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EDITORIAL

Yosef Gorny

This edition of *Kesher* goes to press under dramatic circumstances — one government going out, another coming in — in which the national press and media are vigorously involved. We felt it correct to address this phenomenon from the perspective of, and with an eye on, the past. David Ben-Gurion published an article titled “On the press” in the 10th anniversary edition of *Ma’ariv* (February 15, 1958). In the following excerpt from the article, Ben-Gurion lays down three principles of public ethics that, in his opinion, should guide every newspaper: fairness to the opponent, fairness to reality, and fairness to itself:

[...] A newspaper is somewhat able to shape public opinion, and this ability gives it an added responsibility, a responsibility that is independent of the views that it adopts. In a free country, there is room for all sincere opinions even if they are diametrically opposed. There is also room for views that the large majority opposes; one of the hallmarks of a *democracy* is that the individual may take issue with all conventions and interpret everything upside down. A Rightist newspaper may exist, a Leftist newspaper may exist — a newspaper’s leanings alone do not determine its degree of responsibility and its nature.

The first test of a responsible newspaper is the extent of its fairness to an opponent. When it disputes or criticizes the other, does it dispute what the other says or does it put words into his mouth in order to make its labor of criticism easier? Does it attribute to him motives and intentions in order to demean him?

The second test is fairness to reality. Does the newspaper try to give us a full picture of matters as they are? Does it describe an event, a happening, a trial, a person, or a group in a way that includes both light and shadows, or does it see or show light only or shadows only, i.e., does it deliberately falsify the images of people and actions for a political purpose or to create a greater sensation?

And the third test — does it demand of itself what it demands of others, or does it apply double standards? How many newspapers vent their wrath, derision, and criticism against unfair conduct by publics or organizations or newspapers that do not belong to their camp, while applying the very methods toward their rivals and opponents that they delegitimize in the other?

Ben-Gurion’s principled arguments seem no less valid today than half a century ago because, in a public culture dominated by the principles of “political correctness,” the public’s right to know, and the ideal of “subversive criticism,” the press is becoming more and more an *active* player in the life of our society. Thus, it is surrendering the function of social *worrier* in favor of that of *warrior* for a position of political influence. This is inducing commentators, writers, and broadcasters to get too close to politicians and, as a result, increasingly blurs the necessary distance between pundit and politico. Consequently, the press is losing its moral stature as a reliable interpreter of governmental actions and a source that warns of their possible ill effects.

Kesher, a scholarly journal devoted to the history of the press and media in the Jewish world and in Israel, is published twice yearly by the Andrea and Charles Bronfman Institute for the Study of Jewish Press and Communications at Tel Aviv University. *Kesher* seeks to publish original research articles and academic reviews on all subjects relating to the history, endeavors, and influence of Jewish media and media people, from a multidisciplinary perspective. All articles are peer reviewed blindly by experts, members of the Journal’s Advisory Board and, if necessary, externally. Articles should be submitted in Word to presstau@post.tau.ac.il. A reply will be given within three months. Articles should not usually exceed 8,000 words. The bibliography and notes should appear at the end of the article. Citations should follow the conventions of your discipline.

The editorial board invites reviews of new books in the journal’s areas of interest and proposes such reviews itself. *Kesher* also publishes a list of recently approved doctoral dissertations and master’s theses along with abstracts of no more than 250 words in length (for master’s theses) and 500 words in length (for doctoral dissertations).

The politically autonomous nature of today's press has succeeded the political-party complexion of the press when Ben-Gurion penned the latter quoted above. However, there is an important difference: in the past, the parties tried to shape public opinion by means of their newspapers, whereas today journalists strive to influence party leaders by their articles

and their media appearances. Thus, the judgmental attitude of individuals is supplanting the critical stance of political entities without personal responsibility for their words and counsel. This phenomenon deserves thorough public debate due to its intellectual and, especially, its political significance.

INSIDE KESHER 38

OUR STORY — THEIR STORY

Gideon Kouts

Journalistic stories often cross borders but are always subject to the leveler of shaping (and interpretation) by local systems — cultural, personal, or national/public. Storytelling, says our esteemed colleague Yitzhak Roeh, is the essence of journalistic writing. One may hear and read a story that is ours and told by us and a story that belongs to others and is told by others, but also a story of ours that is told by others and someone else's story recounted by ourselves. Another important question, of course, is the identity of the party to whom each of these stories is told — ourselves or others. . . . The opening section of this edition of *Keshet* deals with two kinds of journalistic stories: current and more distant in time.

Hillel Nossek took part in a study that compared different countries' treatment of the "Muhammad caricatures" affair, which became a fashionable marker of the struggle for freedom of expression, and explored the way this spicy journalistic story was reflected in the Israeli media. He presents his conclusions in the title of his article: "a familiar story but not ours." We tried to help illustrate the problem by putting a work by Yehudit Eyal, "Moses Caricature," on the cover of this issue, and we will wait for reactions, if any. . . .

