kesher

No. 35, Winter 2007

CONTENTS

EDITORIAL

Yosef Gorny

This 35th issue of *Kesher* strengthens our hope for continuous and regular semiannual publication. The positive reception that greeted our previous issue indicates that the three years during which this publication was on hold were three years too many. On the strength of that encouragement, and of the efforts generously volunteered by our contributors, we will do our best to fulfill our readers' expectations.

This issue has two main focuses. The first is to observe the eighty-year anniversary of the founding of the daily *Davar* (1925), in honor of which a special symposium was held at Tel Aviv University. The articles published here are based on several of the lectures presented on that occasion.

Our second focus is the subject of wartime journalism, which is of particular relevance in light of the "Second Lebanon War," though most of the articles deal not with that war but with its predecessors.

Of course, the relationship between these two focuses is merely coincidental; one was planned in advance, and the other came to us by surprise. Despite this the two are linked by a difficult but unavoidable historic connection.

During the period of its publication (1925-1996), *Davar* was the only social democratic newspaper that existed continually for seventy one years; even as its importance waned in its last decade, its publication continued uninterrupted. The articles published in this issue point to the fact that during the whole of that period *Davar*, which was an official political organ, and therefore faced all the constraints common to that genre, was still able to express the critical positions called for

by the times and their events; this was especially true during times of crisis, such as the second World War, during which the Holocaust took place.

Over the years Israel's wars have continued, and "post-partisan" journalism has become increasingly critical and even "biting" in its response to the establishment's positions, especially on the subject of security – though, as we will show, such criticism too has its limits. It is still difficult to comprehend the full significance of this trend, which was possibly at its peak during the last war, on Israel's democratic government. However, there is no doubt that it will be the subject of much research in the near future, and we hope that the fruits of that research will find their place in future issues of *Kesher*.

The disappearance of *Davar* and of partisan political journalism in general – in contrast with the rise of the independent media, where criticism for criticism's sake is at times almost the only political mission – raises the question of whether democratic society in general, and Israeli society in particular, has lost the balance between the responsibility to criticize, regardless of how subversive the criticism may be, and the responsibility toward preserve and protect social integrity. The latter responsibility is continually threatened; extreme or sensationalistic criticism is likely to arouse anti-democratic sentiment as a dialectic response. A strong sign that bodes ill in this respect is discussed in our opening article. I will go so far as to claim that this too is a subject deserving of serious academic discussion.

KESHER 35: INTRODUCTORY REMARKS SUDDENLY LAST SUMMER

Gideon Kouts

Davar, the "mythological" organ of Israel's General Federation of Jewish Workers (Histadrut), was launched in 1925; in 1996 the last issue of what was now a minor, autonomous newspaper named *Davar Rishon* was published. Thus, in addition to commemorating the eightieth anniversary of its founding, we also – some of us with great regret – mark the ten years since its demise.

The purpose of this issue of *Kesher* is neither to praise *Davar* nor to bury it. Our cover story, "Some words about *Davar*", is composed of a series of articles based on lectures presented at a December 2005 conference held at Tel Aviv University by the Herzog and Bronfman Institutes; its aim is to examine *Davar*'s history, and in doing so to shed light on various aspects of the history of media communications within the labor movement, as it was known in the last century, and within Hebrew and Israeli journalism in general.

In the first article Shlomo Shafir writes about the rise and fall of the socialist-democratic press in Western Europe, whose organs were shorter-lived than *Davar*. Berl Katznelson was the founder and first editor of *Davar*; in her article, Anita Shapira analyzes the cultural outlook which was shared by him and the generation responsible for shaping Israeli culture for many years. Yaacov Goldstein addresses the relationship between the political establishment and its organs, and the attitude taken by *Davar* and *Ha-Poel ha-Tzair* toward the establishment of Mapai. Nurit Govrin deals with the political-literary aspect through Dov Sadan, who "invented" *Davar*'s literary supplement. Yosef Gorny finds evidence in *Davar*'s coverage of the Holocaust of an independence and willingness to criticize that are not generally attributed to it in that period. Yael Darr examines the role of *Davar li-Yeladim* in recruiting children to the mainstream ideology of the Yishuv. Orly Tsarfaty tells the tale of *La-Merchav*, a Labor Movement publication eventually swallowed by *Davar*. Yoram Peri, who was the paper's penultimate editor, actually sees a surprising revival of *Davar*'s "heritage" in the resurgence of "engaged" journalism during this century.

But of course it was impossible for us to ignore, in the last weeks of 2006, the traumatic events which took took place suddenly last summer and which obligate us to examine the subject of the war, its environment and causes, and the role of the media. In the article which launches this issue, Dan Caspi deals with the unexpected and thought-provoking inverse relationship he observes between the proliferation of media channels in our "connected" democracy, evident in the last war as well, and actual democracy as reflected at the ballot box. Raphael Cohen-Almagor and the late Mark Biano undertook to refute the consensus on the changes supposedly evident in Israeli journalism's wartime coverage through a quantitative analysis of *Ha-Aretz*'s coverage of Israel's wars.

Haim Grossman presents the fascinating illustrated history of Army postcards during the 1960s and '70s and the way in which they represented the Israeli soldier's relationship with family and society. The late Yuval Shahal provided an original examination of the great Jewish-Russian writer Isaac Babel as a war correspondent under the Communist rule which would eventually claim his life. In our Research Reports section we present the main points of Zeev Segal's lecture at the Central European University in Budapest on the question of freedom of expression and the coverage of the Second Lebanon War as an issue of public policy.

