EDITORIAL

MEIR DIZENGOFF –THE MAN WITH A BIG VISION

Yosef Gorny

This issue is devoted to the centenary of Tel Aviv. Therefore, I thought it correct to present the readers with the vision of Tel Aviv as enunciated by the person rightly considered the father of the first modern Hebrew city—Meir Dizengoff.

> We are conducting the most important experiment in the history of our exile: we want to demonstrate how we will comport ourselves in a new and modern city that will be totally Jewish, one that we will illuminate by ourselves, maintain by ourselves, enhance and attend to its cleanliness and hygiene by ourselves."
> (Meir Dizengoff in press interview, 1921)

Thirty years after the First Aliya villages were established, Jewish settlement in Palestine crossed a watershed: in 1909, the foundations were laid for a new Jewish residential neighborhood, Ahuzat Bayit, on the outskirts of the Arab city of Jaffa. A year later, the newly founded quarter was renamed Tel Aviv. Concurrently, the foundations for the country's first collective settlement, Degania, were laid at Umm Jaouni on the shore of Lake Kinneret.

These two forms of settlement were differentiated in their human character and social intentions. Ahuzat Bayit reflected the aspiration of middle-class families to live in a modern and aesthetic neighborhood that would be different from the Arab city, Jaffa; Degania underscored the eagerness and yearnings of idealistic young people who, rebelling against the petite-bourgeois Jewish society, wished to build a new society.

The two initiatives were different in social tendency but similar in their utopian leanings, which came to light in a different manner and intensity in each. Each of the two localities, at the same time, was given a name that carried a symbolic utopian punch. In 1910, Ahuzat Bayit was renamed Tel Aviv after the Hebrew title, coined by Nahum Sokolow, of Theodor Herzl's revolutionary utopian novel, *Altneuland.* Degania, in turn, was a Hebrew translation of Umm Jaouni ("source of grain") chosen by Josef Bussel, the leader of the group of pioneers. Thus, the budding typical of spring and the blossoming of grain became a symbol of the Zionist revolution. The markers of the utopian leanings that the founders of Tel Aviv entertained, however, did not stop with symbol.

The minutes of meetings of the new neighborhood's governing committee reveal its founders' utopian inclinations in the domains of ideas and aesthetics. The first principle taken up for discussion was the progressive worldview of candidates for membership in the project. For example, the acceptance of a person perceived as "reactionary" was opposed. The establishment of shops in the neighborhood was resisted on aesthetic grounds; prospective shopkeepers were offered a special area outside the residential zone. The committee ruled that grocery stores must not sell alcoholic beverages and that a "game house" (for billiards, etc.) should not be opened. Women were enjoined against working as waitresses. Residents faced a regime of water restrictions

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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).

and were not allowed to water their gardens on the Jewish Sabbath.

On this issue and others, the members of the committee were divided between radicals and those of more pragmatic mind. The practical moderates were headed by Meir Dizengoff, whose persona is identified with the first Hebrew city.

Meir Dizengoff (1861–1936) was the offspring of a Hasidic family that did not deny him general schooling. Many *prominenti* in the Hibbat Tsiyyon movement at the time shared this background. What made Dizengoff's life story unique was his term of service in the Russian Army and, especially, his membership in the Russian underground organization Narodnaya Volya (Popular Freedom), on account of which he served an eight-month prison sentence. He joined Hibbat Tsiyyon in 1886 and became a disciple of Ahad Ha'am, taught chemistry in France, and took advanced training in the glass industry. First settling in Palestine in 1892, he established a glass factory at Tantura, not far from Zikhron Ya'akov, at the initiative and with the funding of Baron Edmond de Rothschild. Concurrently, he initiated the founding of a Jewish labor society, Ha'aretz ve-ha-'Avoda (Land and Labor). In 1897, he returned to Russia and lived in Odessa until 1905. That year, he re-immigrated to Palestine and continued to pursue his commercial ventures, as he had in Odessa.

In 1909, Dizengoff was among the founders of Ahuzat Bayit and a member of the new neighborhood's committee. In 1911, he was elected chairman of the Tel Aviv committee and from then until his dying day, except for 1925–1935, he headed the administration of the new town as chair of the committee and as mayor.

Meir Dizengoff, like Menachem Ussishkin, was an oft-frustrated political operative and a national leader who exuded an ethos of constructive action. This is his open letter to the editor of the collection *'Ir ha-pela'ot* (City of wonders):

M. Dizengoff

City of Dreams

(A quasi-letter to the editor of the collection)

> You have presented us with everything sung by the singers, seen by the seers, written by the writers, and thought by the thinkers about the city of Tel Aviv from the time it was founded to this very day, and you have shown us all the ideas and feelings that the Hebrew city spawned and inspired in the hearts of several contemporary thinkers. It is a good, necessary, and timely thing that you have done.
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> There was a time—during the visit of Balfour, the Baron, and [Prof. William E.] Rappard—when everyone predicted great things for Tel Aviv: "This city will develop and grow in the next five years, will spread as far as the Yarkon [River], and will attain a population of 100,000." The esteemed visitors disagreed about the city's future complexion. Balfour pictured the future Tel Aviv as a city of industry and commerce. Herbert Samuel envisaged it as the industrial hub of the Middle East. Baron de Rothschild visited all the factories in Tel Aviv and, after studying the matter at length, told me what he thought about the city's future: "You boast about your factories, but I'd say that's a mistake, you'll have lots of trouble with strikes and wars between management and labor, and it'll destroy Tel Aviv's purity and beauty. Let industry be concentrated in Haifa, where the port will be and where commerce will also develop, and as for Tel Aviv, it should remain a refuge for all the spiritual endeavors of the Jewish people. Here the museums of history, science, and the arts will be built; here the higher academies of study and the various libraries, theaters, and music and concert halls will be concentrated, and here the authors and intellectuals will dwell. On this Mediterranean shore, under our clear azure skies, and within the confines of this delightful young city, they will find inspiration from the Holy Spirit and generate for us, once again, new cultural values for all of humankind. These creative endeavors will elevate our people's esteem in the eyes of the whole world."
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> Rappard sided with those who predicted that Tel Aviv would become a cosmopolitan town and a large city even in God's eyes, due to its geographic position and, above all, because its builders and leaders believed in their city's great industrial and commercial role. This is because the thing that amazed [the visitors] most—Rappard said—is where [we] get the *faith* and confidence that Hebrew city, destined to become an industrial, commercial, and cultural center, will be built on dunes around northern Jaffa.
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> It took hardly three years after those halcyon days of efflorescence and burgeoning in Tel Aviv life for people of weak heart to step forth, disavowing the destinies and dreams of the Hebrew city and reneging on its future and hopes. The whole city built on sand had been a mistake, proclaimed these heroes who had overnight become sages. It has no hinterland, construction in its confines has stopped, there's no work, no sources of livelihood, and people live from hand to mouth. These rabbits are leaving the city that "consumes its inhabitants" an allusion to the slander committed by the Biblical spies, and returning to the countries that had vomited them out.

If so, it behooves us to heed what those men of intellect and public action thought and felt about Tel Aviv in its salad days. Let us remember the days of youth and the dreams and hopes that we had pinned on this city, the symbol of our national home. Let us reclaim our youth, marshal our strength, surmount every obstacle, and overcome every crisis until the city is built and perfected and the Jewish home is set on solid foundations. And all the better it is for the words and pictures about Tel Aviv, which you are showing us, to be presented now, at a time when the storm and fury have already passed over. Indeed, the redeemers of Zion are again reaching our country to plant and sow, to build and toil. All around Tel Aviv they are establishing new villages, planting orchards, and building homes; the whole vicinity is being settled and brought to life. Tel Aviv will serve this entire periphery as a center—a center for industry and trade, culture, education and the arts, a center of finance, medicine, and social activity. Thus, you are doing the right thing, at the right time, by publishing everything good and lovely about Tel Aviv that the authors have thought of, unlike those who speak out with bad intent.

