

## **Forty Years: From ‘Silent Generation’ to ‘Homeland’ Awards**

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### **Abstract:**

This case study of the 1973 Yom Kippur War Israeli ex-POWs’ (Prisoners of War) ‘silent generation’ aims to draw milestone analyses along a forty-year trajectory, to reveal parts of the complex theoretical and empirical interactions between generations, media generation, PTSD, produsage, culture, national habitus, and local, glocal and global political economy of the media. The methodology of this ongoing study (2008-2014) comprises ‘Multi-sited Ethnography’ offline and online, as well as cross-media integrated ‘Multimodal Analysis’ and semiotic CDA (Critical Discourse Analysis). The study discloses self-empowering processes accomplished by means of social struggles by ex-POWs on a national level to achieve public recognition and government policy change. This was carried out by research support of academic professionals, enabling the bridging of unrecognised cases of PTSD (Post-Traumatic Stress Disorder), and the ‘generation gap’ of their ‘actual’ ‘media generation’, with their specific national habitus and generational culture. Thus, using ‘produsage’ (produce + use) and diffusion of continuous offline and online activities in the public sphere and various media outputs, such as blogs, documentary, Israel’s trail march and more, and by acting as consultants in the production of an Israeli TV series, the ex-POWs succeeded in gaining public recognition, reconstruction of heritage and history, as well as government policy changes. Nevertheless, the analyses demonstrate that despite the ex-POWs’ expectations while assisting production of the Israeli national commercial TV series *Kidnapped*, they were very disappointed by its hostile discourse suspicions of the POWs’ betrayal. Furthermore, the *Kidnapped* series’ authenticity and ‘truth claims’ authority discourse was again manipulated and recruited into the War on Terror ‘dominant’ ‘culture industry’ ‘paranoid style’ of ‘Homeland’: the US series, disseminated also globally, to its awarded reception and recognition by various audiences.

**Keywords:** POWs, PTSD, generations, media generation, national habitus, produsage, ‘Homeland’, dominant, culture industry, paranoid style.

## Introduction

This case study of the 1973 Yom Kippur War Israeli ex-POWs' 'silent generation' aims to draw milestone analyses along a forty-year trajectory, to reveal parts of the complex theoretical and empirical interactions between generations, media generations, PTSD, produsage, culture, national habitus, and local, glocal and global political economy of the media.

The 1973 Yom Kippur War, ultimately perceived as the *Mehdal* ('Failure') was especially traumatic, owing to lack of preparation by the Israeli army and the subsequent confusion during the first days of the war, both in the government and the high command, although it eventually ended in an Israeli victory. Regular soldiers fought massive tank battles in the Sinai Desert and the Golan Heights, with heavy casualties inflicted by the Egyptians and Syrians, resulting in hundreds of dead and wounded, until the military command took over (Feige, 2003; Morris, 1999). As with the 'Lost Generation' in Europe after 'The Great War' - WW1 (Winter, 1995), and the 'Wounded Generation' of the Vietnam War (Berman, 1997), the generation of the 1973 Yom Kippur War could also be conceptualised as a 'Wounded Generation'. However, even though this generation fought one of the bloodiest Israeli wars, most of the veterans function in daily life as responsible citizens (Lomsky-Feder, 1994). The 1973 War ex-POWs are the most injured generational unit among the war veterans; hence, owing to their silence for so many years, they could be conceptualised as a 'silent generation' (Gal-Ezer, 2008; 2012).

Based on a five-year study of the ex-POWs, the combined methodology comprises: Geertz 'thick description' (1973), Bourdieu (2008) and Marcus (1995) 'multi-sited ethnography'; Dicks et al. 'multimodal analysis' (2006) of offline and online participant observation (Kozinets' netnography, 2002); in-depth interviews with leaders, agents, members and participants; as well as cross-media integrated semiotic CDA (Critical Discourse Analysis), based on Barthes (1972) and Fairclough (1995), of the community blog, TV documentaries and series and various texts in the media, mainstream TV, and the Web.

The literature review begins by clarifying the theoretical background analysing the interrelation between the consequences of war to 'national habitus', 'war trauma', 'generation identity' and 'silent generation' (Barthes, 1972; Ben-Ze'ev & Lomsky-Feder, 2009; Berman, 1996; Bourdieu, 2004; Bourdieu & Sayad, 2004; Mali, 2001; Gal-Ezer, 2012; Winter, 1995; Winter & Sivan, 1999). Mannheim's seminal theory of 'The Problem of Generations' (Mannheim, 1952 [1923]) is then presented as the theoretical base structure of the 'media generation'. The next section demonstrates the difficulties along forty years of traumatic recovery of the survivors of war, disasters or horrors, constructed through a specific culture and embedded according to the 'rules' of its collective memory: 'Narrating the trauma: remembrance communities, war commemoration, and collective memory'. Then, in addition to the above perspectives of the survivors and their remembrance communities, the perspectives of the audiences are presented. 'Media and culture: Images of war' are cultural significations drawn by conventions, through legitimating ideology of a specific culture - the Western universal repertoire for shaping media images of war in contrast to other representations in Al-Jazeera, which are crucial for the analysis of both TV series in the final

chapters of the findings and throughout the discussion. These media repertoires are disseminated and diffused globally, to various audiences. The last section of the literature review analyses the 'Different cultures and norms towards ex-POWs and hostages in Israeli and American societies'. These cultural-political norms are part of the captivity experience of the POWs as well as the norms and values of audiences.

The essay's findings are composed of three sections: the first presents the 'Second captivity and enduring alienation by the State of Israel towards the ex-POWs – 1974-1996', while during its later years began the research and academic support for the ex-POWs' (1991-today); the second section offers an analysis of the documentary 'Heroes Cry at Night' (Ben-David, 1997), 'Awake at Night' blog (1998) and the TV series *Kidnapped* (Raff, 2010-2012) 'Producers and empowerment' of the ex-POWs through various social struggles for recognition and achievement of their rights 1997-today); and the third section analyses The *Kidnapped* and *Homeland* 'Culture Industry – PTSD as a media resource for realism, aesthetisation and political manipulation' (2010-2015).

## Literature review

### **'National habitus', 'war trauma', 'generation identity' and 'silent generation'**

Bourdieu's (1984) habitus is a multilayered deep unconscious scheme guiding cognitive, emotional and bodily actions and trajectories of the actors in a specific field. As Bourdieu relates habitus to a class, his theory was conceived as disregarding nation and history. Thus, in this apparent lacuna, Pickel suggested the *Homo Nationis* – 'national habitus': an individual and group psychosocial foundation constructed through modern nation-states' historical-structural contexts (Pickel, 2004). However, in his early writings, Bourdieu (2004) conceived the habitus as cultural, ethnic and national (Bourdieu & Sayad, 2004). Hence he approaches many scholars who explore extensively the mutual relationships within identity, culture, nationality, historical era and generation (e.g. Barthes, 1972; Ben-Ze'ev & Lomsky-Feder, 2009; Berman, 1996; Mali, 2001; Winter, 1995; Winter & Sivan, 1999).

Homologous to the 'national habitus' of Bourdieu and Pickel is the older 'Generation Identity' concept, which is linked to historical trauma (Mali, 2001). Although awareness of battle trauma as a phenomenon has existed since WW1, it was conceived at the time as 'Shell Shock' (Winter, 2000) and considered over decades as mental illness or a fabrication by soldiers who wanted to escape the battlefield. The consequences of the Vietnam War (1955-1975), when large numbers of American soldiers were wounded by 'Combat Neurosis', gave rise to new concepts and treatment of the phenomenon. After the 1973 Yom Kippur War, for the first time, the Israeli army 'recognised' the concept of battle trauma in soldiers (Bliech & Solomon, 2002; Solomon, et. al. 1994). In 1980, the American Psychiatric Association added Post Traumatic Stress Disorder (PTSD) to the third edition of its Diagnostic and Statistical Manual of Mental Disorders (DSM-III). The key to understanding the scientific basis and clinical expression of PTSD is the concept of 'trauma.' The DSM-III dichotomisation between

traumatic and other stressors was based on the assumption that, although most individuals have the ability to cope with ordinary stress, their adaptive capacities are likely to be overwhelmed when confronted by a traumatic stressor such as war, torture, rape, the Nazi Holocaust, the atomic bombings of Hiroshima and Nagasaki, natural disasters such as earthquakes, and man-made major disasters such as factory explosions, airplane crashes, and car- or train accidents.<sup>1</sup> Scholars and professionals agree that among ex-POWs and other victims of prolonged captivity such as Holocaust survivors, or children and women suffering from continued abuse, there is a complex PTSD which has various symptoms and a very long endurance, including secondary traumatic effects on close family members and relatives (Herman, 1992; Solomon, 2010).

Reading Bourdieu's studies conducted in 1956-1960 in Algeria, no theoretical concept of trauma appears to exist, but the events themselves and the analysis of their consequences are very traumatic. During the expulsion of the civilian population, the French colonial army, in order to hasten the 'operation', set the peasants' houses on fire while the inhabitants were still in them, apart from using other horrific 'measures' to oppress the Algerian resistance. Hence, Bourdieu conceived the Algerians as having cultural, national divided habitus – habitus clivé - (Bourdieu, 2004; Bourdieu & Sayad, 2004) a kind of traumatised habitus. Therefore, the ex-POWs from the 1973 War can be conceptualised in Bourdieu's terms as having a divided habitus – habitus clivé (Bourdieu, 2004; Bourdieu & Sayad, 2004), which is repressed and not overt; as mentioned earlier, better theorised as the 'silent generation' (Gal-Ezer, 2008; 2012).

### ***'The Problem of Generations': as a theoretical base of 'media generation'***

The first to conceptualise generation as a combined historical entity and a sociological analytic concept was Karl Mannheim in his seminal work 'The Problem of Generations' (1952 [1923]). A generation is not only a biological, concrete or organisational group, but a sociological phenomenon, i.e. people who are 'located' in a specific time and class in a certain society, and share a common experience as 'actuality', and additional collective heritage or era knowledge shaped in their 'formative years' enabling them to interpret their common experience. However, diverse interpretations could be made according to different experiences throughout their young formative years as a consequence of dissimilar class locations. Thus, several 'generational units' may possibly be formed in a specific era of a particular society (Mannheim, 1952 [1923]). Pilcher argues that Mannheim's original theorisation is a crucial sociological issue in modern societies, primarily because Mannheim also deals with the problem of social change (Pilcher, 1993).

Many historians and social sciences researchers were conceptualising wars generations according to Mannheim's theorisation, for instance, the Europe WW1 'Lost Generation' (Winter, 1995), and the Vietnam War 'Wounded Generation' (Berman, 1997). However, although the horrible bloody 1973 Yom Kippur War veterans could be conceptualised a 'Wounded Generation', they function as responsible citizens in daily life (Lomsky-Feder, 1994); hence, owing to the many years long silence of the 1973 Yom Kippur

War veterans and ex-POWs, they are better conceptualised as a 'silent generation' (Gal-Ezer, 2008; 2012).

Although nearly 90 years have passed, Mannheim's seminal theory still frames the basic theoretical structure of 'Media Generations'. The prominent study based on Mannheim's theorisation which seems to establish the theoretical and empirical connections between Mannheim's sociology of generations to the media field seems to be *News in Public Memory: An International Study of Media Memories across Generations*, published in a book by Ingrid Volkmer (2006), with an earlier report in 2003. Supported by UNESCO, this international study included research teams from 11 states, who conducted a comparative analysis on childhood and youth news memories of three generations, each of which had experienced a different era of the global public sphere during their formative years.

Volkmer's theorisation and categorisation is also used by the studies of Bolin & Westlund, 2009, and by Kalmus, Pruulmann-Vengerfeldt, Runnel & Siibak, 2009. Below is a citation from the Bolin & Westlund research which demonstrates the close connections to Mannheim's Problem of Generations: 'One could suspect that since computers and mobile phones have become so widespread among large portions of the populations in the industrialised world, it might not be technology, per se, that distinguishes the young from the old, but rather the actual ways in which it is used. One approach to discuss this is in terms of media generations. It could be expected that generations that have grown up with different mediated experiences during their formative years, will relate to the [...] technology in a variety of ways [...]' (cf. Mannheim, 1952, cited in Bolin & Westlund, 2009, p. 108).

In the recent decade, media generation research has focused on the uses of the new media by different generations. Following Mannheim (1952 [1923]) and Volkmer (2003), Bolin and Westlund show that the young Swedish generation (born in the 1980s) uses the cellular phone in different modes compared to previous media generations. A study of Estonian youth who were conceptualised as a 'Generation C' (Creative) (mainly born in the 1990s), explored its creative characteristics on the web. Findings show that the more structured the web practices, the more widespread they are (such as forums) than practices requiring greater skills and freedom (such as personal blogs). The researchers recommend an improved multiple 'media literacies' education for the youth, in order to bridge the 'participation gap' and 'empowerment divide' (Kalmus et. al. 2009).

Although Axel Bruns does not discuss media generations specifically, he conceptualises one of the dominant possibilities of using ICT (Information and Communication Technology), as the 'produsage' ability of various audiences in the contemporary era, and he emphasises the prospect of Creation, as constructed by the above-cited research of Kalmus et. al. (2009) too, through the conceptualisation of 'Generation C' – a media Creative Generation. Below is a citation from the Axel Bruns blog entitled 'Produsage.org':

In collaborative communities the creation of shared content takes place in a networked, participatory environment which breaks down the boundaries between producers and consumers and instead enables all participants to be

users as well as producers of information and knowledge - frequently in a hybrid role of produser where usage is necessarily also productive. Producers engage not in a traditional form of content production, but are instead involved in produsage - the collaborative and continuous building and extending of existing content in pursuit of further improvement (Bruns, 2007).

