me to understand its plot as a construction that seeks to show the viewer the discussion about the responsibility of the Israelis in these controversial events that took place in 1947/1948. It also seems that films such as *Tantura* (*Born in Deir Yassin* is another example) are part of a narrative reconstruction movement derived from Israeli historiography based on the work of a group that became known as the “new historians” in the 1980s and 1990s. The “new historians” are a loosely defined group of Israeli

³ The Haganah (in Hebrew: הַגָּנָה, lit. The Defense) was the main paramilitary organization of the Jewish population during the British Mandate of Palestine between 1920 and 1948, when it became the core of the Israel Defense Forces (IDF). Formed from earlier existing militias, its original goal was to defend Jewish settlements from Arab attacks, such as the riots of 1920, 1921, 1929, and during the Arab Revolt of 1936-1939 in Palestine. It operated under the control of the Jewish Agency, the official governing body representing the Jewish community in Palestine during the British Mandate.

⁴ ISRAEL-AL-TANTOURA-operation-namal, in <https://commons.wikimedia.org/wiki/File:ISRAEL-AL-TANTOURA-operation-namal.png>.

historians who challenged traditional versions of Israeli history, including Israel's role in the expulsion and flight of Palestinians in 1948 and the Arab willingness to discuss peace.

Thus, just as there was a traditional Zionist narrative based on an ideological view of the Zionist movement, there is now a new narrative that seeks to “assign” blame and responsibility with the stated goal of making peace with the past in search of understanding between the parties through recognition of each other's histories and responsibilities. How do these films operate in this production of meaning? What are the mechanisms, sequences, and montages, among other elements chosen and presented for this purpose?

Tantura—The Village

Fouad Hassdeya⁵ is a Palestinian fisherman who lives in the village of Furaidis in Israel. In a scene that lasts approximately two minutes, he gives a statement to Alon Schwarz, the director of the film *Tantura*, who is present in the scene, which takes place on Nachsholim beach, located 30 km south of Haifa and north of Caesarea. The scene alternates between shots taken from a boat heading towards the beach and close-ups of Fouad's testimony. The shots and part of Fouad's speech refer to pastoral and idyllic images of a simple and “perfect” life before the “catastrophe” struck Tantura. The image focuses on the only house in the village that remains standing on the beach. This filmic construction seeks to set the tone and produce a narrative that accompanies this image of life in the villages and in Palestine in general at the end of the 19th century and in the first 50 years of the 20th century. Perhaps the greatest expression of this idyllic narrative is found in the poems of Mahmud Darwish, who died in 2008. One of his best-known poems is called *Identity Card*, from which I have transcribed an excerpt below:

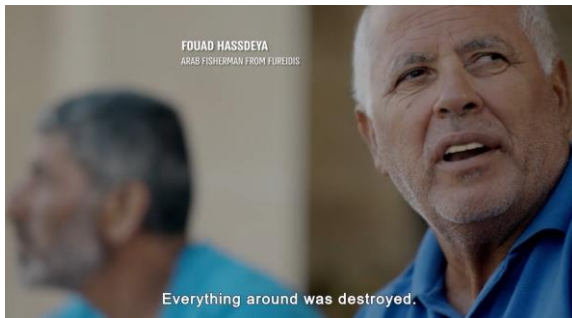
Put it on record.
 I am an Arab.
 I am a name without a title,
 Patient in a country where everything
 Lives in a whirlpool of anger.
 My roots
 Took hold before the birth of time
 Before the burgeoning of the ages,
 Before cypress and olive trees,
 Before the proliferation of weeds.
 My father is from the family of the plough
 Not from highborn nobles.
 And my grandfather was a peasant
 Without line or genealogy.
 My house is a watchman's hut
 Made of sticks and reeds.
 Does my status satisfy you?
 I am a name without a surname.⁶

According to Walid Kahlidi in his work: *All that Remains: The Palestinian Villages Occupied and Depopulated by Israel in 1948*⁷, *Tantura*:

⁵ There is no information regarding Fouad's age, but we can conclude with a high degree of certainty that he was born after 1948 and therefore is not an eyewitness to the events of that time. As such, he can be characterized as a hearsay witness.

⁶ Mahmud Darwish was a great intellectual (poet, prose writer, essayist, journalist). He became a key reference figure for the Middle East, and his poetry became known throughout the Arab world. <https://www.twn.my/title2/resurgence/2016/310-311/poetry1.htm>.

⁷ 1992, *The Institute for Palestinian Studies*, University of Michigan.



Fouad Hassdeya



Dor Beach at Kibbutz Nachsholim and the only remaining building from Tantara

... had a population of 953 in 1931 (934 Arabs and 1 Jew) and 1,490 Arabs in 1944/1945⁸, and the number of houses in 1931 was 202.

The village was located on a small hill that was slightly higher than the sandy coastline. A spur connected the village to the coastal road, providing access to Haifa and other urban centers. It also had a train station that served the coastal railway. The village was built on the ruins of the important Canaanite city of Dor [...] Much later, the Crusaders built a castle they called Merle. At the end of the 18th century, when Napoleon attempted to gain control of Palestine, his retreating army passed through the village and burned it in August 1799.

[...] At the end of the 19th century, Tantara was known as a village on the coast, stretching from north to south. Its port, which had been built on the edge of a square, was immediately to the north. The village contained a square building used as a hostel for travelers (perhaps the Khan mentioned earlier (by Buckingham). It had an estimated population of 1,200 residents who cultivated 25 faddans (1 faddan = 100 to 250 dunams⁹). The village also had a small trade with Jaffa.

The stone houses of Tantara were built on the sand of the beach. It had an elementary school for boys (built around 1889) and another school for girls (built around 1937/38). The village's economy was based on fishing and agriculture. During the Mandate, there was a sharp increase in fishing activity, from 6 tons in 1928 to 1,622 tons in 1944. Agricultural production consisted mainly of grains, vegetables, and fruits...

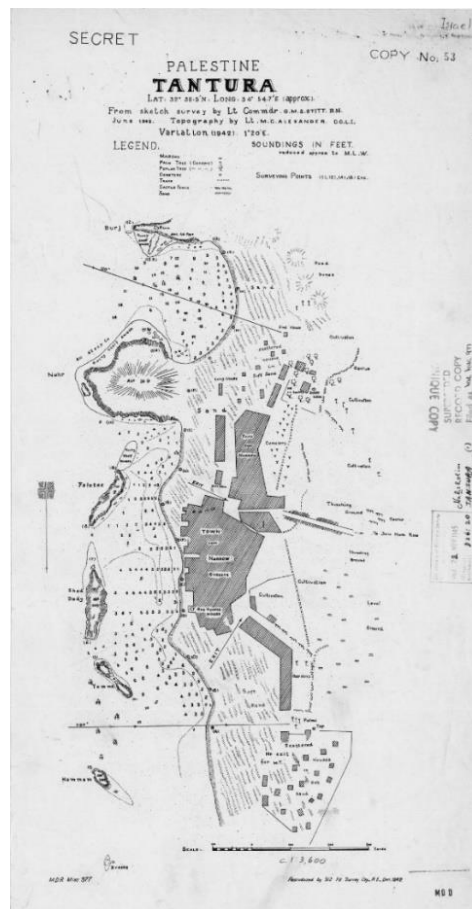


⁸ Census conducted by the British Mandate.

⁹ Originally, a dunam (from the Ottoman Turkish قمنض / *dönmek*, meaning “to turn”) referred to the amount of land a man could plow in a single day, which resulted in an area that varied considerably from place to place. However, it is still used in a more or less standardized way in several countries that were once part of the Ottoman Empire. In Palestine and Israel, 1 dunam is equivalent to 1,000 square meters.

