The passing of time and the collective memory of conflicts

Rafi Nets-Zehngut
Collective memory is a general category that includes various kinds of memories such as popular, official, autobiographical, cultural, and historical (that produced by scholars). The impact of the passing of time on the collective memory of conflicts, despite its importance, is narrowly addressed in the literature. This article addresses that lack. Empirically, the article is based primarily on a study that examined Israeli collective memory from 1949 to 2004 regarding the causes for the 1948 Palestinian exodus. Methodologically, it is based mostly on content analysis of publications of seven main Israeli-Jewish institutions: the Israeli Defense Forces (IDF), the National Information Center, the Ministry of Education, newspapers, the research community, non-governmental organizations (NGOs) and 1948 war veterans’ memoirs, as well as interviews with key people in these institutions. Theoretically, the article offers various contributions, such as: it proposes that time is a meta-factor which includes fifteen factors influencing collective memory and describes which kind of memory is influenced by each factor and in what way (with focus on the historical memory). The article also discusses the intra-generational process that occurs within the direct-experience generation, differentiates between different modes of influence of the factors (for example, direct and indirect), and proposes that time is an apolitical meta-factor.

INTRODUCTION

The millennium has begun with conflicts raging in various parts of the globe. Of special importance, as Peter Coleman noted, are the intractable conflicts: those that are violent, long-standing, perceived as irresolvable, and are of a zero-sum nature. These conflicts significantly damage the lives and the countries of the involved parties and at times...
also other countries in their region. They concern concrete issues that have to be addressed, such as territories, natural resources, and self-determination. They also involve, however, wide-scale socio-psychological dynamics (such as ethos, collective emotional orientation, political attitudes, social identity, patriotism, and collective memory), which play an important role in the eruption of the conflicts, their continuation, and their resolution.

Collective memory in general touches upon many topics, such as nationalism, political leaders, and culture, but its greatest significance applies to intractable conflicts. Memory studies have experienced significant growth in the recent period, mostly regarding conflicts. Patrick Devine-Wright explains that this is mainly because of the fact that many conflicts occur worldwide while significantly damaging the involved parties, and the realization that their collective memory plays a key role in shaping all the other socio-psychological dynamics regarding conflicts. The literature pertaining to collective memory of conflicts addresses two impacts of time on that memory. First, as time passes, archival documents are declassified, and second, a generational turnover occurs as a young and more critical generation replaces the older conservative generation. In both cases, the content of the declassified documents or the views of a younger generation can challenge the dominant narratives of the collective memory. However, this article argues that time influences that memory in many more ways. This assertion is exemplified mostly by empirical findings surrounding the Israeli collective memory regarding the causes for the 1948 Palestinian exodus. The exodus is, according to Neil Caplan, the major historical event in the Israeli-Arab / Palestinian conflict, intractable mostly in the second half of the twentieth century. This article discusses the wide theoretical implications of time to memory of conflict studies.

BACKGROUND

Collective Memory

Wolf Kansteiner defines collective memory as representations of the past that are collectively adopted. Collective memory is a general category that includes several main kinds of memories. First is the popular memory, defined by David Midelton and Derek Edwards as representations of the past held by the society’s members, best manifested directly by public opinion surveys.
influences the psychological dynamics mentioned above and the behavioral reactions of the people holding it, and therefore, it is accorded great importance. The second kind is the official memory, according to Jeffrey Olick: the representations of the past adopted by the institutions of the state. This memory is manifested, for instance, by publications of state ministries and the army, exhibitions in national museums, and textbooks approved for use in the educational system. Third is the autobiographical memory, that of the people who directly experienced the events, manifested typically in memoirs and oral histories. This is a primary source for the past (in addition to documents) and is therefore usually accorded importance. Fourth is the historical memory, the way the research community—mostly academics as well as independent scholars—views the event in its studies of the past. Fifth and final is the cultural memory defined by Ian Assmann as the way the society views its past via newspaper articles, memorials, monuments, films, and buildings. The significance of the latter four kinds of memories is mostly that they influence the popular memory. In addition, official memory has its own separate importance: it represents nations in the international arena and therefore influences foreign relations.

The collective memory of a conflict consists of a narrative that describes the eruption of the conflict and its course. As Paul Connerton noted, this memory typically does not provide an objective history of the conflict, but largely expresses it in a manner that is functional to society’s interests. In terms of specific content, Daniel Bar-Tal suggested that the societal beliefs of that narrative usually touch on four main themes: justification of the conflict’s outbreak and its course, delegitimization of the rival, positive image of the in-group, and presentation of the in-group as the sole victim. Such memory is usually selective and biased and thus provides a simplistic black–white view of the conflict. As such, this memory plays an important role in the course of conflict by shaping the psychological reactions of each party negatively toward the rival and positively toward the in-group.

This instrumental use of the memory of conflict is functional during the climax of an intractable conflict. Such use provides each party with the socio-psychological basis needed to meet the enormous challenges that such a conflict demands. However, as Louis Kriesberg and other scholars noted, eventually such memory also inhibits de-escalation of the conflict and its peaceful resolution as well as reconciliation between the rivals. Thus, the more significantly the in-group’s
memory can be transformed to being less biased and distorted—when there is factual basis for such a transformation and usually there is—the more the in-group’s psychological reactions will accommodate the rival and view it in a more legitimized and humanized manner. This will increase the likelihood of achieving peace and reconciliation.\footnote{Conflict resolution literature relates to two ways in which the passing of time promotes such memory transformation: (1) Exposure of declassified archival documents pertaining to the conflict may lead, according to Kansteiner, to the re-evaluation of the way the conflict is presented in the media, scholarly studies and other places;\footnote{According to Stefan Berger and other scholars, younger generations are more critical toward dominant narratives than the older ones and therefore may challenge these narratives.} (2) A generational turnover often supports transformation of the collective memory. According to Stefan Berger and other scholars, younger generations are more critical toward dominant narratives than the older ones and therefore may challenge these narratives.}

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Despite the discussion of the two influences of time on collective memory, many additional influences have been identified. The socio-psychological literature addresses some of these related to individual memory, but it does not integrate them in studies about collective memory. The situation is similar with regard to area studies and political science literature that addresses socio-political phenomena regarding conflicts. Moreover, the discussion about the impact of time on collective memory typically does not differentiate between the various kinds of memories. Lastly, currently no study focuses on the theoretical analysis of the impact of the passing of time on memory. This lacuna in the literature is especially salient, because time is a most important determinant of memory. Therefore, the article will address this gap in relation to the Israeli–Jewish collective memory of the 1948 exodus.