Herring (2008) criticises the overwhelming focus on the 'Digital Generation'. She questions the 'generational divide' and contends that it is the adults, and in particular journalists, media producers and even the academia, who are constructing the 'online' youth identity, under the false assumption that the 'Digital Generation' is superior in the new media environments. Fisher (2010), who analyses the discourses of the new media, criticises the new media 'hype' from another angle, maintaining that they are essential for the assimilation and legitimation of techno-capitalism.

However, adults in general do use the web, for example, for purposes of discussion, information and consultation in matters of tourism (Nimrod, 2012; 2013). An earlier study was carried out when computers, especially the internet, began penetrating the media environment in Israel. Findings show that those with computers and access to the internet were not only young people, but also educated people of over 55. Additionally, there was no displacement effect between books, cinema and the computer; on the contrary – the young and over-55's with computer and internet access actually increased their reading of books, newspapers and cinema attendance as a consequence of intellectual stimulation from computers and the internet. Interpretation of the results could therefore reveal that academic and cultural capital mediate and interrelate between new and traditional media (Adoni & Nossek, 2001).

The 1973 War generation, who are now between the ages of 58 and 65, were raised in the Israeli media map milieu of printed media, radio and cinema, and experienced the late initiation of Israeli television – when the first national broadcast showed the Israeli military victory parade in Jerusalem, 1968 - a year after the victory of the 1967 Six-Day War. This first public TV broadcast was disseminated some 20 years after television was established in the West, from the end of WW2 onwards. However, in accordance with the above research of Adoni and Nossek (2001), a recent study of Israeli 1973 war veterans aged between 60-75, revealed their capacity to use the web on various levels for their public struggles for memory and history. Although they are not a common Digital Generation, they can still act as Generation C, mentioned above, while writing history along with narrating their trauma (Gal-Ezer, 2012).

### **Narrating the trauma: Remembrance communities, War commemoration, and collective memory**

Representation of the traumatic experience by its survivors is most difficult, because the traumatic situation is not processed by the regular memory mechanisms of the brain. Rather,

it remains as a whole, total experience. Thus, specific triggers related to the traumatic experience can elicit the traumatic situation as a total unmediated experience, causing a 'flooding' of the experience, and the person feels unbearable horror and anxiety, as if the traumatic event is recurring. So in many cases, survivors are unwilling to talk about, or recollect, their traumatic experience because it can cause them acute distress and suffering (Bliech & Solomon, 2002; Herman, 1992). Recovery from PTSD often involves constructing a life story and narration of the event, building memorial sites or producing images, artefacts, etc., enabling the production of personal, familial and communal significance to the traumatic events (Herman, 1992). Vietnam veterans 'use private photographs, movies, books, travel trips and the Internet as tools to assist in the ongoing process of remembering. They add their own voice into the social representation system to create representations that further express who they are and to connect with their community. The constructed memory shapes [...] [their] present. This in turn modifies their representation of their pasts which become involved in changing the larger social representation system.' (Nguyen & Belk, 2007, p. 251).

Commemoration of fallen soldiers in various ways, such as memorial days, monuments, parks etc. is common in many nation states as part of the 'Invented Tradition' of nationalism (Hobsbawm, 1999; Mosse, 1990). Thus, although numerous 'Victory Albums' were published immediately after the 1967 Six-Day War, it took about 30 years for books and films about the 1973 Yom Kippur War to appear. The traumatic events were evidently so severe, that veterans were 'silent', and were unable to talk about the war. Now, some 40 years later, this war's political and military history has been dealt with in many books published over the past seven years, but with little representation by cultural works.

As in the US, the UK and other countries, remembrance and memorialisation in recent years are more prominent on the web. Not only are the soldiers commemorated there, but many civilian terror victims also have personal and collective websites built and maintained by relatives (Sade-Beck, 2013). Thus the common landscape of personal and collective memory is, to a degree, undergoing a transformation into new mediascapes.

Thus, conveying their stories and narrating their trauma is a crucial process by means of which the traumatic burden of people wounded by PTSD can be somewhat relieved (Herman, 1992; LaCapra, 2001). However, it seems that more research and therapeutic practice are focused on PTSD phenomena and its various symptoms, and less research dedicated to the possibilities of creative capacities, developmental opportunities, learned strengths and agency power of the people wounded by PTSD. Bourdieu conceptualises agency as a crucial factor in his theory and society, and the ability of abused and repressed people to perform agency and creativity; while Herman stresses the vital empowerment progress that should be nurtured through the recovery course (Bourdieu, 1984; 1999b; 2004; Herman, 1992).

### **Media and cultural images of war - audiences' perspective**

Aesthetisation and symbolisation of war are very old cultural processes. From ancient times, heroes and horrors of wars were represented in triumphant arches, altars, paintings,

sculptures, mosaics and vases depicting heroic victories and enemy defeats. An example is the huge Hellenistic Pergamon Altar from the second century B.C., now in the Pergamon Museum, Berlin. The 'Dying Gaul' - a Roman copy of a Greek statue from about the same era demonstrating a humanistic portrayal of the last breaths of an enemy warrior - is exhibited in the Capitolini Museum in Rome. Civilian horror of war is one of the prominent themes in modern art: the Picasso 'Guernica' represents the fascist bombardment of the civilians in the town of Guernica, by Franco's regime in Spain during the 1936 Civil War. In the same year, Walter Benjamin wrote his canonic essay 'The Work of Art in the Age of Mechanical Reproduction', and in the epilogue he criticises the aesthetisation of politics by the fascists in the course of the aesthetisation of warfare technology, battle field horrors and mass death.

The process of production, selection, representation, dissemination and reception of war, or visual images of political violence, is an essential practice of the media (Nossek, Srebreny, & Sonwalkar, 2007). The photographic message is constructed through a paradox: the photograph has the ability to subsist as a full 'Analogon' to reality, as well as being a cultural coded construct which is produced by the photographer and materialised in the photo (be it paper, film or digital image). Thus the photograph is deciphered both as a reality and as culture (Barthes, 1977). Zelizer writes in other words about this dual problematic phenomenon and its implication to war journalism: 'The public sees many pictures of war, but what it sees is not necessarily what it needs to see. Seen are shards of wartime presented in a way that forces certain public responses and mutes questions about the ultimate value of both the depictions and the parallels being displayed, for whom and to which ends' (Zelizer, 2004, p. 131).

Hence ideology-loaded cultural repertoires of war images can be found, circling in a specific culture and time, and constructed by conventional modes of production. The suggestion here is to follow the theorisation of Barthes (1972; 1977), Bourdieu (1984; 1991) and Panofsky (1991) to look after the cultural capital of specific audiences, even in the deep liminal anthropological sense, cultural artistic images, ideology and religious beliefs besides the mass communication visual field of a specific culture. A very interesting insight of this research attitude was promoted by Paul Taylor in his research about the Abu Ghraib photographs in the 2003 Iraq war. He interpreted the shock of the American public when the photos of the Iraqi prisoners' humiliation and abuse by American military guards were revealed: 'Perhaps the most iconic and evocative of all the abuse photographs was that of an Iraqi man being subjected to faked threat of electrocution: the prisoner is perched atop a box in a makeshift shroud, covered with a hood reminiscent of the Ku-Klux-Klan and pretended electrodes attached to his hands. The image is particularly evocative for Christian viewers. It resonates with connotations of the crucifixion and the representation of Christ the redeemer with welcoming hands outstretched at his side' (Taylor, 2007, p. 356). The convention of the media to represent religious iconic pictures, such as crucifixion and pieta, is also mentioned by Griffin (2010) and Gal-Ezer (2010).

However, it should be emphasised that these wars are being conducted in the era of extreme neo-liberal economy and its 'War on Terror' which is intertwined in the military

apparatuses (Barber, 1996; Barber, 2003; Delmont, 2013; Horwitz, 2013). Western media of recent years promote terrorists as celebrities (Liebes & Kampf, 2004) following the Al-Jazeera airing of the Bin Laden tapes after 9/11, while a considerable amount of money was paid by many global networks for excerpts of these tapes, and US national security leaders, such as Condoleezza Rice, demanded the networks to 'exercise judgment' (Allan, 2004, p. 352). 'The Bush administration publicly condemned the network as 'the mouthpiece of Osama Bin Laden, and insisted that Al-Jazeera is being used by Al Qaeda to disseminate coded messages for its supporters around the world' (Parks, 2007, pp. 226-227). The US retaliated against Al-Jazeera for what it conceives as its biased attitude, a mere two months after 9/11, by bombing the network stations.<sup>2</sup> Likewise, Al-Jazeera journalists were detained and arrested, and even tortured, in the Guantanamo Bay prison (Parks, 2007).

Several studies define the Al-Jazeera presentation of images as breaking the rules of Western TV war imagery. Whereas war imagery in Western 24/7 TV channels tends to be more 'clean', omitting 'war as it is' or 'the spectacle of suffering' (explained by the diffusion of hegemonic ideology), Al-Jazeera, whose slogan aims at 'The Opinion and Counter Opinion', disseminates close-ups of bloody bodies, people killed and wounded, from distant wars all over the globe, especially in armed conflicts and events involving political violence in which Muslims are engaged (Chouliaraki, 2006a; Iskandar & El-Nawawy; 2004). Its audiences seem to prefer this kind of bloody imagery, because they believe that visual war imagery on Al-Jazeera broadcasts is totally different from the other global Western networks, which hide the 'True Face of War', and thus they want Al-Jazeera to suit their needs to see 'the war as it is' (Fahmy & Johnson, 2007).

Carruthers (2008) contends that in recent years 'No one's looking: the disappearing audience for war' is indifferent to contemporary wars presented in the news and documentary films, and they prefer the heroic films and series of WW2 such as the Spielberg series 'Band of Brothers'. This detached attitude of American audiences to war news is analogous to the policy of American newspapers of avoiding coverage of the American hostages kidnapped by terrorists, and American soldiers captured in Iraq and Afghanistan, and also of concealing the bodies of the fallen soldiers in the war on terror, according to Tenenboim-Weinblatt (2013). This policy is different in Colombia, France and Israel while in these cases, efforts are made by the printed media to increase visibility of their journalists kidnapped by terror groups. Tenenboim-Weinblatt conceptualised three models of visibility: sustained (Colombia and France), delayed (USA) and cyclical (Israel). Israeli cyclical visibility is totally different and makes a model of itself in comparison to the other models of visibility; in the case of the POW Gilad Schalit a cyclical pattern of visibility was present during his five years in captivity by the Hamas terror organisation. These dissimilar visibilities are anchored in diverse cultural codes and norms (Tenenboim-Weinblatt, 2013).

In recent years, the 'War on Terror' became not merely an intentional political-economic militaristic policy, but also a 'culture industry' (Adorno & Horkheimer, 2002 [1944]) and cultural 'dominant' (as the former postmodernism dominant [Jameson, 1991]). The mixture of Christian evangelist fundamentalist ideology combined with extreme right Tea

Party neo-conservative ideology, is the cultural 'paranoid style', disseminated from the US to the global arena as well as its extreme neo-conservative political-economy; and these violent militaristic policies are also accompanied by a 'culture industry' of various productions, such as TV series video games, etc. (Adorno & Horkheimer, 2002 [1944]; Delmont, 2013; Horowitz, 2013). In addition, within 'quality' TV series industry, as the USA Showtime cables, the 'female problem' is intertwined and portrayed as a prominent female character who continues to be monitored and controlled by patriarchy (Bradshaw, 2013). This global 'culture industry' style, like postmodernism before it, has complex interactions with the national culture of many states, since the power of traditional and new communication technologies acts upon national audiences, by direct purchase of both US hits and foreign formats for a glocal production (Waisbrod, 2004).

### **Different cultures and norms in Israeli and American societies regarding POWs and hostages**

The ex-POWs' struggle took place in the neoliberal order of the past decades, resulting in the global rise of extreme diverse fundamentalist terror groups capturing soldiers and kidnapping civilians to attract international media attention, causing demoralisation of opponents, political negotiations, monetary ransoms, prisoner exchanges, and more. These deliberate acts of vicious terrorism thus became the focus of global media, national and global public opinion and an acute and complex problem for Western democracies (Barber, 1996; 2003; Horowitz, 2013; Tenenboim-Weinblatt, 2013). In addition, both the different cultural and social norms and values of societies and states together with the different historical contexts should be considered along the milestones of the forty-year trajectory: the Israeli POWs were captured in the early 1970s while the TV series takes place from 2011-2015 onwards. These eras are totally different: firstly, whereas the 1970s had political-economic policies of welfare states or, as in the US, a welfare policy more oriented to the social than to the capital, during the 2010-2014 we face an era of an extreme conservative neo-liberal order (Horowitz, 2013). Secondly, the above political-economic policies are part of different eras' violent conflicts: while in the 1970s most of the violent political conflicts were between states (although many anarchist and political radical terror groups did exist, such as the Italian Red Brigades and the Palestine Liberation Organization); this neo-liberal era evokes a new global order characterised by increasing polarisation between rich and poor, thus forming the stage for the rise of powerful global terror organisations that use the media for their vicious purposes, such as campaigns of horrors. Thus the role of the US as a superpower cannot be ignored.