This description presented by Khalidi permeates a Palestinian identity construction and its almost idyllic relationship with the land and the place. But it goes further. When Fouad Hassdeya speaks of a “pastoral landscape,” he reiterates a discourse and the creation of a mythical past. This characteristic of part of Palestinian society is rooted in traditionalism and the losses that occurred in 1948. In his last public speech, delivered in June 2018 at Tel Aviv University¹⁰, writer Amos Oz tells a short story about a Palestinian living in the United States whose family lived in the village of Lifta, at the entrance to Jerusalem, and left there. This Palestinian told Oz that his greatest wish was to return to the house where his family lived. Amos Oz replied that he could return to the place where his parents’ house had stood, but that what he would find there would certainly no longer be this house and that there would probably be a large apartment complex. This means that among the alternatives of the modern world, there is a conscious narrative and political choice in the memory of most Palestinians of a way of life that places the past in a prominent position and that would be better than any other time and better than the present. Not to mention that the future can only be imagined as a return to this past.

On May 22 and 23, 1948, the village was occupied by soldiers from the Alexandroni Brigade of the Haganah, one week after Israel’s declaration of independence. Tantura was located in the territory that had been designated to the Jewish State by the United Nations partition plan of November 29, 1947.



British Map of Tantura in 1942¹¹

¹⁰ <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=Pqrd4c8ZT1E>.

¹¹ UK Government - British Library: <http://www.bl.uk/onlinegallery/onlineex/maps/asia/5000647.html>.

Several dozen Arabs were killed, as well as 14 Israeli soldiers (Gelber, 2005). The conquest of Tantura and the expulsion of its residents took place in the context of what became known as the Dalet Plan¹² (Shlaim, 2000):

The objective of Plan Dalet was to secure all areas allocated to the Jewish State by the UN partition plan, as well as Jewish settlements outside these areas and the corridors leading to them, in order to provide a solid and continuous basis for Jewish sovereignty. The novelty and boldness of the plan lay in the orders to capture Arab villages and towns, something the Haganah had never attempted before. Although the wording of Plan Dalet was vague, its objective was to cleanse the interior of the country of hostile and potentially hostile Arab elements and thus provided a guarantee for the expulsion of civilians. By implementing Plan Dalet in April and May, the Haganah contributed directly and decisively to the birth of the Palestinian refugee problem. (Shlaim, 2000, p. 31)

A different analysis was expressed by Avraham Sela:

The prospect and necessity of preparing for the invasion of the Arab states gave rise to the Haganah's Plan Dalet, prepared in early March. It was never a grand plan of expulsion (as Arab propagandists such as Walid Khalidi have portrayed it). However, it gave Haganah brigade and battalion commanders carte blanche to completely empty vital areas; this enabled the expulsion of hostile or potentially hostile Arab villages (and "potentially hostile" was open to very liberal interpretation). Many villages were bases for gangs and irregular troops; most villages had armed militias and could serve as bases for hostile gangs. (Sela, 1991, p. 124)

According to Pappé (2001), the actions in the region between Hadera and Haifa (which he calls "ethnic cleansing") were carried out against a backdrop of vague instructions from the command. According to these instructions, each commander occupying a village had full authority to do what was best for the inhabitants if they surrendered or were taken prisoner. He goes on to assert that the usual practice followed by the Alexandroni Brigade when occupying a village was to expel its inhabitants for the duration of the battle.

Palestinian historiography in the decades following 1948 makes no mention of a massacre in Tantura. In a book that is considered the bible of the Nakba, "Al-Nakba," in its six volumes, by the chronicler Araf al-Araf (1956-1960), there is no mention of a massacre in Tantura. Furthermore, there is no mention of a massacre by Walid Khalidi in his 1992 encyclopedic book on the villages that were lost (*All That Remains*) mentioned above.

Also, a descendant of Tantura who went into exile in Syria, Yahya Mahmoud al Yahya, who published a book about his village in 1998, "Tantura: A Village Destroyed by the Zionist Occupation," does not mention any massacre and transcribes a list with the names of 52 people who are said to have perished in the battle. There is only one record made by an expatriate from the city of Haifa of this generation of 48 called Hajj Muhammad Nimr al-Khatib, in his book "Events of the Nakba," published in Damascus in the early 1950s, which described a massacre at the site.

Tantura—The Film

The film *Tantura*, by director Alon Schwarz, released in 2022, establishes two intersecting narrative arcs: one is the story of what happened on May 22 and 23, 1948, in Tantura and the days that followed, and the other is the story of Teddy Katz and the saga of his master's thesis. The picture is completed with the question of the existence of a mass grave, where the alleged victims were buried. The film is constructed from oral testimonies of witnesses from that time and a few other social actors.

¹² *Dalet* is the fourth letter of the Hebrew alphabet, and the plan received the name because it followed three previous plans.

The opening scene shows us an elderly man named Itzhak Pinto, who takes us to a room where, according to him, the ancient objects and memories of Kibbutz Nachsholim are kept. The camera pans across photos, objects, and a record player. According to Pinto, all the objects are in working order and tell the story of the kibbutz's founding. Pinto is one of the pioneers of the kibbutz, which was established a month after the conquest of the village of Tantura and built on its ruins.



Itzhak Pinto and the Memory Room at Kibbutz Nachsholim

In the opening sequence, the film continues with historical photos of the early days of the founding of Kibbutz Nachsholim, accompanied by background music reminiscent of the military marches typical of the early years of the State of Israel. Interspersed with this are testimonials from the four remaining founders (Itzhak Pinto, mentioned above, and three other women).



First moments at Nachsholim in 1948



Nachsholim founders

Schwarz uses a format in which the director and interviewer appear on screen, leaving no doubt that this is a documentary. But even documentaries follow scripts, and their impact on the viewer is strongly influenced by editing and montage. One of the women in the photo says: “What we remember are the good memories... and I only remember the good things...”.



Ruins of the village of Tantura

A film to be analyzed must be broken down. In the case of a more conventional fiction film, this breakdown involves describing the shots, sequences, framing, scenes, camera angles, sounds, *mise-en-scène*, and then reconstructing it through interpretation. With documentaries, we can see differences in the analysis methodology, as the points of view say a lot about the intentions of the product and, above all, the director. Penafria (2009, p. 9) notes that three aspects should be worked on: the visual/audio, observing the sounds that make up the film, the moments when they are heard, the camera position in relation to the object being filmed; the narrative sense or who tells the story, whether it is an omniscient narrator (“the voice of God”), a narrator-character, or a narrator-observer; finally, there is the ideological sense, which “aims to verify the position/ideology/message of the director’s film in relation to the film’s theme(s).”¹³ We chose to use the works of Bill Nichols as the basis for our analysis.

Nichols talks about the nature of the documentary in relation to reality:

... we said that documentaries represent the historical world by shaping the photographic record of some aspect of the world from a different perspective or point of view. As a representation, they become one voice among many in an arena of debate and social contestation. The fact that documentaries are not a reproduction of reality gives them a voice of their own. They are a representation of the world, and this representation means a unique view of the world. The voice of the documentary is, therefore, the means by which this unique point of view or perspective makes itself known. The voice of the documentary can defend a cause, present an argument, as well as convey a point of view. Documentaries seek to persuade or convince us through the strength of their argument or point of view and through the appeal or power of their voice. The voice of the documentary is the special way of expressing an argument or perspective. Like the plot, the argument can be presented in different ways. (Nichols, 2005, p. 73)

There are several voices that “speak” in a documentary. These voices can speak through interviews, archival footage, photographs, other videos, sounds, voice-overs, but, when taken together, they will acquire their own voice, producing a meaning that conveys a point of view, presenting arguments, and ultimately showing the filmmaker’s cause.

