

Journal of Media and Communications History in Israel and the Jewish World  
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## No. 40, Summer 2010

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## EDITORIAL

### THE JOURNALIST AS A NATIONAL LEADER

#### Yosef Gorny

In the 150<sup>th</sup> year since the birth of Binyamin Ze'ev Herzl (1860-1904), it seems appropriate to reflect, among other things, on Herzl as a journalist and a statesman who became a national leader.

In the 21<sup>st</sup> issue of *Kesher* (May 1997), Shalom Rosenfeld, a renowned journalist and the founder of the Institute that publishes this journal, described Herzl as a salient representative of the “New Journalism” – as it is also known today – which already in those days embodied the involvement of the journalist, writer, and intellectual in current Affairs, not only as someone who relays accurate information but also, for better or worse, as an analyst who seeks, usually while relying on his literary skills, to influence developments on the basis of his worldview and at times also on the basis of a subjective political outlook. In my brief remarks here, I wish to reflect on the relationship between Herzl the “new journalist” and Herzl the statesman and national leader who was a frequent guest of European rulers.

Herzl the writer and journalist, who published brilliant feuilletons for the prominent Viennese newspaper *Neue Freie Presse*, became a “new journalist” in the intellectual capital of Europe at the time, Paris, while stationed there as a correspondent for the newspaper during the years 1891-1895. In this city, in addition to witnessing the social anarchist unrest in France and the political struggles within the “Palais Bourbon,” the French parliament, he discovered the link

between nationalism and anti-Semitism, as reflected in the famous Dreyfus Affair. This was in addition to his awareness of the nationalist tendencies of the Austrian empire, operating under the guise of political unity, and the effects of these tendencies on the national status of Jews as citizens of the empire.

Herzl was not the first Jewish journalist and intellectual to become politically involved in the situation of Jews in Central and Western Europe. Fifty years earlier, lawyer and journalist Gabriel Riesser (1806-1863) had conducted a courageous and unrelenting decades-long struggle for equal civil rights for Germany's Jews. In addition, Herzl's contemporary, The French writer and journalist Bernard Lazare (1865-1903), undertook a public campaign against the Dreyfus Affair and its anti-Semitic implications. Lazare even worked together with Herzl and was a member of the Zionist Action Committee during 1897-1898. He left the Zionist Organization because of his criticism of Herzl for political alliance with what he saw as reactionary elements that ruled Europe. To these two we may add Leon Blum (1872-1950), who was a near-contemporary of Herzl's and whose attitude to his Jewish ancestry was also influenced by his political involvement in the Dreyfus Affair. His involvement continued in the form of support for Zionism during the 1930s while serving as prime minister of France and through intensive support for its political struggles after World War II. These three were

*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](mailto: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).

not only well-known publicists but also newspaper editors, like Herzl: Riesser was the founder and editor of the Jewish newspaper *Der Jude* during the years 1832-1835; Lazare was among the editors of the pro-Zionist weekly *Le Flambeau* (“the torch”); Blum served as editor of the French Socialist Party’s bulletin, *Le Populaire*; and Herzl was, as we know, the founder and editor of the Zionist Organization’s bulletin, *Die Welt* (“the world”). These four may thus be described as “new journalists” of a sort in light of their personal, prolonged, and active involvement in political Affairs generally and in all matters relating to the condition of Jews in Europe during various times. At the same time, there is a special similarity between Herzl and Blum. Both headed a political system: Blum as the head of a political party and a Prime Minister, and Herzl as the leader of the Zionist movement and president of the Zionist Organization. Beyond these particular similarities, however, there is a significant difference between them. Blum was first and foremost a rational and measured statesman, whereas Herzl had distinct utopian tendencies as a social visionary, and these tendencies were further fuelled by his more than slightly adventurous and romantic traits as an involved journalist.

## INSIDE *KESHER* 40

### Gideon Kouts

The forty issues of *Keshet*, the freshest of which lies before you today, have founding fathers: from the unforgettable founder of the Institute for the Study of Jewish Press and Communications at Tel Aviv University, the late Shalom Rosenfeld, to the editor of its first 33 issues, Dr. Mordecai Naor. They also have an adopting father, Prof. Yosef Gorny, who knew how to revive the only academic institute in the world dealing exclusively with the study of the history of Jewish and Israeli press, awakening it from an imposed and prolonged coma. The renewal of the journal’s publication brought together writers, researchers, and curious readers from a variety of opinions and positions, all of whom contributed to the vital undertaking to promote critical research and engagement with a field that is today undergoing historic changes and developments. The unique importance of this undertaking is constantly increasing. But as this is not

Indeed, upon conclusion of the First Zionist Congress in Basel, Herzl gave voice to the utopian spirit with which he was infused:

If I were to condense the Basel Congress to one sentence – which I would take care not to express publicly – it would be this: In Basel I founded the Jewish state. If I were to say this aloud today, I would be met with laughter. Perhaps in another five years, certainly in another 50 years, everyone will admit this. The founding of a state is, fundamentally, embodied in the desires of the nation for a state.... Territory is only the material foundation; even where it has territory, the state will always be something abstract.... Thus, in Basel I created this abstract thing that is therefore invisible to most beings. [I did this] through minimal means. Bit by bit I encouraged people to think about the state and gave them the feeling that they are in fact the national assembly.