In our increasingly materialistic times, when the entire substance of our lives boils down to dividends and wages, it is good that an encouraging word also be heard among us about the rebirth of our nation and our land, about the Jews' purpose in the Near East. It is good that the strains of a different tune be heard and that the imponderable factors of will and desire, which are so weighty in history, be spoken of. It is as Herzl said (to Baron Hirsch): pay heed to the imaginative idea of reviving the People Israel in the Land of Israel, because the world is led not by calculus and literature but by the imagination.

Thus, it's Tel Aviv once again, Tel Aviv nevertheless, and Tel Aviv despite it all. Tel Aviv is destined to develop, grow, and sprawl along the coast and on both sides of the Yarkon, and it will become a large, bustling, and lovely city, a center for all Jewish creative endeavor, be it material or spiritual. This city will also be a place of cure and respite for anyone who needs to regain his strength and to unwind, where illnesses of body and mind may be cured, and a place where the fatigued may take a pleasurable pause.

And all those who thirst for Jewish national life, all those who wish to see what the Jewish genius has wrought in its land and its city, will flow to [Tel Aviv] from all corners of our Diaspora. Just as during the war a healthy man could not move about in the street without being asked, "Were you on the front?" the time will come when a Jew will not be able to move about in the Diaspora without being asked, *"Have you seen Tel Aviv?"*

Yes, gentlemen, Tel Aviv—whether you wish it or not, it is no dream.[1]

Admittedly, Dizengoff's utopian vision did not come to pass. As Tel Aviv marks its centenary today, it is not the capital of modern Jewish national culture in the post-Holocaust Diaspora. Instead, there is a modern Jewish culture in which not Zionism, but rather the various religious streams, is central; Jerusalem is more its capital than Tel Aviv.

However, parts of Dizengoff's vision, which one may term realistically Utopian—as I define that term—have indeed been fulfilled. Life in Tel Aviv displays a vim and vigor that are uncommon even by the standards of European and American cities. The town has developed as Dizengoff thought it would—"along the coast and on both sides of the Yarkon"—and has become a "great" and "bustling" city, as he envisaged, and even "a center for all Jewish creative endeavor, be it material or spiritual," as he believed it would, even if the expressions of the spirit that powers the dominant dynamic of Tel Aviv are partly postmodern and post-Zionist—something that would surely upset Dizengoff were he alive today. One must admit, however, that these cultural manifestations are the results of a process that Israeli society is undergoing: its normalization, which was one of the fundamental aspirations of the Zionist Movement.

In contrast, while the normalization process, in its positive and negative manifestations, gives Tel Aviv vitality, it has extinguished the utopian vision of Degania and its offspring. These localities, struggling today to preserve vestiges of collective society, are embroiled in a profound ideological and value crisis that is probably terminal.

This development in the history of the two forms of settlement does not indicate that the Tel Avivian individualistic approach has "succeeded" and Degania's collectivist outlook has "failed." The fate of both hinges on social development and, in particular, on the decisive historical contribution of each, in its own time, to the building of Jewish society in the Land of Israel, without which the centenary festivities probably would not be taking place at all.

Notes

1 Aharon Vardi, *'Ir ha-pela'ot* [City of wonders], *Remarks by Authors and Statesmen about Tel Aviv—upon the Twentieth Anniversary* (Tel Aviv, Lema'an ha-sefer, 1939, Hebrew), pp. 7–8.

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COMMUNICATION IN TEL AVIV: JONAH'S REFUGE?

Gideon Kouts

"Relax, Grandpa! Jaffa isn't the Land of Israel! Who told us so? The Prophet Jonah. Jonah wanted to run away from God, so he went down to Jaffa…."

(S.Y. Agnon, "A Covenant of Love," *Davar* 1, Year 1, June 1, 1925)

The Tel Aviv "bubble" has become a concept that far transcends its communicational aspects and incorporates an entire set of familiar traits, for better or worse. There's in fact nothing novel about the concept; after all, it was in the debut edition of *Davar*, the newspaper of the Labor movement, that S.Y. Agnon ruled, "Jaffa isn't the Land of Israel." The binary contrast of "Tel Avivism" and "Jerusalemism" persists no less today than it did at the time of the *'aliya* to Jaffa at the dawn of the New Yishuv. Media life and media perception in Palestine also appear to have been shaped, at least in the sectarian discourse, according to this watershed. If "Jerusalemism" once expressed "establishmentarianism" (in respect of an essentially rabbinical-religious establishment) and *Étatisme* as opposed to private enterprise and the (relative) secularism and liberalism of Tel Aviv (Jonah's refuge in his flight from God, to use Agnon's term), today some point at Tel Aviv—in the context of the television medium, for example—as the opposite: as a bastion of starched-collar quality and a sense of public-service mission as opposed to shallowness and commercialization…. The symbols shed and take on different forms; the dichotomy remains. All of this ought to inspire us to celebrate the festival of Tel Aviv-Jaffa in the most profound way possible and to study its irreplaceable contribution to the history of the Hebrew and Jewish media.

Before doing so, however, we begin this edition of *Kesher* by taking up a piece of recent history that remains current in its media implications, among other things: the 2009 election campaign. Dan Caspi and Elinor Lev raise the gauntlet that was thrown down in our previous edition and, in an initial and pathbreaking study, examine the assimilation of the new media in this election campaign. Their conclusion about the American example is that the successful model invoked by President Obama and his advisors was not replicated in the Israeli reality. Baruch Leshem discusses the American-style media advisors who are becoming more and more important in Israel even though their necessity is not totally clear. The late Golda Meir did not need the services of such advisors in her complicated relationship with the media. Meron Medzini, Meir's media advisor when she was Prime Minister, illuminates this fascinating historic episode.

Winding up the articles, Gideon Kouts cites another important date in urban history that was marked this year: the 120th anniversary of the construction of the Eiffel Tower for the 1889 World's Fair. How did the Hebrew press cover the new marvel for its readers, most of whom could only admire it from far away? Immediately after the article section, in our *Kesher la-Ti'ud* department, Yaakov Shavit revisits a world jubilee of a different kind: the 200th anniversary of the birth of Charles Darwin and the sesquicentennial of the publication of his book, *The Origin of Species,* through the prism of an intriguing article by Eliezer Ben-Yehuda. Akiva Zimmerman marks the centennial of the birth of Ezriel Carlebach by tracing Carlebach's roots in the national-religious newspaper *Ha-Tzofe* (which we will eulogize in our next edition) and offering a sample of his articles from that journal.

The "star" in the main section of our publication is, as stated, Tel Aviv at 100. We tried to devote most of this section to reviews of various aspects of the city's relations and encounters with the media in different eras. In the opening article, Nurit Govrin explores the meaning of "Tel Avivism" and surveys three late-nineteenth-century periodicals in Jaffa that were "proto-Tel Avivian" before Tel Aviv officially came into being. Ouzi Elyada describes how *Ha-Or,* Ben-Yehuda's newspaper and largely an icon of "Jerusalemism" as opposed to "Tel Avivism" and a chosen rival of the Tel Aviv press, chaperoned the new city as it took its first steps.