\textit{Israel and Its Collective Memory of the Conflict}

According to Ian Bickerton and Carla Klausner, the roots of the Israeli–Arab/Palestinian conflict lie in the late nineteenth century, when Jewish Zionist pioneers from Europe settled in Palestine/Eretz Israel (‘the Land of Israel’). Beginning in the early twentieth century under British rule, the Palestinian and Zionist national movements began to realize that they were competing for the same territory. This led Palestinians to initiate violent clashes against the Zionist pioneers, and mutual violence between the parties escalated over the years. In 1947, the United Nations voted for the establishment of neighboring Palestinian and Jewish states. The Palestinians objected to the establishment of
a Jewish state and initiated the 1948 War, backed by several Arab
countries. Israel won the war, resulting in some 650,000 Palestinians
becoming refugees in what is known as the 1948 exodus. For the most
part, the Palestinian refugees were relocated in various Arab countries.
Over the years, Israel and Arab countries fought several additional
War led to Israel’s seizure of the West Bank and the Gaza Strip and
their continued occupation. In 1987 and 2000, Palestinian uprisings
(Intifadas) erupted, conducted by residents of these territories. The
various parties negotiated numerous peace initiatives leading to two peace
agreements (in 1979 with Egypt, and in 1994 with Jordan), and mid-
1990s interim agreements with the Palestinians.21

Since the 1948 War, the Israeli–Arab / Palestinian conflict has
become the major issue in the existence, ideology, and identity of the
Israeli–Jews (hereafter ‘the Israelis’ and ‘Israeli society’). Since the
foundation of the State of Israel, its institutions exclusively disseminated
among the Israelis a Zionist narrative of the whole conflict (‘inclusive’).22 Generally, as Bar-Tal and Caplan describe, this Zionist
narrative portrayed the Arabs / Palestinians and the Jews / Israelis typically as narratives of conflicts do. It was largely selective, biased, and
distorted, blaming the Arabs / Palestinians for the outbreak of the
conflict and its continuation, and delegitimizing them. In contrast, the
Jews / Israelis were portrayed positively as peace-loving and moral, and
as the sole victims of the conflict.23

The central historical event of the conflict in this inclusive narrative
is the Palestinian exodus during the 1948 War. This event created
the Palestinian refugee problem and has had great political, psychological,
and social importance for both parties. Since 1949, the refugees
have been the object of a major Arab/Palestinian diplomatic campaign
against Israel, demanding their return, and since the 1990s, they have been a major obstacle in peace negotiations between the parties. The
Zionist narrative took no responsibility for the exodus. The exodus,
the narrative argued, happened mainly because of blanket appeals to
Palestinians by the Palestinian leadership and Arab states to leave their
localities, and because of Palestinian fears of the Jews. Acts of expulsion by Jewish and later Israeli military forces were not noted and
even denied.24 The Palestinians, in contrast, by and large argue that
the exodus was caused by forced expulsion.25

The Israeli state disseminated the Zionist narrative regarding the
1948 exodus through the Israeli army (IDF), the Publications Agency
at the National Information Center, and the educational system. Until the late 1970s, the state was extensively supported in its dissemination endeavor, according to Shlomo Zand and other scholars, by various Israeli societal institutions, such as research studies, newspapers, and Jewish 1948 war veterans’ memoirs. All these institutions presented almost exclusively the Zionist narrative.

As I have written elsewhere, the dominance in Israel of the inclusive Zionist narrative began to be challenged by Israeli societal institutions beginning mainly in the late 1970s. Members of these institutions started writing critical publications confronting various topics addressed by this narrative. For example, many scholarly studies and newspaper articles, as well as some 1948 Jewish war veterans’ memoirs, began presenting a critical narrative regarding the 1948 exodus. According to this narrative, some Palestinians left voluntarily (for example, because of calls by Arab/Palestinian leaders to partially leave, fear, or societal collapse), while others were expelled by the Jewish/Israeli military forces. Expulsion as a cause contrasted sharply with the Zionist narrative.

According to Asima Ghazi-Bouillon, this societal change intensified in the late 1980s with the commencement of a historical revisionist period commonly called the ‘‘New Historians’’ era. New additional historical studies criticized additional aspects of the Zionist narrative of the conflict, or supported criticism raised earlier. The historian Benny Morris became a major figure among these critics. Morris rejected Palestinian claims about a Jewish master plan to expel the Palestinians, while supporting the critical narrative regarding the causes of the exodus. Moreover, since the late 1980s, the publication of critical newspaper articles and 1948 war veterans’ critical memoirs regarding the exodus increased. Also at that time, Israeli NGOs began presenting the critical and the Palestinian narratives more regularly in their publications. As for the state institutions, at least until 2004, the IDF and the Publications Agency continued to present the Zionist narrative regarding the exodus. While the Ministry of Education continued to support the Zionist narrative until 1999, since 2000 its approved history textbooks have presented the critical narrative (at least until 2004).

THE RESEARCH

The research examined the way the causes for the 1948 exodus were presented in all the publications of seven Israeli institutions in
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Fifty-six years—between 1949 (right after the establishment of Israel) to 2004 (just before the research began). The state institutions that present the official memory include: (1) The Information Branch in the Education Corps in the IDF, the main unit for disseminating information among soldiers; (2) The Publications Agency in the National Information Center, the primary institution in Israel for disseminating information among Israeli citizens; (3) The Ministry of Education, regarding approved history and civic textbooks for middle and high schools for use in the national-secular educational system (the largest in Israel). The four societal institutions under scrutiny include: (1) The research community (historical memory) and (2) Jewish war veterans who participated in the 1948 War (autobiographical memory). The remaining two institutions that related to cultural memory include: (3) The five main Israeli dailies: Davar, Haaretz, Yedioth Aharonoth, Ma'ariv, and Al-Hamishmar; as well as two journals Kol Ha’am and Haolam Hazeh; (4) The publications of NGOs addressing the 1948 exodus: Matspen, Alternative Information Center, Gush Shalom, and Zochrot.

All of the analyzed publications of these seven institutions were written in Hebrew by Jews. Their texts were studied to determine the narratives they presented regarding the exodus (e.g., Zionist or critical), as well as other characteristics, such as the scope of discussion regarding the exodus. The research also used interviews with key people who worked in all of the institutions during almost the entire research period (for example, all the living directors of the Publications Agency). The interviews were conducted using semi-constructed questionnaires, allowing the interviewees to comment on various issues on their own initiative. In all, the research is based on 1,076 bibliographical items and ninety-six interviews (conducted with sixty people, with some of them more than once).