If the Muslims have their own taboo- ours is: the nuclear weapon. Mordechai Vanunu's revelations are another familiar story, but in this case it is definitely ours, a story that involved censorship, a dramatic abduction, and punishment to set an example . . . all the elements of a good journalistic story,

this time crafted by an other, *The Sunday Times*. Yoel Cohen examines, among other things, how the British newspaper treated the hero of its scoop and whether it gave him enough support. The story of former Prime Minister Ariel Sharon's illness has also become a mega-story that has been shaping our political lives ever since, including the most recent elections. Yuval Karniel and Amit Lavie Dinur find proof in the Sharon coverage that the rules and attributes of storytelling that are acceptable to "yellow journalism" have taken firm root in the shriveling world of Israeli dailies, including the contrasting of tabloids and "quality" papers. Baruch Leshem proposes an "American" model for the examination of the effect of Internet use in the recent election campaign. Mikhail Agapov explores the treatment of the "Palestine question" in the Soviet press of the 1920s and 1930s. The next interesting encounter, brought to us by Sharon Geva, concerns the story of the Holocaust and its survivors in the weekly *La-Isha*, in Israel of the 1950s. Yigal Bin-Nun discusses Israel's media offensive against Morocco in view of the story of the sinking of the clandestine immigrants' vessel *Pisces*— a story that was told differently in Morocco, of course. . . . Irit Zeevi takes us back to the story of the next-to-last war, the Second Lebanon War, and its patriotic manifestations in advertising.

The articles that follow concern themselves with the embryonic era of the modern Hebrew press in nineteenth-century Europe. Moshe Pelli adds further content to his work of many years on the history of the Haskala press. This time

he takes up *Kerem Hemed*, to which he devotes his next book. Gideon Kouts describes the media theory of the “precursor of Zionism,” Yehuda Alkalay, and its application in Alkalay’s political activity. David Tal recounts the pioneers of Hebrew reportage who wrote “from the field” (but not always).

The last set of articles is devoted to standout personalities, some of whom hardly remembered today, in the world of the Jewish and the Hebrew press. Nurith Govrin writes about Ben-Tzion Katz, one of the most important and innovative journalists in the Hebrew press in Europe and Palestine in the first half of the twentieth century. Nathan Cohen recalls Katz as a Yiddish journalist in Europe. Shmuel Bunim sheds light on a towering personality of the European Yiddish press, S. Y. Yatzkan, by means of the matchmaking department of his Paris

newspaper, *Haynt*. Ehud Manor takes up the case of Louis Miller and the Yiddish press in the United States. In our next issue, we will continue to treat these important personalities and others in the history of the Hebrew and Jewish press. In our Documentation department, we give the witness stand to Reuven Gafni, editor of the original historical journal *Et-Mol*, which recently celebrated its 200th issue. May there be many more. Our other regular departments will appear as well.

The next issue will reserve a central section to the centennial of Tel Aviv and the city’s relationship with the media. We take this opportunity to solicit ideas and proposals for this section from our readers. Until then, we wish our readers, as usual, an enjoyable and beneficial read.

IN MEMORY OF PROFESSOR MICHAEL GUREVITCH (1930-2008) MEMBER OF *KESHER*’S ADVISORY BOARD

Michael radiated stability, both good humor and no nonsense. Totally reliable, as both friend and research partner. That’s the image I’ve had of him for the past 50 years, and even now, it needs no adjusting at all. Our relationship was that of collaborators in a field in which we both were veterans, and so our contacts over the years were tinged with observations on the state of the art, and some gossip too. Allow me to share some of these now.

Michael was so modest that you might not realize that his was one of the most original careers in the field. For example, you might not know that he was Night Editor of the progressive and readable newspaper, *Lamerhav*. You might not know that he earned his PhD at MIT, and wrote a dissertation in communication under the direction of his distinguished teacher, Ithiel de Sola Pool. Together, teacher and student conducted what amounted to the first “small world” experiment in which they mapped the number of steps it takes to describe the networks of personal connections that link any two randomly chosen individuals on the face of the earth. That was long before the big boom in network theory that we are witnessing today.

Returning to Israel after graduation, Michael and I teamed up with Brenda Danet, Tsiyona Peled and others to explore an unexamined aspect of the absorption of immigrants to

Israel, namely the communication between new-immigrant clients and old-timer officials and professionals. We were interested, especially, in the ways that powerless newcomers appeal to officials for help or favors, and we later generalized this process to prayer, that is, to appeals addressed to God by ordinary worshippers like us. I was reminded of this period only recently while viewing a video interview with Michael, in which he recalls that his position at the Ministry of Finance—the first job he had after returning—gave him access to the records of such client-official interactions, on which we based a major part of this study.

An even larger collaboration between us—and including Hanna Adoni, Hadassah Haas, Oved Cohen and others—was a study of how Israelis spend their leisure, with particular reference to the uses and gratifications provided by the media. One famous finding from this survey showed a difference between religious and secular respondents with respect to the day that should be added to Shabbat to make for a two-day weekend. Some wanted Friday; others preferred Sunday—still others preferred a day in middle of the week. *The Secularization of Leisure: Culture and Communication in Israel* was the name we gave to the book we wrote together. During this period, I should add, Pat Gurevitch became the standard bearer for the aesthetics of academic manuscripts in

Israel social science; No journal could refuse a paper that had been edited and produced by Pat.

Twenty years later, in 1990, we were given the opportunity to replicate this study, which also enabled us to estimate the long-run effects of the introduction of television broadcasting twenty years earlier. We used to laugh about how we had reversed role in this project to meet the requirements of applying for funds to the US-Israel bi-National Science Foundation. If in 1970, Michael was the Israeli partner and I the American, in 1990, we could claim the opposite in our grant application.