Yosef Lang recounts a newspaper that never saw the light of day, "*Iton Hagun"* ("a decent newspaper," in contrast to Ben-Yehuda's), which the initiators of the Tel Aviv culture stubbornly attempted to create. Mordechai Naor pinpoints the moment in the history of the Palestine Hebrew press when Tel Aviv won the battle: the day on which the newspaper *Ha'aretz* moved from Jerusalem to Tel Aviv, marking the shift of the mainstream Hebrew press to the new city. Yossef Fund illuminates a political-sectoral aspect of the Tel Aviv–media relationship by analyzing the attitude of the Agudat Israel press in Palestine and Europe toward the Hebrew city. Rachel Hart explores an important aspect of a different kind: the attitude of the Arab press toward the Jewish city and its development. She relates to translations of writings in the Arab press that appeared in the Hebrew press, for this reason, reached Jewish public opinion, and describes how the Jewish press used them to promote its campaign of disengagement from Arab society. Ilan Shehori writes about the significant role played by the Tel Aviv Municipality's official press, which also portended the local-newspaper concept. In an outsider's view that doubles as an insider's view, Esther Carmel-Hakim makes journalistic history by translating into Hebrew from the English, for the first time, the fascinating writings of Dorothy Bar-Adon of the *Palestine Post* about Tel Aviv. Meir Chazan breaks new ground by depicting *Ba-Mahane,* the newspaper of the Haganah and the IZL, as a "Tel Avivian" publication. Reuven Gafni writes about an official sectoral newspaper, that of the Tel Aviv Great Synagogue. Haim Grossman presents a lavishly illustrated story, this time about the unique pamphlets that the municipal sanitation department distributed in 1959, on the fiftieth anniversary of Tel Aviv's founding, to the city's schoolchildren in order to promote civic consciousness by their means. Amir Iron discusses the advertising media and retells the history of municipal outdoor advertising in Tel Aviv. Bosmat Garmi discusses the different reflections of Tel Aviv in three television documentary series in the 1980s and 1990s.

Our regular departments follow, as usual. We hope you will find the material presented here rich and diverse enough to stimulate thought in a way that will add to the centennial party.

We will meet again in our next issue

English Abstracts of Hebrew Articles

FAST AMERICANIZATION: THE ADOPTION OF NEW MEDIA IN THE 2009 KNESSET ELECTORAL CAMPAIGN / Dan Caspi and Eleanor Lev

The article examines patterns of new-media adoption in the 2009 election campaign. A *New Media Use Index* was devised, taking six new media into account: conventional websites, video-sharing websites (YouTube), social networking websites (Facebook), blogs, e-mails, and mobile phones. To assess the electorate's reactions to new media campaigns, data were gathered on audience exposure to, and active engagement in, new-media campaigning.

The findings reveal a significant gap between parties and the electorate in the implementation of new media. Although an increasing number of Israeli political parties adopted new media as an integral part of their 2009 campaign in comparison with that of 2006, the Israeli public did not embrace them as a means of receiving the parties' campaign messages.

The relatively rapid adoption of new-media technologies by campaign managers is consistent with the ongoing Americanization of Israeli elections in recent decades. These processes are especially prevalent in straightforward forms of campaigning, such as political advertising on television and radio. The study concludes that new-media adoption in electoral campaigns is just another stage in the continuing Americanization of the Israeli political culture.

GOVERNMENT BY MEDIA CONSULTANTS? / Baruch Leshem

The integration of media consultants into the Israeli political system is part of a global process. One may define these consultants as the performance contractors of modern politics, reflecting a transition from the politics of party central committees to politics in which the candidate occupies center stage in the public mind. In the resulting situation, the epicenter of the campaign has shifted from the discussion of issues to a system that cultivates political "stars." This change, which dictates the nature of modern election campaigns, has created new voter communication techniques that focus on the use of the media: developing the candidate's image, fashioning a media agenda, producing media events, and briefing of politicians by professionals who specialize in the rules of the new political game.

As the political culture of personal marketing and relentless year-round campaigning gained traction in the United States in the 1980s and 1990s, it became increasing necessary to employ campaign experts on a permanent basis. This marked the onset of the professionalization of campaign consultants who were assigned permanent full-time duties in this matter. The result was the establishment of media consulting offices that specialize in the political scene, replacing the advertising agencies that used to be hired for the campaign season only.

The professionalization of political consultancy in Israel has followed the American model in many ways. In Israel's first election campaigns, political parties hired advertising agencies that engaged in political marketing shortly before Election Day, leaving these agencies with scanty expertise in campaign management. The Knesset's decision to introduce a direct-election method in the 1996 elections led to the Americanization of Israel's political system and shifted the critical mass from parties, ideologies, and platforms to leaders' personalities. The personal marketing of Politicians made it necessary to hire American consultants as de facto campaign managers. However, domestic consultants who specialized in campaign management operated alongside the foreign ones and, since the late 1990s, have been running the campaigns by themselves. Consequently, in Israel, as in the United States, most parties have replaced their advertising offices with political media consultants.

GOLDA MEIR AND THE MEDIA / Meron Medzini

The attitude of Golda Meir, Israel's fourth Prime Minister (1969–1974) toward the media was forged in her formative years in Milwaukee and her tenure in the Yishuv of the 1920s. She shared the idea of Israel's founding fathers that the media must provide information, create the right social and cultural environment, and induce readers to support the goals of a future Socialist Jewish state. The media, she believed, should avoid scandals, glaring headlines, sensationalism, and gossip and educate its readers. Unlike her colleagues in the pre-State leadership of the Mapai Party (Ben-Gurion, Remez, Sharett, Katznelson, and Shazar), she rarely contributed articles to the media, sought publicity, or used the media to advance her own political career. In the late 1940s she became the Yishuv's leading spokeperson vis-à-vis the local and foreign press due to her ability to produce headlines, explain complex issues simply, and effectively use the new medium, television. As Prime Minister, she understood the need for a free press as a linchpin of Israeli democracy but preferred a guided media that would promote the policies of her Government and the ruling party. She abhorred leaks and treated leaked information as stolen goods. She thought that reporters should provide facts and not mix them with commentary. Regrettably, while her relations with the media were good on the whole, her Government's public relations were appalling and resulted in the erroneous notion that she rejected Sadat's peace offers and was directly responsible for the outbreak of the Yom Kippur War. Her reputation has now been restored after years of abuse and harsh criticism; today, she is rightly considered an outstanding Israeli leader.

JOURNALISM IN EMBRYONIC TEL AVIV—THE STORY OF THREE PIONEERING PERIODICALS / Nurit Govrin

The article contemplates the concept of a "Tel Aviv-ness" that predated Tel Aviv. It began with the establishment of the Jewish community in Jaffa in the First Aliya era and gained strength during the Second Aliya. It is associated with the "spiritual center" idea coined by Ahad Ha'am, who aspired to establish a secular Hebrew national spiritual center in Palestine.

The article explores the concept of a "Tel Aviv newspaper" and describes the main characteristics of such a publication: location and atmosphere. The characteristics of "atmosphere" include freedom, secularism, and openness, combined with various dosages of epicurean culture.

The article presents a brief historical survey of the relocation of the press industry from Jerusalem to Tel Aviv until the country's newspapers and journals settled there for good.

Three examples of journalistic beginnings in Tel Aviv, tracing to the genesis period that preceded the establishment of the city, are given. The three periodicals at issue are associated with Ahad Ha'am and the disciples who carried out his policies while disagreeing with him in more than a few ways. The first example, *Mikhtavim me-Eretz Yisrael* (Letters from Palestine), edited by Yehoshua Barzilai (Eisenstadt) with assistance from Judah Grazowski (Gur), was published as a monthly journal by Hovevei Tsiyyon and Ahad Ha'am's Bnei Moshe association; it appeared for about four years, 1893-1897. The second example is *Ha-'Omer* (The sheaf) (1907–1909), edited by S. Benzion, which appeared for some two years. The third example is *Ha-po'el ha-Tsa'ir* (The young worker) (est. 1907), edited by Yosef Aharonowicz; unlike its two predecessors, this one enjoyed a long life. Examples of the Tel Avivian nature and contents of the three publications, especially the last two, are cited, with emphasis on the hardships related to the conditions of the time. The examples speak of struggles for freedom of thought and expression, class sensitivities, and the right to a free and liberated way of life that retains a sense of national responsibility.