FINDINGS AND DISCUSSION

This section discusses the empirical findings and their theoretical implications. Toward the end, all the theoretical conclusions will be integrated. The discussion will relate to the common circumstance (as was in Israel regarding the exodus) in which two main narratives, dominant and alternative, are present in the public sphere. Typically, the dominant is a narrative of conflict portraying in a biased way a given country positively, and the alternative is a more critical narrative
toward a country, portraying it less positively (e.g., respectively, Zionist and critical narratives).

The influences of time on the collective memory of conflicts were found to fall into four categories: (1) Dynamic environment—this relates to various social-political occurrences that influence the given society; (2) Time passing since the occurrence of the given event—this relates to the amount of time that has passed after the occurrence of the subject of the memory (in our case, since 1948); (3) Time passing since the country’s foundation—the country whose memory is in question; (4) Time passing since the signing of a peace agreement—an agreement between the rivals that finalizes the conflict. The following discussion elaborates on these categories.

First category. Over the years, the impact of various social-political factors on a memory change. For example, the history of Israel until 2004 is divided into two main periods: 1949 until the late 1970s, and since then at least until 2004. In the first period, there was high consensus in Israeli society in its approach toward the conflict, and therefore, the society was highly conformist and supporting the Zionist ideology. In contrast, in the second period, the society became more fragmented, critical and pluralistic, as well as less influenced by the Zionist ideology. In addition, in the first period, the conflict was more intractable and largely perceived by the Israelis as severely threatening to Israel’s existence. In the second period, though, as Israel established its military capabilities and signed the peace agreement with Egypt, Israel perceived the conflict as less threatening. In addition, in the first period, Israel’s status among the international community was negative because of the Arab /Palestinian diplomatic campaign (and therefore reciting the critical narrative was damaging to Israel’s image). Critical historical theories were just starting to become salient in western countries, and international support for reconciliation processes between rivals was low. In the second period, the situation was different. The extent of the Arab /Palestinian diplomatic campaign drastically decreased, the influence of the critical academic approaches on Israeli scholars increased, and support for reconciliation and acknowledgement of past wrongdoings began to gain momentum (more so since the 1990s). Because of all these differences, in the first period, the taboo placed on presenting the critical narrative of the exodus was high, and Israelis were much less open to challenging the hegemony of the dominant Zionist narrative. In contrast, in the second period, the intensity of the taboo decreased and
Israelis were more open to such a challenge by presenting the critical narrative.

Theoretically, then, collective memory is partly shaped by a set of macro social-political factors that are dynamically influencing the memory in different manners at different points in time. Thus, this category of influencing factors is generally conceptualized as a ‘Dynamic Environment.’ The influences of this category will be regarded here as theoretical factors that relate to the given country, the conflict, the rival, and the international arena.

Second category. This category relates to the passing of time since the exodus occurred and has had diverse influences:

1. Until the early 1980s, Israeli archival documents regarding the exodus were classified. Therefore, scholars who researched this event could not see documents describing expulsions in 1948 (e.g., Ronny Gabbay while looking for documents in his late 1950s research). Since then, the extent of secrecy regarding many of these documents diminished, and therefore, they have been declassified. Some of these documents included evidence of partial expulsions in 1948 and were used by scholars in support of the critical narrative. Examples include Tom Segev’s 1986 book 1949—The First Israelis, and Benny Morris’s book The Birth of the Palestinian Refugee Problem. Theoretically, this influence is conceptualized as the ‘Decreased Secrecy’ factor, and it typically happens several decades after a conflict event takes place.

2. Since the late 1970s, some members of the Jewish 1948 generation became more open to discussing publicly the 1948 expulsions. This phenomenon appeared in their memoirs, for example, Yitzhak Rabin’s 1979 Pinkas Sheirut (Notes of Service). Rabin included in the draft of his memoir a section describing the largest expulsion in 1948, that of the residents of the Palestinian towns of Lydda and Ramla. Since the late 1980s, many more critical memoirs have been published. In contrast, almost no critical memoirs were published until the late 1970s, and none until the late 1960s. Similarly, only since the late 1970s have these veterans recounted the 1948 expulsions in newspaper articles.

This disclosure phenomenon is also manifested in expressions of specific war veterans over time. Some of them presented the Zionist
narrative in earlier memoirs, and the critical one later. For instance, Moshe Carmel, commander of the north front in 1948, provided in his 1949 memoir the Zionist narrative, but the critical narrative in a 1978 newspaper article and again in a 1989 memoir; likewise Shmuel (Mula) Cohen, commander of the Iftach Brigade who took part in writing the 1948, the 1970, and 1978 Brigade memoirs which contrasted to the critical narrative in 1989 and 2000 memoirs. In addition, Nahum Golan, commander of the Golany Brigade in 1948, penned a Zionist narrative in the 1950 and 1980 Brigade memoirs in contrast to the more critical 1989 memoir.

Five main causes promoted this delayed disclosure among war veterans. The first is the diverse influences of the above Dynamic Environment category, making the Israelis more open to the critical narrative as time passed. Secondly, the Decreased Secrecy factor regarding the expulsions described above played a part. Thirdly, many of these veterans wrote their memoirs only from the 1980s and on, because until then they were busy pursuing their careers. Writing memoirs takes a long time, and thus they were able to do so only when they stopped working. Natanel Lorech’s 1997 memoir is such an example. Fourthly, some veterans had no motivation to describe their war experiences before retirement. They decided to write their memoirs only when they grew old or got severely ill and thus felt they were approaching the end of their lives. At that point, they felt compelled to tell their personal stories for future generations, and to do so truthfully, even if doing so meant describing the 1948 expulsions. Uri Yarom exemplified this phenomenon when he published his memoir in 2001 after suffering a stroke. Lastly, the 1948 War in general, and the expulsion of Palestinians in particular, were traumatic events for many veterans. They suffered from the difficult events of the war and thus were able to address them by writing memoirs (or giving testimonies) only after the passing of long period of time. Time partially healed them. The soldiers of Brigade 9, who published their collective memoir in 1994, represent this trend.

In all, five theoretical factors influenced war veterans: the above discussed Dynamic Environment, as well as four new factors: Decreased Secrecy, Increased Leisure, Increased Motivation, and Psychological Healing.

(3) Nicole Anderson and Fergus Craik have noted that the accuracy of people’s autobiographical memory deteriorates
The passing of time and the collective memory of conflicts as they age. Neurological processes take place in the brain, making the veterans forget what exactly they had witnessed. Theoretically, this aspect is conceptualized as the Memory Deterioration factor.