In the Hero Sandwich between these two studies, Michael took on two other challenging assignments. One was as Senior Study Director at the first of the world's so-called Open Universities, in England. The other was as long-term collaborator in studies of political communication with Professor Jay G. Blumler of Leeds University. Their observations on the functioning of the BBC newsroom during repeated election campaigns is particularly well-known. Michael also worked with James Curran on the publication of an almost annual series of collected readings in communications research, which has become a universal "must read."

In the United States, Michael and Pat—plus Ruth and Abbey—established themselves in Washington, D.C., when Michael was appointed Professor in the School of Journalism at the University of Maryland.

During these many years, Michael stayed in close touch with communications research in Israel—not only with the projects in which he was directly involved, but with the

goings-on in general. Again, I found his memory on video better than mine in describing the process by which the Hebrew University gave grudging recognition first to an Institute of Communication (of which Michael, Dina Goren, Tsiyona Peled, Judy Elizur, Mina Zemach and I were founding members) and later to a full-fledged Department, to which the then Dean, Don Patinkin, gave support. When he left us, Michael became a kind of ambassador of the Department abroad. Indeed, Michael and Pat's home in Washington became a kind of station in the "underground railway" through which Israeli passed on their way to conventions, guest lectures, and jobs. By then, we had all become life-long friends.

Ever poised to renew his contact with Israel, Michael—now a renowned scholar close to retirement-- accepted the offer of Noam Lemlstrich, Head of the new Sami Ofer School of Communication at the Interdisciplinary College in Herzliya to become senior scholar in residence and Head of the School's curriculum committee. His acceptance was a factor in the recognition that the School was given by the Council on Higher Education. He took great pleasure in this renewed affiliation with Israel, and its academic community, even while remaining affiliated with the University of Maryland.

And then he left us, suddenly, having at least succeeded in re-forging a new/old link in his chain of connections. It is that closure that we are marking today, together with Pat, the children, the grandchildren as well as sister, brother and their families, and many colleagues and friends.

ELIHU KATZ

English Abstracts of Hebrew Articles

THE MUHAMMAD CARICATURES IN ISRAEL: A FAMILIAR STORY BUT NOT OURS / Hillel Nosssek

Following the publication of twelve caricatures of the prophet Muhammad[by the Danish newspaper *Jyllands Posten* in September 2005, one of which portrayed Muhammad wearing a turban with a bomb and smoking fuse on top, and the developments that led to the first round of protest demonstrations and riots in early 2006 that caused the deaths of 130 people worldwide, a group of communication researchers from fourteen countries including Israel collaborated in a study on how the event was covered and how various countries tackled questions of freedom of expression, freedom of the press, and religious tolerance. This article addresses the Israeli coverage.

In general, the affair was covered in foreign news columns and was seen as a European issue that would teach Europe a lesson on what Islam is about and how to deal with it.

The findings show that in Israel, freedom of expression is not considered an absolute value but one to be weighed against other values such as tolerance toward religious sensibilities (which is not necessarily the case in some European countries, e.g., the Scandinavian countries, France, and to some extent Britain and Germany, which view freedom of expression and freedom of the press as absolute values).

The Israeli press presented the organized protest of Israeli Muslims against the publication of the cartoons as proof that Israeli Arabs had internalized democratic values and were justifiably protesting the attack on their religious fundament but that, unlike protestors in Western and other countries, they knew how to express their protest in appropriate ways for citizens of a democracy.

THE LIMITS OF NUCLEAR CONFIDENTIALITY: MORDECHAI VANUNU AND THE *SUNDAY TIMES* / Yoel Cohen

On October 5, 1986, *The Sunday Times* of London published an exposé about the secret program that Israel was pursuing at its nuclear reactor in Dimona. Entitled "Revealed: Israel's Nuclear Secrets," the exposé drew upon data that the paper had received from Mordechai Vanunu, who had worked at the reactor for seven years as a technician. The newspaper calculated that Israel possessed 100–200 nuclear warheads and claimed that Israel was developing thermonuclear and neutron-nuclear capabilities. The exposé was a watershed in Israeli public and foreign governmental perceptions about

the country's nuclear program. While it led to the revision of international estimates about Israel's nuclear capability, some questioned *The Sunday Times'* estimates. Amid the commotion surrounding the exposé, Vanunu was abducted back to Israel from Europe by the Mossad and sentenced to eighteen years in prison for espionage and treason. The article examines how *The Sunday Times* investigated Vanunu's account of the goings-on at Dimona, gauges the impact of the exposé abroad and in Israel, and analyzes the newspaper's behavior after Vanunu's abduction.

"YELLOW PRESS" IN ISRAEL?

THE COVERAGE OF PRIME MINISTER ARIEL SHARON'S ILLNESS IN THREE ISRAELI DAILIES / Yuval Karniel and Amit Lavie-Dinur

On January 4, 2006, Israel experienced one of its most shattering political and media events in the past decade when its Prime Minister, Ariel Sharon, lapsed into a coma following a severe stroke. Until then, Sharon had been a strong prime minister who was able to steward the difficult political process of withdrawing from the Gaza Strip and evacuating the Strip's

Jewish towns and their civilian inhabitants. Immediately afterwards, he had founded a promising new political party, Kadima ("Progress"), which was projected to win a large majority in the upcoming elections. Sharon possessed a tough public persona and was perceived as a strong, authoritative leader who had tremendous ability to implement his goals.