COVERAGE OF THE BIRTH OF TEL AVIV IN THE DAILY NEWSPAPER *HA-OR* / Ouzi Elyada

The establishment of Ahuzat Bayit, soon to be renamed Tel Aviv, attracted much attention in the Palestine Hebrew press. The organ that led the way in reporting on the foundation and development of the new locality was Eliezer Ben-Yehuda's newspaper *Ha-Tsvi—Ha-Or.* This newspaper, which became a daily in 1908, published ongoing descriptive information and commentary on happenings in the new neighborhood, using several correspondents to do so.

Our study shows that the journalistic coverage of Tel Aviv in 1909–1914 portrayed the contrast between Tel Aviv and Jaffa in polar terms. On the one hand, it describes Jaffa as representing the existing sociocultural order: a primitive Levantine town, violent and filthy, a product of degeneracy and illiteracy; and Jaffa's opposite number, Tel Aviv, as representative of Western progress—a locality built on foundations of scientific rules and advanced technology, allowing its inhabitants to lead healthy, safe, and creative lives. As such, the newspaper describes the newborn town as the fulfillment of Herzl's utopia and as proof of the positive contribution of the Zionist Movement as a representative of the modern Western culture that should lift the region out of its eons of cultural benightedness.

Just the same, *Ha-Tsvi—Ha-Or* could not disavow its journalistic duties and ignore the gap between the utopian dream and its fulfillment. Thus, the paper gave oppositionist players in Tel Aviv a voice as well. They used its pages to decry financial irregularities, speculative increases in real-estate prices and rent levels, uncontrolled construction, the lack of a sense of urban aesthetics, and the Zionist Movement's contempt for linguistic and cultural values. Ultimately, however, the editors' wish to view the new locality as a desirable model of the new Zionist order prevailed over the wish to expose and criticize—as the interview with Meir Dizengoff, with which this article signs off, attests.

"A DECENT NEWSPAPER"—AN UNSUCCESSFUL ATTEMPT TO ESTABLISH A DAILY NEWSPAPER IN TEL AVIV / Yosef Lang

Many years passed from the initiative to establish a "decent" daily newspaper in the Hebrew city of Tel Aviv—in fact, in Jaffa—until the venture took on substance. Our discussion focuses on the years 1906–1913, during which the intelligentsia of the "New Yishuv," comprised mostly of members of the socialist Second Aliya, waged spirited battles against the Jerusalemite First Aliya newspapers, foremost those affiliated with the family of Eliezer Ben-Yehuda: *Ha-Tsvi, Ha-Or,* and *Hashqafa*. By means of their journals, *Ha-Po'el ha-Tsa'ir* and *Ha-Ahdut,* they subjected the leanings, contents, editors, and comportment of the Ben-Yehuda newspapers to withering criticism. These intellectuals, having established a new cultural center in Jaffa at the expense of Jerusalem, "whose fate as a stepchild is sealed," did not flinch from any methods to challenge the legitimacy of these newspapers. They held the Ben-Yehuda journals in contempt and decried them as agents of destruction of the Hebrew culture, corruption of the Hebrew language, and sabotage of the souls of the young. Their goal of pounding this press into submission had an additional motive: their view that the Ben-Yehuda papers were supportive of the non-collective farming class and the urban employers, as opposed to the workers. Some of these intellectuals, who subsequently moved into the "civilian" (private unorganized) orbit, sought to establish on the ruins of the Jerusalem press a "decent" and enlightened daily newspaper that would be non-partisan and unlike its predecessors. These rivals of the Jerusalem press sought to recruit? every high-ranking personality who reached Palestine (Bialik, Rawnicki, Ussishkin, etc.) for their cause, and the Ben-Yehuda family resisted them in every possible way in order to salvage its newspapers, its source of livelihood. Thus, by miscellaneous ruses and incessant lobbying, the Ben-Yehudas managed to keep their journals going until World War I forced them out of business.

Immediately after the war, the Yishuv's first? "general" (nonpartisan) newspaper—"News from the Holy Land," subsequently *Ha'aretz*—was established. Its developers initially tried to co-opt Ben-Yehuda and his son, but when the partnership foundered the Ben-Yehudas established their own newspaper, *Do'ar ha-Yom*. In the rivalry between Tel Aviv and Jerusalem, the latter won a temporary victory. In the long term, however, Tel Aviv? became the center of the New Yishuv from the media standpoint as well.

HA'ARETZ MOVES TO TEL AVIV / Mordecai Naor

The newspaper *Ha'aretz* has been published in Tel Aviv for more than eighty-six years—since January 1, 1923. Few people know that *Ha'aretz* was a Jerusalem paper in its early years, as were all daily newspapers in Palestine at the time. In the early 1920s, Tel Aviv was still too small a town to sustain a daily newspaper of its own.

What prompted *Ha'aretz* to leave the relatively large city of Jerusalem and move to tiny Tel Aviv? There are several answers: (a) the Orthodox religious atmosphere of Jerusalem was a poor match for the liberal-bourgeois spirit of *Ha'aretz*'s editors; (b) *Ha'aretz,* with its moderate views, and its rival, *Do'ar ha-Yom,* with its right-wing stance, coexisted in constant tension and rivalry and the *Ha'aretz* people thought it right to put a distance between themselves and Jerusalem; (c) little Tel Aviv seemed to offer promising potential for development, making it likely that the town's first daily newspaper would do well; (d) in the second half of 1922, *Ha'aretz* in Jerusalem tumbled into a severe economic and personnel crisis that forced it to stop its presses. To reopen it, reorganization in a new location was needed—and Tel Aviv was such a location.

After an eleven-day hiatus, *Ha'aretz* resumed publication on November 18, 1922, with Dr. Moshe Glickson as its editor. Glickson, a writer, editor, and noted public personality who moved in centrist circles, insisted that the newspaper move to Tel Aviv after a month of reorganization in Jerusalem. Indeed, it relocated to the coastal plain on the first day of 1923.

The Municipality of Tel Aviv, headed by Meir Dizengoff, gave the town's first daily newspaper a warm and happy welcome. It even provided *Ha'aretz* with an indirect subvention n the form an advance on account of future advertising. Several months later, the venture did not seem to be doing well; the economic crisis that gripped Palestine in the second half of 1923 slowed Tel Aviv's development perceptibly and *Ha'aretz* was one of the first casualties. However, the trend turned around only a few months later as a huge tide of immigrants reached the country. Tel Aviv grew rapidly from early 1924 on—by 1926, the municipal population had doubled from 20,000 to 40,000—and *Ha'aretz* was one of the beneficiaries of the surge.

Ha'aretz inaugurated the era of daily journalism in Tel Aviv. All the other dailies followed its lead, costing Jerusalem its primacy in this industry.

The article also recalls that Tel Aviv almost got its first newspaper five years before *Ha'aretz* moved to the city. In late 1917, at the very dawn of British rule in Palestine, a group of entrepreneurs and journalists planned to put out a newspaper called *Eretz Yisrael.* This happened, however, in the very midst of the British conquest of the country and the high military authorities opposed the publication of a newspaper as long as the fighting continued. The entrepreneurs and writers of the newspaper that never appeared went to Jerusalem and in 1919 joined the founders of *Ha'aretz*—the same newspaper that moved to Tel Aviv in early 1923.

TEL AVIV IN AGUDAT ISRAEL NEWSPAPERS / Yossef Fund

Agudat Israel, the world organization of Orthodox Jews, and its branch in the Land of Israel were established at 1912, three years after Tel Aviv was born. From its inception, Agudat Israel was marked by ideological and cultural diversity. Its ideological and cultural views, as well as their changes, were presented in all of its newspapers—local "Agudist" papers in Europe and Palestine and the journals of its subsidiary movements, Tse'irei Agudat Israel and Po'alei Agudat Israel.

The old Jewish population of Jerusalem (the Old Yishuv), which established Agudat Israel in Palestine, insisted on working separately from the Zionist Movement and the country's Jewish self-governing institutions. In contrast, the new Agudist immigrants from Poland and Germany favored cooperation and mutual building of the country.