### ***Israeli POWs and the Hebrew, Judaic and Israeli culture***

The redemption and salvation of captives is an ancient historic Hebrew, Judaic and Israeli norm and an obligatory mode of conduct originating in the *Torah* (Bible), and it remains relevant in Israeli society today. According to the *Torah*, when the people of Israel were slaves in Egypt for the Pharaohs (c. 1500-1300 B.C.), only God could save them. Thus it is written in

Genesis Chapter 7: 'And the Lord spoke unto Moses: 'Go in unto Pharaoh, and say unto him: Thus sayeth the Lord: Let My people go, that they may serve Me.' Thus the redemption of the Hebrew people from Egypt is a constitutive principle in Hebrew Judaic Israeli culture.<sup>3</sup> 'Let My people go' was also adopted by Islam and Christianity, and became the slogan of many people and groups yearning for freedom – such as the black people in the US who were striving to be free from slavery.<sup>4</sup>

However, during the times when the Hebrews lived in their land – Israel – (about 1300 B.C.) the Torah emphasises the norm and conduct of military release of Hebrew prisoners captured by the enemy. For instance, in Genesis Chapter 14:12-16 Abraham endangers his own life and fights against the four kings who captured his nephew Lot, 'And he brought back all the goods, and also brought back his nephew Lot, and his goods, and the women also, and the people'.

The Torah was canonised and completed between the 2<sup>nd</sup> and 5<sup>th</sup> centuries B.C. while the Persians ruled over Israel, followed by the Greeks and the Romans (with a short interlude of independence under the Maccabees around 200 B.C.). The people of Israel had no army during those centuries, thus the commandment of releasing Hebrew captives by paying a ransom was of great importance, since Hebrew people, especially women, were routinely kidnapped and sold into slavery (Safrai, 1995).<sup>5</sup>

The norms of the *Rambam* - (Maimonides - 1135-1204 Cordoba, Spain) one of the greatest leaders of Judaism who was also a philosopher, scientist, researcher, medical doctor (*Hilchot Matnot Aniyim* 8:12) - are worth citing:

The ransoming of captives takes precedence over the feeding and clothing of the poor. Indeed there is no religious duty more meritorious than the ransoming of captives, for not only is the captive included in the generality of the hungry, the thirsty, and the naked, but his very life is in jeopardy. [...]' (Deut. 15:7, in Jackson, 2005)

Rabbi Joseph Caro (1488 – 1575) in Safed, Israel, echoed the above words of the Rambam.<sup>6</sup> However, 'We do not redeem captives for more than their value.' Their 'value' is determined by the price the captive would fetch in the marketplace if he were to be sold as a slave; or it would follow the standard ransom principle for non-Jewish captives'. This norm was constructed very early on by the Rabbis, between 536-130 B.C. (Haran, 1995; Safrai, 1995).<sup>7</sup>

Israeli civilians and soldiers have been taken captive behind enemy lines during the wars between Israel and the Arab states, and continuing with the ongoing hostilities between Israel and the Palestinians, Arab states and terror organisations. The Israel War of Independence (29 November 1947–January 1949), in its second phase, was characterised by the war between states (Morris, 1999)<sup>8</sup>, and during this phase 900 POWs - men and women, civilians and soldiers - were taken captive in Jordan (about 700), Egypt (135), Syria (48) and Lebanon (28).<sup>9</sup>

During the first days of the 1973 War, the inferiority – the ratio in relation to the Egyptians - of the warriors on the Suez Canal frontline strongholds was unbelievable – about 1:40; a similar situation existed on the Syrian front on the Golan Heights. After desperate fighting, without reinforcements or rescue options, one stronghold was ordered to surrender, soldiers were rescued or escaped, but most strongholds had no choice but to surrender. About 300 soldiers were captured; most of the POWs were soldiers manning the strongholds: 232 in Egypt, 65 in Syria and 4 in Lebanon ('Awake at Night' website; Gal-Ezer, 2012; Ginzburg, 2009; Reshef, 2013). The struggle for the ex-POWs' rights and public recognition from 1997 onwards was initiated, as mentioned earlier, by a nucleus of activist ex-POWs who underwent the 1973 War captivity, and who made sure that all Israeli ex-POWs, like those from the War of Independence 1948, would be taken into consideration, as will be analysed in the findings.

### ***US Military Code of Conduct and policies towards POWs***

The US Military Code of Conduct is based on time-honoured concepts and traditions rooted in the American Revolution (1775–1783), certainly not as ancient as the 3,000 year-old Judaic Hebrew culture. President Dwight Eisenhower introduced the American code in 1955, to a certain degree in response to the North Koreans' use of US POWs for political propaganda during the Korean War.

The six articles outline the obligations and responsibilities of U.S. service members in harm's way (Miles, 1999):

- To defend the United States and its way of life.
- To avoid surrender and to evade capture at any cost short of death.
- To try to escape if captured.
- To reject favors from the enemy.
- To help fellow prisoners stay alive.
- To avoid collaborating with the enemy.
- To avoid statements or writing that discredit the United States or its allies.
- To maintain personal responsibility for all actions.
- To trust the U.S. government to care for your loved ones and work toward your release.

The Code of Conduct was changed twice: once for gender neutrality, and the second time after the Vietnam War. In addition to the four details that are permitted to be given to the captors ('The Big Four': name, rank, Social Security number and birth date), 'it allows them to discuss more than just the 'big four,' as long as they don't willingly give their captors information that violates the code – even in the face of mental and physical duress' (Miles, 1999). The code of conduct has six chapters, four of which - 2, 3, 4 and 5 - guide the Code of Conduct as a US POW<sup>10</sup>. A special department takes care of the US POWs and missing personnel – DPMO - Defense Prisoners of War and Missing Personnel Office.<sup>11</sup>

The negotiations for a possible exchange deal with the enemy or terrorists are totally obscured: 'The U.S. is the only country in which kidnappings that occurred in the context of

armed political conflicts are considered a non-political issue, and where the head of state and other high-level political actors are not personally involved in these cases (at least not visibly). This can be attributed in large part to the generally non-debatable U.S. policy of not negotiating with hostage takers. It can also be seen as a reaction to what was criticized as the problematic involvement of Presidents Carter and Reagan in hostage situations that overshadowed their presidency, in particular the Iranian hostage crisis of 1979–81 and the case of the American hostages in Lebanon.’ (Tenenboim-Weinblatt, 2013, p. 797).

### **The research questions**

This research has three central research questions on three levels: first, this case-study of the 1973 Yom Kippur War Israeli ex-POWs’ ‘silent generation’ aims to draw milestone analyses along their forty-year trajectory; secondly, through analyses of the first question, to reveal parts of the complex theoretical and empirical interactions between generations, media generations, PTSD, produsage, culture, national habitus and memory; and thirdly, on the basis of the first and second research questions, to explore disclosure of the culture industry political-economy transformations - in an era of neo-liberal conservatism and the war on terror – the interconnection to local, glocal and global media dissemination and reception towards various audiences.

### **Methodology**

This study of the ex-POWs which lasted about six years (2008-2014) is part of a few ongoing studies about war remembrance and its construction in political, social, culture and media fields in Israel (Gal-Ezer, 2010; 2012; 2013-2014). The first stages of the ex-POWs study were parallel to another of the researcher’s study of 1973 Yom Kippur War veterans of the 14<sup>th</sup> Tank Brigade, which began in 2007 (Gal-Ezer, 2012). In the last months of 2007, Drora Lavi – a friend of the author and a retired principal of a primary school – said that she is involved with a ‘wonderful’ group of ex-POWs from the Yom Kippur War, and goes on hikes with them, along with accompanying sympathisers, for a weekend once a month along the ‘Israel Trail’. The hike was supported by The IDF Disabled Veterans Organisation. During the hike, the ex-POWs told about the battles that they fought on the trail sites, and narrated the horrible circumstances in which they were captured by the enemy as prisoners of war on these very sites. Lavi told the researcher that as she was walking the hike, she immediately wrote these memories in her diary (which, after enhancement, was posted on the ex-POWs official blog, at the weekend end). Lavi hiked from its beginning (11-13 October, 2007) – to its end: Eilat (3-5 April, 2009). The beginning was at a very symbolic site (as other sites hiked through the trail): the northern point of Israel – the Hermon, Israel’s highest mountain, bordering of three states – Israel, Lebanon and Syria. On 6 October 1973, the first day of the war, at this important military and intelligence centre, horrific battles broke out at the Hermon stronghold – and out of 60 soldiers, 16 were killed, 12 were wounded and 31 captured by the Syrians (until today there are ongoing disputes about these Hermon battles).

The study uses a combined methodology of offline and online multi-sited and multimodal ethnography and netnography (Barthes, 1972; Bourdieu, 2008; Dicks et al. 2006; Fairclough, 1995; Geertz, 1973; Kozinets, 2002; Marcus, 1995; Sade-Beck, 2004). About multi-sited ethnography:

Ethnography moves from its conventional single-site location, contextualized by macro-construction of a larger social order such as the capitalist world system, to multiple sites of observation and participation that cross-cut dichotomies such as “local” and the “global”, the “lifeworlds” and the “system”. [...] The emergence of multi-sited ethnography is located within new spheres of interdisciplinary work, including media studies, science and technology studies and cultural studies broadly [...](Marcus, 1995, p. 95)

1) Ongoing Multi-sited Netnography and multimodal analysis (Dicks et al. 2006; Kozinets, 2002; Sade-Beck, 2004). The observation includes: the official blog of the ex-POWs ‘Awake at Night’ websites’ with its various activities and data, such as accompanying by netnography the Trail Hike which has a special link at the blog, October 2007 - April 2009, in which are posted Lavi diary records as well as ex-POWs, wives and family, and accompanying people’s records while hiking the Israel Trail; it included also texts and artefacts, forums, documents, speeches, songs, letters, images, audio, video and visual presentations, such as Powerpoint presentations of lectures for committees or conferences videos (for instance Solomon, 2010), etc. The observation also included various websites connected to the study issues, such as official sites - the IDF web archives, and independent websites such as The 14<sup>th</sup> Tank Brigade site. This brigade was in charge of about 200 km of the Suez Canal shores, and the strongholds where the majority of its soldiers had no choice but to surrender, and consequently be taken into captivity by the Egyptians. During the years 2012-2013 the web was very busy with many initiatives of veterans, researchers, the media and official and independent institutes in relation of the forty-year memorialisation of the 1973 Yom Kippur War.

(2) Multi-sited participant observation offline based on “Thick Description” of Geertz (1973) at the ex-POWs community and general rituals of the Yom Kippur Veterans which they also attended: an evening visit of the weekend trail hike to Jerusalem and participation at the ex-POWs dinner event at an Arab restaurant in Abu-Gosh, and a long conversation with two anonymous ex-POWs in the hotel lobby at Kibbutz Kiriath Anavim on 26 March 2008; The Yom Kippur War 1973 Remembrance Day in October 2008 at ‘Yad Lashirion’ - Armored Corps Memorial Site - at Latrun (on the way to Jerusalem); at the same location a meeting of the 79<sup>th</sup> Battalion of The 14<sup>th</sup> Brigade in preparation for the veterans, families and bereaved families’ journey to the Yom Kippur War combat zones in the Sinai Desert in October 2008, (the journey took place during 3-6 November 2008); three-day participant observation in the last hike weekend on the Israel Trail in Eilat (3-5 April, 2009) – the southernmost area in Israel on the borders of Egypt and Jordan, a hike on mountains and canyons in the Negev desert

near Eilat, an exhibition of documents and photographs at the city community centre in Eilat, a welcome ritual by the mayor, and testimony ritual of Ori Shahak – current leader of the ex-POWs NGO association – An ex-POW fighter-pilot captured in Syria (also an interviewee to the research), a march with flags on the city promenade along the Red Sea shores and hotels, and the ending weekend hike ritual at the nearby memorial site of the Eilat conquest in 1949 during the Independence War (1947-1949); the Israel hike final ceremony at the forest of the POWs and Missing Soldiers 8 May 2009; a conference at the Tel Aviv-Jaffa academic college 6 October 2011; ‘The Companies’ Evening’ – a remembrance ritual at Yad Lashirion 16 October 2012; ‘Fighters in Captivity’ - INSS - The Institute for National Security Studies, Tel-Aviv, in collaboration with the ‘Awake at Night’ ex-POWs association and NATAL Israel Trauma Center for Victims of Terror and War Fighters on 3 September 2013.

3) Nine in-depth interviews in which ethical measures were strictly maintained: several in-depth interviews with Ori Shahak – a former fighter-pilot and current leader of the ex-POWs association – around 17-30 November 2013, Yoav Ben-David – an ex-POW activist and director of the TV documentary ‘Heroes Cry at Night’ – 24 November 2013; Yoram Rubinstein – an ex-POW activist, an accountant – 26 November 2013; Sharon Rofe-Ophir – a journalist and editor, who had written numerous news items about the ex-POWs and moderator at the ex-POWs wives’ evening on the Israel National Trail hike – 17 November 2013; Drora Lavi – a former school principal who walked the whole trail, wrote a diary published on the ‘Awake at Night’ blog and edited the testimonies for the ex-POWs’ Album-book, numerous conversations from about November 2007 to 28 September 2014; three 1973 ex-POWs anonymous interviewees, from 26 March 2008 to 3 September 2013; and two anonymous female 1948 ex-POWs, one on 8 May 2009, final ceremony and many other conversations from 3 September 2013 to 26 September 2014, and one anonymous media researcher who watched parts of the series 29 May 2013.