Documentaries show auditory and visual aspects or representations of a part of the historical world. They signify or represent the points of view of individuals, groups, and institutions. They also make representations, develop arguments, or formulate their own persuasive strategies, aiming to convince us to accept their opinions. How much of these aspects of

¹³ Penafria, Manuela, *Análise de Filmes—conceitos e metodologias* in IV Congresso SOPCOM, Lisboa, 2009, anais em www.bocc.uff.br/pag/bocc-penafria-analise.pdf. Quoted in article by Monbelli, Nei Fabianne e Tomaim, Cássio dos Santos, *Análise fônica de documentos: apontamentos metodológicos* in Lumina, Revista do Programa de Pós-graduação em Comunicação UFJF, vol. 8 n2, dezembro 2014.

representation come into play varies from film to film, but the idea of representation is fundamental to the documentary. (Nichols, 2005, p. 30)

Tantura is constructed as an interactive mode due to the parameters established by Nichols, which are manifested in the film through certain elements. The emphasized images are those of testimonies from social actors or verbal exchanges and demonstration images such as archival images from the period (demonstrating the validity and possibly the doubt of what the witness declares). As we will see in more detail, most of the interviewees are former soldiers of the Alexandroni Brigade, Israeli academics, some Arab survivors of the time, and a few other social actors. Although there is an asymmetry of power in the construction of the interviews and testimonies themselves, where the filmmaker chooses the agenda, asks the questions, and intervenes in the speech, the narrative is provided by the social actors. The textual authority belongs to them. There is practically no scene in Tantura where we do not observe this construction. In the first scenes of the documentary (between minutes 7:09 and 9:24), there are seven short testimonies from six combatants of the Alexandroni Brigade.



Amitzur Cohen



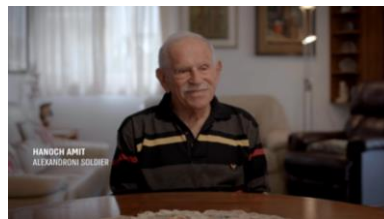
Shimon Kutner



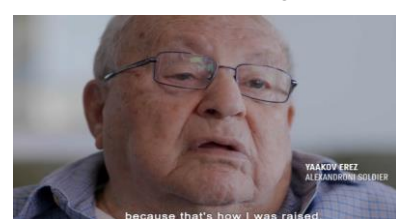
Mulik Sterenberg



Haim Levin



Hanoch Amit



Yaakov Erez

Among the testimonies are archival images from the period accompanied by a soundtrack with songs that refer to the Zionist ethos and emphasize the historical moment portrayed, building a sense of validity in what is said by the social actors. All of these initial testimonies emphasize a discourse of strength, of diminishing the adversary, and of violence. This is where we can begin to observe the dynamics of the argument that the filmmaker intends to construct. Schwarz's premise is that there was a massacre in Tantura, that Teddy Katz was wronged by his academic peers and the Israeli judicial system, and that his position must be proven by opening the mass grave in the parking lot of Dor Beach, located in Kibbutz Nachsholim. In one of these moments, we have the first direct intervention by director Alon Schwarz on the scene. This scene and dialogue lead us to Nichols theorizing about this relationship between the filmmaker and the interviewee and how, as we have already observed, there is an asymmetry of power between them:

Each choice of space-time configuration between filmmaker and interviewee carries implications of a potential political charge, an ideological valence that deserves attention. At one extreme, we have the 'conversation', a free exchange between filmmaker and subject that seems to follow no predetermined course and address no specifically clear agenda (the word is in quotation marks insofar as the very process of filming this conversation makes it something other than natural, and this is obviously apparent). [...] Conversation draws our attention to the plot and maneuvers, along a scale of power, between the filmmaker and the subject. Like oral history, historical case studies, depositions, or court testimony, conversation in a film

is also intended to be scrutinized by interested viewers, giving these quasi-public maneuvers an additional measure of complexity. (Nichols, 1991, p. 51)

What maintains a logic in the sequence of individual points of view is the editing. The logic is built on a pre-established script that also configures a power relationship and seeks to direct the production of meaning in the viewer. It is as if a dialogue were established between the various actors, in different spatial relationships that are not contiguous and even without measure, such as spatial jumps from one interview location to another and from one *mise-en-scène* interspersing the interviews with recorded archives or historical documents.

In this way, the film is constructed between these dialogues of the various parts, mediated and constructed by the director. As already mentioned, the narrative arcs are presented through testimonials and interviews. Let's see who these social actors are and their weight in this construction.

Narrative Groups

In order to analyze how narrative discourses are linked in various aspects (planes considered, who speaks, location of the scene, time of day, camera position and movement, lighting, sound and soundtrack, montage and editing, framing, among others), a first parameter of analysis is to distinguish the various narrative groups (social actors, in Bill Nichols' definition) by their "main denomination". These are:

- Teddy Katz, his wife, and his lawyer;
- Soldiers from the Alexandroni Brigade who appear in the film;
- Former residents of Tantura/Faradis and Arab descendants;
- Academics;
- Residents of Kibbutz Nachsholim;
- Judge;
- Audio recordings of Teddy Katz with soldiers from the Alexandroni Brigade (probably already dead when the film was made);
- Audio recordings of Teddy Katz with former Arab residents of Tantura.

Teddy Katz



Teddy Katz is the central figure of the film in its narrative arc. The film focuses on his master's thesis submitted in 1998. Teddy Katz was a student in the Department of Middle Eastern History at the University of

Haifa. For his master's thesis, which focused on five Palestinian villages between Haifa and Hadera during the 1948 war, Katz interviewed 135 people. In the chapter specifically dedicated to the Tantura case, he used the testimonies of forty men. Among them, twenty were Arab witnesses, mostly natives of the Palestinian villages of Fureidis (Furayd ʔ) and Jisr al-Zarqa (Gisr al-Zarq ʔ), and twenty were former Israeli soldiers¹⁴.

Now, let's see how the film deals with the subject in this narrative arc. In Katz's multiple appearances on screen (in a wheelchair), Schwarz constructs the image of Katz as a victim persecuted by the Israeli academic community, seeking some kind of identification by the viewer with Katz's dissertation on the massacre through this place. It is Schwarz himself in his first appearance in front of the cameras (which suggests the importance the director attributes to Katz) who leads us to see Katz as this victim through the dialogue he establishes with him (film 9:27 to 12:20).



¹⁴ The story of what happened to Katz's dissertation can be found in various sources: PAPPÉ, Ilan, *The Tantura Case in Israel: The Katz Research and Trial*, *Journal of Palestine Studies*, Vol. 30, No. 3 (Spring 2001), pp. 19-39, Citado em Kamel, Lorenzo. *The Tantura Affaire*, *Oriente Moderno*, 2010, Anno 90, Nr. 2, p. 397-410, Instituto per L'Oriente C.A. Nallino; Morris, Benny, in "The Jerusalem Report", 9 de fevereiro de 2004; Gelber, Yoav, *Folklore Versus History: The Tantura Blood Libel in Palestine 1948 War, Escape and the Emergence of the Palestinian Refugee Problem*, rev. ed., Sussex University Press, 2005, appendix III, pp. 319-320; SHAPIRA, Anita, PENSLAR, Derek, (ed.), *Israeli Historical Revisionism: From Left to Right*, Londres, Routledge, 2003, p. 62; WURMSER M., *Made-Up Massacre: The Tantura affair, in which post-Zionists Israel libels its own past*, in "News Corporation Weekly Standard", 19, September 2001.