In the 1930s, these Agudist immigrants became the majority in Agudat Israel in Palestine and took over the leadership of the movement.

Kol Yisrael (Jewish Voice), the Agudist weekly newspaper of the Old Yishuv (1922–1949), presented in its first ten years only the negative aspects of Tel Aviv as a secular city. It discovered the positive aspects of Tel Aviv only later, as the aforementioned political changes in Agudat Israel of Palestine influenced the journal's position.

The newspapers of the Agudist immigrants, however, emphasized specifically the positive aspects of the new and growing city. News and advertisements in *Ha-Derech,* for

example (1942–1947) reflected the integration of Agudist immigrants in Tel Aviv, to such an extent that they made it their political and cultural center.

Agudist newspapers in Poland that focused on Palestine enthusiastically described life in Tel Aviv with immense affection, admiring the first signs of Jewish self-government in the new Jewish city. Such attitudes resulted from the political views of the leadership of Agudat Israel in Poland, which favored immigration to the Land of Israel and pragmatic cooperation with the Zionist Movement.

In sum, Tel Aviv in the eyes of the Agudist journalists was a city full of contradictions.

JAFFA AND TEL AVIV THROUGH THE DOUBLE PRISM OF THE ARAB PRESS 1881–1930 / Rachel Hart

This article concerns the attitude of the Arab press toward Jewish–Arab relations in Jaffa and, afterwards, in Jaffa and Tel Aviv as quoted and reflected in the Hebrew press. Its research period is divided into two: the era of Ottoman rule in Palestine and that of the British Mandate.

It is based on a survey of the Hebrew-language press that combined articles, expository writing, and opinion pieces from the Arabic-language press of the time. During the period at issue, the Hebrew-language press covered doings in Jaffa and Tel Aviv extensively and provided a wealth of information on daily life and the political constellation. As stated, copious material was copied and quoted from Arab newspapers, and whenever the Arabic press was quoted, of course, the editors and writers of the Hebrew press took a stance toward it.

The Arabic-language press, which development rapidly due to the Young Turks revolution in Constantinople in 1908, invested much ink in decrying, protesting against, and warning about Zionist expansion in and settlement of Palestine. The Arabic press, as reflected in the Hebrew press, was largely united behind the Arabs' demands: rescind the Mandate, stop Jewish immigration, and establish an independent Arab entity. Beyond the broad consensus, however, some Arab newspapers still favored the Mandatory Government and a few of them even supported Jewish immigration, considering it beneficial for the country's welfare.

According to these quotations, in its first years, Tel Aviv became famous not only in the local Arab press but also in that of neighboring countries. It was portrayed as a state within a state, a city that symbolized and fulfilled the Zionist idea and the Zionists' ways. The article also addresses itself to how the Hebrew press related to this portrayal of Tel Aviv in Arabic-language newspapers that were published in neighboring Arab countries.

The article surveys, therefore, two aspects about press coverage of Jaffa and Tel Aviv. The first is how the Hebrew press presented Jaffa and, subsequently, Tel Aviv as well. The second pertains to how these localities were described and perceived in the Arabic-language press as reflected in the contemporaneous Hebrew-language press, which made use of them to promote its own opinions , for instance about the need of separation between the two people and the two cities. The resulting presentation may also be instructive of relations between the Jewish and Arab communities of Jaffa and Tel Aviv.

YEDI'OT 'IRIYAT TEL AVIV (THE TEL AVIV MUNICIPALITY NEWSLETTER) AS A HISTORICAL SOURCE ABOUT TEL AVIV / Ilan Shchori

An immensely important source on the history of Tel Aviv, which celebrates its hundredth anniversary this year, is the newsletter *Yedi'ot 'Iriyat Tel Aviv,* published by the Tel Aviv municipal administration for thirty-three years (1921–1954) with various interruptions.

Never before had a Jewish municipal authority in the Mandate era published a periodical of any kind. The resulting product, in its years of existence, described not only goings-on in the inner sancta of Tel Aviv City Hall but also events in other Jewish towns in Mandatory Palestine as well as municipal affairs in other countries.

The decision to publish a municipal periodical in Tel Aviv traced to an effort by Meir Dizengoff and his associates to attain for their town the status of an urban entity separate

from Jaffa. Indeed, the debut edition of *Yedi'ot* appeared shortly before the British declared Tel Aviv a township.

The advent of *Yedi'ot 'Iriyat Tel Aviv* was a pioneering and innovative attempt by a Jewish governing institution in Mandatory Palestine to publish a Hebrew-language journal that would apprise the public of everything that town hall was doing. The first editions were composed largely of minutes and resolutions of the town council and its administration, along with copious and fascinating material about municipal life and the city's institutions, economy, and political situation during those years. Over time, *Yedi'ot* also found room for historical articles on life in Jaffa and Tel Aviv in its early days, testimonies from the founders of Tel Aviv, minutes of the earliest meetings, and abundant material that had become enormously important for understanding the demarches that brought about the establishment and development of Tel Aviv.

Yedi'ot Iriyat Tel Aviv was edited by two journalists and writers. In its first years, its editor was Shmuel Czernowicz. However, *Yedi'ot* attained its exalted status under his successor, Aharon Zeev Ben-Yishai, who would perform this duty for twenty-two years—from 1932 until budget problems forced the publication to shut down in 1954. Under Ben-Yishai's tutelage, *Yedi'ot 'Iriyat Tel Aviv* became one of the most important publications in Mandatory Palestine, a paragon and role model for other municipalities and institutions in the country. With Ben-Yishai's encouragement, many members of the Yishuv leadership, writers, poets, and senior British officials such as the High Commissioners contributed articles and writings to *Yedi'ot 'Iriyat Tel Aviv,* making the journal a reliable and important source on the history of Tel Aviv.

ONE YEAR OUT OF A CENTURY TEL AVIV IN 1933 AS DESCRIBED BY DOROTHY KAHAN BAR-ADON / Esther Carmel-Hakim

Dorothy Kahan (1907–1950), a young American-Jewish journalist, immigrated to Palestine in 1933 and spent her first weeks in the country in Tel Aviv. The surprising encounter with Tel Aviv and its citizens made an especially strong impression on her.

Those first weeks were a formative experience that prompted her to view the building of Tel Aviv as a grand and important pioneering act. From then on, she gauged everything that happened in Tel Aviv by the standards of a Zionist pioneering enterprise.

Kahan expressed these feelings in a series of articles in English that she wrote for the *Palestine Post* and, subsequently, in her autobiography, *Ali Be'er.* Despite her lack of fluency in Hebrew at the time, she experienced Tel Aviv with all her senses and committed to writing, in her personal style, the reality of the first Hebrew city as it was at the time or, to be more exact, as it was through the eyes of a person who had come there for several weeks as a transient tourist until she could get herself organized and move to Jerusalem.

Thus we may understand why Kahan's articles describe the living environment that a random tourist in Tel Aviv encounters, while overlooking other matters.

Topics such as hotels, restaurants, the beach, shops and shopping, the appearance of the houses and streets, the colors, sounds, and odors, and the mayor astride his horse—these combine to form the raw materials of which Kahan assembles her Tel Avivian mosaic.

When in subsequent years she returned occasionally to write about the city, she integrated memories of those first weeks in the "new-old" town into her writing.

The article presents Hebrew translations of several articles by Dorothy Kahan, who subsequently married Pesach Bar-Adon and was a member of the *Palestine Post* editorial board until her premature death in 1950.