4 Ania Shapira and other scholars noted a generational turnover taking place in Israel, in which members of the first generation, born in Israel, replaced in various positions members of the 1948 generation. This happened in several institutions. In the research community, for example, all of the scholars who published studies that discussed the exodus were from the 1948 generation, until 1976. However, in the period 1977 – 1987, those scholars published only half of the studies, and in the period 1988 – 2004, even fewer. Similar processes took place also in state institutions such as the IDF, the Information Center and the Ministry of Education.

And indeed, this Generational Turnover in societal and state institutions promoted the critical narrative, because the first-state generation was more critical than the 1948 generation. For example, until 1990, only fifteen percent of the 1948 generation scholars presented the critical narrative in their studies, compared to 76 percent of the first-state generation. In other words, the inclination toward the critical narrative among the latter was five times higher than that among the former.

5 Stephen Ceci and Maggie Bruck suggest that to varying degrees people can be persuaded to change their attitudes and beliefs at different phases of their lives. Young children are more open to change than adults, while among adults there is a curvilinear tendency. Change will occur more in early and late adulthood than in mid-adulthood. This latter phenomenon was explained by higher levels in mid-adulthood of attitude importance, certainty in the held attitude, and perceived amount of relevant knowledge, compared to lower levels in early and late adulthood.

Theoretically, this is conceptualized as the Age and Persuasion factor.

6 As time passes, evidence regarding a given event might not be available. In the testimonies of direct-experience people, we see how the deterioration of memory makes the autobiographical memory less accurate. Furthermore, as the direct-experience generation dies away, it becomes
impossible to hear their autobiographical memory. The situation is sometimes similar regarding artifacts or other material evidence. As time passes, such evidence might be destroyed, purposely or not purposely. For example, most of the 1948 empty Palestinian villages were destroyed by the Israelis mainly to prevent the return of their residents or seizure by hostile soldiers.\(^49\) This aspect is theoretically conceptualized as the Evidence Loss factor.

(7) A major theme in historical analysis is that such analyses will be properly conducted only several decades after a given event occurred. Only such distant perspective will allow suitable and broad understanding of the determinants of the event, its occurrences, and consequences.\(^50\) This aspect is theoretically conceptualized as the Wider Retrospective factor.

The second category is theoretically conceptualized as Time Passing since the Given Event Occurred. It includes nine factors: Decreased Secrecy, Increased Leisure, Increased Motivation, Psychological Healing, Memory Deterioration, Generational Turnover, Age and Persuasion, Evidence Loss, and Wider Retrospective.

**Third category.** This category relates to the passing of time since the foundation of Israel. Since its establishment in 1948, and for the first several decades, Israel faced major security and economic problems. Israeli leaders and the staff at its state institutions were aware of the need to mobilize the Israelis to properly cope with these difficulties: to deal with daily problems, to be patriotic and collectivist, and to contribute their share to the national efforts, especially serving in the IDF—willing even to sacrifice their lives. To this end, Israel had to be portrayed positively, and in the context of the current discussion: the Zionist narrative of the exodus was more suitable than the critical one. For example, this was a major reason for the presentation of the Zionist narrative in the publications of the three state institutions (IDF, Information Center and the Ministry of Education). However, as time passed, Israel’s security and economic situation improved, reducing the need to mobilize its citizens. Accordingly, the need to present the Zionist narrative also decreased.\(^51\)

Theoretically, this category is conceptualized as ‘Time Passing since the Country’s Foundation,’ and it includes a factor entitled similarly ‘Extent of Time Passing since the Country’s Foundation.’ Establishing countries in the modern era usually involves an initial
period of significant economic, social, and military difficulties. Therefore, there is a major need to mobilize the citizens to cope with these challenges, and a positive portrayal of the nation’s past is a main mechanism to meet this need. 

**Fourth category.** This category relates to the passing of time since the signing of a final peace agreement, and it is not relevant to the Israeli–Palestinian conflict, because it has not yet reached such a phase. However, evidence supporting this category is found in other studies and some even in the 1948 exodus study. Signing a peace agreement resolves the concrete dispute between the parties, ends the violence between them, has positive material and psychological implications, and raises hopes for peaceful times. Therefore, as Herbert Kelman and others explain, it decreases the need to nurture a biased collective memory that will mobilize the citizens to support their country in the conflict, or that will support the nation’s international image. However, after signing peace agreements, rivals remain cautious for some time, afraid that the conflict might erupt again. Considering this, they only gradually begin to interact with the rival in tourism, the economy and cultural channels. However, after several decades, the former rivals feel safe and open enough to transform their collective memory of the conflict by making it less biased and self-serving. This observation is also supported by the Terror Management Theory, which holds that in life-threatening situations, people tend to firmly stick to their cultural system. Therefore, the more that this threat is reduced—say, as time passes after the signing of a peace agreement—the more people are likely to feel safe to deviate from their dominant cultural system (in our context, to adopt alternative narratives of the conflict).

A partial example is found in the 1948 exodus study regarding the IDF. The 1990s Israeli-Palestinian peace process raised hopes in its Education Corps (and in Israel in general) that the conflict would soon be resolved. Consequently, in the mid-1990s, the Information Branch at the Education Corps transformed the language it used regarding the conflict in its publications from a “conflict”’ language to a “peaceful” one. That is, from a dichotomist good–bad relation to a more complex and nuanced one. Theoretically, this category is conceptualized as the Time Passing since a Peace Agreement, and it includes one factor: “Extent of Time Passing since the Signing of a Peace Agreement.”

Moving to an integrated theoretical discussion of the findings, initially all the fifteen factors diagnosed above are assembled in Table 1.
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>No. of Factor</th>
<th>Categories</th>
<th>2 Time Passing since the Given Event Occurred</th>
<th>3 Time Passing since the Country’s Foundation</th>
<th>4 Time Passing since the Signing of a Peace Agreement</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1</td>
<td>Country’s Characteristics</td>
<td>Decreased Secrecy</td>
<td>Extent of Time Passing since the Country’s Foundation</td>
<td>Extent of Time Passing since the Signing of a Peace Agreement</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2</td>
<td>Conflict’s Characteristics</td>
<td>Increased Leisure</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
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<tr>
<td>3</td>
<td>Rival’s Characteristics</td>
<td>Increased Motivation</td>
<td></td>
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<td>4</td>
<td>International Arena’s Characteristics</td>
<td>Psychological Healing</td>
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<tr>
<td>5</td>
<td></td>
<td>Memory Deterioration</td>
<td></td>
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<tr>
<td>6</td>
<td></td>
<td>Generational Turnover</td>
<td></td>
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<tr>
<td>7</td>
<td></td>
<td>Age and Persuasion</td>
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<tr>
<td>8</td>
<td></td>
<td>Evidence Loss</td>
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<tr>
<td>9</td>
<td></td>
<td>Wider Retrospective</td>
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</tbody>
</table>
Various additional theoretical contributions can be obtained from the above theoretical discussion.