In this issue we also continue our survey of the history of Hebrew journalism in Europe. Moshe Pelli shares with us his latest discovery: an 1808 prospectus of upcoming publications which announced the renewal of the Haskalah's anthology. Mordechai Zalkin uncovers new details in his research on Vilna's first Jewish periodical (*Pirhei Tsafon*, 1841) and its real editors.Gideon Kouts analyzes discussions on fundamental questions about Hebrew journalism during this period in his article about *Pirhei Tsafon*'s successor *Ha-Carmel*, the first Hebrew weekly in the Russian Empire.

These days it is common to engage in the identification of imaginary communities; we present discussions of two rather tangible examples. The first is Hanna Adoni and Hillel Nossek's study of Israel's media consumers, "Israelis in the Local and Global Village;" the second is Shmuel Trigano's discussion of France's Jews in his article deconstructing the way in which they were labeled "communitarian" by the French media during the anti-Semitic attacks of 2000-2001.

As in every issue, we once again include a survey of new books and report on new doctoral and Master's theses. In the next issue we will examine among other things the relationship between news and history and between journalism and policy, among members of the Jewish media and in the media in general.

Have a useful and pleasant read. We'll be back in the summer issue.

English Abstracts of Hebrew Articles

DEMEDIOCRACY: DEMOCRACY, MEDIA, AND MEDIOCRITY / Dan Caspi

This analysis of the impact of media coverage on democracy, and in particular on the quality of government in Israel, identifies eight major negative consequences which may serve as a basis for further research.

1. Acceleration: Media presence is capable of speeding up the political process and pressuring leaders to make swift and often inappropriate decisions. This is particularly relevant in the case of politicians who are inexperienced or overly sensitive to fluctuations in public opinion.

2. Dramatization and de-rationalization: Live media coverage is apt to create (melo)drama where at times there is none, and to emphasize the (melo)dramatic qualities of a given event, if only for the sake of circulation and ratings.

3. Synchronization of media and politics: The gap between political rhythm and media beat is shrinking due to increased cooperation between politicians and journalists.

4. Careful timing: Political actors tend to play to the needs of the media, modifying schedules and staging events and pseudo-events in order to seize the media's attention and define its agenda.

5. Spin in place of policy: As the presence of spin doctors increases, they are increasingly able to shape political awareness, often by means of manipulation rather than through significant political action.

6. Death of accountability: Political advertising, or propaganda, can be effective to the extent that capable campaigners may reframe even fatal failures as achievements, thus saving their political clients from public sanctions and accountability.

7. Demediocracy: Thanks to a professionalized election system, candidates are increasingly evaluated on the basis of their media savvy rather than their ability to lead. Because of this negative selection, democracy is likely to deteriorate into a "demediocracy" – a democracy populated by photogenic but middling leaders.

8. Demystification: Political processes which once took place below ground are brought to light through intense media coverage, and actors, institutions, and processes may be stripped of the authoritative aura they had previously enjoyed.

Media coverage is no panacea: it can do both good and harm. The more politicians become accustomed to acting in the presence of constant coverage and learn to control their exposure to the spotlight, the more they will avert unnecessary damage – to themselves and to democracy itself.

ISRAEL'S WARS AS REFLECTED IN *HA-ARETZ* / Marc Biano and Raphael Cohen-Almagor

A common assertion is that in the wake of the Yom Kippur War the Israeli media underwent a significant transformation, from a "toothless" presence to a combative and hard-hitting one which exposed and informed without deference to the wishes of the government. This article intends to examine that assertion with respect to the newspaper *Ha-Aretz*. It begins with a historical survey of the relationship between the media, the military, and the government. It then provides a quantitative analysis of *Ha-Aretz*'s coverage of the War of Independence, the Sinai Campaign, the Six-Day War, the War of Attrition, the Yom Kippur War, and Operation Peace for Galilee by means of a rigorous examination of its news coverage a week prior to each war and a week following it. In contrast to prevailing opinion, the evidence shows that *Ha-Aretz* did not become more forceful or combative in its approach to the ruling powers. In fact its coverage was supportive and favorable on every occasion, including the war in Lebanon. These findings challenge the assumptions currently accepted in the research literature.

* Mark Biano was murdered in a suicide bombing at the Maxim Restaurant, Haifa.

"SOLDIER, STAY IN TOUCH": PORTRAYING THE REALITY BETWEEN A SOLDIER AND HIS LOVED ONES IN THE ARMY POSTCARDS OF 1960-70S ISRAEL / Haim Grossman

Beginning with the Six-Day War and continuing to the end of the 1970s, the Israeli Army maintained consistent arrangements for postal service between soldiers at the battlefront and their loved ones at home. This was accomplished by means of illustrated postcards which were produced by the military and a group of private artists, and distributed amongst the regular and reserve forces. The visual themes communicated in the illustrations and contents of the Army postcards became in themselves a means of expression, which shaped and influenced Israeli society and became an integral part of the Army experience throughout those years.

Images of soldiers and of the military had commonly been imprinted on a wide variety of graphical and artistic products since the birth of the country, giving expression to the needs, hopes, and desires of Israeli society, which wished to project the image of the soldier hero. The face of the "handsome soldier" was for many private manufacturers a familiar product that could be represented in a style which increasingly aestheticized kitsch, much to the appreciation of Israeli consumers. Nevertheless this image of the handsome hero seldom appeared on official graphics, despite its prominence in the public consciousness. The government's visual communications gave preference to images of the building of the country or of the ingathering of exiles, and this was part of a conscious strategy of de-emphasizing depictions of the Army and its soldiers. In military publications soldiers were drawn with a light and cheerful touch, in contrast to the gleaming icons found in the private sector. This style expanded in the late 1960s to the burgeoning graphical field of military postcards, which were distributed to soldiers in the course of their service.