His sudden departure from the public arena left an immense public and political void accompanied by feelings of shock, grief, and loss. Israel's media also reacted with great emotion, viewing the situation as a national catastrophe and a crisis of mammoth proportions. Sharon's illness had been preceded by a hospitalization that, in retrospect, proved to be of great political public and media significance.

The study quantitatively and qualitatively analyzes how Israel's quality newspaper, *Ha'aretz*, and its two popular tabloids, *Ma'ariv* and *Yedioth Ahronoth*, covered both hospitalizations. The media reaction to the hospitalizations

is a litmus test of how media and tabloids cover dramatic and prominent events. Our analysis of the coverage of this specific instance focuses on a central theme: does yellow journalism exist in Israel? That is, did the "intellectual" press and the tabloids cover the event in different ways? The research behind the analysis focuses on two of the most prominent factors in answering this question: the size of the headlines used and the level of sympathy and support displayed for the stricken premier. The purpose of the study is to underscore differences and similarities in the approaches of both types of journalism, quality and tabloid.

BACK TO THE (ELECTRONIC) TOWN SQUARE INFLUENCES OF THE INTERNET ON ISRAELI POLITICS PURSUANT TO THE 2008 U.S. PRESIDENTIAL ELECTIONS / Baruch Leshem

The article surveys the implications of Internet use in the United States in the 2008 elections for Israel's election campaign in February 2009. In researchers' opinion, Web sites had a greater influence on American election propaganda than had been supposed. The researchers say that each and every surfer filtered the on-line political information through h/her social circle. When a surfer visits a social site and connects with others who express their views and offer data — be it accurate or less so — s/he trusts them more than s/he does information gleaned from television, newspaper advertising, or some other system. "Tens of millions of surfers who visited social Web sites generated almost as much weight as the traditional media. The surfers trust their on-line friends *more* than they do any other medium," one of them said.

The U.S. elections brought the characteristics of the Internet as a propaganda instrument of the postmodern era to maximum expression. So many citizens, especially the young, use the Net as a way to obtain political information

that it has acquired the status of a central and important *medium* of propaganda. Internet use also has implications for the possibility of the emergence of a new political culture that will intensify citizen involvement in the political process and allow the public to share the power of propaganda use with the elites and the professionals.

The American example of Internet use in the 2008 elections and the possibility of a connection between this process and the high voting rates in these elections will result in the use of this technology in other countries' election campaigns, as happened in the past with political marketing on television.

The article was written before Israel's elections in February 2009, in which the parties used the Internet more extensively than in the 2006 campaign. The topic of Internet influence on election propaganda should also be examined in studies following this campaign and other campaigns abroad, to determine whether they confirm that the American example of 2008 has indeed spread.

THE PALESTINE QUESTION IN THE SOVIET PRESS IN THE 1920S AND 1930S / Mikhail G. Agapov

The Soviet state and Party press invested much space in discussing events in and around Palestine. It was a major vehicle in presenting the Soviet leadership's official stance to readers in and outside the Soviet Union in all matters related to foreign policy.

In the first half of the 1920s, the Soviet press reported with emphasis a "drastic turning point" in Great Britain's Middle

East policy: "The general situation in the Near East has forced Britain to waive its policy of pro-Zionist bias and to tilt toward the Arabs," mainly due to "the growing strength of the [. . .] Arab national movement [. . .] in Palestine."

In the 1920s and 1930s, the Soviet press indulged in active anti-Zionist propaganda of three main types. The first was comprised of ideological and political criticism of Zionism.

Soviet publications termed Zionism the “idealistic national movement” and devoted much attention to “exposing” Zionism’s class essence. Bogen called Zionism “the dream of the Jewish petite bourgeoisie, which lacks a class perspective.” In the opinion of Broido, Deputy People’s Commissar for Nationalities, Zionism is shunned due to the “class despair of the Jewish bourgeoisie, which was driven from its economic bastions by its powerful rivals: Russian, Polish, and American capital, etc.” The “British imperialism” and “Jewish economic circles, which view Palestine as a convenient place to invest money,” were considered the main pillars of the Zionist Movement. Hence the definition of Zionism as “the ally of British imperialism” and “spearhead of the capitalist colonization of Palestine.” The press repeatedly spoke of the bankruptcy of Zionism. Similarly, from the second half of the 1920s (and regularly from the early 1930s onward), it commonly applied the term “Fascist” or “Social Fascist” not only to the European Social Democratic movement but to Zionism as well.

Second, the Soviet press ran frequent descriptions of the horrors awaiting Jews who immigrated to the “Land of the Patriarchs.” The evident purpose, quite clearly, was to reduce their numbers. The press described Palestine as a place where “unparalleled exploitation of workers is practiced” amid “a perceptible increase in prostitution, a phenomenon unmatched anywhere in the Jewish Diaspora.” It also underscored the lack of minimum security for the immigrants, since “the British authorities have disavowed their promise due to unwillingness to offend the Arabs,” whereas Zionist leaders “are afraid of making their relations with Britain, which are bad to begin with, even worse.” The press made special efforts to present accounts of Jews who left Palestine for the Soviet Union.