(4) Cross-Media semiotic Multimodal CDA based on Barthes (1972), Dicks et al., (2006) and Fairclough (1995), of the ex-POWs’ blogs, TV and print news, books and more: ‘P.O.Ws. on The Trail of Israel’ published in 2011, edited by Drora Lavi; the TV documentary “Heroes Cry at Night” directed by the ex-POW Yoav Ben-David 1997; two seasons of the series ‘Kidnapped’ (2010-2012); and first season of ‘Homeland’ (2011); a few chapters from the second season (2012) and half of the third season (2013), the trailers of the fourth season at the Showtime Cables site which was scheduled for broadcast on 5 October 2014; a four-episode documentary “The Avoidable War” (about Yom Kippur War) directed by Amit Goren, Levi Zini and Ido Sela, 2014 of Public Channel 1 on the Yom Kippur War; Documentary “The Fall” directed by Yuval Or 2013 of Public Channel 1 on the fall of the Hermon Stronghold in the Yom Kippur War; besides various texts in the media, mainstream TV, and the Web. In addition, other cultural artefacts of the Yom Kippur War, such as art, literature, cinema, poetry, popular music, etc were included in the analysis.

The collection and categorisation of the multi-sited (Bourdieu, 2008; Marcus, 1995) and multimodal (Dicks et al., 2006) ethnographic data, had been integrated through the varied methods into a “Thick Description” (Geertz, 1973), combined with CDA, semiotics and critical theories. This integrated categorisation and analysis shaped the representation of the findings in three sections.

Although the sections seem only on a chronological basis, there are also different levels of analyses, whereas the first and second sections serve as a base structure that is gradually transformed into the third section which is further embedded within deep cultural-ideological analysis, leading to the discussion.

As this is an open access academic journal on the web, we can utilise the benefits of the web and click on the links in the endnotes, in which several photographs and videos can be found: YouTube videos, such as the complete TV documentary “Heroes Cry at Night” directed by ex-POW Yoav Ben-David 1997, which could be considered supplementary to the texts.

## **Findings**

The POWs’ surrender during the devastating battles of the Yom Kippur War (1973) was followed by inhumane enemy captivity, their complicated release, their problematic acceptance by the Israeli army, abandonment by the state, the indifference of the Israeli public, their daily hardships and malfunctioning, their horrifying nights, the suffering of their families, and the lack of psychological and social treatment for many years. Despite these distressing conditions that continued for so long, the ex-POWs’ struggles for rights and public recognition only began during the late 1990s, some 25 years after their release from captivity. It is possible that the powerlessness of these ex-POWs resulted not only from languishing in enemy captivity under unspeakable conditions, but could also be related to the malfunctioning of the State of Israel concerning them after their release.

### **A. 1974-1996 The ex-POWs’ ‘second captivity’ and enduring alienation by the State of Israel**

When the 1973 POWs were released from Egyptian and Syrian captivity, they spent one night at home with their families, immediately after which they were escorted by the military to a former resort hotel in *Zichron Yaakov*, which was experienced by them as a ‘second captivity’, and in which, during the course of a month, they underwent exhausting interrogations by military intelligence and military psychologists to discover whether they had betrayed Israel or divulged military secrets to the enemy. This hostile welcome caused the ex-POWs to suffer bitter disappointment, alienation and exclusion, as well as mistrust in the Israeli authorities, in view of the inhumane captivity and the physical and mental torture and humiliation they had suffered at the hands of their enemy interrogators. Nevertheless, even objectively, these Israeli military interrogations may have been the cause of their additional psychological and

social injuries (Solomon, 2010). Gideon Ehrenhalt, Yom Kippur War ex-POW, tells the story of his release from Syrian captivity on the ex-POWs 'Awake at Night' blog:

We were flying on the Red Cross direct Damascus- Israel flight, and I remember the great excitement felt in the aircraft [...]. The flight took less than one hour, and we reached Israel, Lydda airport [...] we came out of the aircraft and had a very emotional encounter with our families on the runway. My parents and my brother were waiting for me [...] we were told to be in Zichron Yaakov on Sunday, and we were ordered to come without our family, who would not be permitted to enter the place, and we were also informed that we would not be able to leave the place for two weeks.

Ehrenhalt said that the Israeli public expressed a great deal of enthusiasm, love and attention, and adopted a supportive attitude to the returning POWs. On Sunday, they came to *Zichron Yaakov* resort which was fenced off, and military policemen were stationed at the entrance gate. The ex-POWs were very angry when they realised that the pilots had refused to come and that the Israel Defense Forces had accepted their demands for a hotel, where every pilot was given a room, to which they could also bring their spouses. This separation was felt by the ex-POWs as a very humiliating act, as well as an additional wound. They were then interrogated in the secured resort in a loathsome manner. The IDF interrogators were not interested in the ex-POWs feelings, but only wanted to know what the POWs had told their captors.

Gideon Ehrenhalt also expressed very bitter feelings in his testimony above which was posted on the blog:

They didn't blame us directly, but the investigation was lengthy and humiliating. I did not feel guilty for having surrendered and having gone into captivity. We were compared very bluntly to Uri Ilan, who was captured by the Syrians in January 1955 and committed suicide in prison, having written on a note 'I did not betray'. I had a definite feeling that the IDF would have preferred it if we had not returned from captivity. It is much easier for the IDF to cope with a fallen soldier than with a captured soldier. That way there is no need to deal with people or with the malfunctioning of the [Israeli] army [during the war, M.G.]. If a soldier is killed, money is paid to his family, but if he comes back from captivity he must receive treatment. [...]

In Ehrenhalt's testimony he expressed the anger of many ex-POWs in the IDF – about which the author had heard by means of her research – that for more than 20 years no-one dealt with the ex-POWs. Ehrenhalt's words were very harsh:

I think that if the army had treated us properly on the day we were released from prison nobody would have remained disabled. I claim that over 50% of the phenomena resulted from how badly we were treated when we came back, rather than our treatment by the Syrians ('Awake at Night' site).

Ori Shahak, the present leader of the ex-POWs association, and a fighter pilot when released from Syrian captivity, was interviewed by the author of this research:

I was an air-force officer, and I left there [Zichron Yaakov interrogations site, M.G.] after one day, and no-one [from the army] told me anything about it. Indeed, people [the released POWs] were being held there, and they [the Israeli intelligence and military psychologists] were conducting interrogations – without whips and electric shocks – but tough and grueling interrogations nonetheless, which exhausted them [the released POWs]. I know people that feel that the trauma of Zichron Yaakov was worse than their trauma from being in captivity.

David Senesh said unequivocally that he had undergone three series of interrogations: the first by his Egyptian captors; the second – a more difficult one – in Zichron Yaakov; and the third – the hardest – by the Rehabilitation Department [of the Israeli Ministry of Defense] (Research interview).<sup>12</sup>

### ***1991-Today: Research and academic support***

In 1991, a unique research on Israel ex-POWs was initiated by Zahava Solomon, with Yuval Neria, a Yom Kippur decorated war veteran, and other researchers.

**CONCLUSIONS:** These findings indicate that small but significant proportions of the Ex-POWs and veterans with combat stress reaction were still suffering from PTSD almost two decades after the war. The different recovery rates in the two groups may reflect the differences in duration and severity of stressors, the impact of immediate intervention on long-term adjustment, or both. (Solomon et al., 1994, p. 554)

These pioneering research findings formed the basis for the establishment of a new department in the Israeli Defense Ministry dedicated to the special treatment of the ex-POWs. As a result, it was not only the 1973 Yom Kippur War's ex-POWs who were registered and treated, but a pioneering project was also initiated on a national scale to reach out to all Israeli ex-POWs, including those from the 1948 War of Independence, who were finally recognised and treated for the first time.

Professor Solomon's research on combat soldiers in the IDF is internationally appreciated.<sup>13</sup> Through her ground-breaking research from 1991 (with colleagues) cited above, and her involvement in establishing institutes and practices for treatment, Zahava

Solomon has also been actively involved for many years in the ex-POWs' struggles. She became their academic supporter and 'advocate', and gave an academic testimony in the Goren Committee ('Awake at Night' site). On the 40<sup>th</sup> anniversary of the 1973 Yom Kippur War two conferences took place at the Institute for National Security Studies (INSS) Tel-Aviv, in collaboration with the 'Awake at Night' ex-POW association and NATAL – Israel Trauma Centre for Victims of Terror and War. At the second conference Prof. Solomon presented her keynote lecture.<sup>14</sup> The conferences were attended by researchers, treatment professionals and by the ex-POWs and their families.

## **B. 'Prodsusage' and empowerment**

25 years after the war, these veteran Yom Kippur War ex-POWs activists, were involved in produsage of a documentary directed by their comrade ex-POW Yoav Ben-David called 'Heroes Cry at Night' (Ben-David, 1997), founded an association (1998), and initiated their blog (2007) both also entitled (in Hebrew) 'Awake at Night' – a flashback reminder of their horrific visions bursting forth day and night, embedded in chronic PTSD originating from their terrible experiences as POWs. Despite their suffering, the ex-POWs had been untreated and neglected by the State of Israel. Their struggle for recognition involved public campaigns, by means of documentary broadcasts and discussion, public pressure on the Ministry of Defense, a monthly weekend hike along the 'Israel National Trail' (2007-2009), and support for the public campaign for POW Gilad Schalit until his release (2006-2011).

### ***1997 - 'Heroes Cry at Night': The Documentary***

Yoav Ben-David, a 1973 Israeli ex-POW, was a participant (one of 196 veterans) in Solomon et. al. 1991 research mentioned above. Ben David was interviewed for this research (24 November 2013) by the author and said: 'I received a copy of the research' [of Solomon et. al. 1994, M.G.] and I realised the situation in which many ex-POWs found themselves'. Ben-David had studied cinema and television in Tel-Aviv University, and decided to create a film entitled 'Heroes Cry at Night', based both on data from the Solomon et al. 1994 research and his own experiences, as well as those of his ex-POW colleagues who were in captivity in 1973. The documentary film was broadcast on Israel TV Public Channel 1 in 1997.

Rubinstein, an accountant, and ex-POW activist said in the research interview:

I watched Yoav Ben-David's documentary when it was first broadcast [...] 'I use this documentary during lectures about my captivity [...] I took it to the USA when I led two groups of The IDF Disabled Veterans Organization [...]'.

Rubinstein continued reflecting on Ben David's 'Heroes Cry at Night':

This documentary – it invented us. Before it there was nothing, and afterwards something began, they [the ex-POWs] started becoming organised; the public

echo that some three hundred zombies are wandering around with nobody taking care of them, and then for the first time every one of us... 25 years after the war made applications to the Ministry of Defense. They applied because of the documentary.

Rubinstein explains that ‘until then, everybody with a physical disability as a result of war injuries was registered at the Ministry of Defense; nobody considered that there were psychological disabilities as well’ (research interview).

Ben-David in his research interview to the author is entirely confident that:

The documentary caused a revolution. It is the only documentary created in the country [then, dealing with Yom Kippur War, M.G.] and it led to a revolution. It made a conscious alteration of ex-POWs and the authorities; it initiated our association, and changed military legislation: until our ‘arrival’, ex-POWs were court-martialed and judged and had their ranks lowered.

The returning Israeli POWs were denigrated and humiliated because they were regarded as ‘not-heroes’, since they had surrendered to the enemy. That was also the attitude of the intelligence interrogators and the military psychologists in *Zichron Ya 'akov* secured resort, as mentioned previously. The POWs were conceived as immoral and unfit soldiers who convey shame and disgrace on the IDF. That was the ideology which legitimated the army to punish them. Thus their denigration was in accordance with the IDF legislation to court-martial and judge the returning POWs, as mentioned above by Ben-David in his interview.

Every returning POW was compared to the heroism of Uri Ilan, who was captured by the Syrians in 1956, did not reveal any military secrets to his captors, was tortured and preferred to commit suicide. When his body was returned to the IDF by the Syrians about a year and a half later, ten pieces of paper were found in his clothes, and on one of them, clutched between his toes he had written: ‘I didn’t betray anything, I committed suicide’. This story was constructed as a myth by the IDF to set a model of heroic military conduct for Israeli soldiers (Baumel, 2005); the myth of Uri Ilan was cited previously by the ex-POW Gideon Ehrenhalt, as the sacred model for Israeli soldiers’ conduct when interrogated by their captors, in his testimony at the ‘Awake at Night’ Blog.

Another four soldiers captured with Ilan were released together with his body. One of these was Meir Moses who, after his release, was stripped of his ranks by a court-martial. These were finally reinstated 49 years later by the Israeli president in 2005, accompanied by a pardon (Porsher, 2005). ‘As a result of our association’s activity, the ranks of Meir Moses were returned to him’, said Ben-David in the research interview.

Thus, by entitling his documentary ‘Heroes Cry at Night’ Ben-David meant to challenge the POWs denigration by the army by presenting them in his documentary as Heroes, whose ‘Cry at Night’ could be interpreted in a complex message of three significations: being wronged by the army, their cry for help and their embarrassment as heroes not to cry in the

daylight, and also as a reality caused by their PTSD to cry at night while having horrible recurring flashbacks.

In the documentary, six ex-POWs offer their severe deterministic testimonies, and this is first time Israeli ex-POWs speak publicly about their experiences and the circumstances that led them to surrender and captivity.<sup>15</sup> The testimonies express very clearly that contrary to the myth that the soldiers betrayed their country; the betrayal was really that of the Israeli state. In effect, in contrast to its ancient Judaic, Hebrew and Israeli solidarity code (Freedman, 2011; Gal-Ezer, 2012; Jackson, 2005; Reshef, 2012; Safrai; 1995), the state abandoned its soldiers to their certain death, without any possibility of combating the enemy or even defending their lives, completely outnumbered by strong, better-equipped enemy forces, numbering about forty times more than them at the Egyptian and the Syrian fronts. The Israeli soldiers had no choice but to surrender, thus trying to adhere to the norms of solidarity - embedded within their national habitus (Bourdieu, 2004; Bourdieu & Sayad, 2004; Gal-Ezer, 2012) - by rescuing and saving the lives of their severely wounded comrades and themselves, after they had been refused additional military reinforcement by their high command and could no longer wait for their delayed or denied rescue. In one particular case the commander of the Mezach, the southern stronghold on the Suez Canal, First Lieutenant Shlomo Erdinast (now an attorney and ex-POW who was also the head of the 'Awake at Night' Association) and the Military Medical Doctor Lieutenant Nahum Verbin, were ordered by the high command to surrender in Mezach, after a week of a siege by the Egyptians. The common soldiers, informed by the commanders, also voted to surrender. It was here that, as a result of their planned captivity with the mediation of the Red Cross, and the coverage of international journalists, who photographed the ritual of surrender, they managed to save their own lives and the lives of the wounded while going into captivity in Egypt (Ginzburg, 2012; and participant observation at the first INSS conference, Dr. Nahum Verbin lecture, also note 11).<sup>16</sup> Later testimonies released from the IDF archives about those days, revealed the awful fact that the Egyptians had killed Israeli POWs (Oren, 2013).