These postcard illustrations represented a complex and tangled reality by means of smiling sketches, creating an accepted and almost trivial graphic vocabulary which seemed better suited to a mischievous adventure than to the dangers and difficulties of military service. Such images, while they doubtless eased the worries of soldiers at the front and their anxious families at home, also contributed to the construction of an agreed-upon visual reality regarding the use of force, representing it as a natural and unavoidable situation. Even if the production of these postcards did not signify a conscious manipulative attempt at creating social and political cohesiveness, it is evident that the visual themes it involved strengthened the perception of "civilized militarism" which continues to persist to this day.

ISAAC BABEL – A WAR CORRESPONDENT / Yuval Shahal

This essay focuses on Babel's writing on the subjects of war and the military. Isaac Emmanuilovich Babel was born in Odessa in 1894. He became a writer, a playwright, and in due times a military correspondent

In Babel's writing two divisions (in the literary rather than military sense) address these topics. The first, lesser both in scope and in duration of publication, is the group of articles he published in *The Red Cavalryman*, the Red Army's first cavalry newspaper, during the Polish campaign that lasted from June-September 1920. The second, broader in scope and more complex, is *Red Cavalry*, several dozen texts composed by Babel during his service at the front, and later published in various Soviet newspapers from 1923 to 1925. A short-story collection bearing the same name was published in 1926, as noted above. Babel's military or quasi-military writing is examined in this essay, by means of literal, and sometimes ethnic, cultural, and historical, analysis. Babel once said, "There are writers whose fate is comforting, there are writers whose fate is cruel, and there is another sort: writers with no fate at all. I belong to that group..." In this he was mistaken. At the time, however, perhaps he could not have known. Babel was one of those writers whose fate was cruel.

An examination of Babel's creations – it is difficult to classify his writing from the *Red Cavalry* period in other terms – returns the reader to the words of Yaakov Erez: "It is not always possible to change matters through newspaper journalism, but it is certainly possible to be the voice of many unheard soldiers." Babel filled this role well, but he went further: at least one significant change took place as a result of his quasi-military writing, and he thus became yet another Soviet writer whose fate – and country – treated him cruelly. For decades after Babel, no Soviet military writer dared to

deviate from the official party line. "Panfilov's Men," by Alexander Bek (in Russian: "Волоколамское Шоссе"; it was published in Hebrew by Hakibbutz Hameuchad in 1946 and held almost cult status in the Palmach and later the Israeli Army), which describes the Soviet battle for Moscow's defense and the road leading up to it in 1941, is a paradigmatic example: the author, a military reporter covering the battle, delivers an almost verbatim transcript of the conversation of the Soviet officers in charge, headed by the battalion commander Bauyrzhan Momysh-Uly and the division commander General Ivan Vasilyevich Panfilov. The author displays no ability or desire to maneuver, investigate, or report a second opinion. He is instead an example of the rule quoted early in this essay: that the written word was a weapon in the hands of the Soviet government, and especially during times of war.

Babel's writing was very personal, at a place and time in which collectivism had already begun to edge in on everything that was "different." And Babel, who was "different" in almost every sense of that complex word, generally followed his heart or his muse, and wrote as he saw fit. His writing was very personal, fierce, and dense, loaded with images where none seem needed – what does military journalism have to do with images? – And, above all, consistently aligned with the weak and the "other." As part of the Soviet propaganda machine Babel was a complete failure, and not even sporadic texts calling for the pursuit and thorough destruction of the Polish enemy could change that; they are at most the exception that proves the rule. When Babel makes his tattered heroes utter Soviet slogans like "For the common good," he is not serving the increasingly consolidated Soviet machinery – he is ridiculing it.

In all higher aspects of his work – the singular language, the perspectives, the smile appearing even when there is no place for it, the Babelian caress – Babel advanced the state of Russian literature by a generation. Like other Russian artists he was torn between a number of identities, each of which appear in his writing and engage the rest in thrilling dialogue. Besides his use of language, Babel was ahead of his time in his ability to document: he was a documenter who invented the time capsule long before the existence of computers or other digital or virtual storage devices. Each story in *Red Cavalry* is a time capsule, and together the entire work forms an epic that stands alongside *The Forty Days of Musa Dagh* (Franz Werfel, about the Armenian genocide, 1915) and *For Whom the Bells Toll* (Ernest Hemingway, about the Spanish Civil War, 1936-1939). Like Babel, these two great authors also dealt with horrific events in which hundreds of thousands were murdered. Like them, Babel more than once asks the seemingly unaskable question: Who represents good here, and who represents evil? But while in the West such introspection invited praise and rewards (Hemingway was even awarded the Nobel Prize for literature in 1954), in the USSR of 1940 it invited a short and fatal meeting with the NKVD's firing squad in Moscow. Here we can look back to Markish, who stated that "Notwithstanding the blindness of the Great Purge [in the USSR, from the mid-1930s to 1941 and the outbreak of World War II in Soviet areas] those who were killed were first and foremost those who stood out ... those who were unable to take their place in the straight columns led by the party ... Babel's annihilation is not coincidental, since he had no place in the [Soviet] literature of the 1940s and '50s ..." (Markish: 1994: p. 5-6). In this sense, Babel's pieces in *Red Cavalry* represented a declaration of his independence and equality, the end of his illusion of being someone who exists outside of Jewish Odessa (whose destruction was nearing as well,) and possibly even his death wish. As he was a Jew, the interaction between the Jewish child from Odessa and the Cossacks of the Red Cavalry could only end with the death of the former, and indeed that was the result. It may be claimed that Babel was a late victim of the war he covered as a military reporter and continued to write about as a military author. But while millions lost their lives in that war for no reason and with no explanation, Babel's death was actually given an explanation: he was different. The "others" who, according to Babel, infused life with their tastes, colors, and smells, were considered redundant by Budyonny and the other uniform-wearers and standard-bearers of authority in those distant and evil days of the USSR. His execution by firing squad was carried out by agents of the Soviet state security department, NKVD, on January 27, 1940.