1. **The impact of the factors on all memories.** A description of the kinds of memories influenced by each of the above fifteen factors is provided below. This differs from the literature, which often does not differentiate between the various kinds of memories.\(^56\) In addition, hypotheses regarding the mode of influence of each factor on the transformation of the various memories are provided. ‘Transformation’ means change from a typical significantly biased and distorted memory to a more accurate one. ‘Influences’ means only direct, primary influences.\(^57\) Table 2 assembles these aspects.

The ‘+’ in columns III – VII indicates that the marked kind of memory is generally influenced by this factor, while ‘+’ in column VIII indicates that the influence will promote memory transformation.

Specifically, as can be seen regarding the first category: its four factors influence all five kinds of memories. However, it is not possible to hypothesize in a definite manner the influence of these factors as time passes; it depends on their characteristics over time, which are not predictable. In some cases, as time passes, the factors may lead to memory transformation, and in others that would not be the case.

Moving to the second category, the Decreased Secrecy factor promotes transformation of almost all kinds of memory, typically at least thirty years after the given event occurred. Because the historical memory is the one that depends most significantly on declassification of documents, it might be most influenced by this factor, because these documents become the main basis of historical studies. Only the popular memory will not be transformed because of this factor, since by and large people do not change their own memory of an event because its secrecy decreased. The following four factors (Increased Leisure, Increased Motivation, Psychological Healing, and Memory Deterioration) influence only the autobiographical memory. It is hard to know how much time will pass until these factors will influence this memory. If people experienced war as elders, perhaps not much time will pass before they write their remembrances containing alternative narratives. However, typically soldiers are those that write memoirs of conflicts, and often they are also the ones possessing secretive information about them. Therefore, and since most of the soldiers participate in the conflict at a relatively young age—in their twenties or thirties—typically these factors influence the memory three to four
Table 2 The Kinds of Memories Influenced by the Fifteen Factors and Their Mode of Influence

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>No. of Factor</th>
<th>Title of Factor</th>
<th>Kind of Memory</th>
<th>Mode of Influence: As Time Passes, Transformation Occurs?</th>
</tr>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Popular</td>
<td>Official</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>I</td>
<td></td>
<td>III</td>
<td>IV</td>
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<tr>
<td>Category 1</td>
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<tr>
<td>1</td>
<td>Society’s Characteristics</td>
<td>+</td>
<td>+</td>
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<tr>
<td>2</td>
<td>Conflict’s Characteristics</td>
<td>+</td>
<td>+</td>
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<tr>
<td>3</td>
<td>Rival’s Characteristics</td>
<td>+</td>
<td>+</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4</td>
<td>International Arena’s Characteristics</td>
<td>+</td>
<td>+</td>
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<tr>
<td>Category 2</td>
<td></td>
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<tr>
<td>5</td>
<td>Decreased Secrecy</td>
<td>+</td>
<td>+</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6</td>
<td>Increased Leisure</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
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<tr>
<td>7</td>
<td>Increased Motivation</td>
<td>+</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>8</td>
<td>Psychological Healing</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>9</td>
<td>Memory Deterioration</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>10</td>
<td>Generational Turnover</td>
<td>+</td>
<td>+</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>11</td>
<td>Age and Persuasion</td>
<td>+</td>
<td>+</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>12</td>
<td>Evidence Loss</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>13</td>
<td>Wider Retrospective</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Category 3</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>14</td>
<td>Extent of Time Passing since the Country’s Foundation</td>
<td>+</td>
<td>+</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Category 4</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>15</td>
<td>Extent of Time Passing since the Signing of a Peace Agreement</td>
<td>+</td>
<td>+</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

*This factor does not influence memory in a definite manner; see discussion.
decades after the given event occurred. After that point, the former soldiers retire and have the leisure, motivation, and often a better psychological well-being to write their memoirs. In the case of the 1948 exodus, these factors influenced after such a period of time, beginning in the late 1970s. The first three factors promote memory transformation. In contrast, the Memory Deterioration factor will change the autobiographical memory, but not necessarily to being less biased; its direction of change is not predictable. The Generational Turnover factor promotes the transformation of almost all memories starting after about three decades, because the younger generation is typically more open than the older one. Only the autobiographical memory will not be influenced by this factor. The seventh factor, Age and Persuasion, influences all kinds of memories, aside from the historical and autobiographical ones. The bearers of these two memories are generally characterized with high levels of certainty in their held attitude and perceived relevant knowledge, also in their mid-adulthood (respectively, because of studies conducted or direct experience). Regarding the three kinds of memories that might be transformed, as described, this will happen more in early and late adulthood of their bearers than in mid-adulthood. For people who were in their twenties when the given event occurred, in the first decade or so after the event, they are more likely to transform their memory if introduced with alternative-critical information that contradicts the dominant narrative about the event (e.g., information in the form of archival documents, scholarly studies, or newspapers articles). This is also the case about three to four decades after the event occurred. In between, however, they are less likely to transform their memories.

The last two factors in this category—Evidence Loss and Wider Retrospective— influence mostly the historical memory, because historians are usually those who use evidence in their studies. Occasionally, the cultural memory will also be influenced by the Evidence Loss factor, via investigations of journalists. Regarding the Evidence Loss factor, the loss of artifacts and material things might occur more frequently within the first decade after the given event occurred; while direct-experience people might pass away at any time (but if soldiers are considered, typically starting after about five decades). Nonetheless, there is no definite impact of the passing of time regarding these two factors: it can promote memory transformation, or not (though the Wider Perspective factor seems to be more inclined to promote transformation than not).
Lastly, two factors (Extent of Time Passing since the Country’s Foundation, and since the Signing of a Peace Agreement) have similar influences. The more time passes after the country’s foundation or the signing of a peace agreement (typically several decades), the more all kinds of memories will be transformed. The transformations will occur in a later phase in the official memory, compared to the other four societal memories. This is because state institutions tend to be more cautious in adopting an alternative narrative that might damage the country’s interests. As representatives of the country, such premature adoption might damage the country more severely than adoption by the societal memories. Exemplifying the impact of the passing of time since the country’s foundations, the four societal Israeli memories regarding the 1948 exodus started changing significantly since the late 1970s, while the parallel official memory, only in 2000, and even then only partially.  