BA-MAHANE: THE TEL AVIV JOURNAL OF THE HAGANAH, 1934–1946 / Meir Chazan

Ba-Mahane is a weekly magazine that the Israel Defence Forces has been publishing since 1948. However, it made its debut in December 1934; from then until December 1946, it was the journal of the Tel Aviv branch of the Haganah, the Jewish community's main pre-state militia. *Ba-Mahane* eventually became a popular IDF communication medium, distributed in tens of thousands of copies. It had been established, however, as an underground information medium in the heart of the militia's largest branch. *Ba-Mahane* was unique among contemporaneous publications in that it was

meant not to be read but only to be heard: it was printed in only a few copies and read out to members of the Haganah in discrete encounters that took place mainly on Saturdays (the Jewish Sabbath).

Ba-Mahane expressed and reflected widely held trends of thought among Tel Avivians about various developments and processes in the contexts of urban defense and residents' lives. *Ba-Mahane* was by definition a form of "mobilized press," designed to help to create a supportive environment for the needs and interests of defending the country's Jewish community at large. It was meant particularly to "preach to the converted" about the importance of the Haganah's existence and the need to mobilize for its missions. Also, however, *Ba-Mahane* projected onto the resolute wish of the loyalists at the militia's Tel Aviv branch to feel part of a broader and more meaningful framework and supported their aim of lending their organization a positive public image.

"A SYNAGOGUE IN PRINT" / Reuven Gafni

The article analyzes the character and contents of the periodical *Beit ha-Knesset* (= the Synagogue), published at the initiative of the Great Synagogue of Tel Aviv in 1946–1948—practically the only periodical in Palestine solely devoted to the extensive and varied world of synagogues worldwide: history, architecture, liturgy, customs, Torah reading and prayer, rites, memorial pieces about synagogues lost, and more.

The periodical, published in the three years preceding the establishment of the State of Israel, is a perfect manifestation of the world of Orthodox nationhood, which was shaped in those years and tried to introduce to the synagogue world contents that accommodated and served the Jewish national life being formed in Palestine.

The article describes the institutions and personalities behind the production of this periodical during the relevant three years and the journal's contents, which may be divided into three categories: the world of Tel Aviv synagogues (of which the Great Synagogue—the publisher—was premier) general reports and discussions focusing on synagogues throughout Palestine and aimed at non-Tel Avivian readers, and extensive discussions of diverse issues relating to the synagogue world in Jewish society from antiquity to the destruction of hundreds of synagogues during the Holocaust.

The analysis of those contents highlights the manner in which the founders and producers of *Beit ha-Knesset* viewed the role of the synagogue in Israeli society. In this context, one should examine their attitude toward issues such as the roles of women, children, and youth in the synagogue, among others.

Toward its conclusion, the article examines the surprising absence of similar periodicals in the twentieth century and asks whether this fact reflects the special character of synagogues in Palestine—which is quite different than that of synagogues in Diaspora communities.

DAN AND DINA TAKE A WALK IN TEL AVIV / Haim Grossman

Once upon a time, Dan and Dina, model paragons of Hebrew pupils, took a walk in Tel Aviv. As they strolled, the sight of dirt and neglect in the city streets upset them tremendously. They paid attention to every speck, stain, and hygienic hazard and intervened and spoke out in their attempts to correct them. The story of Dan and Dina appeared in a pamphlet that the municipal sanitation department handed out to the children of Tel Aviv–Jaffa in 1959, the city's fiftieth anniversary. This pamphlet was one stone in a complex educational mosaic that City Hall constructed, the messages of which sought to shape young pupils as tomorrow's citizens.

The municipal leaders of Tel Aviv (like other towns) maintained close relations with inhabitants by sending them greetings on festivals and family celebrations; they also felt it their duty to be involved and play a role in the education of the town's pupils. Children's education was considered very important because the youngsters at stake were "the first Israeli generation of redemption," for which good health was a hallmark. Children served as cultural agents for the communication of the new Israeli messages to all adult family members. European thought considers this kind of activity a manifestation of good culture that helps

to produce useful citizens. Such terminology also reflected the Zionist revolution, which aimed to create an antithesis of the "unproductive"—in the eyes of those around him—Diaspora Jew. The children of Tel Aviv studied the topic and took part in the educational process. One assumes that some were passive and that others participated actively in clean-up campaigns, information campaigns, taking a stance, and creating public opinion on the topic. Both groups learned about the importance of being involved in public life and of participating in and helping to improve the general welfare.

Can one assume that today, as Tel Aviv marks its hundredth anniversary, Dan and Dina will take another walk around their city and star in a municipal education campaign? We strongly doubt it. The education system would find it hard to marshal enthusiasm among today's pupils for good-citizenship campaigns at a time when public services, including sanitation, belong to labor migrants and working for and contributing to the community have ceased to be attractive values. As Tel Aviv celebrates its hundredth anniversary, Dan and Dina will learn about and visit the town and its attractions; however, they will do so as tourists and not as the objects of a national educational orientation toward children.

OUTDOOR ADVERTISING IN THE EARLY DAYS OF TEL AVIV / Amir Earon

City streets are an arena of vibrant advertising activity. Whereas dedicated outdoor-advertising companies control and operate this field of the advertising business today, in Tel Aviv's first three decades all outdoor-advertising operations, in a variety of forms, were run by the municipality. That is, the municipality initiated, conducted, supervised, and regulated outdoor advertising. For this purpose, it established a special function that existed for over twenty years from the late 1920s onward, first called the Advertising Department and subsequently known as the Municipal Advertising Office. This office sought ways to be involved in advertising in the public domain around the city in order to boost municipal revenue, enhance the city's appearance, and further the interests of advertisers and consumers alike. The office was also an address for all kinds of entrepreneurs who viewed the advertising field in general, and outdoor advertising in particular, as a source of income.

The 1930s and 1940s were a time of intensive migration to Palestine and especially to Tel Aviv. The Fourth Aliya, from Eastern Europe, and the Fifth Aliya, from Central Europe, increased the population of Tel Aviv seventy-five times over, from a neighborhood of 2,000 residents to a city of 150,000. This rapid growth led to distressing housing and employment shortages that brought on the posting of thousands of personal supply-and-demand ads for housing and employment in public spaces all over town—on trees, walls, fences, etc. This had two outcomes: initiatives by the Municipal Advertising Office to regulate and mitigate pirate advertising by offering ad space, and initiatives by entrepreneurs to franchise and regulate this form of advertising for fees or commissions, thereby generating revenue for themselves—a typical phenomenon in an immigrant society.

The outdoors of Tel Aviv offered the most desired advertising vehicles for commercial use. This includes the screens of movie theaters ,the interior and exterior panels of public buses, street furniture (clock towers, benches, trees, and trashcans) and of course advertising spaces in the streets. The municipality treated all of these venues as its responsibility when it came to granting licenses, enforcing laws and bylaws, granting concessions, collecting taxes, charging fees, and even controlling content.

Citizens' initiatives in these areas were creative and varied. The article examines various examples of the diverse initiatives that were taken—projection of commercial slides and even film clips on walls or cloth screens stretched across the rooftops on main streets; use of street furniture—clocks, bus stations, and even "advertising machines—the stationing of dedicated advertising devices throughout the city; the installation of bulletin boards for small and personal ads; etc.

THE DUALITY OF "NORMALITY": REPRESENTATIONS OF TEL AVIV IN THREE HISTORIC-DOCUMENTARY SERIES / Bosmat Garami

The article conducts a comparative analysis of the representation of Tel Aviv (Tel Aviv) in three Israeli historic-documentary series:

'Amud ha-Esh (Pillar of Fire) [POF], produced by Israel Television Channel 1 in the second half of the 1970s and first broadcast in 1981, deals with Zionist history in 1896–1948.

Tequma (Revival) [TQ], produced by Channel 1 in the mid-1990s and first broadcast during the state's jubilee celebration in 1998, concerns the first fifty years of statehood.

Ha-kol Anashim (It's All About People) [HKA], produced by Israel Educational Television in the second half of the 1990s and first broadcast to mark the centenary of Zionism (1997) and the Israel jubilee (1998), centers on key figures in the history of the Jewish revival, from the first wave of immigration until after the 1967 Six-Day War.