Perhaps the *Red Cavalry* stories should be taught in journalism schools, in military chapters dealing with writing and with images and their creation (and destruction); the stories were published in *The Red Cavalryman* and in other newspapers and journals after the Civil War, and were later issued as a collection that would be translated into dozens of languages. Regardless of whether students would put such lessons to practical use, and even if they came to the conclusion that "this is not the way a military reporter writes..." the very exposure to Babelian language, Babelian spirit, and the Babelian experience could only do them good; likewise for Isaac Emmanuilovich Babel, who deserves, as do we, that he may not be quickly forgotten.

BESORAT ME'ASFIM HADASHIM – AN UNKNOWN PROSPECTUS ANNOUNCING THE RENEWAL OF *HA-ME'ASEF* , THE FIRST HEBREW PERIODICAL, IN 1808/9
A Reflection of the State of Hebrew Letters at the Sunset of Hebrew Haskalah in Germany / Moshe Pelli

While preparing his book on the *Ha-Me'asef* Index and monograph *Sha'ar La-Haskalah*: An Annotated Index to *Ha-Me'asef*, the First Hebrew Journal, published by The Hebrew University Magnes Press in 2000, the author was looking for a prospectus for the renewal of *Ha-Me'asef* of 1809, which was alluded to, but has not been recorded in the bibliographical and critical literature. He found the unknown prospectus at the State Library in Berlin, the only library among 25 research libraries, which were searched for copies of *Ha-Me'asef*. It is published here for the first time with annotations and an introduction.

In 1808, Shalom ha-Cohen, a writer and a poet, disseminated a pamphlet, titled *Besorat Me'asfim Hadashim*, writing about his plans to renew the publication of the *Ha-Me'asef*. The periodical which was initially founded in 1783,

was folded in 1797 as circulation dwindled resulting from maskilic inner disputes and the change in cultural atmosphere in German Jewry.

The 16-page pamphlet was written in Hebrew and in German (in Hebrew characters). It represents a reflection of the state of Hebrew language, culture and literature at the threshold of the 19th century, and a call for the continuous revival of the Hebrew language, as part of the activities of the Hebrew Maskilim in Germany.

In the prospect, ha-Cohen also expounded on his theory of the history of the Hebrew language, and he discusses the causes for the closing of the periodical in 1797. He also discusses the cultural milieu of German Jewry and his editorial plans for the renewed journal.

THE PERIODICAL *PIRHEI TSAFON* AND ITS ROLE IN THE SOCIAL SYSTEM OF THE HASKALAH MOVEMENT IN THE RUSSIAN EMPIRE / Mordechai Zalkin

In 1841 Vilna saw the publication of the first periodical of the Jewish Enlightenment ("Haskalah") in the Russian Empire. This was *Pirhei Tsafon* ("Flowers of the North"). Because of its primacy as well as the social and ideological conditions from which it emerged, this modest and short-lived periodical (its second and final volume appeared in 1844) drew the attention of a large number of researchers interested in the origins of the Haskalah in Eastern Europe, the origins of modern Hebrew literature, and the history of Jewish and Hebrew journalism in the nineteenth century. Nevertheless, because they understood the Haskalah primarily as an intellectual and literary movement, the majority of these researchers found little in *Pirhei Tsafon* that might contribute to their work, and as a result the periodical has receded and almost disappeared from scholarly attention. This article intends to examine *Pirhei Tsafon* from an entirely different perspective: that of the social aspect of the Haskalah. Its central claim is that *Pirhei Tsafon* was born not because of any pressing lack of a new literary or poetic arena in which authors, poets, and

thinkers might express their evolving world view, but rather in response to the need for a strengthening, unifying, and focusing of the collective Maskilic identity. A central stage of this sort was of great importance to the many scholars who were scattered in remote villages and thus unable to participate directly in the Maskilic debates taking place in intellectual centers such as Vilna and Odessa. Furthermore, the editors of *Pirhei Tsafon* announced explicitly that they intended the periodical to serve as an instrument for widening the reach of the Haskalah in Eastern Europe, both through articles presenting the Haskalah's ideals in an egalitarian manner and through the positioning of the periodical as an accessible and immediate stage for any Maskilic scholar interested in making use of it – not only for those scholars who predominated at the time. In this way *Pirhei Tsafon* reflects the dynamic, flexible, and nonhierarchical nature of Jewish-Maskilic society in mid-nineteenth century Eastern Europe.