The documentary had an enormous impact on the Israeli ex-POWs who, until then, had been isolated and lonely, each on his own – for the first time they understood their difficult daily experience, their prolonged suffering, and their families who suffered too as a result of their captivity. Thus the ex-POWs became the 'producers' (Bruns, 2007) of their messages: one ex-POW was the director, his comrades were the actors and the lonely, isolated ex-POWs became a community with a shared past – the captivity; shared presence – suffering; and a shared future – their struggle for rights and public recognition. Their association 'Awake at Night: The Association of Israeli Soldiers in Enemy Captivity' was established a year later in 1998 and initially led by lawyer Shlomo Erdinast, then by lawyer Rami Doron, and later by former fighter pilot Ori Shahak – now a fighter pilots' instructor.

### ***2007 – 'Awake at Night': The ex-POWs blog***

Nine years after the association was established, these Yom Kippur War ex-POWs activists initiated their blog 'Awake at Night' (2007). This title is a flashback reminder of their horrific

visions bursting forth day and night, embedded in their chronic PTSD originating from their terrible experiences as POWs. Since they had been silent and humiliated for so long, like the veterans of the 14<sup>th</sup> armoured brigade and numerous other Yom Kippur War veterans, they were coined by the author as the 'silent generation' (Gal-Ezer, 2012). Despite their suffering, the ex-POWs had been untreated and neglected by the State of Israel, many ex-POWs offered their testimonies to the blog, and their stories based on their 'truth claims' backed by research, became history (LaCapra, 2001). Thus they even became the 'producers' (Bruns, 2007) of their history and visibility in Israeli society, in addition to their participation in the documentary, very similar to the 'produsage' process of the 14<sup>th</sup> Brigade veterans (Gal-Ezer, 2012).

Most of the ex-POWs were born in the 1950's; they were 'media generation' (Volkmer, 2003) who were raised in the Israeli media map milieu of printed media, radio and cinema and saw the late initiation of Israeli television in 1968. They expressed themselves thus in the research interviews (for ethical reasons their names were omitted in this matter). Here is a typical ex-POW attitude towards computers and new-media:

I don't know much about using computers, and though I do answer emails, I don't use the computer much [...] My knowledge in computer is mediocre, I can use the computer but it's not natural yet. I don't like writing on the computer. When I'm in business I feel freer with it and my coworkers assist me. In general, I'm not a Facebook user, I send and receive emails on my computer and I don't have a Smartphone but I will probably get there eventually.

Another ex-POW interviewee told me that his son sits with him to help him while he reads information and chats on the blog 'Awake at Night'. Nevertheless, the blog was very active from the start. It has two sites – one that is accessible to the public and another closed to assist the ex-POWs their rights and appeals to the Defense Ministry. It also offers a public forum for discussion.

Ori Shahak said to the author in the research interview that:

The historical information of the blog helps the public, pupils and students learn about the ex-POWs stories and histories. Nowadays the more active site is Facebook, where ex-POWs and their families are able to access a closed forum.

### ***2007-2009 - Reconstructing Israel's bravery myth: The 'Israel National Trail' hike and testimonies***

Ori Shahak, the present leader of the ex-POWs' association initiated the ex-POWs hike in the Israeli National Trail, and in the research interview he was telling about it to the author:

The first goal was to make a trek along the trail celebrating 60 years of the State in order to symbolise the contribution of the ex-POWs to Israeli heritage. We did not always follow the official route, often hiking to places where the ex-POWs fought and were taken captive. We walked for three days in the Golan Heights.

In the Golan Heights where terrible battles took place and soldiers were captured by the Syrians on the 1973 War. The ex-POWs, made also a pilgrimage to Jerusalem, where they had a meeting at Pres. Shimon Peres' presidential residence, they walked through the Jewish Quarter whose residents were captured when it surrendered, and visited kibbutzim near Jerusalem where women and men warriors and civilians had been captured by the Jordanians in the Independence War 1948.

The ex-POWs also hiked to Negba and Nitzanim, kibbutzim who fought against the Egyptians in the Independence War 1948. Shahak said in the research interview that they 'wanted to solemnize the fall of Nitzanim in the Independence War'.

The second goal according to Shahak in the research interview was:

The second goal: we wanted to reveal all these stories to the public at large, so in every region we invited people to participate, in collaboration with local and regional councils, in schools and military units; the Israel National Trail winds through the Netanya Promenade [along the Mediterranean shore, M.G], and we arranged an evening at the Fallen Soldiers Memorial Centre, and hundreds of people joined us as we walked, in Jerusalem some 400 people walked with us along the streets. In Eilat [the southern Israeli town on the Red Sea] 50 people walked with us in the desert [participant observation], but there were hundreds on the promenade along the sea' [also participant observation].

The third aspect was not defined as a goal: it gave people the impetus to talk, people began talking for the first time, especially in the Negev [desert, south of Israel]; a deep sense of comradeship was felt among the group participants who walked alongside one other for hundreds of kilometers [...] Here is one example: we were sitting together one evening, everyone introduced themselves and told us their reason for joining the hike; one ex-POW told us that his son didn't even know that his father had been in captivity. I took the son aside and asked him not to be angry with his father. The son was recruited a few years later, and his father - the ex-POW - came and lectured to the soldiers of his son's unit about his captivity experience. In the Negev desert - I had asked an ex-POW a month beforehand to talk to the group, and he said: how can I tell the group? I haven't even told my family. So he told his family and a week later he had given his story to the group.

Thus the struggle for recognition involved a monthly public hike along the 'Israel National Trail' (2007-2009) over the weekend, joined by sympathetic volunteers who became integrated in the ex-POWs community. The testimonies, as mentioned above, which were given during the evening rituals, as one ex-POW would offer his captivity experience

testimonial - usually for the first time - were compiled by Drora Lavi, a retired primary school principal. These 'Field Diary' chapters, including ex-POWs' Journey photographs, were posted on their website for ritualistic reading by the whole community. 'To Walk with Love/Captured in the Israel Trail' (Hebrew title) - a book containing some 30 ex-POWs testimonies - was published in July 2011, edited by Drora Lavi (Lavi, 2011).

In the next paragraph of the research interview, Shahak is reflecting about the importance of the testimonies for the ex-POWs, their families and friends, and for the sympathetic audience accompanying the ex-POWs in the trail hike. Shahak explains that this way of giving the testimonies is a self-empowering process for the ex-POWs:

*M.G.: Did you feel any relief after telling the story?*

O.S.: I think that telling about captivity is healing [...] if the telling itself is done in the right way, it can be therapeutic. I was advised to invite a psychologist to join the hike, and I decided against it as didn't define a therapeutic goal in the hike. There is something about the meeting of an ex-POW with other people which facilitates a place and space to talk openly and overtly. The uniqueness of the hike is that there were intersections and meetings with large groups of the public and the ex-POWs were free to talk with other people.

*M.G.: and the context of 'normality'?*

O.S.: There was a legitimization in the situation [of hiking on the trail], it seems to be similar to outdoor activity in nature – empowerment workshops are always rooted in the good qualities and in the ability to absorb the strengths – empowerment theories and development within them.

The ex-POWs are the first generation of the State – 'children of the state' who were brought up on the canonic ideal values of Israeliness by the 'canonical generation' founders of the state (Ben-Ze'ev & Lomsky, 2009) – solidarity, comradeship, modesty, friendship, loyalty, hard work, ingenuity, excellence, bravery and love of the homeland Israel. During their childhood and youth they would hike along Israel's routes and trails, in summer and winter, on the sea shore, in the deserts and mountains, learning its history and beauty 'through their feet', according to the common Hebrew idiom. The war, captivity and the long-term betrayal of the state broke down their national habitus: mind, feelings and physical actions (Gal-Ezer, 2012) and thus they had to reconstruct it for themselves. This journey was joined by a sympathetic community and together they revived the neglected values and norms over time (a year and a half) and the places in the country in which they embedded and assimilated their heritage of all Israel's wars in contexts of the *Longue Durée* ancient history of Israel (Smith, 2004), the courageous history of the silenced battles, and the memory of their fallen comrades, who were memorialised for the first time within a legitimate Israeli pantheon of bravery and sacrifice.

### **2005-2011 - Gilad Schalit public campaign**

The ex-POWs supported the public campaign for the POW Gilad, and joined the 170km march by Gilad's parents from their Galilee home to a tent protest strike in front of PM Netanyahu's official residence in Jerusalem. Over the years, deals to release POWs have been under dispute among the Israeli public – discussing the ancient norms of military operations or ransoming Israeli POWs for a great number, even thousands, of enemy POWs or terrorists. These public discussions took place not only through the five years of Gilad Schalit's captivity, but whenever there was a political negotiation about releasing enemy POWs or terrorists in a deal to free Israeli POWs, Netanyahu was against the high price.<sup>17</sup>

In the face of the 2011 vast summer Israeli demonstrations for social justice, Netanyahu was losing popularity, so, cynically, he adopted the Hamas terror organisation's deal to liberate Gilad after five years in an inhumane Gaza prison: Gilad was released in exchange of 1027 Palestinian Hamas Terrorists (October, 2011). Netanyahu's popularity then rose from 29% in August 2011 in context of the social protests, to 51% after the Schalit release (Druker, 2011).

### **2010 – 2012 - Prodisage and production of the series: Israeli 'Kidnapped'**

Additional public recognition was gained by the ex-POWs' involvement as consultants for the popular Israeli TV series *The Kidnapped* (Raff, 2010-12), which was based realistically on their experiences. Its format was bought by US cable channel 'Showtime' and premiered as *Homeland* (October 2011), winning five Golden Globe awards for Best Television Series – Drama. Showtime renewed the series for a second (2012) third season (September 2013) and fourth season (Fall 2014-2015) as a consequence of its global success.

Furthermore, the ex-POWs were not only consultants for the *Kidnapped*, but in one episode of the series they were actors between its real actors. The *Kidnapped* [*Hatufim* in Hebrew] which was screen-written and directed by Gidi Raff, an Israeli who is working in Hollywood as screen writer, director and producer, was the most popular series ever in Israel and awarded by the Israeli Film and Television Academy. Even before the *Kidnapped* was broadcasted in Israel popular TV Channel 2, it was sold to the US 20<sup>th</sup> Century Fox Television, based on the power of the script. On that time, Howard Gordon and Alex Gansa, the screen writers of the US series *24* were looking for a new project after 8 seasons of *24* which was aired one month after the terror attack of 9/11. So they worked with Raff on a new series, based on the 'Kidnapped' which was bought by US cable channel Showtime and premiered as *Homeland* (October 2011). Both *Homeland* and *Prisoners of War* (as *Hatufim* was titled abroad) were aired in US and UK. (Hogan, 2012; Perth, 2009). The Israeli ex-POWs were not involved in the production of 'Homeland' as they were involved at the produsage of the Israeli series 'Kidnapped'.

However, it seems that the Israeli audiences were unaware of the differences between the ex-POWs experiences as Prisoners of War in 1973 Yom Kippur War and the series. The Israeli series title *Kidnapped* was echoing the Gilad Schalit case: a soldier captured for five

years (2006-2011) by the Hamas terror organization, which was still in his captors' hands, while the first season of 'Kidnapped' was broadcasted (2010). In addition, the series narrative, although echoing and presenting a selection of the POWs experiences, was adapted to the contemporary situation of terror groups which are kidnapping civilians and soldiers as well for blackmailing and threatening publics and governments.

### **C. The Culture Industry - PTSD as a media resource for realism, aesthetisation and political manipulation in the TV series**

This section focuses on the various modes in which ex-POWs' prolonged captivity trauma - mostly PTSD is experienced, understood, nurtured, treated, conceptualised, politicised, manipulated, presented and reproduced in the TV series. In addition, this section will draw a comparison between these two TV series involving Israeli ex-POWs experiences, dealing with the ex-POWs' PTSD presentation and signification, their possible implications for various audiences, and the political, military, and political-economy of the media in conservative neo-liberal order.

Since different cultural values and norms relating to public exposure or closure of POWs and hostages issues, based on solidarity or individuality of Israeli and US societies, and on different government and media policies of publicity or coverage respectively (Tenenboim-Weinblatt, 2013), seem to be crucial to understanding the similarities and differences in the Israeli and American TV series: format adaptation, different production processes, narratives and local, and global reception (Gal-Ezer, 2012; Horowitz, 2013; Waisbrod, 2004). It should be emphasised that the Israeli series *Kidnapped* (2010-2012), was the source for 'truth claims' (LaCapra, 2001) authority and authenticity of 'Homeland' (2010-2015) – the US series created parallel to the Israeli series - and then disseminated through global media linkages, global reception and recognition by various audiences (Gal-Ezer, 2012; Waisbrod, 2004). Nevertheless, the centrality of the US as a superpower cannot be ignored, especially in the light of its renewed role of leading a global coalition against ISIS and Al-Qaeda derivative terror groups in Iraq and Syria (Cohen, 2014).