(Theodore Herzl, *The Jewish Question: Diaries, 1895-1898*, Jerusalem, Mosad Bialik, 1997 p. 482 )

Indeed, the “utopian” imagination of the involved journalist predicted the future reality.

a summary conclusion – rather, it is a milestone along the way – let us, as befits the number 40, enter the *Pardes* and explore this issue.

For the opening section, we sought to use the opportunity of the 150<sup>th</sup> anniversary of the birth of the Visionary of the State, Binyamin Zeev Herzl in order to view the fathers of Zionism who had worked in the press as “professionals” in this field, long before the definition “journalist” served as a cloak, though not always as a cover, for many of their followers. This time we are looking at Herzl himself and at his first and closest partner, Max Nordau, but we hope to broaden this exploration to other individuals and entities in the coming issues. In this issue Mordecai Naor examines the importance of public relations campaigns for the new idea and new movement embodied in Herzl’s enterprise, while Rafi Mann views Herzl as a “public diplomat” – according to the

definition prevalent these days – and illustrates the nature of Herzl's work by describing the assistance he provided to the Turks in "public relations" surrounding the Armenian issue, a topic that inevitably sparks a connection with currently burning issues. Gideon Kouts presents Herzl's and Nordau's witty critiques of the nature and functioning of European press in all its variations, at a time when the seemingly necessary Jewish or Zionist "echo" was quite weak among professional critiques. The Hungarian researcher Hedwig Ujvári reveals young Nordau's first position as a journalist in Budapest: as the editor of an illustrated journal, who wrote, among other things, feuilletons for Christmas.

In what ways did the independent government of the State of Israel incorporate the Zionist movement's public relations legacy? We have two examples of the government's communications efforts to recruit citizens: from the State's earliest days and from these days. Haim Grossman presents the Israeli government's internally directed communications effort using special holiday missives sent to citizens of Israel during the State's first decade, while Baruch Leshem discusses the first survey of research that explores the recent international public relations campaign that the government sought to conduct with the assistance of citizens travelling abroad.

Yuval Karniel and Amit Lavie examine the new public sphere within the world of Israeli communications, which so far looks mostly like an additional arm of the professional sector – journalists' internet blogs. In the 20<sup>th</sup> century renowned writers did not need personal blogs to express their opinion on current matters. They did it by writing columns in the daily press. Heddy Shait brings their reactions to the "Sailors strike" in 1951 as an example to literary response and interrelations with the Hebrew journalism.

Elzbieta Kossewska brings us the story of *Opinia*, the Polish-language newspaper of the Progressive Party in Israel,

which was the third incarnation of a newspaper that had been published in Poland before and after World War II. Shlomo Shafir explores the role of three leading "icons" of the post-war West German press, Marion Dönhoff, Axel Springer and Rudolf Augstein, and especially their attitude towards Jews and Israel.

Yigal Bin-Nun presents the debate on Jewish immigration in the Moroccan press in 1955-1965

The final section includes articles about the process of modernization in the written media within religious-orthodox society throughout the Diaspora and in Israel. This theme will also continue in future issues of the journal. At the core of three of these articles stands the Woman as a symbol of modernization in these media. The question of *agunot* ("chained" women, deserted by their husbands) served as a catalyst and convenient justification for the use of the media to fulfill a religious duty – locating missing husbands in the historical context of East European Jewry in the mid-19<sup>th</sup> century. Haim Sperber discusses the form that this phenomenon took within Jewish religious and non-religious press. Rabbi Yaron Silverstein sees it as the link between the "global village" of the media and Jewish Law. Ben-Tzion Klibansky tells the story of the "Yeshiva press" of the *Novardok* Movement between the two World Wars in Poland. Orly Tsarfaty and Dalia Liran-Alper take us back to the role of the woman, this time within the commercial Ultra-Orthodox press in Israel, where they find a budding women's feminist discourse. In our regular Documentary Section column, Akiva Zimmerman, a researcher and journalist with a long personal experience at the national-religious daily *Ha-Tzofe*, summarizes the course of this newspaper, which has come to its end.

Wishing you enjoyable and fruitful reading, until we meet again in the winter issue and in the issues to follow.

## *English Abstracts of Hebrew Articles*

### **HERZL AS A PUBLIC RELATIONS PRACTITIONER / Mordecai Naor**

In the Zionist consciousness and in many writings, Herzl is consistently portrayed as the “Visionary of the State,” a statesman, playwright, journalist, and editor. Less attention is given to the public relations aspect of his Zionist activities. Yet it should be recognized that Herzl took upon himself, in addition to his many tasks, the role of principal public relations practitioner of the Zionist Organization, and he did this with unrelenting determination and with outstanding public relations skills. In actual fact, he did not have a choice: he was forced to market a new movement and a grandiose idea, which many considered insane, while he and his movement had almost no resources.