THE ISSUE OF HEBREW JOURNALISM IN *HA-CARMEL* OF VILNIUS (1860-1880) / Gideon Kouts

The story of the encounters, in the second half of the 19th century, between the city of Vilnius and Modern Hebrew journalism in its beginnings, is a tale of lost opportunities. Being a major center of Hebrew culture, Vilnius was the natural candidate to concentrate and develop in Russia the intellectual and publishing activities in this area; however, its contribution in resources and, in particular, a distinguished gallery of pioneer personalities, blossomed elsewhere.

The first Hebrew weekly in Russia *Ha-Carmel* did appear in that city in 1860. Its Publisher-Editor was the scholar and educator Rabbi Samuel Josef Finn (Fünn). Nevertheless, the new journal of Vilnius was not the one that entered the pages of Hebrew journalistic history as the exemplary representative of the Haskalah (Hebrew enlightenment) in the Russian Empire. It left this honor to its competitors, *Ha-Melitz* of Odessa and St. Petersburg, and *Ha-Zefira* of Warsaw.

Although *Ha-Carmel* did not serve as a good example of Hebrew journalistic practices, it is possible to find in it discussions on matters of principle, even profound and passionate, on the theory and the course to follow in this press, on its role, character and mission. These discussions serve as an interesting laboratory work to study Hebrew media, at a specific time and place, but also beyond it. This article mentions two of them:

In October 1869 a conference which took place in Berlin drew up and published a plan to support the Jews in the Russian "Pale of Settlement". Rashi Finn comes out against the claims, baseless in his opinion, advanced during the conference by western activists concerning Russian Jewry, its ethical, cultural and economic image. The publisher of *Ha-Magid,* Silverman, who gained a prominent position as activist in favor of Russian Jewry and as an expert on their condition in the west, responded in his paper with amazement and irony at the words of Finn. He pointed out that the Jewish activists in Prussia provided considerable assistance to the Jews of Russia during the great famine, while Finn, after the famine had ended, engaged in criticism and advice and words with no real benefit.

Moshe Leib Lilienblum, one of the leading Hebrew thinkers of the time, wrote in reply an article of importance for the history of Hebrew journalism, under the title "Theory and fact". Lilienblum deals with the central issue: the nature of the Hebrew press and of the press in general. Is the newspaper's role to examine theoretically the subjects under consideration, express an opinion, make proposals and influence in this manner public opinion and political and public issues, or should it take practical steps by itself, to intervene in public and political life, to set down a policy and to follow it in practice, to become an active force within the system, making use of its journalistic position for activities not connected with journalism.

Lilienblum determines that the role of the Jewish press is the critical examination by scholars and writers of the vital questions faced by the public, and the public should act in accordance with the advice and the conclusions of this examination. Despite its motto "Love peace and truth", *Ha-Magid* harms this public because he does not provide practical instruction on how to improve and reform, rather the opposite, he anesthetizes it and habituates it to intellectual laziness by the fact that itself, the paper, engages in philanthropic activities. By only collecting donations for the victims of famine the *Ha-Magid* does not fulfill its task as a Hebrew newspaper.

The monthly *Ha-Carmel* was in fact an acknowledgment of *Ha-Carmel's* failure as a modern newspaper. It started to appear in October of 1871, seven months after the disappearance of the weekly. The second theoretical discussion dates from the last year of the monthly, its official fourth year, which started in January of 1879 and ended in December of 1880 – and was the initiative of another of those distinguished personalities contributed by Vilnius and *Ha-Carmel* to the world of Hebrew journalism, and which also played its main historical role outside their framework. Dr. Yehuda Leib Kantor, who is recorded in the history of Hebrew journalism as the editor of the first Hebrew daily, *Ha-Yom* (Today – St. Petersburg 1886-1888) and also edited *Ha-Melitz* wrote an article "Letter to the Editing Assistant" (fourth year, issue 2), where he refers to the contents of the Hebrew journal. Not what should be in it, he warns in advance, but what must not be found in it, and he brings up two main points: first, the excessive concentration on Jewish antiquities and Jewish learning of the Hebrew monthly. This is of benefit only to those readers who are themselves engaged in that type of study, while the average reader, who derives no benefit from such articles, buys the paper with his money in order to enjoy it "in his time of leisure and relaxation". "Such people," warns Kantor, "want to have news, pleasant stories dealing with the lives of the people, with the history of famous men (today call them

celebrities), but not with antiquities". Kantor rejects even the excessive attention given to natural sciences, favorites of the *Haskalah,* and he writes that also in the general press these subjects were assigned to specialized publications. Kantor is in fact supporting a Hebrew press of popular character, a tendency prevalent in many newspapers at the time. The second point raised by Kantor is in accordance with his tendency to avoid sharp and violent disputes, and also with his first arguments against the young enthusiastic critics. He refers to the violent and ugly "literary war" waged at the time between the journals "Morning Light" and "The Dawn", condemning the "exacerbation and abuse hurled now by Jewish writers one to another", which is likewise applicable to our time. The pointless literary wars, which are mainly concerned with the

honor or dishonor of a small elite of writers, certainly do not answer the needs of popular journalism. They also distance the reader from the language and the literature itself.

The Editor Haim Leib Markon answers these arguments with an article in three installments, under the title "Reply to Mr. Kantor and his friends", presenting not less than six main answers…

Other participants joined this debate, the last great debate on the pages of *Ha-Carmel* of Vilnius. The closure of *Ha-Carmel* reflected the end of the role of Vilnius as a center of Hebrew culture in the 19th century. The emergence of Zionism made of St. Petersburg, Odessa and Warsaw its main centers. Vilnius returned to the center of the Hebrew journalistic and cultural map only in the first decade of the 20th century.