2. **Time and historical memory.** Scholarly studies are typically a major source for the transformation of the other kinds of memories. Scholarly research is influenced directly and indirectly by most of the factors in the second category, and therefore, the discussion about these factors should be integrated. Such discussion is initially relevant regarding primary sources for research: artifacts, documents, and first-hand testimonies. Artifacts and material things might not be available for research mostly within the first decade after the given event occurred (Evidence Loss factor). Archival documents are usually available for examination after about three decades (The Decreased Secrecy factor). As for testimonies, three factors (Increased Leisure, Increased Motivation, and Psychological Healing) influence direct-experience people at about the same time as they do regarding documents, starting after about three decades, and more as time passes. They encourage these people to describe their experiences and do so while presenting alternative-critical narratives. However, the Memory Deterioration factor is also especially relevant starting at about the same time and therefore might decrease the impact of such testimonies. Scholars might not trust the accuracy of such delayed testimonies. In addition, as more time passes, direct-experience people die, eliminating the possibility of obtaining their testimonies (the Evidence Loss factor).

Integrating the above discussion regarding primary sources on a time line, the following picture occurs: approximately from the first decade until the fifth one, primary sources such as artifacts and
testimonies (respectively) become unavailable. This does not have a
definite impact on the transformation of the historical memory.
However, in between, after three to four decades or so, major de-
velopments occur. Archival documents are declassified and some war
veterans become more motivated to describe their experiences in an
alternatively critical mode. Despite the memory deterioration that
shapes some of the testimonies, these inclusive developments for the
most part promote transformation of the historical memory. Thus,
taking into consideration the above discussed factors, typically after
three or four decades, memory transformation is likely to be
promoted.

This situation coincides with the impacts of two other factors from
the second category: Generational Turnover and Wider Retrospective.
The Generational Turnover factor also promotes memory transforma-
tion several decades after a given event occurred. The Wider Retro-
spective factor will typically be manifested in the increased interest of
scholars in conducting studies pertaining to an event, even several
decades after its occurrence. Since then, more alternative-critical
primary sources will be available, and chances are that some of their
studies will present alternative-critical narratives. In sum, the above
discussed eight factors promote transformation of the historical
memory usually three to four decades after a given event occurred.

3. **Summarizing the impacts over time of all the factors.** Until
now, the discussion has focused on the impact over time on the histori-
cal memory of eight factors from the second category. It is worth-
while to add to this discussion the last two factors that have definite
impact in transforming the memory: the Extent of Time Passing since
the Country’s Foundation, or since the Signing of a Peace Agree-
ment. Integrating them into the above discussion is influenced by the
time they occurred, in comparison to the time a given event occurred.
In the case of the 1948 exodus, there was synchronization between
the foundation of Israel and the exodus, both occurring almost simul-
taneously. Thus, the passing of several decades from both events coin-
cided in promoting memory transformation. Hypothetically, if in 1948
the Israeli – Palestinian conflict would have been resolved by signing a
peace agreement right after the end of the 1948 War, all three cate-
gories would have promoted memory transformation several decades
after 1948. Consequently, because more factors would have promoted
memory transformation, there would have been more chances for its
transformation.
It should be noted that the general impact of the passing of time to promote memory transformation does not necessarily continue indefinitely. The accumulative integrated impact of all the fifteen factors is determining whether or not the memory will be transformed. Some factors might promote change and others might not, each factor with different weight. For example, the factors in the second category (Time Passing since the Given Event Occurred) can promote change for the above-mentioned reasons, but the factors of category 1 (Dynamic Environment) might work against a change. This might be because the given country has experienced a regime change, which has led to a decrease in political tolerance and freedom of information and speech. Thus, memory will not always transform as time passes, but there are many factors that do promote transformation as time passes.

4. Inter- and intra-generation processes. As mentioned, the literature often discusses generational turnover as contributing to memory transformation. This process will be referred to here as ‘inter-generation process,’ because it involves two generations, the older and the younger. Without diminishing the significance of this process, the current article proposes the existence of a new process, an intra-generational one, since it occurs within the same generation. Some war veterans of the 1948 generation became more open as time passed and therefore presented the critical narrative in their memoirs, newspaper articles, and testimonies to scholars. This intra-generation process made the autobiographical memory more critical. Thus, the assertion of the literature regarding the conservative nature of the direct-experience generation should be more nuanced. It is indeed more conservative than the younger generation, but as time passes, it becomes less conservative. Another aspect of the intra-generation process is its influence on other kinds of memories becoming more critical. For example, this process made the cultural memory more critical, because critical articles or interviews of 1948 war veterans were published in the newspapers. It had similar effect on the popular memory, because these more critical memoirs and newspaper articles were read by the public at large. Being an important primary source of historical research, this more critical autobiographical memory also contributed to a critical transformation of the historical memory. All this reflects the importance of the intra-generation process.

The inter- and intra-generation processes can, and usually will, take place somewhat simultaneously, because both will occur as time passes. The inter-generation occurs as the younger generation matures enough
to play a key part in the country (beginning after three decades), and the intra-generation takes place because of the decrease in secrecy as people get older (mostly after three, four, or even five decades). That is, the inter-generation process might somewhat precede the intra-generation one, before they begin to take place simultaneously.

These two processes mutually influence each other in transforming the collective memory. For instance, a younger generation holding key positions might reduce the extent of external-censorship in a country (e.g., of publishers or of military censorship) and therefore pave the way for the intra-generation process (e.g., war veterans’ ability to get their alternative-critical manuscripts published, and less censored). From the other direction, alternative-critical testimonies and memoirs of the older direct-experience generation, as a primary source, promote the alternative-critical inclination of the younger generation.

5. Different modes of influences. The various factors of time influence the collective memory in different ways, which can be theoretically conceptualized. First, we can differentiate between direct and indirect influences. Direct influences occur when a factor has an impact on a memory with no mediation of another factor or memory. Examples include the impacts of the Increased Leisure and Increased Motivation factors on the autobiographical memory. In contrast, indirect influences occur when a factor has an impact on a memory with mediation of another factor or memory. The phenomena described in the previous point regarding the impacts of the changes in the autobiographical memory exemplify such influences. Because this memory becomes more critical due to the impact of various factors (e.g., Increased Leisure, Increased Motivation and Psychological Healing), it also promotes critical transformation of other memories such as cultural, popular, and historical. Therefore, the factors that directly influence the autobiographical memory indirectly influence the other three memories via the mediation of the autobiographical memory.