The Israeli ex-POWs were involved in all the processes of producing the 'Kidnapped' series; they were interviewed at the Herzliya studios by the series investigators, as revealed in the research interviews. Many scenes were taken from their personal experiences as ex-POWs, their feelings, their families – the reactions of their wives and children, as well as their difficulties in adapting to their new life as free citizens. As 'Kidnapped' and 'Homeland' were produced in parallel time frames, streams of ideas were flowing between the two series, through the involvement of Gidi Raff and Avi Nir with the American screenplay writers and producers.

The structure of both series – the Israel *Kidnapped* and USA *Homeland* – seems to echo Ben-David's documentary 'Heroes Cry at Night' - where the ex-POWs' testimonies are cut by flashback docudrama scenes of the horrors of captivity.

### **Zichron Yaakov and Langley ex-POWs interrogations**

The second and third episodes of the first season of the Israeli series were dedicated to these interrogations conducted at the actual resort in *Zichron Yaakov* – also depicted by the Ben David documentary ‘Heroes Cry at Night’ – which has a wonderful view of the Mediterranean sea shore and the horizon, serving as a contrast powerful symbol of the enclosed place and causing the ex-POWs to suffer overwhelming flashbacks to their horrific experiences in captivity. Thus the series became a kind of a realistic docudrama, which could be trusted by Israeli audiences.

There was a dispute about this issue, and in the research interview Ori Shahak thought that:

The Zichron scenes were too exaggerated, it only happened once in the 1970s and then the IDF learned their lesson [...] and in the following years the released POWs were treated better in other ways. The Zichron model in the 2000s was being represented purely for the rating.

But in addition, the continuous bursting and recurring flashbacks could be interpreted in two ways: the suffering of the ex-POWs then and now was vivid and realistic, but ambivalence began in these chapters: the hostility of the Israeli military and state towards the ex-POWs, the suspicious attitudes of the military psychologist and his women soldiers’ assistants, could be adopted by audiences, as the heroes were allegedly unreliable: they could retreat to their horrific flashbacks any minute. Thus, they were allegedly incapable of being responsible citizens and could not serve as the common mythic heroes. However, in recent years the released Israeli ex-POWs and hostages are not court-martialed. It seems that recently only one Israeli released POW was persecuted for collaborating with the enemy. So the series’ suspicious spirit is not rooted in reality but in hegemonic ideology invested in both series.

As Waisbrod (2004) studied the TV format dissemination between different cultures, Sharon Rofe Ophir, a journalist and editor had an analogous analysis in the research interview: ‘The two series were very similar, a great success, which was adapted to American culture. But instead of three heroes in Israel, the Americans need one hero because it is compatible with their culture’. Thus instead of Israel’s two ex-POWs (the third was declared dead at the beginning of the series) ‘Homeland’ featured only one. Nicholas Brody was the name of the series’ returning POW, who was also interrogated in an office located at *CIA headquarters in Langley, Virginia*, a few miles west of Washington DC. Several high-ranking officials were very friendly to the released POW while investigating him, and a CIA woman agent was the only one who was assertive, expressing her grave suspicions because she had heard that he had been ‘turned’ (as was said in the series) to Al-Qaida, serving as ‘a sleeping one-man cell’ of the terrorists in the USA. He also had many flashbacks and could be conceived as mentally unstable. On the finale of the season 3 Nicholas Brody was hanging dead from a crane at Teheran.<sup>18</sup>

It seems that the first chapters of the two series set the foundation of the 'paranoid style' (Hofstadter in Hurwitz, 2013) for the 'War on Terror' discourse which is 'turned' to reality: everyone could be a potential suspect – the feminine model of the 'Lonely Wolf' – the woman CIA agent is mentally unstable, a troubled woman, as within the Showtime Cables style (Bradshaw, 2013), and the man is the dangerous masculine 'Lonely Wolf' which good citizens should follow, according to the Homeland Security surveillance campaign: 'If You See Something Say Something'.<sup>19</sup> The series title 'Homeland' echoes the title and spirit of the Department of Homeland Security which was established by President Bush's administration by merging 22 agencies in 2002 after the 9/11 disaster in 2001, as part of the US War on Terror. 'The Department of Homeland Security has a vital mission: to secure the nation from the many threats we face. This requires the dedication of more than 240,000 employees in jobs that range from aviation and border security to emergency response, from cyber-security analyst to chemical facility inspector. Our duties are wide-ranging, but our goal is clear – keeping America safe'.<sup>20</sup> Indeed the Paranoid Style.

### ***The secondary traumatising of the families – the bare ex-POWs violence***

Families are also traumatised by the captivity situation of the POW husband-father, and by the ex-POW's daily conduct following release from captivity (Solomon, et. al. 1994; Solomon, 2010). In both the Israeli and USA series the ex-POWs' wives were harmed physically and emotionally; they were violently beaten, during the ex-POW husband's flashbacks-nightmares that cause him to unconsciously confront his interrogator or enemy – i.e. his sleeping wife beside him in their shared bed. After they show their wounds to their husbands, the ex-POWs begin sleeping on the carpet at the foot of their wives' bed as a solution, which was 'understood' un-literally by the series' narratives as being a convenient safe place where the ex-POWs could try to sleep through the visual flashbacks representing the filthy bloody cell floor as their common sleeping area in captivity. Thus a thick warm carpet in a cosy bourgeoisie bedroom was accepted as a kind of real shelter and relief.

Ori Shahak said in the research interview:

This series ['Kidnapped'] was annoying me. I know one ex-POW that watched the series and then had a heart attack. I watched 'Homeland' as a fiction series but when viewing 'Kidnapped' I was disturbed by the mixture of reality and fiction; there were scenes where I knew exactly who [an ex-POW] told the story. These were true stories. For instance, the wife of one ex-POW told me that people kept asking her if her husband was abusing her. It could be that in some cases it was true, but it constructed a general image of the ex-POWs' conduct and it is disturbing. People think that the aim of the series was to represent the difficulties of the ex-POWs.

Sharon Rofe-Ophir, a research interviewee, who wrote a number of news items and reportages about the ex-POWs – had similar thoughts as Ori Shahak – maintains that:

The series has many intersections with our troubled reality, the lives of ex-POWs who were in captivity. As a journalist I know the people intimately and while I was watching I was thinking whose story – about which I have personal knowledge – is being presented on the screen. The series was so successful because it conveyed authenticity. But the issue of [the POWs'] identification with their captors is exaggerated. This series represents the enduring bleeding wound of the Israeli society. It is the Israeli ethos: what would happen to the family of somebody who would be captured? It is not mere history, it is in the present situation; the POW is a card to be played with for exchange deals.

Another traumatising process was revealed by the children's non-normative behaviour towards their father in both series. The children were impolite, suspicious, cynical, and had difficulties in functioning according to the ex-POWs' mothers-wives' aspirations for a 'normal' family life. The children were not trustworthy, and both parents were disappointed by their children's alienation. Although the veteran ex-POWs did not display actual violence towards their children, the children witnessed the sudden explosive and dangerous violence of their father ex-POW, such as nearly beating to death a reporter who entered the family garden, the swift killing of a deer that entered the garden, beating and kicking a friend of the ex-POW while playing football in the family yard, in both series.

It should be mentioned here that real Israeli ex-POWs accompanied the production of the Israeli series as consultants, and even meeting the actors. For instance, the main actress in the series 'Kidnapped', Talia – the faithful, loyal, assertive and much-admired mother-wife, and other actors, actually met the real wives of the Israeli ex-POWs to discuss their complicated lives and understand how they endured the captivity and release of their spouses, coping with the vague and unknown present and future of their beloved in captivity. There was even one scene in the first season of the 'Kidnapped' depicting a meeting of the ex-POWs therapeutic group led by a psychologist, in which some participants were real ex-POWs and the others were the actors in the series.

The violent acts generated by the ex-POWs' flashbacks, which caused harm to the ex-POWs wives and children as portrayed above, had various functions in the TV series that might have been communicated to the audiences as was reflected by the research interviewees as well: to establish the authority of the series by presenting a reality of common daily situations drawn from authentic POWs experiences, to inform the public about the suffering of the families and the ex-POWs, and to identify with these ordinary people trying to overcome their cruel destiny and, as such, placing them as mythic heroes. At the same time these series' reception should make it clear to the public that they need state assistance by means of psychological aid, allowances, etc., and deep understanding, public recognition, support and warmth, especially for the children. But, paradoxically, in both series, it also nurtures suspicion, fear and ambiguity towards potential unstable people that could be 'turned' into dangerous terrorists.

## **The aesthetisation of violence**

The continuous and deliberate inserts or short 'intervals' of the narrative using flashbacks became a prominent 'inherent' characteristic in both series, establishing their unique style. The flashback is a traditional technique of semiotics from the early days of the cinema, the aim of which is to condense a long period of time – even several generations of the story – into film conventions of about 90 minutes, sometimes three hours for historical sagas, or into the 40-50 minutes of a TV series episode.

As in other film and TV series, and as in Ben David's documentary 'Heroes Cry at Night', these inserts of narrative flashbacks serve as the conventions to create interest and surprise, as a junction between sub-narratives, as an inner reflection of the protagonists' and interrogators' psyche, as explanations for the failure of the protagonists to function normally, etc.

Nearly all of the flashbacks in both series present horrifying scenes of torture, agony, humiliation, liminal phases between life and death, and very deep anxiety, alienation and detachment, as well as acute suffering, pain, screaming, torn bodies covered with blood, and vicious unbearable scenes caused by the captors, terrorists-interrogators, including the death of a POW. The scenes lightening are very meticulous, the camera work is accurate and the editing is professional.<sup>21</sup> Many scenes have the 'quality' of mythic iconic pictures, based on the classic repertoire of monotheistic religions such as the Crucifixion, masculine Pieta, The Sacrifice of Isaac, the *Shahids*, and more, hallowing the horror scenes as myths of evil, through which the POWs are purified – as well as the Christian evangelic discourse intertwined within the American fundamentalist extreme right neo-conservatism 'War on Terror' – which is not only based in the USA but was also disseminated globally by the 'paranoid style' of these television series (Barthes, 1972; 1977; Benjamin, 1936; Gal-Ezer, 2010; Griffin, 2010; Hurwitz, 2013).

In the Israeli series, produced by commercial Channel 2, the episode is cut by inserts of the captivity, some very short, some longer, and all the advertisements are inserted into short slots, which seems to be a special new background sound adapted for the series, that tends to balance on the edge of fear or fantasy of the protagonists, or possibly of the audiences. These blurred boundaries between the fiction and advertisements melting, diffusing, blending with one other, has the strange effect of increasing the realism of the series, thus bringing it to the 'here and now' and rendering the violence in the flashbacks somewhat 'bearable'.

'Homeland', produced by US Showtime cable network is broadcast without advertisements, and this difference seems to communicate more violence.

## **The aesthetisation and legitimization of the War on Terror**

While the Israeli series' released POWs are recruited to empower the popularity of the Prime Minister and the government, as is common in politics in an attempt to 'cover' malfunctioning as well as the cynical attitude of the political and military elites' war failures, in the American

series the released POW – who is officially presented as a national war hero – and his family, are directly exploited for persuading the American nation of the necessity for the War on Terror. This is done by the ‘good guys’ of the CIA. Their ‘angel’ is an outstanding heroine, an attractive, obsessed and troubled woman, who serves the nation through her heroic urge and personal sacrifice to eliminate the dangerous threat of the next 9/11 catastrophe, although she has a secret - she is somewhat unstable and needs psychiatric drugs. This narrative, full of suspicion and anxiety and vaguely moral, better serves the political interests of the neo-conservatives, as well as both genders of Showtime cable audiences: their loyal female audience (Bradshaw, 2013), and the new male audience aspiring for the masculine narrative of violence, politics and war. However, it should be mentioned here that the screenwriters of ‘Homeland’ besides Gidi Raff, are Howard Gordon and Alex Gansa who were the screenwriters of the FOX TV series *24*, a series which was broadcasted immediately after the 9/11 disaster, in the following month – October 2001. It seems that the *24* series embodies prominent ‘paranoid style’ (Horwitz, 2013) in which no-one could be trusted - even the president of the USA – as everyone there is ‘turned’ in his turn.

The flashbacks that are present throughout the narratives in the episodes of both series, become part of the ‘reality’ of the ex-POWs’ life, while the actual viewing enables them to become aesthetic fragments of the conventions, appreciation, reception and significance of the series. It is embodied and embedded not only in the traumatised tortured bodies and souls of the protagonists – the ex-POWs – but also in their families and their interrogators, be they the terrorists or the so-called ‘good guys’ such as the Israeli intelligence interrogators and the military psychologists, or the CIA agents. These aesthetics of evil spreading through the series in every time and place become legitimate violence through endless electronic reproduction in the course of the narrative, and the aesthetisation of televisual apparatuses which are exploited for political means (Benjamin, 1936; Gal-Ezer, 2010). Paradoxically, at the same time, both series serve to advance the recognition and reception of the ex-POWs’ rights for support and treatment from society and government.