THE RISE AND FALL OF THE SOCIAL DEMOCRATIC PRESS IN EUROPE / Shlomo Shafir

The Labor press in Europe that was founded in the second half of the 19th century was an important factor in the gradual development of the Social democratic and Socialist parties and their emergence as an influential voice on the political scene. The press accompanied these parties in time of persecution and discrimination by reactionary and conservative governments and subsequently contributed to the political education, ideological consciousness, and the broadening of cultural vistas of millions of working people and their families. Nevertheless, despite these significant achievements, in most countries the Social Democrat press could never compete successfully with the general non-party press as well as with the well established newspapers of liberal or conservative orientation. Later on, due to social changes even a great part of the working class readership preferred general newspapers to their own press because they provided more information and less ideological education.

In addition, the lack of qualified editors and journalists in a great many of the provincial party papers and their dependence on party functionaries or members of parliament who themselves served as publishers or coeditors and insisted on publication of their statements or speeches also lessened the appeal of the Social Democratic press.

As for Germany, the rather limited circulation of SPD controlled newspapers in comparison to the total number of readers did not affect the growing strength of the party during the last years of the Empire and the first years of the Weimar Republic. In Austria the *Arbeiterzeitung* was more successful, and for several years after World War I it became

one of Vienna's leading dailies but towards the late twenties and early thirties it declined. In post-World War II, even at the time of Social Democratic political hegemony under Kreisky and his successors, it never regained its importance and closed down in 1991.

Because of the prevailing social system and discrimination of both the working class and the Jewish intelligentsia, the number of Jewish editors and journalists in Social Democratic dailies and periodicals was larger than in other European nations. After World War II, of course, Jewish participants almost disappeared.

In Scandinavia the rise of the Social Democratic press started later than in Central Europe. It reached its peak during World War II and in the early postwar years when most Northern governments were led by the party. However, its circulation never reached that of pro-Liberal, pro-Conservative or non-political competitors. Even affirmative action in favor of the smaller provincial newspapers could not rescue most of them.

The decline and disappearance of most Social Democratic newspapers (political, social and theoretical periodicals not included) is a phenomenon characteristic all over Europe. Attempts of far-reaching changes came much too late, and even before the present tide of globalization, the victory of market economy and the changing political culture doomed almost all of them. But as ongoing elections in European nations show us, the decline of the Social Democratic press has not affected the fate of the parties themselves.

BERL KATZNELSON'S CONCEPT OF CULTURE / Anita Shapira

Berl Katznelson belonged to a generation weaned on the importance of the written word. He grew up in an area without radio or television, in which any political body wishing to influence public opinion did so through spoken addresses – whether in synagogues or on street corners, or at political gatherings – or through the written word, by means of pamphlets, books, posters, and periodicals. The underground press forms a component of every example of political action in Russia at the turn of the century. This was a time during which it was customary to collect old periodicals and bind them for preservation; such worn-out volumes, found in his father's attic, formed the basis of Berl Katznelson's Hebrew education. Every political party maintained its own mouthpiece publication, and as a result it is unsurprising that the fathers of the Zionist movement were men of letters, beginning with Peretz Smolenskin and continuing through Achad ha-Am, Herzl, Nordau, Sokolow, Jabotinsky, Brenner.

These journalists played a central role in shaping Zionist public opinion.

Berl Katznelson laid primary emphasis on cultivating his movement's ability to communicate in print. From the moment he was established at the head of a movement, namely Achdut ha-Avoda (1919), he made certain to publish documents which would articulate the rationale behind its founding. With this in mind, for example, he published the pamphlet *Ba-Avoda* and included in it the text of his famous speech at the Seventh Agricultural Convention in Petach Tikva entitled *Likrat ha-Yamim ha-Baim* ("Towards the Coming Days") – a lecture infused with prophetic conviction, born of the British occupation of the region and the new possibilities thus created for the Zionist movement. This speech, which gave voice to the sentiments of many members of the Second Aliyah, exemplifies Berl's use of direct address, which he would then expand to a wider audience by means of the written word. The first part of "Toward the Coming Days" essentially soars on the wings of the Zionist-Socialist vision. The second half is more pragmatic, providing specific direction as to what to achieve and how to achieve it. This combination of exhilarating prophecy and rational practicality was characteristic of Berl. He frequently expressed his ideas by addressing an audience directly. Still, as his audience grew, he became dependent more and more on a written conduit; as a result he founded *Davar* in 1925.

Berl believed in addressing the emotions and wishes, both public and subconscious, of his listeners and readers. And after capturing their hearts, he would consistently revert to practicality and present them with coherent and achievable instructions. This was also his approach in the two major articles he published in 1936, *Michtav le-Chaverai bi-Degania* ("A Letter to My Friends in Degania") and *Ir'urim al ha-Matzav ha-Kayam* ("Objections to the Present Situation"). These two articles were intended to launch a public debate in the Kibbutz movement on the question of unification, at least between those factions identified with Mapai (Chever ha-Kvutzot-Gordonia and Ha-Kibbutz ha-Meuchad). He "grounded" his rationalistic arguments in emotion and appealed to the common belief in the myth of unity, which unearths hidden strengths; in the elevation of mankind and his spiritual freedom; and in the rousing power of voluntary idealism. And after laying these foundations he turned to practical concerns: the weakness that originates in division; the inability to influence the masses; the lack of necessary talent for expanding existing frameworks. His political target was simple: the unification of the Kibbutz movement. But the method in which Berl addressed his audience transformed any rejection of this goal into more than mere political objection – it was rather a deviation from the historic path of the movement, a betrayal of accepted principles, and an altogether aberrant act.