The article documents differences in the overall image of Tel Aviv in the three series and traces them to differences in the series' historiographic approaches, positions on the Zionist narrative, and televisual form and style.

POF offers continuous chronological documentation of the city's development, focusing on political history and macro-history, embellished with stories of the people involved. The story of Tel Aviv is integrated into the narrative of the series, a univocal and harmonic story that glorifies the Zionist enterprise and ethos. TQ and HKA, in contrast, present not a continuous historicist recounting of the city but rather events in and various aspects of its existence. Relativism and multiple voices replace the uniformity of POF: TQ presents Tel Aviv from points of view of various social groups while HKA does so from the perspective of its unique protagonists, focusing on cultural aspects.

TQ offers substantial post-Zionist criticism, associating Tel Aviv with victimization and neglect of Oriental Jews and (in Jaffa) Arab Palestinians. HKA's critical approach is milder and more conciliatory; it focuses mainly on Zionism's cultural Orientalism and its attitude towards Oriental Jewry as manifested in Tel Aviv. The city's "normality," much lauded in POF, is shown to have dark sides in the two newer series.

As for the physical and visual image of Tel Aviv, however, it is HKA that stands out against the two other series. While the others generally invoke limited metonymic if not stereotypical images of the city, it is in HKA that Tel Aviv is presented in all its variety of sites and its colorful, dynamic everyday existence. The city's past is constantly juxtaposed with its present, emphasizing differences but also continuity.

POF's Tel Aviv is the first Hebrew city, the pride of the national revival. TQ's Tel Aviv is still a vital Hebrew city but also the site of a significant social breach and "sins" of the fulfillment of the Zionist ethos. HKA's Tel Aviv has its problems but represents the multicultural essence of "Israeliness" and its dynamics of change and development while trying to understand the past through the present.

"THE EIFFEL TOWER AND THE GREAT EXHIBITION": INAUGURATION OF THE EIFFEL TOWER AND THE 1889 PARIS WORLD'S FAIR IN THE HEBREW PRESS / Gideon Kouts

The Hebrew press in Europe (Eastern and Central Europe, to be precise) reported tersely about the completion of the construction of the Eiffel Tower on March 31, 1889. However, it gave the Tower more extensive attention in its reportage on the great—today on might say "mythological"—World's Fair that took place in Paris from May 6 to October 31 of that year. Such was the case in the two daily newspapers, *Ha-Melits* in St. Petersburg and *Ha-Tsefira* in Warsaw. For both of these Haskala-oriented journals, the Fair was a manifestation of progressive trends and a medium for opening the world and disseminating knowledge and science; as such, their detailed coverage deserves separate and expanded attention. Here we relate briefly to the contours and characteristics of the coverage.

Both daily papers, published in Czarist Russia, found it difficult at first to embrace the "correct" attitude toward the Fair. The idea behind the exhibition, of course, was to mark the hundredth anniversary of the French Revolution, from the first calling of the Estates General in Versailles. Thus, for understandable reasons, the ambassadors of Czarist Russia and the Austro-Hungarian Empire returned to their countries and boycotted the inaugural ceremony.

The third large Hebrew-language periodical of the time, *Ha-Maggid,* edited by Dov Gordon, remained a weekly unlike its competitors and was published outside Imperial Russia, in Lyck, Eastern Prussia. Thus, exploiting its relative freedom but limited by the frequency of its appearance, it waited until May 29 to relate to the Fair and the Eiffel Tower in its editorial.

Under the headline "Gates of the Exhibition and the Eiffel Tower," *Ha-Maggid* presented a national-ideological and "revolutionary" piece of writing that exploited the event as an occasion for commentary on the current condition of the Jewish people—a tactic that the editors' peers in Russia avoided.

Furthermore, *Ha-Maggid*, like the Jewish or Israeli press in our time, was quick to discover the "Jewish connection" of the great exhibition. Admittedly—what a pity—Eiffel was not Jewish, but many participants in and builders of the exhibition, including the heads of delegations from various countries, were Jewish.

Then came the connection between the Fair and the Eiffel Tower and its two-edged symbolism, for the family of nations and for the Jews. The editorialist has no doubt that the Tower, like the Fair, is meant to mark the anniversary of the French Revolution, whose praises he sings as he writes.

For *Ha-Maggid,* the Revolution was a source of progress for the Jewish people as well. This, the editorialist judges, constitutes "our" share in the Tower, which we earned honestly.

Finally and predictably, the writer compares the immediate narrative with a Hebrew text, i.e., the story of the Eiffel Tower with that of the Tower of Babel. Here, too, the commentary is tailored to ideology.

The aspiration to unity is fulfilled today, the editorialist explains, via cultural progress, pan-human values, and political equality. Thus, whereas the construction of the Tower of Babel depended on unity, one can erect a tower today in much the contrary way: in recognition of the right to be different and the wealth of diversity and international cooperation. And here, within the tower of the national renaissance, the Jewish connection finds its place again.

Ha-Melits, at the beginning of its second illustrated supplement on July 26 (see below), states firmly, "In Issue 144, we described the Eiffel Tower to our readers. [Although the Eiffel Tower] is definitely taller than the tower built by the generation following the flood, God did not confuse its builders' language and they managed to perfect it and render it into a grand, magnificent whole. Only those who ascend to its very top, of whatever nation and language, will find that they cannot understand each other's language [. . .]."

David Shapiro Reports from the Eiffel Tower

Ha-Tsfira published its first article from the Paris Exhibition on the early date of May 17 1889, under the byline of one of its correspondents in Paris, "W". The report itself was written on May 10 under the headline "The Exhibition in Paris."

"The *Champ de Mars*," W writes, "is the loveliest and finest part of the exhibition, and over it the greatest building in the world, the Eiffel Tower, will loom in its immense grandeur. At its pinnacle it will scrape the skies and those who stand atop it at its third level on a rainy day will see clouds under their feet, the rain descending to earth, and the pure bright sky overhead [. . .]." Then he adds a general account of the structure of the exhibition areas. In another report on May 29 under the same headline (the article was written on May 19), the author shifts his attention from "the contours of the exhibition" to a "comprehensive review" of its contents.

Then, however, the series is cut off. Only on the front page of the June 13 issue, as the editor asks his readers to renew their subscriptions and announces that "We have hired new writers along with the old ones in order to enhance *Ha-Ttsfira* with their articles," he delivers the news that "Starting with the next edition, *Ha-Tsfira* will have a regular section titled 'The Gates of the Great Exhibition in Paris,' in which our esteemed writers will deliver reportage from Paris to readers of *Ha-Tsefira* from all parts of the exhibition and will explain everything accurately, intelligently, and knowledgeably."

"W" had to share the labor with other correspondents, chiefly Moshe Yosef Rudayev. A correspondent named "N" appears, but his byline is limited to the first reports on June 14 and June 16.

Ha-Tsfira's series "The Great Exhibition in Paris" comprised seventeen installments and ran until September 17. Be this as it may, the fact that a Hebrew newspaper could boast of a team of writers in a foreign capital was relatively uncommon at this time.

Ha-Melits began reporting from abroad after it discarded Y.L. Gordon's conservative attitude and named Y.L. Kantor to its editorial board. Kantor, however, was forced to submit to the stingy decrees of the editor, Alexander Zederbaum, who chose to do without a subscription to the Northern News Agency and preferred to repeat cables from the official news agency that had been copied over from the Russian press. Without a budget for correspondents, he personally paraphrased the reportage from abroad as though he had been there himself. Instead of presenting its readers with actual reportage from the World's Fair, *Ha-Melits* published two

illustrated supplements, one about the Eiffel Tower and the other about the "Treasure House " in Paris, as a service to the Jewish public that could not afford to attend the festivities. The same was done in the supplement about the Eiffel Tower.