Third, the Soviet press contrasted the favorable outcomes of Soviet policy for the improvement of Jews’ status in the USSR with the “failures” of Zionism. Especially noteworthy is the criticism that the Soviet newspapers brought against

the Zionist Labor Movement and emphasis on the claim that “proletarian Zionism” lacks broad support among “workers of the soil and true proletarians.” Conclusions were drawn from these arguments about the lack of support for Zionism among workers in Palestine (Bogen) or workers’ mass abandonment of Zionist ideas (Drezen, Steinberg). Media publications posited the Soviets’ Jewish resettlement projects against the Zionist programs that were geared to solve the Jewish problem. Thus, the Crimea plan sponsored by the All-Russian Central Executive Committee (VTsIK) was termed “the bitterest fruit served up to the Zionist Congress in Vienna in 1925.” At the outset of the Jewish resettlement project in Birobidjan (late 1920s–early 1930s), the Soviet press habitually stated that the British authorities would never allow Jewish sovereignty in Palestine.

In the late 1930s and early 1940s, Soviet pundits were wont to note the “perceptible change that has come about in the situation in Palestine.” Thus, they spoke about the change in the composition of immigrants, “who are not only Zionist occupiers but also victims of the Fascist regime, fleeing for their lives from Germany to Palestine.” The Soviet leadership viewed with concern the growing strength of anti-Jewish thinking among the Arabs, which they construed as evidence of the victory of Nazi propaganda. However, it smiled on the actions of the Arab “guerrilla fighters who are attacking the Zionist colonies, [which were] established on land confiscated [from the Arabs].”

The Soviet authorities regarded the Zionist formula for the solution of the Jewish problem as “an intrigue of British imperialism,” even though Jewry obviously was up against an unprecedented catastrophe. Only “the unification of the ranks of Jewish and Arab workers in Palestine and the establishment of a united front among all progressive elements” might, to the Soviet leadership’s minds, solve the problem that had come about in Palestine.

EVERY WOMAN HAS A NAME: DESCRIPTIONS OF WOMEN IN THE HOLOCAUST IN *LA-ISHA* / Sharon Geva

During the 1950s, the women’s weekly *La-Isha* brought a unique approach to the Holocaust. Unlike the rest of the Israeli press at the time, this magazine published, frequently and conspicuously, personal stories about the Holocaust. The basic assumption of its editorial staff and journalists was that every Holocaust survivor was an individual who experienced the

Holocaust and resisted the Nazi regime in her own unique way. These women told *La-Isha* their stories in a loud and clear way and were revealed to readers in full names and photographs.

Unlike the rest of the Israeli press, particularly the party-affiliated newspapers, *La-Isha* depicted women survivors of the Holocaust were as individuals and not as part of a group,

e.g., the nation, a party, a movement, or an underground organization. *La-Isha* did not run these stories specifically at the approach of the annual Holocaust and Heroism Remembrance Day and did not rework them into national stories; instead, it left their universal aspect intact. This form of reportage had no political context and was not related to political disagreements such as the controversy over German reparations or the Kasztner affair. Moreover, the interviews

hardly referred to armed resistance during the Holocaust, e.g., the Warsaw ghetto uprising (1943).

In retrospect, we may say that *La-Isha* was one of a kind when it came to the Holocaust. Just as various kinds of content and style that were once considered feminine eventually became part of the general press and influenced its character, the same thing happened in regard to the approach toward the Holocaust. In this respect, *La-Isha* was a pioneer.

THE ISRAELI PRESS CAMPAIGN AGAINST MOROCCO AFTER THE SINKING OF THE *PISCES* IN JANUARY 1961 / Yigal Bin-Nun

During the night of January 10, 1961, the *Pisces*, a small boat carrying Jewish immigrants, sank off the Mediterranean coast of Morocco with 45 passengers on board. Having created many obstacles to prevent Jews from leaving the country since it gained independence in 1956, Morocco was now accused by Israel of having caused the sinking. International Jewish organizations and Israeli embassies launched a vast propaganda campaign to force Morocco to open its doors for mass emigration to Israel. The campaign was touched off by the Israel Minister of Foreign Affairs, Golda Meir, without consulting the Council of Jewish Communities of Morocco, and spread to Washington, Canberra, all West European and South American capitals, and UN headquarters in New York. The main promoters of this press campaign were the leaders of the World Jewish Congress and the American

Jewish Committee. Concurrently, Israeli emissaries who worked in the field of clandestine immigration published a leaflet accusing Morocco of flagrant abuses against Jews and holding it responsible for the sinking. The distribution of this clumsy leaflet in Meknes led to the arrest of many Jewish volunteer members of Israel's clandestine network and the hasty flight of most of the others. Less than eight months later, Morocco, realizing that it could no longer keep Jews from leaving, faced the facts and changed its emigration policy. In August 1961, the newly enthroned King Hassan II and the Israeli authorities concluded a "compromise agreement" on the collective evacuation of Jews from Morocco in return for a hefty sum of money that was meant to compensate the latter country for the damage that massive departure of Jews would inflict on the domestic economy.