In this article three of Herzl’s public relations operations and one imagined public relations idea that he articulated are examined: 1. The organization and implementation of the first Zionist Congress; 2. The founding of the Zionist Bank,

the “Colonial Bank,” known in Hebrew as *Otsar Hityashvut ha-Yehudim* (Jewish Colonial Trust); 3. Commissioning of the world’s first Arabic language typewriter, to be presented to the Turkish Sultan in order to gain his support for Zionist goals; 4. Undertaking an imagined public relations tour for 500 world dignitaries in the Mediterranean Sea, as described in Herzl’s utopian book *Altneuland*.

Shlomo Avineri, one of the well known researchers of Zionism, wrote that Herzl succeeded where other leaders had failed because of his special talents. He attributes Herzl’s success in promoting the Zionist idea not to the funds that he did not have or to the political power that he also lacked. “What worked for Herzl ... [was] his being a brilliant and prolific journalist who craved publicity and had experience with public relations work.”

### **HERZL’S PUBLIC DIPLOMACY AND “THE ARMENIAN QUESTION” / Rafi Mann**

This article analyzes Theodore Herzl’s media endeavors through a new prism: as a pioneer using various strategies and tactics of Public Diplomacy in the service of the Jewish national movement. Herzl’s activities should be seen as an early example of the use of the typical practices of public diplomacy, in which a government or a non-governmental organization (NGO) promotes its interests by influencing public opinion in other countries.

From the outset of his Zionist involvement, Herzl was aware that traditional diplomacy would not be enough. Alongside closed-door lobbying meetings with emperors and dukes, ministers and other high level officials, there was a crucial need for a concerted effort to influence European public opinion. “We need diplomatic negotiations, which I have already started, as well as large-scale journalistic action,” he wrote in 1896.

For this purpose he granted interviews and briefed reporters with various aims in mind: increasing the exposure of the Zionist movement to various publics, emphasizing the advantages for European nations of the exodus of the Jews,

and dispelling the arguments of his critics, Jews and non-Jews alike.

The planning of the first Zionist Congress in Basel should also be analyzed as a carefully orchestrated event meant to be seen by “the whole world” and as a way to brand (another component of public policy) the new movement as a dignified, respectful European phenomenon.

One of the elements of Herzl’s public diplomacy was controversial at the time and has remained so ever since: his readiness to assist the Ottoman Sultan in his efforts to improve the empire’s image in Europe in the wake of the mass killings of Armenians in 1895 and 1896. Herzl wanted not only to curry favor with the Sultan but also to impress him with the power the Jews had over the European media. Herzl’s pro-Ottoman activities were not just media-related efforts; they also included good-will gestures, which nowadays are part of public diplomacy strategies, such as sending a mission of Jewish doctors to treat wounded Turkish soldiers as well as fundraising for that purpose.

Although Herzl’s political Zionism failed to secure an

Ottoman charter for the Jewish state, both his traditional and public diplomacy set the ground for later achievements of the movement. Almost all his successors maintained his

practice of using public diplomacy through the media and other means as an integral part of the struggle to establish the Jewish state.

## HERZL, NORDAU AND THE EUROPEAN PRESS / Gideon Kouts

A survey in late 1902 by the French weekly *La Revue Politique et Littéraire* (later renamed *La Revue Bleue*) requested present and former foreign correspondents from European states who were based in Paris to assess the French press. The replies to this question, published in December 1902, were largely in agreement: Paris newspapers were exciting and well written but contained little information.

Two of the respondents happened to be two of the prominent leaders of political Zionism at the time, and they had in fact first met in Paris when both were foreign correspondents there: Theodor Herzl (1860-1904), who by 1902 was the leader of the Zionist movement, served as foreign correspondent for the Viennese *Neue Freie Presse* during 1891-95 and still worked for that paper in Vienna; and Max Nordau (1849-1923), author, philosopher, physician, and journalist, still based in Paris as foreign correspondent for Berlin's *Vossische Zeitung*.

Curiously, neither the Jewish identity nor the Zionist activity of these two respondents is mentioned by the editor of the *Revue*, nor, even more significantly, do the respondents themselves refer to these two aspects of their

identity and activity. Both Herzl and Nordau replied purely as representatives of the "German" world. Yet, at the time these replies were written, only weeks had passed since the mysterious death of Emil Zola; the Dreyfus affair was still fresh and had not yet ended formally; and Zionist activity was at a fevered pitch. Herzl's nostalgic reminiscence in particular is a pointed reminder of the double lives that both men led in order to earn their livelihood as journalists vis-à-vis their intense Zionist involvement.

Nordau, in an elegant, subtle, and brief reply, praises the Paris newspapers for their literary brilliance and colorful local reportage but suggests that their foreign coverage is both skimpy and biased. Herzl, in a rambling, sentimental piece, gives essentially the same reply, adding comparisons with the English press (accurate world coverage) and the German press (world coverage, but ponderous).

Nowhere in this context does the formal "Jewishness" of these journalists emerge, but it is somewhat echoed in the texts and can give us some understanding of the functioning of Zionist propaganda at that time.