More than the dialogue, it is the scenic construction of Katz's entrance into the frame that produces the effect mentioned above. The shots used by Schwarz show us that the *mise-en-scène* is well lit, with the window in the background providing clarity and creating a welcoming atmosphere in Katz's home. In the numerous shots that make up this scene (17 shots), most have a fixed camera at chest height. The shots alternate mainly in close-up when Katz speaks and open up to a more general shot framing Katz and the woman when she speaks or when director Schwarz intervenes in the conversation. The shots that deviate from this pattern are those where Katz's wife brings the cassette tapes to be examined by Schwarz, and the shot here is a close-up of Schwarz handling the material; another shot is one where, in a reverse shot, Schwarz's team appears with all their equipment, circumspectly observing Katz's limping entrance into the room. It is here that Schwarz begins to build credibility for Katz's thesis, because right after Katz talks about his strokes, Schwarz asks him about the massacre, as if Katz's condition simply gave him authority and veracity in his speech. As we see Katz's physical condition and believe that he has indeed suffered strokes, it is plausible for the viewer to think that the massacre also really happened.

Katz appears in three distinct diegetic times in the film. The "present" time when the film is made, the time of a documentary made after the publication of his dissertation in conjunction with his appearance on Israeli TV news in 2001, and finally, in the cassette recordings Katz made for his dissertation. There is a common feature in these appearances that can be translated into the words of Judge Drora Pilpel (film 25:37) reporting on Katz's behavior at the trial: "...he reminded me in a way of Moses (biblical), slow of speech and slow of tongue..." Although this seems to be one characteristic, I think there is another: in all his statements, at any time, Katz makes us feel as if he is in possession of a "secret" and at the same time tries to induce responses that corroborate his "secret"... This is evident in a scene from a documentary in which Katz is a social actor and which seems to have been made shortly after the uproar surrounding his dissertation: (film 19:54) "I dealt mainly with what happened here. - What happened here? - Tantura..." In other words, by simply answering "Tantura" in a somewhat whispered tone, Katz leads us to believe that he has some crucial, important, and mysterious information.



As far as we are concerned here, Schwarz, the director of the film, seems to assemble (and we will talk about the editing later) his film construction in the same way that Katz constructs his arguments. It is as if he has some secret that he holds and that it will be revealed to us at some point.

Soldiers of the Alexandroni Brigade

The Alexandroni Brigade is one of the brigades of the Israel Defense Forces formed at the time of the founding of the State of Israel, originating from the Haganah, which we have already discussed above. The Alexandroni Brigade fought in the 1948 War in the coastal and Galilee regions.

It was the Alexandroni Brigade that was tasked with conquering the village of Tantura. The soldiers “appear” in Schwarz’s film in two distinct ways: first, through direct interviews conducted by Alon Schwarz, and second, through the recordings made by Teddy Katz for the development of his thesis. These “appearances” are separated by twenty years. It is reasonable to assume that many of the soldiers interviewed by Katz for his thesis had already passed away by the time Schwarz made his film.

The first appearance of the soldiers’ testimonies in the film occurs at 7:10 minutes. These are short statements, and through the editing and montage established by Schwarz, we are led into a belligerent and confrontational discourse, already setting the tone for what the director intends to show us next.

Two things can be observed: first, the statements are short and it is difficult to determine in what context they were made. These were Israeli Army soldiers who fought in various battles between 1947 and 1949. Since we do not hear the questions, we cannot know whether they are referring to the battle of Tantura or to other battles.

In diegetic terms, the presence of the soldiers on screen—whether in interviews with Schwarz or in Katz’s tape recordings—is the most prominent throughout the film. These appearances amount to 30 minutes and 17 seconds, or over 36% of the film’s total runtime. We will later examine how duration contributes to the production of meaning.

It is also through the selection of which testimonies are included and which excerpts are presented that we observe a construction that seems to consistently suggest the soldiers have something to hide. In general, the

soldiers of the brigade deny that a massacre took place in Tantura. However, others seem to confirm that such a massacre did occur. This is the case with Haim Levin at the 34:48 mark of the film.



From a cinematic standpoint, in all the testimonies within this sequence—between 41:51 and 47:37 minutes—there is an alternation between close-ups and wider shots. This alternation creates a certain rhythm in the sequence so that the viewer does not become “bored” with static framing. Cuts between testimonies are always abrupt. The exception to this filming style occurs in the testimony of Yossef Diamand (from 44:37 to 46:21), which is the longest of the sequence. In this case, Schwarz uses a greater variety of shots. The scene begins with a detail shot showing Diamand handling papers and reading a newspaper article (likely a publication of the Brigade or the Haganah).



Another difference in this scene is that Schwarz positions a camera to film Diamand from the side, while he continues reading the very excerpt that states the soldiers behaved bravely in battle.



From there, we have another change in framing, showing Diamand in a wider shot and then returning to the close-up pattern used in previous testimonies, as well as maintaining the abrupt cuts between shots.



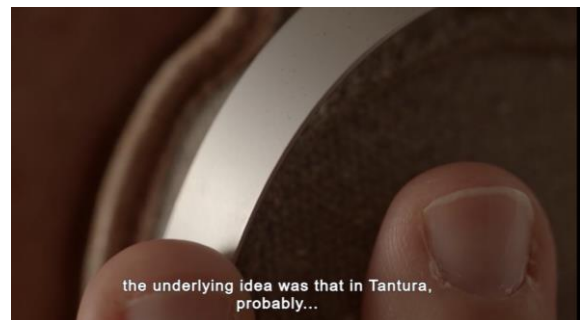
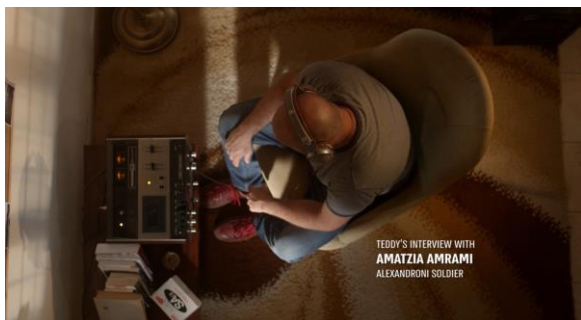
What does this scene tell us about how Schwarz constructs his arguments in the film? Diamand's testimony is one of those that mentions a massacre after the surrender of the village. He recounts that a soldier with a machine gun fired at a group of men who were already seated and enclosed, causing numerous deaths. He also mentions the rape of a 16-year-old girl (others had previously spoken of this as well). Diamand then adds that these were exceptional cases: "we were not like that" and that such acts were exceptions to the general behavior. By choosing to give Diamand more screen time than the other testimonies, we can understand that Schwarz prioritizes the kind of testimony that aligns with his ideological position—aiming to prove that a massacre occurred and that atrocities were committed by the soldiers. But not only that.

The second way Schwarz presents the soldiers is through the cassette tape recordings made by Katz for his thesis. Schwarz introduces the tapes visually, showing us the recorder playing them.



In the tape sequence, we can once again observe how the power dynamics between interviewer and interviewee are manifested, as Katz inserts the idea of retaliation and revenge and leads the interviewee to say what he wants to hear. This is the case in Katz's interview with Amatzia Amarani. He states that there were many rumors about prisoners being killed, but that he himself did not witness it. Katz insists on the idea and leads Amarani to say that there could have been "revenge and cruelty."