"EMBRACING THE NORTH"—ADVERTISING AND PATRIOTISM IN THE SECOND LEBANON WAR / Irit Zeevi

Analysis of advertisements in the daily press during the month of the Second Lebanon War and the use of war-related content to sell products shows that patriotism was invoked extensively as a special way of marketing various goods and services and that other devices were crowded out. The advertisers' marketing messages centered on sympathy for the inhabitants of northern Israel and the wish to support them, for which purpose diverse and creative advertising techniques were used. The article examines trends and special social contents that surfaced in the analysis of advertisements in the Israeli print media during the Second Lebanon War and shows how advertisers used the war to promote products and services at this time. The discussion is limited to the month of the War due to the wish to define a specific period in which

dramatic influences were expressed in different domains of life and will probably be felt long into the future. This aspect may contribute to the revelation of the values of Israeli society during this special period.

Analysis of advertisements during this period shows that patriotism was much used as a rhetorical device for the marketing of various goods and services and that other devices were crowded out. The wish to sympathize with and support the inhabitants of the north became central in the advertisers' marketing messages and diverse and creative advertising techniques were used for this purpose. Advertising during this period seems to have been mobilized for the public interest and the values, beliefs, and problems of Israeli society seem to have been placed in the center (as opposed to

preferences expressed in more peaceful times). Contrary to our expectations, most of the advertising targeted the civilian home front and not the Israel Defence Forces and its soldiers. Examination of the language of advertisements during this period demonstrates that the use of foreign expressions was

avoided (in contrast to the common current practice), probably in order to identify with the country in its hour of need, and that the advertisements sometimes “conversed” with each other and for this reason, in fact, carried on a dialogue with the readers as well.

KEREM HEMED, THE HEBREW PERIODICAL OF WISSENSCHAFT DES JUDENTUMS IN GALICIA AND ITALY / Moshe Pelli

Kerem Hemed (1833–1856) represents a new phenomenon in the development of Hebrew periodicals in the nineteenth-century Haskalah. It was published on the heels of the demise of *Bikurei ha-’Itim* (1820–1831) and was devoted to the study of all phases and phenomena of historical Judaism—the discipline known as *Wissenschaft des Judentums* (the “Science of Judaism”), initiated by learned Maskilim in Galicia, Italy, and Germany.

The editor/publisher of *Kerem Hemed*, Shmuel Leib Goldenberg, introduced a daring innovation in his periodical: all articles were published in the format of learned correspondence between and among Haskalah scholars.

The article probes the backdrop of the periodical and the persona and the activities of its publisher-editor in pursuing his undertaking. It discusses the question of who actually edited the journal: whether it was Goldenberg or the Galician Maskil Shlomo Yehuda Rapoport (known as ShIR).

The article then examines the use of the correspondence format and its unique characteristics inasmuch as it contributed, in addition to scholarship, insights onto the personalities of the individual scholars, their mindset, their relationship with other Maskilim, and the knowledge of Haskalah at the time.

The article also studies the reasons for the choice of such a format.

The periodical reflects the emergence of a *respublica litterarum* (a “republic of letters”), i.e., a community of writers and pundits among Hebrew Maskilim as an up-and-coming force in Jewish society, first in Germany and then in Austria and Galicia, that competed with the existing structure of the Kehillah (autonomous community administration) and the religious establishment.

Kerem Hemed served the Haskalah intellectual community, uniting Galician Maskilim with their counterparts in Italy and Germany. This community of scholars was borderless, somewhat universal, serving Maskilim in several countries.

Even though *Kerem Hemed* declared itself to be a scholarly journal, within its learned studies one may detect definite Haskalah tendencies, manifested in attempts to promote Haskalah and its ideology. Some of the “esoteric” studies that appeared in the journal expressed explicit messages against superstition and Kabbalah, offering rationalistic and modern perceptions of Judaism, while others severely criticized the phenomenon of HHasidism in Galicia.

LANGUAGE, COMMUNICATION AND THE ROLE OF THE HEBREW PRESS IN THE POLITICAL IDEOLOGY AND ACTIVITIES OF RABBI YEHUDA ALKALAY / Gideon Kouts

The Sephardi Rabbi Yehuda b. Shelomo Hai Alkalay (Sarajevo 1798-Jerusalem 1878) is inscribed in Jewish and Zionist history as the first, in chronological terms, of the three nineteenth-century thinkers who are usually known collectively as the “Precursors of Zionism.” His programmatic book *Minhat Yehuda* (Judas’ gift) – in fact, only a 24-page booklet – appeared in Hebrew at the early date of 1843, following the Damascus blood libel (the accusation that Jews had ritually murdered a monk to use his blood). From then on, he published all his works in Hebrew. In the meantime,

the important works of those who shared his “title,” Rabbi Zvi Hirsh Kalisher (his ostensible Ashkenazi “twin” in schoolbooks) and Moses Hess (the socialist), took until the 1860s to appear.

Alkalay’s publications were received at first with a mixture of criticism and scorn that was later communicated to the historians of Religious Zionism, who felt that the mystical-kabalistic elements in his writings could not endow the gradual Zionist process that he proposed for redemption with a sufficiently rational and scholarly interpretation..

Alkalay's real rehabilitation had to await the advent of Jacob Katz, who noted his evolution from popular Messianism to modern nationalism. In even his earliest works, however, one may discern the pragmatic elements in his ideology and activities. Alkalay did not overly immerse himself in arguments – he was a prospective, not a retrospective, thinker – and presented proposals of pragmatic political nature, such as the Assembly of Elders (“The Approved Assembly”), the need for a world-wide Jewish organization that would promote and implement the establishment of a Jewish national home in the Holy Land in all its aspects, and the creation of economic institutions for land purchase and settlement. He tried to exploit every opportunity and make use of everybody or institution, present or future (such as the Alliance Israélite Universelle society), including the media, as springboards for the implementation of his theories. He also set up, albeit without success, an Ashkenazi-Sephardic society, based on his ideas, in the heart of the Jerusalem community that predicated its existence on *haluqa* (distribution of alms). This places him in a class with the creators of political Zionism, headed by Herzl, who would come afterwards and who themselves, by the way, did not hesitate to put forward Messianic arguments of their own, although of secular nature.