## THE YOUNG MAX NORDAU AS EDITOR OF THE ILLUSTRATED PERIODICAL *UNGARISCHE ILLUSTRIRTE ZEITUNG* (1871)

/ Hedwig Ujvári

On the basis of Max Nordau's memoirs, we might conclude that while he was living in Pest (1849-1880), he wrote during a decade for the newspaper *Pester Lloyd* (1867-1876), and only when he clashed with the newspaper's editor, Max Falk, did he begin writing for the *Neues Pester Journal* (1876-1878). We also know the types of issues on which he focused in his writings. The first period, between 1867 and 1886, was less productive despite the relatively long period of time. During this period Nordau wrote approximately 60 short articles and feuilleton pieces. The turning point in his work as a publicist took place when he was sent on behalf of the newspaper to

Vienna, the capital of the empire and seat of the emperor, on the occasion of the World Fair that took place there in 1873. He began reporting regularly through feuilletons about what he saw and experienced. Over the course of seven months, he published approximately 100 articles, a personal record for him as a journalist. After that he went on a study tour through Europe over the course of two years. Besides fulfilling his obligation of reporting on the visit of Emperor Franz Josef to Russia, Nordau wrote only a few articles. The number of articles and feuilleton pieces that he had written for *Pester Lloyd* came to 230.

Almost all of Nordau's colleagues on the editorial board of the *Pester Lloyd* were educated, liberal, bilingual (German- and Hungarian-speaking) Jews. The most famous among them was Max (Maximilian) Falk (in Hungarian: Falk Miksa) (1828-1908), the editor-in-chief from 1867 to 1906, who also served as a delegate to the Hungarian parliament. Yet the *Pester Lloyd* was a liberal newspaper, published in German, intended for the Hungarian bourgeoisie, and covering all the required issues in the areas of policy, economics, and culture, without any special "Jewish" aspects. It did, of course, cover the blood libel affair in Tiszaeszlár, which stirred up emotions in Hungary over the course of six months in 1882-1883. It also reported from time to time on pogroms against Jewish communities in its foreign affairs section. The feuilletons, Nordau's main specialization, did not deal with Jews or Judaism.

The first issue of *Ungarische Illustrirte Zeitung* was published on 1 January 1871 in Pest. Beneath the decorated title of the newspaper, the main statistics were listed: the intention was to publish 13 issues per quarter, the newspaper was to appear on Sundays, and "Subscriptions to *Ungarische Illustrirte Zeitung* may be purchased directly through the German publisher and printer *Deutsche Buchdruckerei- und Verlags-Actien-Gesellschaft* in Pest or through any book store at a cost of 1 gulden and 50 kreuzer per quarter." Other editorial board details appeared on the last page: the editor-in-chief was Max Nordau, and the publisher and printer –

the German publishing and printing houses – were located in Pest. The entire spread of the newspaper (in folio format) was eight pages. The pagination was continuous, and the first yearbook numbered 424 pages.

Only with publication of the 35<sup>th</sup> issue was it possible to conclude for certain that this was a supplement of *Pester Lloyd* because that issue stated, under the title of newspaper, "The *Ungarische Illustrirte Zeitung* is published every Sunday as a supplement to *Pester Lloyd*, at a cost of 70 kreuzer per quarter." The third issue already contained an article by Max Falk, a translation from *Fővárosi Lapok* ("pages from the capital"). The circle of writers in the main newspaper also included Albert Sturm and Adolph Dux.

Regarding Nordau's part in the publication of the supplement, there are articles with his byline, and it is also possible that he wrote the principal articles, but we will only address those articles that appeared under his name. In Pest Nordau published mainly feuilleton articles. Up to this point, no poems appear under his name. Yet *Ungarische Illustrirte Zeitung* did publish his translations of Hungarian poems.

Nordau's name as editor-in-chief appeared in the final page of all the issues during that year (1871) through the middle of December. Then the regular editorial text appeared: "The publication of the *Pester Lloyd* company in Pest is the editorial responsibility of the German publisher and printer in Pest." Nordau's successor in this role was Dr. Adolph Zilberstein.

## **THE GOVERNMENT OF ISRAEL WISHES TO CONGRATULATE: A HISTORY OF THE GOVERNMENT'S HOLIDAY MISSIVES TO ITS CITIZENS DURING THE FIRST DECADE OF THE STATE OF ISRAEL / Haim Grossman**

Since the early days of Zionism, written and illustrated messages have been used to reach out to the Zionist target audience. Upon the establishment of the State, the government of Israel became the principal body to produce national messages directed at all citizens of the new state. "Independence Day posters" graced public venues annually, and a variety of pamphlets, postcards, and holiday missives were sent to all Jewish citizens on the occasions of *Rosh ha-Shana* (the Jewish New Year) and *Yom ha-'Atsma'ut* (Independence Day) from the early days of the founding of the state until the tenth year.

The holiday greetings were an expression of a familiar and accepted Jewish tradition supplemented by a national element, as illustrated by both the nature of the greetings and the added practice of holiday greetings upon the occasion of the new national holiday of *Yom ha-'Atsma'ut*. The missives represented a combination of goals and aspirations, and they imbued the personal holiday greetings with a national significance. The national goals became part of the holiday agenda of every citizen, who, in light of the personal communication, felt like an active participant in the public mission. National growth statistics combined with

congratulations for success in achieving the national goals strengthened the personal sense of pride for involvement in a successful, developing project, and they allowed the government to convey to each individual a sense of the importance of his participation and, in so doing, to minimize the need for explanation for the current difficulties resulting from pursuit of the national goals. By defining these goals through holiday greetings, the government came across as active, focused, and clearly directed, possessing leadership skills and a sense of purpose, as well as being cooperative and sharing its successes and hopes with the public.