Other interviews follow the same pattern, in which we hear Katz steering the testimonies to reinforce his already defined view regarding a massacre. This sequence in which we hear the cassette tapes is accompanied primarily by two types of imagery. The first group consists of detail shots: Henio Cohen's hair (a surviving combatant), the recorder playing the tapes and its ammeter, Schwarz filmed from above—showing that he is the one listening to the tapes—his fingers handling the tapes and the headphones, and so on. This type of shot is used to create a sense of mystery or tension, as we are not shown the surrounding environment, focusing instead on specific details to draw our attention to something important—in this case, to keep us focused on the recorded statements.



After these detail shots, still with the audio from the recordings, Schwarz begins to show us the combatants being positioned to give their testimonies in a carousel of very quick medium shots, once again with hard cuts (13:03 to 15:53). It is as if Schwarz is presenting us with the structure his film will follow: direct testimonies and cassette tape recordings, while also introducing some of the film's social actors.

Academics

In the film, Schwarz uses the testimony of several Israeli academics across various sequences (it is noteworthy that no Palestinian or Arab academic is interviewed). The screen time given to academics is only slightly less than the total time dedicated to the soldiers of the Alexandroni Brigade. This again reveals how Schwarz constructs his narrative. Clearly, by featuring so many academics and giving them substantial screen time, his aim is to lend credibility and support to the narrative he intends to construct.

The appearance of academics in documentary films can contribute to the credibility of the narrative through several factors, such as: expertise and authority; credible sources; objectivity; educational value; fact-checking; and the credibility of the filmmakers themselves. However, it is essential to emphasize that the mere presence of scholars does not guarantee a documentary's credibility.

Let us examine how Schwarz uses these academics, both in his choice of which scholars appear and how their statements are sequenced in the context of the film. In general, Schwarz selects those academics who support Katz and the massacre theory—with the exception of Yoav Gelber and Yossi Ben Artzi. Additionally, among the choices Schwarz made, some of the scholars he interviewed end up not appearing in the film at all. This is the case with Benny Morris. In an article written by Morris for the Israeli newspaper *Haaretz* (in Hebrew), published on July 28, 2022, titled *The Legend of Tantura: It Makes No Sense That None of the Villagers Spoke of the Massacre*, Morris wrote the following:

Let me begin with a personal note: a few months ago, Schwarz interviewed and filmed me for about two or three hours. To my surprise, after they agreed to send me a copy of the film (for preview), I discovered that I do not appear in it. Schwarz chose to make me disappear. I know filmmakers don't like to waste their precious time and filmed material, but that's exactly what Schwarz did. It is clear to me that he simply did not like what I had to say, because my words didn't align with his narrative about Tantura, nor with what he wanted to instill in his audience—a sensational story meant to shake the world: 'The Jews behaved like Nazis'—which would win him lots of publicity and maybe even prizes from the 'Lovers of Israel' abroad.

The academics who appear in the film are: Ilan Pappé¹⁵, Yoav Gelber¹⁶, Yossi Ben Artzi¹⁷, Avner Giladi¹⁸, Hillel Cohen¹⁹, Shay Hazkani²⁰ and Adam Raz²¹. The central social actor in the academic category is Ilan Pappé. Schwarz's decision to give Pappé the most appearances and the longest speaking time is no coincidence. As mentioned earlier, Pappé was Katz's mentor for his thesis, behind the scenes of the official supervision. Pappé's positions on the State of Israel and the Palestinian issue are well known.

Again, in the already cited article by Benny Morris, he writes:

¹⁵ He is an Israeli historian, professor at University of Exeter. He was professor of Political Sciences in his hometown, at University of Haifa.

¹⁶ He is an Israeli historian. Is a professor at University of Haifa, was a visiting professor at University of Texas in Austin.

¹⁷ He is a geographer at the Department of Land of Israel Studies at the University of Haifa.

¹⁸ He is a professor in the Department of Middle Eastern History at the University of Haifa.

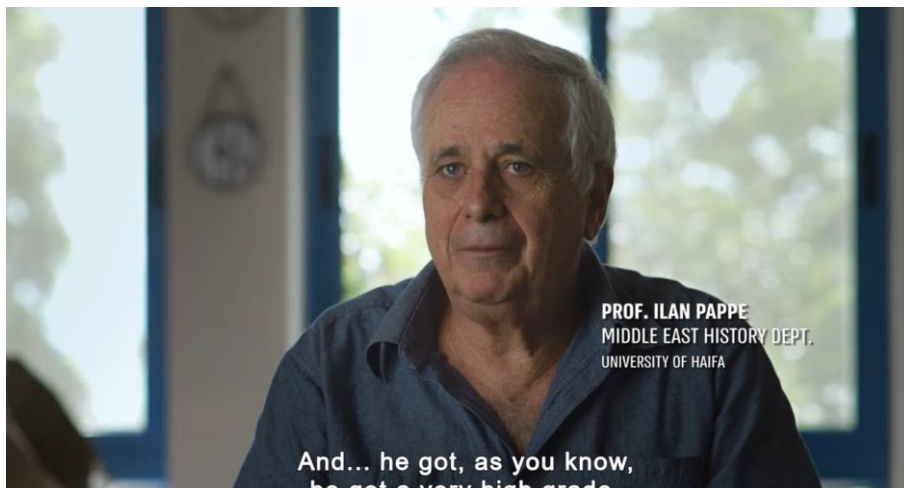
¹⁹ He is a professor in the Department of Islamic and Middle Eastern Studies at the University of Jerusalem.

²⁰ He is a historian in the Middle East department at the University of Maryland.

²¹ He is a historian associated with the Akevot Institute.

Schwarz writes in his article²²: ‘The film brings... different versions of what happened in Tantura, including many speakers who deny the massacre.’ This is a blatant lie. In fact, Schwarz in his film gives ten times more screen time to those who support ‘The Great Massacre’ story (Teddy Katz, Adam Raz, Ilan Pappé—Katz’s anti-Zionist mentor at the University of Haifa, etc.) than to those who deny the story. As for the main denier who does appear in the film—Prof. Yoav Gelber—Schwarz ensured a biased edit. He demanded that Gelber speak in English, which is not his native language (while others in the film were allowed to speak in their native tongues, Hebrew and Arabic), and Gelber appears in a way that, let’s say, is not exactly compelling to hearts and minds.

Pappé also gives his testimony in English. But, unlike Gelber, his delivery in English seems to be in a different key. Pappé’s revisionist positions regarding the “official history” established in the original Zionist narrative are well known in both academic and public circles. He left Israel in 2008. His decision to leave was influenced by a combination of professional and personal factors, including his political views and the challenges he faced in the Israeli academic and political environment.



The aura of credibility that Schwarz constructs around Pappé begins with his mise-en-scène. Pappé first appears in a slightly wider shot, showing a well-lit setting, with peaceful and bucolic landscapes visible through

²² Schwarz published an article in the Israeli newspaper Haaretz: “This is how the ‘Tantura’ case was silenced” (“Haaretz”, 7/22/2022).

the window. In the composition of the scene, in addition to the bookshelves, we see plants, vases, and decorative objects—in short, we see someone who conveys a sense of tranquility and full confidence in what he is saying. This is further reinforced when Schwarz moves from the wider shot to a medium close-up of Pappé as he speaks with an open, receptive posture, suggesting he is welcoming us.