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As the time-span between the conclusion of the Israeli series ‘Kidnapped’ (2010-2012) and the continuing series *Homeland* (2010-2014 and onwards into 2015) becomes longer, it appears that the authentication authority of the US series would no longer be based on the biographies of the Israeli ex-POWs. The authentication apparatus would be reality itself, the ongoing War on Terror. Very similar to *24*, *Homeland* would respond to reality with a kind of mixture between fantasy and fact, the paranoid style, again pervasive and conveying the hegemonic discourse of fear, anxiety and security (Hurwitz, 2013). The first chapter of the 4<sup>th</sup> season is entitled: ‘*The Drone Queen: As Kabul station chief, Carrie will make a critical decision*’. There are double messages in this episode title: the first – Carrie as the queen of drones – the male bees, the second – the CIA woman agent is now in charge of the drones, which are critical military weapon for intelligence gathering, surveillance and ‘surgical’ air

strikes; the drones are crucial weaponry within the campaign against ISIS aimed at extensive airstrikes and avoiding the involvement of Western soldiers on the ground. Thus viewers would become acquainted and fascinated by the aesthetisation of these sophisticated killing machines.<sup>22</sup>

## **Discussion**

This case-study of the 1973 Yom Kippur War Israeli ex-POWs' 'silent generation' analysed milestones along their forty-year trajectory and revealed parts of the complex theoretical and empirical interactions between generations, media generation, PTSD, produsage, culture, national habitus and memory. Additionally, on the basis of the former analyses, another level of investigation, the ideological analysis, offered a disclosure of the media culture industry political-economy transformations – in an era of neo-liberal conservatism and the War on Terror – and its interconnections to local, glocal and global media dissemination and reception by various audiences.

Two clear groups of findings emerged from this study: one is becoming a community of ex-POWs, struggling for their recognition and rights which constructed empowerment, produsage and endorsement of the ex-POWs within the military-political establishments and broader Israeli society. The second group of findings is the transformation of the ex-POWs' struggles into the 'culture industry' field of the media political-economy, which constructs the culture 'dominant' of 'paranoid style'; that lubricates and legitimises the neo-conservative apparatuses, its evangelistic fundamental attitudes and the ongoing militarism embedded within it and nurturing it (Adorno & Horkheimer, 2002 [1944]; Barber, 1996; 2003; Delmont, 2013; Fisher, 2010; Horwitz, 2013).

The ex-POWs' struggle initiated during the 1990s, when they began to establish themselves as group or community with a shared past, present and future. It is well known that PTSD can occur in later years, and not necessarily immediately during, or after, the traumatic events (Herman, 1992; Solomon et. al. 1994). The ex-POW community organisation process was taking place simultaneously with academic research (Solomon et. al. 1994; Solomon. 2010). There is no doubt that the ongoing contribution and support of academic research has led them to understand their difficulties, thus relieving their ongoing loneliness and isolation, enabling them to move towards gradual empowerment, by joining one another and becoming a community of ex-POWs.

As mentioned above, the ex-POW community organisation process was taking place simultaneously with academic support, nevertheless, it was also initiated as the ex-POWs were reaching a phase in life that involves introspection and attempts to reach deep self-understanding of life-trajectory circumstances. A similar process of the need for public recognition and writing history was found within Holocaust survivors and other Yom Kippur veterans (Baumel, 1995; Gal-Ezer, 2012). Furthermore, it should be mentioned that from the 1990s onwards, and especially some thirty years after the 1973 war, which was a prominent milestone of the war memorialisation process, Israeli society witnessed a cultural outburst of books, research and also cinema (for instance: Shemesh & Drory, 2008; Gitai, 2000).

It seems that the first one of the ex-POWs to act in this mode was Yoav Ben-David, the director of the documentary 'Heroes Cry at Night', that was created as result of the perceptive offered to Ben-David and other ex-POWs by academic research findings of Solomon and colleagues (Solomon et. al., 1994). All at once, the ex-POWs became creators or producers of the media, while also being their consumers or users, thus acting as 'producers' (Bruns, 2007).

This study demonstrates that the Ben-David documentary enabled the ex-POWs to join up as a community, later creating and founding their cyber-site 'Awake at Night', which, during its first phase, supported their struggles by presenting their testimonies and the war events that led to their captivity, all this besides legal data and forum discussions for their pursuits of the Ministry of Defense. In its second phase, after their closed forum moved out to Facebook, the cyber-site now functions as a historical web archive for students, researchers and the general public (Gal-Ezer, 2012; Sade-Beck, 2013). Thus, as the Yom Kippur War 1973 'silent generation' and 'media generation' of print, radio and film, the ex-POWs succeeded in governing the new media, using it for their own benefit. In addition they worked to attract the focus of various local and national Israeli media, gradually 'producing' their reception and recognition (Adoni & Nossek, 2001; Herring, 2008; Nimrod, 2012; 2013; Volkmer, 2003). By means of their struggles, they gradually attracted the attention of the public and the media, achieving a great deal for themselves and their families, and for POW Gilad Schalit – the pressure they exerted on the military and the PM and government, besides other pressures – led to his eventual release.

In recent years, one of the central struggles of the 1973 War veterans and ex-POWs has been for public recognition of the Yom Kippur War as a victory and not as a failure, the fallen and combatants' heroic memory, the battles' bravery heritage, and writing history of 'truth claims' (LaCapra, 2001) based on testimonies, documents and audio records from the war, photographs, maps, and more (Nguyen & Belk, 2007). Thus stories of bravery of the common warrior have come to light over these years and have become history, and, in addition, heritage myths; while the warriors of the 'silent generation' began to get together, break the silence and speak of their place in history and the public sphere (Gal-Ezer, 2012).

The internet became a huge repository of the veterans' war collective memory, and many cyber-sites now express what happened during the Yom Kippur War. There are sites telling battle stories, a 'Badge of Courage' site, and many unit sites that were founded voluntarily by their commanders and veterans as remembrance sites, in addition to their functions as historical sites (Gal-Ezer, 2012; Sade-Beck, 2013). Around the Forty Years milestone, another huge wave of the memorialisation process was initiated. A large number of books were published by combatants, officers, journalists, researchers and military historians (for instance, veteran officers of the 1973 War show an interesting tendency to do their PhD research on the 1973 War itself).<sup>23</sup>

The Ben-David 'Heroes Cry at Night' documentary also presents the possibility of creation rooted in the trauma, of a creator who, despite his enduring traumatic burden, experiences a huge revival and creative energies which are becoming fulfilled, similar to other

ex-POWs in this study (Bourdieu, 1984; Herman, 1992; Gal-Ezer, 2013-2014).<sup>24</sup> In addition, the Ben-David documentary (1997) also seemed to be the original revered work of art, whose structure functions as an inspiration and a source for its electronic reproduction into both TV series more than ten years later (2010 onwards), and also for another Israeli four-chapter documentary series, produced forty years after the war (2013) by Israeli Public Channel 1 – ‘The Avoidable War’ (Goren, Zini, Sela, 2013); a process that echoes Benjamin’s analysis of the ‘Work of Art in the Age of Mechanical Reproduction’ (1969 [193]).

Besides this, a diverse research is dealing with the constant enduring conflicts between the state and the warriors’ parents, families, terror victims, and others, regarding their rights and recognition. The memory field is a battle field in which institutional, organisational, and political agents and institutes are competing for ideological, spiritual and materialistic resources (Gal-Ezer, 2012; Lebel & Drori, 2009; Sade-Beck, 2013). Thus, ‘Walking with Love/Captivity on the Israel Trail’ (*Lalechet Shevi Beshvil Israel*), was created and initiated by Ori Shahak – an ex-POW and fighter pilot – and its title in Hebrew echoes many significations of simultaneous love and captivity; the ex-POWs were actively constructing their heroic conduct during the war and captivity, and included themselves in the Israeli pantheon of bravery. For the first time, the battles’ events were narrated as embedded within the captivity events, and were combined and amalgamated within ancient and contemporary heroism imprinted in the many Israeli countryside memorials: monuments, parks and battles sites, thus composing themselves by themselves into the legitimate pantheon of bravery. Throughout the hike the ex-POWs wrote about it, photographed and videotaped it, and narrated their stories publicly for the first time to their families and a sympathetic audience. Part of the documentation was included in their ‘Awake at Night’ cyber-site, and then compiled separately in the album format book entitled: *P.O.W. on The Trail of Israel*, published in 2011 (Lavi, 2011).

The ex-POWs were involved also in the production of the Israeli TV series ‘Kidnapped’ (Gidi Raff, 2010-12), as consultants (and even as actors within real actors in one episode) of this popular Israeli TV series, which was based realistically on their experiences, thus gaining additional public recognition. Based on the *Kidnapped* which was bought by US cable channel Showtime and premiered as *Homeland* (October 2011-2015), both *Homeland* and *Prisoners of War* (as *Kidnapped* was titled abroad) were aired in US and UK. (Hogan, 2012; Perth, 2009) The Israeli ex-POWs were not involved in the production of *Homeland* as they were involved at the produsage of the Israeli series *Kidnapped*.

In addition to these findings analyses along the ex-POWs trajectory, another group of findings deals with the production and representation processes of the Israeli TV series *Kidnapped* and USA *Homeland*: from a social, political and public struggle of weakened citizens who succeeded in organising themselves, even managing to be creative from within the trauma, standing upright in body and soul, gradually accumulating power and legitimacy while deliberately reconstructing their Israeli national habitus and canonic culture – two parallel (in time) TV series were produced, transforming the ex-POWs achievements, reception and empowerment into the political-economy of the media operating within the

neo-conservative capitalistic field – the ‘culture industry’ of the ‘paranoid style’ (Adorno & Horkheimer, 2002 [1944]; Horwitz, 2013).

One of the central findings of the semiotic Critical Discourse Analysis was the aesthetisation of the politics of the ‘War on Terror’ in both series. However, it was more prominent in the American one, as the Israeli series tended to have more of the soap-opera genre of a prime-time drama. This difference could be explained by the different cultures in Israel and the US, the different attitudes towards ex-POWs within the political, social and media fields, and the fact that in Israel the ex-POWs are known within society; as well as different producers and media channels. In addition, the Israeli series is produced and broadcast on a national commercial network (financed by commercial ads), and the American one is produced and disseminated by a cable network (financed by subscribers’ fees), with a loyal female audience. The American cable network ‘Showtime’ is trying to compete with the best quality American network HBO and also to interest male audiences, in order to gain more subscribers (Bradshaw, 2013).

Another prominent conclusion of both series’ Critical Discourse Analysis is the aesthetisation process of the flashbacks, which is transformed into the aesthetisation of violence, especially that of political violence, by the apparatuses of the endless flashback production (Benjamin, 1936; Gal-Ezer, 2010). It seems that American audiences in particular, as Carruthers (2008) contends in her study, have become a disappearing audience, one that is neither interested in news about terror, nor in past or recent war documentaries, but prefers heroic mythical series such as *Band of Brothers* that represent the heroes of WW2. American audiences seem to prefer a series such as *Homeland* in which viewers can allegedly see and grasp the backstage of war, while the main protagonist – the ex-POW – is embodied by a central protagonist-actor of Spielberg’s *Band of Brothers* series.<sup>25</sup>

However, even though American audiences prefer a mythic protagonist in a WW2 heroic series, the success of *Homeland* could also be interpreted by the American audience’s interest in what happens behind the scenes in the ‘War on Terror’. These issues are not commonly seen by TV viewers as they are not broadcast on USA news, which neither covers nor shows American ex-POWs and hostages captured by the enemy, nor provides reports about negotiations for exchange deals with the kidnappers/terrorists. Coverage of wounded soldiers is never presented, and certainly not their bodies – in coffins draped with the American flag carried out from the hold of a military aircraft, after landing from a faraway distant war zone (Tenenboim-Weinblatt, 2013).

The semiotic CDA of *Homeland* revealed its prominent presentations of iconic religious Christian images of a spectacle of suffering (Chouliaraki, 2006a; 2006b), and a mythic representation of evil, very similar to Abu-Raireb’s crucifixion photographs of the tortured Iraqi ex-POWs (Tailor, 2007). In addition, the *Homeland* modes of representation echo the representation style of Al-Jazeera, that also make a point of displaying the blood-stained corpses of *Shahids* (martyrs in Arabic), religious Muslim images (Gal-Ezer, 2010). Thus, despite the fact that the US retaliated by bombing the stations of Al-Jazeera transnational satellite 24/7 News Channel, and continues to struggle with Al-Jazeera as part of the ‘War on Terror’,

it should be emphasised, however, that within the US homeland, the representation style of 'the war as it is' is constituted in the *Homeland* primetime TV awarded series, very similar to Al-Jazeera's common news representation style responding to the demands of its audiences (Fahmy & Johnson, 2007; Iskandar & El-Nwawy, 2004). In relation to the aesthetisation of political violence, it should also be obvious that the echoing of *Homeland* to the politics of fear and suspicion (Barber, 2003) conducted by US Homeland Security Department, advances its civilian surveillance campaign on the 'Lonely Wolf' entitled 'If You See Something, Say Something'. (Even the whispered suspicions about the alleged suspects could be heard by uttering this slogan in low tones.)

The cultural 'dominant' of the 'paranoid style' is produced by the popular 'culture industry' (Adorno & Horkheimer, 2002; Horwitz, 2013) whose discourse apparatuses operate within Israel and the USA, merging and blending into reality itself, and constructing a vicious cycle which is becoming analogous to a reality of fear, suspicion and increased militarisation combined with growing social injustice. This also causes Israeli democracy to deteriorate into 'illiberal democracy' (ill-democracy, or not-liberal democracy), as suggested by Hurwitz's (2013) analysis of the US democracy which turned out to be 'illiberal democracy'.

It seems that the best way to clarify the signification of these apparatuses is to go back in time, perhaps making a painful intellectual flashback to 1936, to the astonishing prophetic insights of Walter Benjamin in his seminal essay 'The Work of Art in the Age of Mechanical Reproduction':

All efforts to render politics aesthetic culminate in one thing: war. War and war only can set a goal for mass movements on the largest scale while respecting the traditional property system. [...] Mankind [...] now is one for itself. Its self-alienation has reached such a degree that it can experience its own destruction as an aesthetic pleasure of the first order.