Since the tenth anniversary, no special postcards have been sent to citizens' homes, and the messages of the prime minister and key ministers, such as defense, finance, and education ministers, are conveyed to the public through holiday newspapers and interviews in the electronic media. The "Voice of the Establishment" is still heard annually, as

in the past, through the "Independence Day poster," but the visionary message is no longer as relevant as it had been in the past, and it has tended to focus on decorative elements or on fairly uncontroversial images of Jerusalem.

In the last few decades, the tradition of sending a missive to the citizens has elapsed. *Yom ha-'Atsma'ut* has lost some of its importance, and *Rosh ha-Shana* greetings are no longer sent, as in the past. Possibly it is the significant increase in size of the Israeli population that created organizational difficulties in sending greetings. Possibly it was even a consideration of the amount of advertising material in each citizen's mailbox, which would make a government missive just another piece of disposable paper. The essence of the change apparently lies in the lack of agreed and universally accepted national messages, making such a project complex and impossible in the social and political reality of Israel today.

## **EXPLAINING ISRAEL? THE GOVERNMENT'S INFORMATION CAMPAIGN THROUGH THE PRISM OF THE MEDIA AND RESEARCH LITERATURE / Baruch Leshem**

The campaign "Explaining Israel," conducted by the Ministry of Information and Diaspora Affairs, identified as its purpose to turn the Israeli public into a voice for the state in order to improve its image. This article aims to examine whether the campaign addresses Israel's image problems in accordance with the models proposed by researchers and whether it provides answers to Israel's image problems as identified by research.

Does the campaign "Explaining Israel" have the potential to address Israel's image requirements as these have been identified by research conducted on the subject? The campaign's communications strategy is based on a number of messages. (a) An anti-Israel stance is the result of lack of information about the Israeli-Arab conflict. According to research on Israel's image, however, there is a great deal of information in the world about the Israeli-Palestinian conflict. The worsening of attitudes towards Israel is a result of the negative coverage of military confrontations between Israel and Arabs in the wars in Lebanon, the two Palestinian *Intifadas*, and Operation "Cast Lead" in Gaza. All of these events received widespread international coverage. (b) Israel is perceived throughout the world as a primitive, desert country whose residents ride camels. According

to the research, however, Israel is recognized globally as a technologically developed country. (c) The world does not know how good the economic conditions in Judea and Samaria really are. All of the studies presented in this article, however, frame the Israeli-Palestinian conflict as "occupier versus occupied" and "strong versus weak," and the economic situation in the territories is not mentioned in studies dealing with Israel's image. (d) Israeli citizens should market Israel's tourist attractions abroad by word of mouth. According to the studies, however, Israel is recognized as an attractive tourist destination, particularly among population groups that wish to visit holy sites. This type of audience is usually approached at the emotional level, through broadcasts and extensive use of the internet, which can provide services for the relevant target audience, as the Ministry of Tourism, indeed, does. A message that is primarily visual and emotional cannot, therefore, be transmitted by word of mouth to incidental acquaintances that Israeli tourists meet abroad.

The campaign does not meet the professional criteria necessary for an information campaign to address Israel's image problems throughout the world, as detailed above. The information campaign is conducted at the expense of the Israeli taxpayer. The possibility that a government

entity expended funds for political purposes is of course unacceptable. The second possibility – that the funds were innocently spent on a campaign that does not accord with the

goal of improving the image of the state of Israel – is also not encouraging because Israel's image problems require a more persistent and professional effort.

## **JOURNALISTS' NOTES: ISRAELI JOURNALIST BLOGGERS** **/ Amit Lavie Dinur and Yuval Karniel**

The emergence of the internet over the last two decades has reshaped the public sphere and public discourse. In particular, the introduction of new web-based technologies has paved the way for new participants to engage easily in the public discourse.

The "public sphere" has changed dramatically since Jürgen Habermas first introduced the notion, relating it to the Salons and Cafés of the 18<sup>th</sup> and 19<sup>th</sup> centuries in Western Europe. Before the internet age, the ability to shape public discourse was the privilege of few, mostly politicians and journalists. As noted, however, the emergence of new web-based technologies has made it simpler and easier for individuals to enter the public sphere, participate in the public discourse, and provide a vital supplement to the public sphere, which has shifted from the physical world to the virtual world. One of the popular platforms for engaging in the public discourse is the "blog." Blogs enable individuals to share their thoughts and ideas with others, free of oversight or regulation. Some of the bloggers are journalists.