It is important to highlight the contrast mentioned above, as it stands in stark opposition to the image constructed of Yoav Gelber, one of the only academics who takes a dissenting stance—strongly challenging not only what happened in Tantura but also Katz’s thesis itself. What does Benny Morris mean in the quote from his article? Gelber appears for the first time right after Pappé Schwarz places him in a dark setting, which seems somber: closed windows, dim lighting, and a background of bookshelves—no other elements to soften the atmosphere. Just as with Pappé Schwarz begins with a wider shot showing this gloomy location and then cuts to a medium shot. In contrast to Pappé however, Gelber is sitting with his arms crossed over his chest, a posture that could be interpreted as defensive.

Moreover, although Gelber also speaks in English, unlike Pappé—who has lived in Exeter for fifteen years—his English is heavily marked by an Israeli accent. His speech is punctuated with nervous laughter, which we may interpret as part of his defensive stance. In other words, the impression that his presence and testimony leave us with is that of someone who lacks credibility and inspires little confidence. In an article he published, Yoav Gelber describes how he “saw” his portrayal in the film²³:

Another full disclosure I must make here concerns the circumstances under which I encountered this film. The director Alon Schwarz, whom I had no idea who he was at the time, approached me and said he was making a film about the Tantura case. To persuade me to participate, he explained that the film was intended to present accurate facts to the American public and also asked me to speak in English. The recorded video interview lasted about two hours, during which I showed him most of the material that follows below. Of this, three minutes were included in the film, whose obvious tendency was to mock me. Schwarz ignored everything else, as if it did not exist—just as he did with some of my colleagues, such as Professors Benny Morris and Yossi Ben-Artzi.



²³ Gelber, Yoav, עילת הדם על הטבח בטנטורה, consulted at site Academia. Edu, 2022, https://www.academia.edu/105685715/עילת_הדם_על_הטבח_בטנטורה



Avner Giladi and Adam Raz are presented in a similar key to Ilan Pappé in bright and pleasant environments. Here, there is a significant difference compared to both Pappé and Gelber: Giladi and Raz speak in Hebrew. This places them in a more comfortable position, as it is their native language, and therefore their statements come across as more secure and confident. In particular, Avner Giladi conveys a great sense of calm and assurance.



It becomes clearer how Schwarz uses elements such as lighting and mise-en-scène—with more or less pleasant environments—when we group together the visual settings of the six academics who support Katz's narrative (framed in red) and those who oppose it (framed in blue):



Ilan Pappé



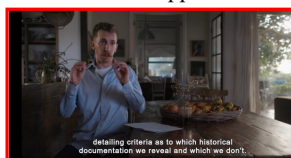
Yoav Gelber



Yossi Ben Artzi



Avner Giladi



Adam Raz



Hillel Cohen



Shay Hazkani

Another framework I use as a basis for the filmic analysis is Genette's typology (Genette, 1972, pp. 33-16), specifically his notion of "time", which refers to the author's choices regarding the categories of "duration" and "frequency". Gérard Genette was a renowned French literary critic and theorist, born in 1930 and deceased in 2018. He is widely recognized for his contributions to literary theory, particularly in areas such as narratology and textual analysis²⁴.

In terms of frequency, the academic social actors who "support" Katz and the massacre thesis appear nine times. Those who criticize Katz and the very existence of a possible massacre appear five times, and finally, there is one figure we might consider neutral (Hillel Cohen), who appears twice. In terms of duration, those supporting Katz's thesis and the massacre narrative are on screen for 8 minutes and 45 seconds. Those who oppose appear for 3 minutes and 8 seconds. The neutral voice is given 5 minutes and 55 seconds of screen time.

Beyond this evident narrative construction in the film, it is worth noting that there is a concentration of Katz's supporters toward the end of the film, as reflected in the graphic structure of screen time and their placement in the narrative. One may also conclude that Schwarz places the bulk of the pro-Katz and pro-massacre argumentation near the film's conclusion, leaving the viewer with a stronger impression and construction of meaning in that direction.



Film timing and academics distributed presence

Arabs and "Absences"

As previously stated, the film *Tantura* explores two distinct thematic arcs: one, the alleged "massacre" and the issue of mass graves; the other, the controversy surrounding Teddy Katz's thesis. Thus, it is to be expected that, in the segment dealing with Katz's thesis, the Arab social actors who appear in the film do not have an opportunity to speak. Nevertheless, it is worth noting that no Arab or specifically Palestinian academics are interviewed about the episode. Is it because Schwarz made his film in Israel—despite the fact that Ilan Pappé was interviewed in Exeter—or is it because there is supposedly nothing to say about the alleged massacre?

According to Gelber, in the article already cited, in the same year Katz submitted his thesis to the University of Haifa, a book on the history of the village was published in Damascus, written by Yahya Mahmoud al-Yahya, a native of Tantura who was living in Kabun, near Damascus. The author had worked as a court official in Haifa and was more educated than most of the village residents. He was not present in Tantura at the time of its conquest, but he collected testimonies from refugees after they arrived in Syria and published them in a book titled *al-Tantura: Qariah Damraha al-Akhtalal al-Thaiyuni*. Al-Yahya wrote about the general history of the village and dedicated a chapter to describing the battle—without once using the word "massacre". He did mention and describe several events, including killings, that today would certainly be considered "exceptional", but it is

²⁴ Wikipedia—verbatim Gerard Genette, access in 07/06/2024.

doubtful whether they would have been viewed as such in the week following the establishment of the state and the Arab invasion.

It is possible that, for viewers, hearing Israeli academics say a massacre took place in Tantura carries more weight than any similar statement by an Arab or Palestinian academic, precisely because they are on the “winning side”—and by supporting the massacre thesis, they confer credibility to it. This is a clear ideological choice by Schwarz, who strategically exploits these testimonies. It seems that Schwarz does not see a need to include Arab scholars in his narrative construction. Since the Israelis are not the victims in this case, their testimonies assume greater weight, as they remove the layer of victimhood that might otherwise be present in Palestinian accounts.

Let us now consider the testimonies of Arab refugees from Tantura. In total, these social actors are on screen for 5 minutes and 49 seconds, significantly less than the other groups already discussed. According to Genette’s framework, this also carries meaning in our interpretation. The first appearance is that of Hend Hawashe, born in Tantura and residing in Furaidis, at the 40:00 minutes mark. She says she remembers everything and has forgotten nothing. She recounts that the women and children were placed in her uncle’s house after the shooting began. Schwarz asks if she saw her brothers being killed, to which she replies: “How could I have seen?... There was shooting everywhere.” She adds: “I slipped away among the people who were fleeing... I didn’t understand what was happening... If I had understood, I wouldn’t have run.” She concludes: “There is no tragedy like the tragedy that happened in Tantura.”



Another resident of Furaidis, born in Tantura in 1935, is Mustafa Masri. He says:

They gathered us—women and children—and took us to the mosque and imprisoned the men who were still alive. The men who had been killed were gathered and loaded onto a cart. I looked and saw the bodies of my father and brother among the others... I asked a man who was standing there, and he said they would be buried in a pit—all of them in one pit? And he replied: ‘At least they will be buried, so animals and birds won’t eat them.’



As the film nears its end, Schwarz begins to focus more directly on the mass graves, and the next interview with a Palestinian-Arab social actor addresses this topic. This is the testimony of Fouad Hassdeya, with which this chapter began. Hassdeya recounts second-hand accounts—“I heard”—about the massacre and how the bodies were buried in common graves.