Berl's ability to clothe political substance in emotion was a powerful weapon in his political battles, both internal and external. Berl Katznelson made use of his talent for written and verbal expression in order to shape the consciousness of a generation.

THE POSITIONS OF *HA-POEL HA-TZAIR* AND *DAVAR* ON THE ESTABLISHMENT OF MAPAI / Yaakov Goldstein

The newspaper *Davar* was founded in 1925 and served as the organ for Israel's General Federation of Workers (Histadrut.) It was predated by *Ha-Poel ha-Tzair* and *Kuntres*, both of which were characteristic partisan papers and as such primarily reflected the accepted positions of their parties.

The coverage by these three papers provided extended beyond party matters to the central questions which concerned the Zionist movement, the Yishuv, and the Histadrut during the 1920s. Topics in the Zionist realm included relations with Britain, the Mandate, and inter-party struggles within the movement. Coverage of Yishuv and Histadrut concerns focused on financial crises and the struggle against Gedud Ha-avodah (the Trumpeldor Labor Battalion.)

Davar, being a mouthpiece for the Histadrut, was obligated in principle to express the general position of the organized labor movement and to refrain from siding with specific parties. In practice, it often tended to support the position of the majority party in the Histadrut, namely Achdut ha-avoda, whose leaders also formed the majority of *Davar*'s editorial staff.

The subject of the merger between *Ha-Poel ha-Tzair* and Achdut ha-Avoda parties, which led to the establishment of Mapai in 1930, was a matter of controversy between the two parties. As a result *Davar* was forced to adopt a cautious approach towards the idea. At the same time it is possible to discern the outcome it favored through the positions taken by its chief editors, among them Berl Katznelson and Moshe Beilinson.

Ha-Poel ha-Tzair and *Kuntres*, on the other hand, gave prominent coverage to minority viewpoints opposing the merger. These belonged to central figures in both parties, among them Eliezer Shochat, Nachum Tversky, Chaim Arlosoroff from *Ha-Poel ha-Tzair* and Israel Bar-Yehuda (Idelson), Melech Noi (Neishtadt), Shlomo Kaplansky from Achdut ha-Avoda. Despite their objections, the proceedings ended with the overwhelming majority of both parties in favor of the merger. This too was reflected in the newspapers discussed.

Eventually the merger took place and Mapai was established. The merger was the result of several basic factors which propelled it: the Palestine-centric stance held by both parties, the rising threat of the Revisionist movement, the two parties' common support for Weizmann, and the deterministic conviction on the part of Achdut ha-Avoda regarding the necessity of unifying the labor movement. There is no doubt that *Davar* welcomed the victory and realization of the merger proposal.

DOV SADAN AS EDITOR OF *DAVAR*'S LITERARY *SUPPLEMENT* / Nurit Govrin

The article begins with a discussion on the origin of the name *Mussaf* ("Literary Supplement", which means also a traditional prayer). The name indicates the deep respect with which Israeli literature was treated – a respect bordering on reverence. Israeli literature fills the same role in the secular world as prayer does in the religious; it is equivalent to prayer, if not a replacement.

The article then describes the process by which Dov Sadan was installed as editor of *Davar*'s Literary Supplement, and focuses on the great importance of literature in general and of Israeli literature specifically to this typically partisan-social publication.

The background events of the six years during which Sadan served as literary editor (1933-1939) are examined. These were difficult years encompassing pivotal events, from the rise of Hitler to the German Aliyah, the shrinking of the Jewish population in Eastern Europe, the Arab Revolt and General Strike of 1936-39, and the outbreak of World War II. During this period it was necessary to cover current events, but at the same time to protect and nurture literary and cultural growth.

The article presents the possible reasons for Dov Sadan's resignation from his position as editor, among them the perennial debate over whether contributors to the Literary Supplement should be "professional writers" or nonprofessionals, people otherwise employed during the day and writing at night. It appears that those who supported the latter brought about the editor's resignation.

Sadan's editorial policies are described; on the strength of these policies the Literary Supplement took center stage in the cultural and literary life of Israel's Yishuv. Thanks to its editor, the supplement became a cultural and literary institution, a stage for established and debuting authors, a forum for cultivating talent, a home for writers who made Aliyah and

for those who remained abroad, a workshop for fostering women's writing, and more. The Literary Supplement was the place for those in Israel and in the Diaspora (there was still a Diaspora then), as well as for Hebrew writers in the United States; for veteran authors and for authors recently arrived in Israel; for those who wrote in Hebrew and for those who wrote in foreign tongues and required translation in order to approach an Israeli audience. Particularly noteworthy was Sadan's dedication to cultivating and encouraging the last of the Jewish writers in Poland; through the Supplement he provided them with a stage, and conducted an enthusiastic correspondence with them.

As editor he combined Hebrew literature with world literature; current literature with classic works of previous generations; translated texts with original works. At the same time he gave prominent exposure to Israeli authors and to the Israeli experience.

Readers of the Supplement felt they were living the creation of literature and culture, both Israeli and global; they had a finger on the pulse of all that was happening in the field.

The article provides examples of these editorial policies selected from several issues of the Supplement. Dov Sadan's work as editor of *Davar*'s Literary Supplement has persisted in our collective memory as a paragon and inspiration.