In this study, we were interested in exploring the phenomenon of the journalist blogger. We aimed to characterize the Israeli journalist blogger and to develop a better understanding of his motivation. We found that most of the Israeli journalists who maintain their own blogs do so through large websites rather than private sites, and most write within the *Reshimot* ("registrations") framework, which is a partially closed system. The *Reshimot* system carefully screens and selects its writer/bloggers; it is a system that confers greater prestige on bloggers but at the same time severs the blogging experience from the liberal essence of the phenomenon. These new blogger journalists have apparently adopted the new world order but are not yet ready to renounce the "benefits" of the old world as expressed through the elitist perception of the press. Their attempt to congregate under one overall umbrella of bloggers demonstrates that although these independent journalists are free from economic, political, and other concerns, they are not yet ready to renounce the prestige and status associated with being part of the establishment.

## **LITERATURE AND JOURNALISM - LITERARY RESPONSES TO CURRENT EVENTS: "THE SEAMEN'S STRIKE" AS A CASE STUDY** **/ Hedy Shait**

The literature and the media have a long history of interrelations within Hebrew journalism, ever since the latter's inception. Literary responses are one of the most prominent expressions of this interrelationship. This article aims to characterize different types of literary responses to "The Seamen's Strike," which was a very dramatic and significant event in the history of the new state of Israel. The article draws on the following literary responses:

1. Political essays written by famous authors;
2. Semi-artistic poems (such as the poems of the "Seventh Column" by Nathan Alterman);

3. Current events disguised as fiction and presented as fiction; and

4. Translations of existing works of world literature, which are republished in light of new topical trends.

The local daily press covered this famous strike, including through the printing of many literary responses of various genres written by well known poets and authors. Examination of these responses demonstrates the mutual power of literature and journalism and the impact of these literary responses on public opinion as well as the enormous political power of Israeli authors in the early days of the state.

## **OPINIA – THE THIRD ROUND: THE SOCIAL-POLITICAL NEWSPAPER OF THE POLISH IMMIGRANTS’ UNION, 1950-1951 / Elżbieta Kossewska**

Only a few academic studies have examined the Progressive Party that operated in Israel during the 1950s. The only monograph dedicated to this issue is the doctoral thesis of Haim Ze’ev Paltiel, which was written at the Hebrew University and remains unpublished and which includes information about the Polish Immigrants’ Union in Israel as well. The Union worked alongside the Progressive Party and published a weekly newspaper under the name *Opinia* (“opinion”). The Party members’ articles published therein focused mainly on their public activities in Poland – relegating political activity in Israel to the sidelines – or addressed the ideological discourse and Party organization.

This article provides a media analysis of the newspaper and explores the circumstances under which Polish Jews in Israel organized themselves within the Progressive Party, and it may serve as the basis for further research on this subject. The research for this article was based on archival documents housed at Massuah, the Institute for the Study of the Holocaust at Tel Itzhak, on articles published in the pages of *Opinia*, and

on interviews with Dov Johannes, the principal founder of the Polish Immigrants’ Union and the weekly *Opinia*.

*Opinia*, like other foreign-language newspapers, did not live up to the accepted standards of journalism: the newspaper did not make use of news agencies, social connections were used to fill the places of writers, and financial investment was minimal. The newspaper existed, like all foreign-language newspapers, at the margins of Hebrew-oriented public opinion, although in terms of the number of foreign newspapers circulating during this time, almost a third of the Jewish public in Israel was among its readers. Thus, this newspaper was not marginal but was, rather, the silent portion of Israeli society because the latter listened only to what was said in Hebrew. Even so, in the Israeli *Opinia*, one could often find a good feuilleton, a worthy article, and certainly excellent humoristic pieces. If we allow for the Zionist ideology and the ethos of the Jewish state, we can conclude that during the first phase of Polish Jewish immigrants’ acclimatization in Israel, *Opinia* eased their adjustment to the new conditions of life.

## **BETWEEN DISTANCE AND PROXIMITY: DÖNHOF, SPRINGER, AND AUGSTEIN – THREE POST-WORLD-WAR-II ICONS OF GERMAN MEDIA AND THEIR ATTITUDE TOWARDS JEWS AND ISRAEL / Shlomo Shafir**

Like the rapid rebuilding of the West German economy after the total defeat of the Nazi Reich early in 1945, the revival of the German press and book publishing business – with the help of the Western governments and, subsequently, upon private initiative – proceeded rather quickly. It took several years, however, perhaps more than expected, for the impact of the Nazi period’s influence to disappear through generational change, the waning of the Cold War, and the successive democratization of West German society.

This review, based on a number of recent biographies, explores the role of three leading icons of the post-war West German press and especially their attitude towards Jews and Israel. Marion Dönhoff (1909-2002), the oldest of the three,

was born before World War I and came from East Prussian nobility, whereas Axel Springer (1912-1985) came from an Altona middle-class family, which neither supported the Nazi movement and regime nor opposed it. The youngest of the three, Rudolf Augstein (1923-2002) was born after the establishment of the Weimar Republic and, starting in 1933, was influenced by Nazi education in high school and later in the army.

Both Dönhoff and Augstein contributed at different periods to the liberalization of the Federal German Republic: Dönhoff through her fight against reactionary elements in *Die Zeit* during that prestigious weekly newspaper’s first years and Augstein through his confrontation in the early 1960s

with Franz Josef Strauss, Adenauer's Minister of Defence, over tactical nuclear weapons and the use of unlimited power in a civil society. With regard to Israel, Dönhoff was rather critical at different periods of her life, as she was with respect to Jews, despite having many Jewish friends. Augstein, who grew up after Hitler's accession to power in a nationalist, anti-Semitic atmosphere, was even more critical.