The second differentiation is between inter- and intra-memory influences. Inter-memory influences occur when one kind of memory influences another kind. The above indirect influences via the autobiographical memory exemplify such cases. In contrast, intra-memory influences take place when occurrences regarding one kind of memory influence the same memory. Yitzhak Rabin’s 1979 memoir illustrates autobiographical memory. Because it was written by Israel’s previous premier and a 1948 mid-level officer while relating to the biggest expulsion in 1948, its impact in Israel was dramatic. As Yitzhak
Tishler, a 1948 war veteran and journalist stated. ‘‘No doubt that this [the disclosure of Rabin’s expulsion section] influenced in a manner that today [then, in 1979] it is possible to tell [about the 1948 expulsions].’’ As such, it influenced the autobiographical memory of the 1948 war veterans by encouraging some of them to disclose the expulsions in their memoirs or testimonies. Benny Morris’ s important book had similar effect on the historical memory, promoting publication of more critical studies.

6. Time as an apolitical meta-factor. The above discussion leads to the conclusion that time is a meta-factor that influences collective memory in many diverse and significant ways through its fifteen fac-tors. This meta-factor is apolitical in its nature, in contrast to the major theme in recent memory studies regarding the ‘‘politics of memory’’ (also referred to as ‘‘a usable past’’), indicating that the past is portrayed in a certain way to promote present interests of the holder of the memory. Because of the wide impact of this meta-factor on collective memory, it thus significantly challenges the dominance of the ‘‘politics of memory’’ theme. Memory is also highly influenced by many apolitical factors. Therefore, it seems that the centrality of this theme, though important, is exaggerated.

7. A comparative angle. The question arises to what extent the above findings are also relevant for collective memories of conflicts other than the Israeli memory of 1948. A systematic discussion of this requires a separate paper, and therefore, it will only be briefly addressed. Generally, the above discussion is relevant for most conflicts, and this view is based on the following two arguments:

(1) Many of the above-mentioned factors that influence collective memory of conflicts were also supported by general references that did not necessarily relate to Israel and 1948. This is the case in category 2 (Time Passing since the Given Event Occurred) regarding the two factors that are typically discussed in the literature as outcomes of the passing of time (Decreased Secrecy and Generational Turnover). This is also the case for the five additional factors of this category, supported in this article by general studies (Psychological Healing, Memory Deterioration, Age and Persuasion, Evidence Loss and Wider Retrospective). Moreover, this is the case for the only factor in category 3 (Extent of Time Passing since the Country’s Foundation)
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and the only factor in category 4 (Extent of Time Passing since the Signing of a Peace Agreement).

(2) As for the remaining factors, those that were discussed exclusively with regard to Israel and 1948: Category 1 (Dynamic Environment) and its four factors (the characteristics of the given country, the conflict, the rival, and the international arena) influence collective memory. For example, with reference to the first factor (the Country’s Characteristics), the less political tolerance and freedom of speech and information in a given country, the less chance that a dominant typical memory of conflict will be transformed. This was the situation in Argentina during its transition period, after the end of the dictatorial regime in 1983; and also in Chile after the end of the dictatorship there in 1988. Likewise, with regard to the second factor, the Conflict’s Characteristics, Palestinians tend to be reluctant to present a more balanced and less mobilized narrative regarding the Israeli-Palestinian Conflict, partly because they suffer significantly from the ongoing conflict, much more so than the Israelis. Thirdly, the Rival’s Characteristics refers to the notion that the more that the rival presents an open and moderate approach toward the discussion of the narrative of conflicts, the more chances there are for a sincere discussion between the rivals, who might try to bridge disagreements about a conflict’s history. Such situations have led to the foundation of the historians’ committee of Germany and the Czech Republic, which in 1996 produced a report that included a mutually agreed upon version of the two countries’ conflict narrative. Along those lines, in 2008, the German–French historians’ committee produced a history textbook that included a mutually accepted history of the political and military events in Europe until 1945, including the various confrontations between the two countries. Lastly, the International Arena’s Characteristics influenced U.S. foreign relations. For example, the United States refrained for decades from pressuring Turkey to admit its responsibility for the Armenian genocide in WWI. This is due partly to the fact that Turkey is an important Muslim country—in a strategic location—that the United States wished to keep as an ally.
Therefore, the Turks are facing less international pressure to change their official narrative that denies the Armenian genocide.\textsuperscript{72}

In category 2 (Time Passing since the Given Event Occurred), the two remaining factors that were discussed exclusively regarding Israel (Increased Leisure and Increased Motivation) were influential, for example, for the French – Algerian conflict as well. Since the late 1990s, French veterans of the 1954 – 1962 French – Algerian War began to publically admit because of these factors that Algerians were tortured and executed on a wide scale during that war. This took place in memoirs and the media, including by central veterans such as Generals Jacques Massu and Paul Aussaresses.\textsuperscript{73}

Many of the conflicts that occur worldwide have different characteristics. The above discussion is relevant to many of these conflicts, especially since the discussion offers general theoretical factors that encompass the particulars of different conflicts. Surely, though, dealing systematically with specific conflicts will occasionally require some modifications of the concepts that are suggested here.

**SUMMARY AND CONCLUSIONS**

In the last few decades, the study of the collective memory of conflicts has emerged as one of the central areas of research in social sciences. This is mainly because of the realization that this memory plays a big part in the eruption and resolution of conflicts, as well as in the reconciliation of the rivals. Despite the abundance of studies that address this memory, the way it is influenced by the passing of time has not been thoroughly researched.

The current article addresses this gap, using as a case study the Israeli collective memory of the 1948 Palestinian exodus. This event is central to the Israeli – Palestinian peace process. For decades after the 1948 War, Israel refused to acknowledge any responsibility for the exodus. However, the various political, social, and scholarly processes taking place in Israel, including the passing of time, made a difference. Toward the end of the previous millennium, these processes promoted in Israel the prevalence of the critical narrative about the exodus. This change influenced the international political sphere. The 2000 Camp David and 2001 Taba Israeli – Palestinian peace summits witnessed a significant change in Israel’s approach to the exodus. At that time, the
critical narrative regarding the exodus was so accepted in Israel that it was difficult for Israeli negotiators to ignore it, as was previously done. Therefore, they expressed in the summits a basic willingness to publicly acknowledge the 1948 Palestinian tragedy and implicitly and indirectly Israel’s shared responsibility for it. This was a significant factor in promoting the prospects for peace in the political international arena.

This change also influenced the Israeli – Jewish popular memory of the 1948 exodus by decreasing the grasp of its Zionist narrative. A 2008 public opinion survey conducted among a representative sample of Israeli – Jews found that only 41 percent of them held that narrative, while 39 percent held the critical narrative and 8 percent the Palestinian one (12 percent did not reply). That is, 47 percent members of this sector believed that some or all of the Palestinians were expelled in 1948 (more than those holding the Zionist narrative claiming no expulsion).