The findings in many studies stress the centrality of PTSD phenomena in the lives of veteran ex-POWs, their families and close circles of friends. The semiotic CDA of the Israeli and American series show the modes by which PTSD was embedded within the narratives, and its conventions of presentation. These unique presentation characteristics of flashbacks and other aspects of the series should also be tested methodologically by common audience signification and reception, within different audiences: analysing the variants of gender, ethnicity, nationality, religiosity, conservatism or leftism, etc. because it is these characteristics that could elicit paradoxical attitudes and perceptions towards the series, and towards the military and security discourses apparatuses embedded within media or within reality of the ongoing War on Terror.

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### **Selected Filmography:**

- Ben-David, Yoav (1997)(director). *Heroes Cry at Night*. Documentary, 58 min. Hebrew with English subtitles, Israeli Film Service, Israel Cable Production Fund, Ministry of Communication, Cable TV Council, Israel. <http://www.youtube.com/watch?v=HO1weRHMuNI>
- Gitai, Amos (2000) (director). *Kippur*. Docudrama, 123 min. Hebrew, Israel.

Goren, Amit, Zini, Levi & Sela, Ido (2013) (directors). *The Avoidable War*. Four episodes documentary series, about 50 min. episode, Public Chanel 1 & Chanel 8, about 50 min. Hebrew, Israel.

Or, Yuval (2013) (director). *The Fal*. Public Channel 1 (on the fall of the Hermon Stronghold in the Yom Kippur War) <http://www.youtube.com/watch?v=hQZAnt7zlhk>.

## Notes:

<sup>1</sup> The syndrome can be studied at the USA Department of Veterans Affairs - National Center for PTSD <http://www.ptsd.va.gov/>. Natal is an Israeli civil society organisation for the treatment of 'National Trauma' and PTSD <http://www.natal.org.il/English/?CategoryID=225>.

<sup>2</sup> On 13th November 2001 the US military dropped a 550 pound bomb on the network's Kabul station, just before the northern allies laid siege to the city. Two years later, on 8th April 2003 the US bombed Al-Jazeera's Baghdad station, the Abu Dhabi network station there and the Palestine Hotel, known to be the base for many international journalists, killing three journalists that day (Parks, 2007).

<sup>3</sup> 'Let My People Go', is a historic or mythical phrase (there is a dispute between researchers if the bible is an exact historic text or combined with myths); however the redemption of the Hebrew people from Egypt is a constitutive principle in Hebrew Judaic Israeli culture. Hence, in order to remember the release from Egypt, the final section of the 'Prayer of Redemption' (which was constructed in Israel in the 1<sup>st</sup> and 2<sup>nd</sup> centuries) is recited daily by Jews in the morning service. The final section of the 'Prayer of Redemption', before the 'Amidah' (a very important prayer recited standing up): 'From Egypt You did redeem us, O Lord our God, and from the house of bondage You did deliver us. [...] O Rock of Israel, arise to the help of Israel and deliver, according to Your promise, Judah and Israel. Our Redeemer, the Lord of hosts is His name, the Holy One of Israel. Blessed are You, O Lord, who has redeemed Israel.'

<sup>4</sup> Robeson Paul in Australia one man's river <http://www.youtube.com/watch?v=Eg7bPgrosAE> SWEET CHARIOT: THE STORY OF THE SPIRITUALS. Homepage <http://ctl.du.edu/spirituals/>; Freedom <http://ctl.du.edu/spirituals/Freedom/source.cfm>; Mahir, 2010 Mahir, A. (9 November 2010 Big voice of the Left Paul Robeson resounds to this day. *The Australian*. <http://www.theaustralian.com.au/arts/big-voice-of-the-left-paul-robeson-resounds-to-this-day/story-e6frg8n6-1225949630309>

<sup>5</sup> A Jewish community cash box was probably kept for this purpose in Israel and an envoy was sent to the Diaspora to release the captives. The discovery of an ancient papyrus from the year 291 confirms the release of three enslaved captives: a woman and her two sons, aged ten and four years (Safrai, 1995).

<sup>6</sup> The '*Shulkhan Arukh*' - the book defining basic rules for the daily conduct of the Jewish people - was written by Rabbi Joseph Caro (1488 – 1575) in Safed, Israel, in the mid-1500's and was printed in Venice in 1565. Echoing the above words of the Rambam, Rabbi Joseph Caro states: 'There is no commandment greater than the freeing of captives; therefore, any money which is collected for another purpose may be diverted in order to free captives [...].' Caro concludes: 'Every moment that one delays in freeing captives, in cases where it is possible to expedite their freedom, is considered to be tantamount to murder'.

<sup>7</sup> This norm was rooted in the difficulties of Jewish communities throughout history that often spent large sums of ransom money, which raised concerns that kidnappers would exploit this principle of

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solidarity by demanding excessive amounts for the release of captives. In the light of these circumstances the rabbis during the time of the Second Temple (536–130 B.C.) constructed this norm to accompany the important commandment of releasing captives.

<sup>8</sup> The Israel Independence War had two phases: the Civilian War – which broke out on the eve of 29<sup>th</sup> November 1947 under the British Mandate (1920-1948) with the adoption of the partition resolution by the UN General Assembly which was received by the Jewish community and rejected by the Arab states and the Palestinian Arabs who embarked on hostilities the very same night. The second phase was Israel's War of Independence - the first war between the State of Israel and its neighbouring Arab countries which began on the eve of the establishment of the State (May 14, 1948) and continued until January 1949 (Morris, 1999).

<sup>9</sup> The Battle of Nitzanim 6-10 June 1948, was one of the famous battles during the War of Independence took place in the south of Israel at Kibbutz Nitzanim that stood alone, insufficiently equipped against the Egyptian armoured corps and air force on their way north to Tel-Aviv (June 6-10, 1948). This was the first major Egyptian victory of the 'Independence war', and one of the few cases of Israeli surrender: 53 killed (including 20 on Hill 69), 26 wounded; 106 captured (soldiers and civilians, some wounded), 4 escaped. The surrender was condemned by the army and public opinion, and only after their release from Egyptian captivity they were legitimised gradually.

<sup>10</sup> The shortened American Code of conduct in the US Defense Department site:

<http://www.defense.gov/News/NewsArticle.aspx?ID=42786>

<sup>11</sup> DPMO - *The Defense POW/Missing Personnel Office*

[http://www.dtic.mil/dpmo/summary\\_statistics/](http://www.dtic.mil/dpmo/summary_statistics/)

<sup>12</sup> David Senesh, a former POW of 1973 War, had become a clinical psychologist, and this quotation was also cited by Solomon (2010).

<sup>13</sup> Prof. Solomon's research on combat soldiers in the Israel Defence Forces has raised awareness in the military, the government, and the public at large, to the traumatic effects of combat and of war imprisonment. Her numerous research and scholarly writings made combat stress reaction and post-traumatic stress disorder internationally known and have influenced the policies and practices of governments around the world. Along with hundreds of articles and dozens of book chapters, Prof. Solomon has published six books on war-generated psychic trauma. Her latest book deals with childhood in the shadow of the Holocaust. She won numerous Israeli and international awards and research grants. Her awards include the Laufer Award for Outstanding Scientific Achievement given by the International Society of Traumatic Stress Studies and, recently, the prestigious Israel Prize for research in social work (Solomon, Z. Tel-Aviv University site).

A short video of Professor Zahava Solomon can be viewed in the link below,:

<http://www.socialwork.tau.ac.il/overseas/index.php/academic-staff/28-prof-zahava-solomon.html>

<sup>14</sup> The first was 'Fighters in Captivity' 3<sup>rd</sup> September 2013 (participant observation) and the second was 'Out of the Depths to a Routine? ex-POWs and their Families, 40 Years Later', September 09, 2013, in which Prof. Solomon gave her keynote lecture.

'Fighters in Captivity' conference at INSS. <http://www.inss.org.il/index.aspx?id=4480&eventid=5578>

'Out of the Depths to a Routine? Ex-POWs and their Families, 40 Years Later' at INSS

<http://www.inss.org.il/index.aspx?id=4480&eventid=5566>

NATAL - Israel Trauma Center for Victims of Terror and War. <http://www.natal.org.il/english/>

<sup>15</sup> The documentary 'Heroes Cry at Night's six 1973 War former ex-POWs were: Private Shlomo Elbaz - The Engineering Corps, the Suez Canal front; Private Ya'akov Ariel- a tank gunner at The 82 Armoured

Battalion, The Golan Heights – the Syrian front; Sergeant Yiga'al Havkin – a tank driver, The Golan Heights – the Syrian front; Lieutenant Colonel (res.) – Asaf Yaguri –the highest rank Israeli POW, the Commander of Reservists' Armoured Battalion 113, the Suez Canal front (1931-2000); Sergeant Yossi Livne –Combat Paramedic Lachtzanit Stronghold, the Suez Canal front; Sergeant Moshe Shimrikh – Military Intelligence – the [Mount] Hermon Stronghold, the Syrian front; Private Yoav Ben-David a Tank Combatant, The Golan Heights – the Syrian front, holding the Video-Camera, knowledgeably and sympathetically asking them questions.

The full documentary with English subtitles can be viewed through this You-Tube Link:

<https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=HO1weRHMuNI>

<sup>16</sup> An IDF Archives' film of the Mezach surrender, and Erdinast interview in Israeli television Channel

10. <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=ALrv9feWSUA>

Dr. Nahum Verbin lectures about the Mezach surrender at the INSS Conference 3 September 2013

<https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=CgT2wd5S2W0>

<sup>17</sup> '[...] in 1967, Mr. Netanyahu enlisted in the Israel Defense Forces and served in an elite unit of the Israeli army - Sayeret Matkal. He took part in several operations, including the rescue of hostages in a hijacked Sabena airplane in 1972. In the same year, he was cited for outstanding operational command by General Mordechai Gur, Chief of Israel's Northern Command. After his discharge from the IDF in 1972, Mr. Netanyahu served in the Yom Kippur War of 1973 and was promoted after the war to the rank of captain in the Reserves'.<sup>17</sup>

PM Benjamin Netanyahu CV <http://www.oecd.org/mcm2010/45296612.pdf>

Benjamin Netanyahu brother, Jonathan (Yoni) Netanyahu (1946-1976) was the commander of the successful rescue attempt in Entebbe, Uganda (1976) of the 105 Jewish and Israeli hostages on the Air France aircraft hijacked by Palestinian terrorists, though he himself was killed by the Palestinian terrorists during the operation to release the hostages.

Jonathan (Yoni) Netanyahu site <http://www.yoni.org.il/>

<sup>18</sup> 'The Season 3 finale of 'Homeland' was perhaps this year's most polarizing episode of television. From the beginning, the series has revolved around Sgt. Nicholas Brody (Damian Lewis): his emotional scars, his inscrutable motives, his rise and fall and fall and rise. But by the end of 'The Star,' which aired Sunday night on Showtime, Brody was hanging lifelessly from a crane in the middle of a square in Tehran'. Alex Gansa, one of the screen writers of 'Homeland' 'was a surprisingly frank interviewee. He revealed why Brody's 'shelf life had expired.' He elaborated on of the alternative plotlines that he and his team considered—and explained why they would never have worked. He confessed to crying on set when Brody was hanged. He revealed a lot about Season 4' (Romano, 2013).

<http://www.thedailybeast.com/articles/2013/12/16/homeland-creator-why-brody-had-to-die-for-the-show-to-live-and-what-s-next-in-season-4.html>.

<sup>19</sup> 'If You See Something, Say Something': <http://www.dhs.gov/if-you-see-something-say-something>

<sup>20</sup> About DHS. <http://www.dhs.gov/about-dhs>.

<sup>21</sup> The trailer of first season Homeland: <http://www.youtube.com/watch?v=W18ZHrU3XYQ>

<sup>22</sup> The trailer of season 4 episode 1 on Show time site: <http://www.sho.com/sho/homeland/home>

<sup>23</sup> Avital-Epstein, Gideon (2013). *The Yom Kippur War: A Battle over the Collective Memory: A Never Ending Story*, Tel-Aviv: Schocken Publishing House; Ezov, Amiram (2011). *Crossing*. Or-Yehuda: Kinneret, Zmora- Bitan, Dvir; Reshef, Amnon (2013). *We Will Never Cease!* Or-Yehuda: Kinneret, Zmora- Bitan, Dvir, and more.

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<sup>24</sup> Gal-Ezer, M. (2013-2014) (researcher and curator). *Blood of the Maccabees: Memory and Bereavement in Israeli Art*. Exhibition at the Negev Museum of Art. Be'er-Sheva, Israel. [http://www.negev-museum.org.il/page\\_e.php?id=191](http://www.negev-museum.org.il/page_e.php?id=191). The introduction to the exhibition is in English and by clicking on the few photos they are enlarged and titles can be read.

<sup>25</sup> Damian Lewis acted the persona of the real officer Major Winters in the docudrama 'Band of Brothers', and in 'Homeland' he acts the part of released POW hero, Marine soldier Nicolas Brody. Damian Lewis, Actor: Homeland- Marine Nicolas Brody [...] 2001 Band of Brothers (TV Mini-Series) Lt. Richard D. Winters / Maj. Richard D. Winters / Cpt. Richard D. Winters; IMDB – Internet Media Data Base. [http://www.imdb.com/title/tt1796960/?ref =nm\\_knf\\_t1](http://www.imdb.com/title/tt1796960/?ref =nm_knf_t1).