Among the three icons discussed in the essay, Axel Springer undoubtedly appears to be the most sympathetic from the

Israeli and Jewish viewpoint. He demonstrated this through his manifold contributions to the fields of science, culture, and wellbeing in Israel as well as by committing his publications to strive continuously for German-Jewish understanding and to support the existence of the Jewish people. Although Springer also apparently had religious motives for his attitude to Israel and the Holy Land, the most important motive seems to have been his consciousness of what the Germans had done to Jews in Germany and Europe during the Holocaust.

## **THE CONTROVERSY WITHIN THE MOROCCAN PRESS OVER THE EMIGRATION RIGHTS OF JEWS, 1955-1965 / Yigal Bin-Nun**

The issue of Jewish emigration – or as it was commonly known, the question of the right to freedom of movement – was a constant preoccupation of Jewish community leaders concerned about harassment by Moroccan authorities and obstacles to the processing of passport applications. These rights were no less a matter of concern for the Israeli government, the Jewish Agency, the head of the *Mossad* (Israel's intelligence agency), and the acting underground emissaries of the *Misgeret* ("framework" – a clandestine militia) in Morocco.

The liberal circles of the ruling class were opposed to the idea of emigration because, following independence, they wanted world public opinion to see their state as embodying liberal and progressive policies. They wanted their country to project the image of a modern state where all citizens

could enjoy equal rights, irrespective of their religion. Most of all, however, they were afraid that the departure of Jews from Morocco would weaken the national economy. Pan-Arab media advocates of the traditionalist party *Istiqlal*, which exalted, at least publicly, Nasserian hegemony, were displeased by the possibility that wealthy Jews would leave Morocco in order to strengthen the Zionists ranks in Israel in the context of war against the Arab nation.

For their part, representatives of international Jewish organizations preferred to discuss the easily defensible principle of the right to free transit and the granting of passports, rather than raise the question of allowing a foreign country to organize, within Moroccan territory, a systematic and structured emigration of Jewish citizens to Israel.

## **THE *AGUNOT* PHENOMENON IN EASTERN EUROPEAN JEWISH SOCIETY DURING 1857–1896 AS REFLECTED IN THE JEWISH PRESS / Haim Sperber**

This article deals with the phenomenon of the *agunot* ("chained women," deserted by their husbands) in Eastern European Jewish society during the second half of the 19<sup>th</sup> century and with the way this phenomenon is reflected in the Jewish (mainly Hebrew) press.

The Jewish press is one of the main sources of information on the phenomenon. This article investigates the main avenues by which the phenomenon was publicized: advertisements by deserted women, editorials, and the like. The article also

explores the Jewish press as an important vehicle for social change with respect to the status of women within East European Jewish society. Women published thousands of advertisements looking for their deserting husbands. Thus, the Jewish newspapers gave Jewish women new ways of dealing with a major problem within Jewish society.

The article analyzes the publication policies of various Jewish newspapers, beginning with the first Hebrew weekly, *Ha-Maggid*, published and edited by Eliezer Lipman

Zilberman in Eastern Prussia starting in 1856. Zilberman created an agenda in which the *agunot* issue was an important component. Other newspapers followed his lead, though in different ways.

The *agunot* phenomenon, as well as other issues regarding women, was, until the mid 19<sup>th</sup> century, addressed strictly

from a *Halachic* (relating to Jewish Law) and religious point of view. Following the involvement of the Jewish press, it became part of a social debate. Thus, it represented another aspect of the modernization and secularization of 19<sup>th</sup> East European Jewish society.

## **THE *TAKANAH* OF *AGUNOT* AND MODERN JOURNALISM: ASSESSING THE EFFECTS OF THE GLOBAL VILLAGE IN JEWISH LAW / Yaron Silverstein**

The media, including the various print media, is one of the most dynamic institutions of modern society. Newspapers are born in a heartbeat, the profession of journalism is constantly changing, and new developments receive extensive media coverage.

According to Jewish Law, marriage between a man and a woman is terminated in one of two situations. Either the man gives his wife a bill of divorce (known as a *get*) or the husband dies (*Mishnah Kiddushin*, Ch. 1, 1). In those cases in which a husband refuses to divorce his wife, she becomes a *mesurevet get* (a “get-refused” woman). In other cases the husband might actually disappear, making it impossible to reach him in order to obtain the bill of divorce from him. The wife in these situations then has the status of *agunah* (“chained”), that is, a woman who is “chained” to her marriage. In order to set the *agunah* free, one must provide evidence of the husband’s death. This subject has always been a main focus of work for the Rabbinat. History has documented many such cases, including the wives of soldiers who died during the War of Independence and the wives of soldiers who disappeared in the Dakar submarine.