Furthermore, true to his custom at the time, Kantor paid an imaginary visit to the location and spared no detail in describing the spectacle that his eyes had "beheld."

On July 4 in its *'Et Sofrim* department, *Ha-Maggid* also inaugurated a series of articles about the World's Fair by its correspondent *in situ*, David Shapiro. Its headline mirrored that of the series in *Ha-Tsfira*: "The Great Exhibition in Paris." The tenth and final article in the series appeared on October 31, the exhibition's last day.

Shapiro's articles provide a personal and more "French" account, although one that was less detailed and written from a less "progressive" point of view than that of *Ha-Ttsfira*, of the exhibition pavilions.

At the end of the Fair, in the November 21 and November 28 issues of *Ha-Maggid*, David Shapiro would present—under the headline "Jews Stand Out at the Great Exhibition in Paris, 1889"—an impressive list of Jewish individuals and institutions from various countries who won prizes and citations for their exhibits and participation in the various departments of the World's Fair. This amounted to a direct continuation and vindication of the May 29 editorial.

No fewer than three of the ten articles in the series were devoted exclusively to the Eiffel Tower. The first was the only piece of direct reportage from the Tower that the Hebrew press offered in the Tower's first months. Unlike his peers, David Shapiro climbed the Tower and reported his experiences under the headline, "The Sight of Paris from the Tower" (The Great Exhibition in Paris, D, August 22).

At the very beginning of the article, the author, aware of his scoop, launches into a dramatic "insider" story that emphasizes his direct impression and presence at the location. He also notes, however, the professional novelty and *problematique* that a journalist faces when he confront a new challenge—reporting from the sky . . . .

> Deathly silence prevails in the large, spacious hall. Silence dominates the surroundings as well; only the breeze blowing through the cracks in the tower's rings slightly disturbs the repose of the people who are about to see the grand, magnificent spectacle. Everyone chooses a place for himself a short distance from the others so that they can be well alone with their ideas and thoughts, and once they find the desired place, they wait a bit and collect their thoughts one by one in order to keep correct and accurate track of the emotions that they will feel when they gaze out from the top of the tower. In truth, hardly anyone has attempted from such an elevation to observe and contemplate the things that will spread out in front of them and under their feet.

Then Shapiro describes what he sees at the top of the tower—Paris in miniature:

> The great city with its multitude of buildings, its tall palaces, its looming sanctuaries, its climbing turrets is shown to the person who gazes from atop the Eiffel Tower, which rends the sky with its height and reaches the clouds at its tip, like the outline of a city in a massive mosaic, in which every building and every feature, from slender trees onward, has been prepared and can be moved by people from place to place. The ships on the River Seine and its offshoots look like boats; in their make-believe game they will sail across pools of water in large gardens. The rivers look like little and very short streams that a person can cross even on foot. The bridges that span them, even the largest ones and those closest to the tower, look like short and long branches of trees and the people walking on them like ants, so much so that one asks oneself in amazement how they can marshal the strength to resist the gusting wind so that the bridges and the ants will not overturn together [. . .].

The high elevation miniaturizes all objects and people but also causes the "unarmed" eye to blur differences among people. One might interpret this blurring as a positive thing for the champions of racial equality and fraternity. The following remarks by Shapiro, however, echo the colonial and racist descriptions that were in fashion at the time, notwithstanding the principles of the Republic:

> To get a reliable grasp of all the many things that are spreading out under one's feet, one has to equip one's eyes with magnifying lenses; then the matters slowly emerge from the haze and become visible in their regular form. The people on the fairgrounds, who initially looked like dwarfs to us—we could not estimate their form and could hardly distinguish between whites and blacks, between lovely and delightful European clothing and the tainted attire of other lands—appear to us in their magnificence and glory, until even if we cannot see their faces we can distinguish between the walking of self-aware, valuable enlightened people and the steps of the benighted, who in their sitting down and their standing up are indentured servants to miscellaneous vanities and primitive laws; who in all their many days on earth will accomplish nothing but rote necessities without understanding their necessity [. . .].

Shapiro's account of what went on at the first level, after he returned from the top and was heading down, includes the doings of writers who, like him, were preparing reports for their newspapers.

> [. . .] The tables on the first terrace are packed with hordes of people. They are eating, drinking, and rejoicing; they are conversing with each other; and a few are writing down their feelings, preparing delights for their colleagues, or also for various newspapers [. . .].

The dizzying elevation, however, seems to have invested David Shapiro's thoughts and churning emotions with errant ruminations. First he wonders whether the interpretation of what he saw from the top is really an optical illusion and an exercise in imagination.

> [. . .] One can also make out various things that people on the fairgrounds are doing under the open sky, even though it is very hard to discern how they are doing them and to understand clearly why they are doing them [. . .]. The many beautiful flowers here and there on the fairgrounds are hardly visible to the eye and only by dint of memory can one know that the green that one sees in a given place is flowers and not just grass [. . .]. We see many other things around the exhibition without their colors and features because the great distance has cast a figurative shadow of night and darkness over them [. . .]. As we cast our eyes around the city, we can hardly recognize and realize that a given point belongs to a part [of the city] that we know. We may say that we make out many objects and various buildings in the city more by conjecture than by observation [. . .].

"Now another emotion succeeds the first one." The observer of the pastoral and evocative landscapes recalls, at these very moments and in every location,

> [. . .] thousands of people will groan from the arrows of an era that knows how to pierce hearts unerringly: thousands of people will set snares and traps to hunt down their honest-hearted brethren for no crime of their own; thousands of scheming people will devise ways to place complications and hurdles in the path of the human race, to imprison its spirit that bursts to emerge, and to enslave it as in times of antiquity; here the starving will cry out and wail and there [others] will celebrate and cheer in sheer abundance; here the poor will die of hunger and there [others] will squander money like ashes on all kinds of gluttony; here the lover will wait and tarry for his beloved and ennoble her with the kisses of his mouth, while his hand reaches under his uniform to brandish the sword and leave the corpse prostrate before him in a trace [. . .].

David Shapiro's point of departure is judgmental in a moral, as opposed to a political, sense. Even when he speaks about those who wish to "imprison [man's] spirit that bursts to emerge" and "enslave it as in times of antiquity," he still believes that some people were born to be slaves . . . .

Shapiro devoted two additional articles to the Eiffel Tower (the sixth in the series, on September 23, and the seventh, on October 3). They provide a detailed technical account of the history of the construction of the Tower, including solutions that the builders had applied to problems that they had encountered from the nascent field of skyscraper construction abroad. At the beginning of the first article, Shapiro offers an excuse for the great preoccupation with the topic in the Hebrew media generally—even though the issue at hand was ostensibly unrelated to politics or the Jewish tradition—within the framework of reportage on the exhibition:

> The Eiffel Tower, which gave everyone on earth pleasure with every forward step that they took, and with thirsting eyes they waited for the moment when its magnificent and glory would become visible to all, is truly a wonderful and delightful thing that should be included as part of the hall of the great fair. The French may indeed be proud and pretentious about such an esteemed thing, which is unparalleled anywhere else in the world. It is anything but unwarranted to retell the history of this building and the labor behind it in our literature as well [. . .].

The range of views that was typical of late nineteenth-century Europe—as new breezes collided with ancient ones to form a cyclone—allowed flickers of light that portended the awareness of the Jews' changing status, including their attitudes toward the surrounding world, to coexist with conspicuous use of the Eurocentric, colonialist, and Orientalist discourse that was accepted not only in France in that era but also in all of Europe. This range of views, characteristic of reportage in the Hebrew press of the time, was manifested even from the heights of the Eiffel Tower. And if the antisemites in France did not refrain from attacking what they considered the "Jewish" aspect of the Fair and the Tower, the "Jewish connection" was emphasized in its national aspect; the context of the "productivization" of world Jewry appeared only in *Ha-Maggid,* which was published outside the confines of Czarist Russia.