At 1:16:50, Hend Hawashe returns to the screen to be asked where the dead were buried. She replies: in the cemetery, at the side of the cemetery. Interestingly, in this scene—between Hawashe’s testimony and images of Schwarz examining maps—the background music resembles that of suspense films, anticipating a major revelation or pivotal moment, placing us as viewers in a state of heightened alertness.

Another instance of Palestinian-Arab presence in the film comes through cassette tapes recorded by Teddy Katz for his thesis. The total screen time of these testimonies is 3 minutes and 8 seconds. The first is from Abu Saeed Rizek Ashmawi, a former resident of Tantura (the interview is conducted in Hebrew). This is followed by an interview with Muhammad Zidan Ayoub, another former resident of Tantura, along with Ahmed Saleh Zaraa, and again Ashmawi. In the final testimony in this group, Zaraa speaks about a case of rape.

In total, the film presents only three Palestinian-Arab social actors on screen and the same number on tape. What explains this small number of appearances? Or more precisely, what meanings are produced in us, the viewers, particularly when combined with the “absence” of Arab-Palestinian academics?

Primo Levi, an Italian Jewish chemist and writer who survived Auschwitz during World War II, once expressed the idea that the true witnesses of the Holocaust did not survive. In his book *The Drowned and the Saved*, Levi reflects on the challenges of bearing witness to the Holocaust’s atrocities. He argued that those who endured the extreme conditions of the concentration camps often struggled to fully convey the horrors they experienced. Levi’s perspective emphasized the limitations of language and the inadequacy of words to capture the depth of the Holocaust. He believed that survivors struggled to communicate their profound trauma, and that only those who experienced it firsthand could truly understand its horror. Levi’s writings reflect his personal experiences and deep reflections on the consequences of the Holocaust, and he became an important literary voice on the subject. It is worth emphasizing that this analogy is aesthetic or philosophical, not historical or moral.

I believe that these absences and minimal presences reinforce the other presence—that of Israeli soldiers and academics—as a producer of meaning, emphasizing Schwarz’s effort to construct a sense of credibility that

Palestinian witnesses alone could not offer, since as victims, they might be seen by viewers as “liars” or “resentful.” Moreover, these absences seem to “speak” in another way: that not many survived to tell the story. Schwarz’s use of soldier testimonies may be interpreted as more powerful and credible—as the “victor’s discourse” recounting its own atrocities. Another absence in the film occurs when Schwarz shows us Judge Dr. Drora Pepper, wearing headphones and listening to a segment from Katz’s cassette recordings that were ultimately not presented in the court case, as previously explained. The judge, in her professional posture, is portrayed as a trustworthy and convincing witness. So what is the absence here? We do not hear what the judge is hearing. This is a clearly intentional meaning construction meant to prompt the viewer to ask: *What did she hear? What was hidden?* If she says it would have changed everything in the trial, we are meant to believe her, aren’t we?

But the real question is: Why doesn’t Schwarz let us hear these interviews? Once again, I believe Schwarz is working in a register of “mystery” that ultimately pushes the viewer to align with his ideological position and accept the validity of his thesis regarding a massacre and the injustice done to Katz.



Conclusions

To view a historical event through the lens of cinema is to recognize the need to open windows within windows. One must return to the event in its genesis, study its place, its time, its circumstances, and its actors. This is already an interpretative act, for being removed in time, the event can only be grasped through what has been described by others—thus making it, from the outset, a representation.

The second window is to investigate the motivations and intentions of a particular filmmaker in producing a given film about a given subject, at a given time—and to understand them.

The windows mentioned above were opened through an inquiry into how meaning is produced in viewers via the narrative—and often ideological—choices made by these productions. The works of Nichols and Genette, among others, provided the foundation for the film analysis. The guiding aim was to correlate the author’s intent with the tools he employed—his script, staging choices, framing, camera positioning and movements, editing and montage—and how these constructions might be perceived by viewers.

Throughout, it has been emphasized that this is not a historiographical analysis, and even less a pretentious attempt to resolve historical narratives or discover “truths”, especially given the lack of proper tools and the

obvious obstacles created by thousands of kilometers and dozens of years of distance. Furthermore, as pointed out, the intent was not to exhaustively list all films on the events mentioned, but rather to include those that are meaningful—whether for their cinematic quality or for presenting distinct perspectives. As Chitron wrote about *Tantura*: “From a strictly aesthetic and cinematic perspective, *Tantura* is a good to excellent film. Its characters are interesting, its pace is unhurried, and there are no weak moments.”

The big question I ask myself is: how can I be just a viewer, sitting in a movie theater or on my couch at home, watching one of these films without any prior information? I also turn once again to Yoav Gelber, who stated that a written text’s ability to deal with a film is very limited—that film is much more powerful because it is shorter, has rhythm, and reaches a broader audience.

Surely, I cannot be such a viewer—both because of my critical stance and because this is precisely my object of study. It may be that, due to this position, I will never fully close the triangle of meaning-making (intention, creation, reception), but I am convinced that I contribute to helping the reader open other windows of understanding and, in a second viewing of the same film, begin to see a new landscape.

To conclude, I borrow from Jacques Rancière (2012, pp. 53-54), in the opening of his chapter *The Paradoxes of Political Art*:

The theater (in 18th-century Europe) proposed situational logics that were to be recognized as guides for interpreting the world and offered models of thought and action to be imitated or avoided. [...] That edifying vocation seems far removed from our way of thinking and feeling. Yet the causal logic underlying it is very close to us. According to this logic, what we see—on a stage, in a photo exhibition, or an installation—are the sensory signs of a certain condition, arranged by the will of the author. To recognize these signs is to commit to a certain reading of our world. And this reading engenders a feeling of proximity or distance that urges us to intervene in the situation thus signified in the manner desired by the author. [...] No doubt we no longer believe in the moral correction of theater. But we still like to believe that the representation of the resin of this or that advertising idol will lift us against the media empire of spectacle, or that a photographic series on the colonizer’s representation of the colonized will help us escape today from the traps of dominant representations of identity. (Rancière, 2012, pp. 53-54)

He then continues, addressing Rousseau’s attack on the supposed moral lesson of Molière’s *The Misanthrope*:

Beyond the attack on the author’s intentions, his critique identified something more fundamental: the rupture of the straight line presupposed by the representational model between the performance of theatrical bodies, its meaning, and its effect. Will Molière side with the sincerity of his misanthrope against the hypocrisy of the worldly people around him? Will he defend respect for the demands of social life against the misanthrope’s intolerance? Here too, the outdated problem is easily transposed into our present: what can we expect from photographic representations, on gallery walls, of the victims of this or that act of ethical extermination—revolt against their executioners? Ineffectual sympathy for those who suffer? Anger toward the photographers who turn the anguish of populations into an opportunity for aesthetic display? Or indignation at their complicit gaze that sees in those populations only the degrading condition of victims?

References

- Abulof, U. (2016). *The mortality and morality of nations: Jews, Afrikaners and French-Canadians*. Cambridge.
- Almeida, M. M. (2012). História oral e formalidades metodológicas. In *XI Encontro Nacional de História Oral. Memória, Democracia, Justiça* (v. 1. p. 10). Rio de Janeiro: UFRJ IFCS IH.
- Barthes, R. (1982). Introduction to the structural analysis of narratives. In S. Sontag (Ed.), *A Barthes reader* (p. 252). New York.
- Bell, J. B. (1979). *Terror out of Zion: The fight for Israeli independence 1929-1949*. Routledge, Londres.
- Berezin, R. (1977). *Caminhos do Povo Judeu*. FISESP, Brasil.
- Bogen, A. (2022). הפלסטינים מאמצים את הדוקו הישראלי על הטבח בטנטורה: "פשעי מלחמה" (Os Palestinos forçam no documentário israelense sobre o massacre em Tantura: "crime de guerra"). Yediyot Achronot, em 07/12/2022.