The increasing power of modern journalism and its coverage

of events across the World offer the Rabbinat another tool to assist them in the “unchaining” of the *agunah*. It is important, in general, to analyze a news item carefully and thoroughly in order to differentiate between the truth and other elements that were added to the report so as to create a coherent story. It must be emphasized, however, as Rabbi A.Y. Kook stated, that journalism itself does not have an interest one way or the other in unchaining the *agunah*. Therefore, the status of a news item in Jewish Law in such a case is like that of a man who does not intend to give testimony (*mesiakh left tomo* – “innocent speech”), which is regarded as highly credible.

The spread of mass media has reduced the number of isolated locations throughout the world to nearly zero. The ability to inform others of our location and current status from almost anywhere has created an *omdana* (“estimation”) that if someone is not providing information about his location, and in light of other evidence, it may be concluded that he is most likely not among the living. This assumption can assist in the process of unchaining the *agunah*. In accordance with the above observations, Rabbi Herzog views the mass media as equal in status to state authorities when it comes to the *takanah* (“remedy”) of the *agunot* (plural of *agunah*).

## **“THE UNION OF YESHIVOT WILL ENCIRCLE THE WHOLE WORLD”—THE CHARACTER OF THE NOVARDOK PRESS / Ben-Tsiyon Klibansky**

The Orthodox press flourished in Poland and the Baltic states during the interwar period. Some Lithuanian yeshivot joined this trend and published periodicals containing Torah *hiddushim* (novellae) by their deans and senior students.

Among these yeshivot, those of the Novardok trend stood out for their weekly publications, handwritten and printed by hectographs, which appealed not only to local students but also to their colleagues throughout the Novardok movement.

The first periodical of this kind, *Hed ha-musar*, inaugurated by the Mezritsh Litevsk yeshiva in 1923, was followed by a series of similar weekly organs in other yeshivot, such as *Habote'ah* in Ostrov Mazovietsk, *Degel ha-metsiyut* in Pinsk, and *Hayey ha-'ovdim* in Ostrovtshe. These publications were unique in their focus on the *musar* discipline, beginning with ethical lectures by famous *mashgihim* (spiritual mentors), continuing with attractive sections—with a clear *musar* spirit—of riddles, poems, private thoughts, letters from distant yeshivot, and testimonies from the history of Novardok, and ending with snappy catchwords for easy memorization. This variety—expressed almost entirely in pure Hebrew—served as

a catchier, more pleasant, and sometimes even more efficient method for ethical elevation than the traditional *musar* books. Indeed, these organs were meant not to serve the causes of pastime or entertainment but to enrich their readers' ethical outlooks and motivate them to produce ethicist *hiddushim*. However, the editors of these weekly periodicals seem to have set a higher aim for themselves. Novardok students might easily feel isolated in the Lithuanian yeshivot world due to their exceptionality or their tendency to aloofness; this press had the power to abate their loneliness by forging a vivid spirit of unity among the thousands of members of the Novardok movement.

## MANIFESTATIONS OF FEMINIST DISCOURSE IN COMMERCIAL FAMILY MAGAZINES IN ULTRA-ORTHODOX SOCIETY / Orly Tsarfaty and Dalia Liran-Alper

The last two decades have witnessed processes of change in Jewish Ultra-Orthodox society. As a society that preserves clear gender separation in its socialization processes, women's status and spheres of activity are still confined to the home and embodied in the verse: "All glorious is the king's daughter within the palace" (Psalms, 45:14). Women are excluded from public life, and their traditional roles have been preserved. The principal causes for the processes of change include:

- Development of a new communications map that also includes a commercial press, which is aimed at defined target audiences such as women and children; and
- Women writers creating a women's media discourse and raising issues that preoccupy women, who previously gained very little media exposure. A forum for women's discourse has been created that is conducted in the public arena, although some of the issues it addresses apply to the private space. Thus, the commercial press constitutes an important arena for the permeation of new ideas, including a feminist discourse.
- The study analyzes the media discourse published in *Mishpacha Tova* ("Good Family") magazine and *Mishpacha* ("Family") magazine's *Betoch ha-Mishpacha* ("In the Family") supplement from January 2005 to December 2008. The findings of the analysis indicate:
- The commercial magazines serve as an arena for the development of a women's discourse in the Ultra-Orthodox

media, which in the past excluded women and silenced their voices.

- The magazines create solidarity among women, reinforcing women as a discrete community, and consequently lead to the empowerment of women as individuals (for example, a change in attitude to work in terms of "self-fulfillment" and "career"). The women's stories grant legitimacy to new and complex models of femininity.
- In the commercial Ultra-Orthodox press, as in secular women's magazines, emphasis is placed on the functioning of the consumer woman. This can be viewed as the manifestation of a value-based change occurring in Ultra-Orthodox society with the adoption of capitalist ideals and flamboyance that run counter to the traditional value of modesty and abstemiousness.
- As in secular women's magazines, the function filled by the magazines of providing advice to their female readership is prominent. The function of guidance and instruction on appropriate feminine behavior and moral guidance is especially prominent in all the writing genres: editorials, personal columns, articles, and reports.

In summary, while no change is yet evident in the official rhetoric, the first buds of change can be identified in the women's discourse taking place within the Ultra-Orthodox commercial press. With appropriate caution we would note that there are indications of feminist ideas filtering through into the Ultra-Orthodox women's discourse.