Alkalay, however, is still largely ignored as the father of

the concept of Hebrew as the compulsory modern national language of the Jewish people, the Zionist movement, and the future State of Israel. Thus, he foresaw the future more clearly than the formal creators of political Zionism, who for many years dithered about the choice of a national language until the outcome became a fact.

The article cites a central element in Alkalay's ideology and activities that has not been identified as such thus far: his modern approach toward mass communication and its place in the nation-building process. This approach, adopted by political Zionism and its “commentators,” finds expression from the beginning of his work in the following principles:

- The Hebrew language, in itself, as a facilitator of communication among all segments of the Jewish people, without which no popular or national unity is possible.

- Hence, the role and the social and political importance of Hebrew-language mass media, starting with the modern Hebrew weeklies that appeared in Europe from 1856 onward.

- Finally, from unity to uniformity, a proposal that, to our regret, seem radical and Utopian even today: full integration, abolition of the different ethnic communities and the separate worship rituals of each individual community and camp (in his time: Orthodox and reformist) — in a nutshell, the end of the Ashkenazi–Sephardi dichotomy.

REPORTS FROM THE FIELD IN THE NINETEENTH-CENTURY HEBREW PRESS / David Tal

In the debut issue of *Ha-Maggid*,¹ the founder of this weekly journal, Eliezer L. Zilberman,² established its format and structure: news features, articles on world events, and reports from the field on happenings in Jewish communities. Other Hebrew newspapers published in the second half of the nineteenth-century used the same format, with slight differences.

Hebrew newspapers had no paid correspondents at this time. News from the field arrived in the form of letters from local citizens to the newspaper's editorial desk, spurred by their love of writing and their desire to impress their surroundings and win the honorific “author.” Editors rarely knew their correspondents or, at best, had slight acquaintance with them, and thus could not authenticate news sent from afar. The information that poured in from Jewish

communities piqued the interest of contemporary readers and the newspapers remain an important source of research on these communities.

Some articles triggered a flood of reactions pro and con and unleashed a wave of polemics. The present study discusses several articles on specific local events that were published in the 1870s and 1880s. Most of the events reported really occurred, but their significance was interpreted in various ways in the form of opinions that were published in the paper. Occasionally, the editor and the weekly were led astray, printing features that discussed events that eventually proved to have been the fruit of some reporter's fertile imagination. Whenever this happened, the editor had to take a stand, explain the flaw that allowed the hoax to find its way into print, settle affairs between rivals, and await readers' verdicts. If a correspondent's story cast aspersions on government institutions, the editor was guilty – and it was he who was summoned to court.

1 The first regularly published Hebrew weekly, est. 1856.

2 Eliezer Lipman Zilberman (1819–1882), author and journalist.

A prayer composed by Yechiel Brill, editor of the weekly *Ha-Levanon*, illuminates both the problem and the remedy: “May the publishers of newspapers for Jews enjoy serenity like that of publishers of newspapers for other nations. May we be able, like them, to pay correspondents in the big cities

of every nation. This will bring the crimes of hasty journalists to an end, since paid authors do not produce incorrect information.”³

3 *Ha-Levanon* 23 (tenth year—1874), p. 183.

“FOR HIM, THE TRUTH IS THE GREATEST SENSATION” BENZION KATZ, A FIGHTING JOURNALIST / Nurit Govrin

The article describes the persona, life, and oeuvre of the late Benzion Katz, one of the most fascinating and peripatetic personalities in recent Jewish history: a journalist, a researcher, and a warrior rolled into one. His many journalistic scoops earned him the Sokolow Prize for Journalism in 1956. The article provides a general survey of his vigorous and effective involvement in Jewish public life in Eastern Europe, Palestine, and Israel; describes the nature and importance of his memoirs; and briefly mentions five struggles in which he participated, including the Beilis blood libel in Russia (1913), the assassination of Chaim Arlosoroff in Palestine (1933), and the *Altalena* affair in newly founded Israel (June 1948).

Katz’ personality and character are recounted by close contemporary acquaintances from various points of view, illuminating qualities such as prodigious memory and stormy temperament coupled with absent-mindedness; and his success where others failed despite, and due to, the intuitive understanding of his interlocutors that offset his incomplete command of the Russian language. The article demonstrates the aptness of the definition that was applied to him, “knight of the truth,” and notes that throughout his public career he put the truth before everything else and showed this in his actions.

Several of his main achievements are noted, including establishing and editing the *Ha-Zeman* newspaper chain (1903–1911); publishing Bialik’s poem “In the City of

Killing,” (1903); establishing additional newspapers in Russia and Palestine, including *Ha-‘Am* (1916–1917), *Ha-Boqer* (1935), and *Hadashot* (1938–1940); and publishing *The Complete Writings of Shaul Tchernichovsky* in ten volumes (1929).