- Chamberlain, M. (2005). *Narratives of exile and return*. Piscataway, NY.
- Chitron, C. (2022). זה סרט טוב, אז מה בכל זאת פסול בטנטורה? (É um bom filme, então o que há de errado com Tantura?). Haaretz, 05/06/2022.
- Confino, A. (2012). Miracles and snow in Palestine and Israel: Tantura, a history of 1948. *Israel Studies*, 17(2).
- Confino, A. (2015). The warm sand of coast of Tantura: History and memory in Israel after 1948. *History and Memory*, 27(1).
- Daoudi, M., & Barakat, Z. (2013). Israelis and Palestinians: Contested narratives. *Israel Studies*, 18(2), 53-69, 156.
- Delgado, L. A. N. (2006). *História oral: Memória, tempo identidades*. Belo Horizonte: Autêntica.
- Garami, B. (2016). The 1948 Palestine War on the small screen: A comparative analysis of its representation in two Israeli television series. *Israel Studies*, 21(1), 27-53.
- Gelber, Y. (2002). Site Revista Haumah. http://www.misdar-em-novembro-2002-número-228-p36jabo.org/BuildaGate5/general2/data_card.php?U=no-em-novembro-2002-número-228-p36
- Gelber, Y. (2005). Folklore versus history: The Tantura blood libel. In *Palestine 1948 War, Escape and the emergence of the Palestinian refugee problem* (rev. ed., appendix III, pp. 319-320). Sussex University Press.
- Gelber, Y. (2022). הטבח בטנטורה – היסטוריה מושקת או פייק ניוז? (O massacre de Tantura: história silenciada ou fake News?). Site Dyoma.co.il – 01/02/2022
- Gelber, Y. (2022). עלילת הדם על הטבח בטנטורה, (A conspiração de sangue no massacre de Tantura) consultado no site Academia. Edu, 2022, https://www.academia.edu/105685715/עלילת_הדם_על_הטבח_בטנטורה
- Genette, G. (1972). *Narrative discourse: An essay in method*. Cornell University Press.
- Gilad, R. (2022). O diretor do filme Tantura não se atenta a situa ção da guerra de 1948.1948 במלחמת מתעלם מהמצב במלחמת Haartz, 28/7/2022
- Kamel, L. (2010). The Tantura Affaire. In *Oriente Moderno* (Anno 90, Nr. 2, pp. 397-410). Instituto per L'Oriente C. A. Nallino.
- Kanafani, G. (2015). *A Revolta de 1936-1939 na Palestina*. Sundermann, São Paulo.
- Khalidi, W. (1992). All that remains: The Palestinian villages occupied and depopulated by Israel in 1948. Institute for Palestine Studies, Washington.
- Laqueur, W. (2003). Jabotinsky and revisionism. In *A history of Zionism* (3rd ed., p. 377). London, Tauris Parke Paperbacks.
- Mombelli, N. F., & Tomaim, C. D. S. (2014). Análise f ímica de document ários: apontamentos metodol ógicos. *Revista do Programa de Pós-gradua ção em Comunica ção UFJF*, 8(2).
- Morris, B. (1988). *The birth of the Palestinian refugee problem, 1947-1949*. Cambridge University Press, Cambridge, Great Britain.
- Morris, B. (2001). *Righteous victims: A history of the Zionist-Arab conflict 1881-2001*. First Vintage Books Edition, Random House.
- Morris, B. (2004). *The Jerusalem report*. 9 de fevereiro de 2004.
- Morris, B. (2022). אגדת טנטורה: לא הגיוני שאיש מבני הכפר לא סיפר על הטבח (F ábula de Tantura: não é lógico que ninguém dos oriundos da aldeia não tenha contado sobre o massacre). Haaretz em 28/07/2022
- Nichols, B. (1991). *Representing reality: Issues and concepts in documentary*. Indiana University Press, Bloomington.
- Papp é I. (2001). The Tantura case in Israel: The Katz research and trial. *Journal of Palestine Studies*, 30(3), 19-39.
- Penafria, M. (2009). Análise de Filmes – conceitos e metodologias. In IV Congresso SOPCOM, Lisboa, 2009, anais em www.bocc.uff.br/pag/bocc-penafria-analise.pdf.
- Rodrigues, A. E. M. (2006). *Regina Beatriz Guimarães Neto Cidades da mineração: memória e práticas culturais. Mato Grosso na primeira metade do século XX*. Cuiab á MT: Carlini & Caniato; EdUFMT.
- Rouhana, N., & Bar-Tal, D. (1998). Psychological dynamics of intractable ethnonational conflict: The Israeli-Palestinian case. *American Psychologist*, 53, 761-770.
- Schwarz, A. (2022). פרשת טנטורה הושקת (O caso 'Tantura' foi silenciado). Haaretz, 22/7/2022
- Segev, T. (1949). *The First Israelis*. Simon & Schuster, New York, NY.
- Segev, T. (2000). *One Palestine, complete*. Henry Holt and Company.
- Sela, A. (1991). *Arab historiography of the 1948 War: The quest for legitimacy in new perspectives on Israeli history: The early years of the state*. L. J. Silberstein (Ed.). NYU Press.
- Sela, A., & Kadish, A. (2016). Israeli and Palestinian memories and historical narratives of the 1948 war—An overview. *Israel Studies*, 21(1), 1.
- Sela, A., & Kadish, A. (2016). Israeli and Palestinian memories and historical narratives of the 1948 War – An overview. *Israel Studies*, 21(1).
- Sem Autor Explicitado. (2001). The Tantura Massacre, 22-23 May 1948, University of California Press on behalf of the Institute for Palestine studies. *Journal of Palestine Studies*, 30(3).

- Shapira, A., & Penslar, D. (Eds.). (2003). *Israeli Historical revisionism: From left to right*. Londres, Routledge.
- Shlaim, A. (2000). *The Iron Wall. Israel and the Arab world*. Londres, Penguin Books.
- Stein, L. (2003). *The hope fulfilled: The rise of modern Israel*. Greenwood Publishing Group.
- Trombine, J. D., Chamis, L. D. G., & Mombelli, N. F. (2019). Documentário e a busca pela representação da realidade. Trabalho apresentado na DT 4 – Comunicação Audiovisual do XX Congresso de Ciências da Comunicação na Região Sul, realizado de 20 a 22 de junho de 2019.
- Tucker, B. (2018). Não houve massacre, é uma conspiração de sangue - לא היה טבח, זו עלילת דם - site Arutz 7, 18/06/2018
- White, H. (1984). The question of narrative in contemporary historical theory. *History and Theory*, 23(1), 1-33.
- Wistrich, R. S., & Ohana, D. (1995). *The shaping of Israeli identity: Myth, memory, and trauma* (Issue 3). London; Portland, Oregon: Frank Cass & Co. Ltd.
- Wurmser, M. (2001). Made-up massacre: The Tantura affair, in which post-Zionists Israel libels its own past. *News Corporation Weekly Standard*, 19, September 2001.
- Xavier, I. (2009). *A experiência do cinema*. ISBN-13:978-8577533817.
- Zeruvavel, Y. (1995). *Recovered roots: Collective memory and the making of Israeli national tradition*. Chicago, Publications and Paper Articles.