The current analysis of the case of the exodus yields various findings. This article proposes that time is an important meta-factor that includes fifteen factors influencing collective memory, organized in four categories. Time is found to significantly influence all kinds of memories in diverse ways. The article addresses the way in which the historical memory is specifically influenced by various factors. These factors are found to promote transformation of this memory three to four decades after a given event occurred. Additional discussion regarding two more factors (the Extent of Time Passing since the Country’s Foundation, or the Signing of a Peace Agreement) highlights the impact of the relations between the time when a given event occurred, a country was founded, and a conflict was resolved. The article then discusses inter- and intra-generation processes that occur, respectively, between a direct-experience generation and a younger generation, or within the former generation. The new proposed process—the intra-generation one—is found to be of significant importance to memory transformation, and its relations with the other process are addressed. Moreover, the article differentiates between different modes of the influences of the memory (direct and indirect, and inter- and intra-memory). Lastly, time is revealed as an apolitical meta-factor, partly challenging the dominance in memory studies of the ‘’politics of memory’’ theme.

While the above analysis deals with the Israeli collective memory of the exodus, because of the theoretical focus of the article, the analysis is relevant also to other aspects of the Israeli – Palestinian conflict, as well as to the collective memories of other conflicts worldwide.
NOTES

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4. See in the literature described in the following ‘ ‘Background’ ’ section.

5. It is acknowledged that the term ‘ ‘exodus’ ’ is not the optimal term for relating to the 1948 occurrences surrounding the creation of the Palestinian refugee problem. The Palestinians typically call this event the ‘ ‘Nakba’ ’ (in Arabic: ‘ ‘catastrophe’ ’). ‘ ‘Exodus’ ’ was chosen only for the lack of a more neutral way of talking about the actual leaving of the Palestinians in 1948.


22. There are various Zionist narratives. Among them, the article focuses on the political Zionist narrative which was dominant in the first period after the establishment of Israel.


Refugees—Official Memory in Times of Conflict,’ in *Myth, Memory and Historiography: the 1948 War as a Case Study*, Avraham Sela and Alon Kadish, eds.; and the educational system through textbooks *approved* by the Ministry of Education—Rafi Nets-Zehngut, ‘‘The Israeli Ministry of Education’s Official Memory and the 1948 Palestinian Exodus—1949 – 2004,’ Under review. Regarding textbooks *used* in the Israeli educational system, see, for example: Ruth Firer and Sami Adwan, *The Israeli–Palestinian Conflict in History and Civics Textbooks of both Nations* (Hanover: Verlag Hahnsche, 2004); Podeh, ‘‘The Arab–Israeli.’’ Regarding analysis of the situation in this regard in Israel in various institutions, see: Rafi Nets-Zehngut, ‘‘Dynamics of the Israeli Memory of the Palestinian Refugee Problem,’’ *Peace Review, in press*.


28. Respectively, regarding: newspapers—Nets-Zehngut, ‘‘The Israeli Newspapers’’; war veterans’ memoirs—Nets-Zehngut, ‘‘The Israeli 1948 war veterans;’’ and for a general wide review—Nets-Zehngut, ‘‘Dynamics.’’

29. Ben-Josef Hirsch, ‘‘From Taboo;’’ Caplan, ‘‘The Israel–Palestine;’’ Ghazi-Bouillon, ‘‘Understanding;’’ Nets-Zehngut, ‘‘Origins.’’

30. Respectively, regarding: newspapers—Nets-Zehngut, ‘‘The Israeli Newspapers;’’ war veterans’ memoirs—Nets-Zehngut, ‘‘The Israeli 1948 war veterans;’’ and NGOs—Rafi Nets-Zehngut, ‘‘Israeli NGOs and the 1948 Palestinian Exodus—1949 – 2004,’’ under review (before the late 1980s, NGOs’ activity regarding the 1948 exodus was marginal).


34. Bar-On, ‘Hama’ avak;’ Eyal Nave and Ester Yogev, *Historiot* [Histories] (Tel Aviv: Bavel, 2002), (In Hebrew); Zand, ‘Hahistorin.’

35. Author’s interview with Ronny Gabbay, over the phone, July 2007.

36. See relation to this factor in the above literature review of collective memory.


44. Rafi Nets-Zehngut, ‘‘The Israeli Academy and the New Historians,’’ in preparation.

45. Respectively, Nets-Zehngut, ‘‘The Israeli Army’s,’’ ‘‘The Israeli Publications’ Agency,’’ ‘‘The Israeli Ministry.’’

46. Nets-Zehngut, ‘‘The Israeli Academy.’’ See relation to this factor in the above literature review of collective memory.


51. Respectively regarding the three state institutions: Nets-Zehngut ‘‘The Israeli Army’s,’’ ‘‘The Israeli Publications’ Agency,’’ ‘‘Origins;’’ (about the Ministry see also Podeh, ‘‘The Arab – Israeli’’). In addition, in general, see: Bar-On, ‘‘Hama’ avak,’’ Bar-Tal, ‘‘Lihyt;’’ Jacob Lassner and Ilan Troen, *Jews and Muslims in the Arab world: Haunted by the Past Real and Imagined* (Lanham, New York, Toronto, Plymouth: Rowman & Littlefield, 2007); Zand ‘‘Hahistorin.’’


53. Daniel Bar-Tal and Yona Teichman, *Stereotypes and Prejudice in Conflict—Perspectives of Arabs in Israeli Jewish Society* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2005); Herbert Kelman, ‘‘Transforming the


55. Nets-Zehngut, ‘The Israeli Army’s.’

56. For example, Blackburn, ‘War;’ Zheng, ‘National Humiliation.’

57. Each kind of memory influences other types of memories also indirectly (e.g., change in the studies of the historical memory influences the official memory). Therefore, a factor that directly influences the historical memory may also indirectly influence the official memory. Such direct and indirect influences are discussed onwards.

58. See above literature review regarding the Israeli collective memory of the conflict.


60. The discussion will relate generally to collective memory, recognizing the direct and indirect influences between the different kinds of memories (see onwards).


64. Author’s interview with Yitzhak Tishler 2008, 1; and similarly also author’s interviews with Uri Avnery 2008, and Moshe Givati 2008.


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74. Ben-Josef Hirsch, ‘‘From Taboo;’’ Lustick, ‘‘Negotiating.’’

75. Nets-Zehngut and Bar-Tal, ‘‘Hazikaron.’’