The article concludes by describing Katz’ activity as the godfather of authors, who helped them in covert and overt ways to publish their books and make a living, and the patron of various projects in original Hebrew literature and the translation of important books into Hebrew. His collaboration with the publisher Avraham Yosef Stiebel and his relations with the authors Shaul Tchernichovsky, Deborah Baron, Chaim Nachman Bialik, and G. Shoffman are described.

The article urges the Katz family and research institutes to launch a massive four-part project: producing a biography; gathering his writings; proofing his correspondence including those who corresponded with him; and compiling a bibliography of his writings and those who wrote about him. Furthermore, a selection of his books of historical research should be re-published and a new and expanded edition of *On Newspapers and People* should be produced. This project should be performed incrementally, under the patronage of the Andrea and Charles Bronfman Institute for the Study of Jewish Press and Communications at Tel Aviv University, possibly in conjunction with the many existing departments of communication at Israel’s universities and institutes.

BEN TZION KATZ & THE YIDDISH / Nathan Cohen

While many of his contemporary Hebraists repudiated their knowledge of Yiddish and lost no opportunity to subject the *zhargon* to public scorn, Ben-Tzion Katz was an exception. From the beginning of his career as a Hebrew journalist, he contributed constantly and fearlessly to the growing Yiddish press (in Eastern and Western Europe and North and South America) and did not attempt to hide under the cover of a pseudonym. Moreover, Katz was the initiator and founder of

two Yiddish newspapers.

Katz’s approach to the respective language problems of Jews in Eastern European and Eretz Yisrael (Palestine) was realistic, practical, and not influenced by political ideologies of any stripe. In his hundreds of articles in Yiddish, he dealt extensively with themes that appeared in his Hebrew writing: the history of East European Jewry, famous personalities in the Jewish history, and, of course, current events such as the

Mendl Beylis trial and other antisemitic manifestations, and the Arlosoroff affair. His main concern, however, was for the cultural, national and religious fate of the Jews under Soviet rule, which he defined as a “modern Inquisition.”

Ben Tzion Katz was a man of truth who did his best to contemplate reality soberly without slipping into dogmas or shallow slogans.

THE MATCHMAKING SECTION IN A FRENCH-JEWISH NEWSPAPER / Shmuel Bunim

Some 70,000–80,000 Jews, most from independent Poland and a minority from other Central and East European countries, emigrated to France between the two world wars. The immigrants, mostly settling in Paris, were characterized by a strong wish to make themselves permanent in their new country and by a high percentage of young people.

The core issue in the discussion is the problem of finding a mate in a new environment in which traditional matchmaking was a distant memory. The local Jewish press provided a partial answer by offering itself as an agent of integration. The *Parizer Haynt*, founded in 1926, established letters-to-the-editor departments from the outset. By the end of the 1920s, it added a rubric that it called “The Family Life in Paris Corner.” Unlike the letters, which addressed specific questions to the editors, the new department created a direct

dialogue among readers. Apart from sharing family problems with readers, most of the correspondence dealt with the quest for a mate. As time passed, the “Corner” turned into a full-fledged matchmaking service.

Analysis of the requests and responses illuminates three permanent patterns of discourse: the feeling of loneliness and estrangement in the immediate present, self-presentation focusing mainly on the correspondents’ past and noble ancestry, and fervent desire to integrate in France.

By reading this particular literature, we obtain an insight into the experiences of young immigrants in the new environment of a big city and the self-appointed role of the *Parizer Haynt* as a traditional matchmaker with public responsibility for the task of establishing Jewish families.

“THEY WROTE ABOUT HIM IN THE NEWSPAPER” LOUIS MILLER’S IMAGE BETWEEN SOCIALISM AND OPPORTUNISM / Ehud Manor

This article investigates the posthumous description of the image of Louis Miller. Miller (1866–1927) was one of the most outstanding editors in the Jewish press at the time of the great migration. It is hard to overemphasize the role of the immigrant press and its stewards for Jewish public life in our era. Arriving in the US in the 1880s, Miller, like Abraham Cahan and many others, defined himself at first as a “Yiddish-speaking Socialist.” In fact, however, Miller, like most of his comrades, was a Jewish leader with socialist leanings. But whereas his erstwhile partners, especially Cahan, tried –through *Di Forverts* – to demonstrate their allegiance to this slogan, Miller adopted a full-fledged Jewish national perception. This tendency became increasingly clear after 1905, when Miller left *Di Forverts* and established *Di Warheit*, a daily paper that at its peak had a circulation of some 100,000 copies. Until 1914, Miller competed with Cahan in an effort to “sell” not only his paper but also the idea

that Jews must organize as a national group, not only to attain better achievements in the east (be it Russia or Eretz Israel) but for the amelioration of Jewish existence in the US as well. In 1914, Miller’s swim against the tide came to an end. While most Jews backed Germany in her war against Russia, Miller, drawing a necessary conclusion from his understanding of socialism and Jewish interests, supported the Allies. From then until his bitter death thirteen years later, Miller’s image – a matter of constant debate even in his heyday – deteriorated in tandem with his physical condition. Between 1927 and 1967, some twenty articles were published about Miller, depicting him either as a trailblazer, a harbinger, or a paragon of courage on the one hand, or as an ego-maniac, a warmonger or an opportunist, on the other. This article tries to present both concepts, suggesting that be Miller’s personality what it may, his politics should be better remembered.