CONCERN THAT BECAME AN OUTCRY: *DAVAR* AND ITS TREATMENT OF THE JEWISH SITUATION IN EUROPE 1939–1942 / Yosef Gorny

Davar was the largest and most important Hebrew newspaper throughout the 1940s. Officially it was the newspaper of the General Federation of Jewish Workers (Histadrut), the largest social organization in the Yishuv. The Histadrut was headed by Mapai, which in addition was the leading party of the Zionist movement. The combination of these three factors – the Histadrut, Mapai, and the Zionist Organization – made *Davar* a primary instrument of political expression for Zionist policy on all subjects during these years. The subject of this article is no exception.

Davar's treatment of the fate of the Jews in Europe is examined here from two angles. The first is which information the newspaper chose to transmit to its readers and what importance it placed on this information – that is, whether the information was presented prominently or given second billing. The second is how *Davar*'s editors interpreted this information and what conclusions they were able to draw from it.

The discussion examines the period between September 1939 – the outbreak of the Second World War – and November 1942, when the systematic mass destruction of European Jews was officially acknowledged.

The newspaper's stance during these years, before the extent of the Holocaust was evident, on the one hand was cautious and self-restrained in its reporting on European developments and on the other made room for passionate warnings about what would in fact be recognized as the Holocaust by the end of the period at hand. This dual approach was particularly evident in the opposition between the more "level-headed" analysis articulated in editorials and the articles published on less prominent pages, among them firsthand accounts of life in Poland at the time.

Behind the "level-headed" approach, which reported facts but interpreted them not as harbingers of catastrophe but rather with a pinch of optimism, lay the editorial staff's fundamental understanding that the fate of European Jews would be determined on the battlefield? Because of this *Davar*, like the other Hebrew newspapers in Israel and the Jewish papers in the United States and Britain, consistently emphasized military events in its front-page headlines. This approach changed after November 1942, when all possibility for even cautious optimism was extinguished and the powerlessness of national policy and its inability to provide any significant aid were laid bare. The only hope remaining was for a rapid victory over the Nazis and the possibility of saving the few survivors, as the rest of the article makes clear.

SELLING SUBSCRIPTIONS TO *DAVAR LI-YELADIM*: PARTISANSHIP AND LITERARY INDEPENDENCE IN *DAVAR LI-YELADIM* DURING THE YISHUV / Yael Darr

This article presents the Histadrut periodical *Davar li-Yeladim* as a mouthpiece for the organization which intentionally integrated ideology and partisanship with literary independence. The main claim is that *Davar li-Yeladim*'s status as the most important and influential children's periodical throughout the 1930s and '40s was attributable not only to its reporting of current events and to its pro-labor stance, which was expressed in explicitly partisan articles and literary texts. Rather, this status was due precisely to its interweaving of ideology and current events with the non-ideological literature found in its pages.

By their juxtaposition with literary texts that were both modern and of high quality, and which paid little tribute to time, place, or political ideology, those sections of *Davar li-Yeladim* which were partisan and ideological were painted in a more official light and thus became palatable to a wider audience. Not only that: the periodical's incorporation of fine literature which could stand the test of time earned for its news items and editorials a far longer shelf life than is usually accorded the written press. The goal of preserving real works of literature justified *Davar li-Yeladim*'s practice of preserving its editions and releasing a bound edition at the end of each year which could be collected and reread.

The challenging and nourishing interactions between these two faces of *Davar li-Yeladim* – the commitment to ideology and partisanship on the one hand and to independent and universal literature on the other – is the focus of this article.

LA-MERCHAV: THE EVOLUTION OF A NEWSPAPER BETWEEN UNION AND DIVISION / Orly Tzarfaty

During the first years after Independence, there continued in Israel a trend in which political parties placed great importance on journalism as an instrument for ideological exposition and the shaping of public perception.

The newspaper *La-Merchav* was born as a bi-weekly publication in June 1954 against the backdrop of the Achdut ha-Avoda faction's struggle for freedom of expression within the Mapam party paper, *Al ha-Mishmar*. The publication of *La-Merchav* established the split within Mapam as a confirmed fact.

In December 1954 *La-Merchav* became a daily publication of the Achdut Ha-Avoda-Poale Tzion party. The paper reflected the party and Ha-Kibbutz ha-Meuchad's activist approach to security as well as its maximalist stance with respect to the country's borders. The paper gave comprehensive expression to the positions and values of Ha-Kibbutz ha-Meuchad regarding various matters that appeared on the public agenda at the time.

Changes in the political scene – the first Labor Alignment (1956), the establishment of the Labor party (1968), and the second Labor Alignment (1969) – along with the general decline in influence of partisan journalism in Israel – led to the discontinuation of *La-Merchav*. Its unhealthy financial situation eventually resulted in a merger with the newspaper *Davar* in 1971. The negotiations regarding the merger, which was compelled by the political parties, were fraught with difficulties and concerns which persisted even after the merger. In practice, *La-Merchav* was essentially absorbed by the veteran publication *Davar*.

The newspaper whose birth heralded the split within Mapam ceased to exist after the unification of Mapam and Mapai.

THE RETURN OF ENGAGED JOURNALISM / Yoram Peri

During the first decade of the 21st century, without the reader being aware of it and without the media admitting to it, a fundamental change took place in the role and self-perception of the media in most of today's democracies. This was the change from what is known as "objective journalism" – neutral, restrained, and even aloof – to engaged journalism.

The 9/11 attacks were primarily responsible for the growing challenges to the traditional hegemonic worldview. In its place a new approach has emerged, according to which journalists are unable to avoid the necessity of taking a stand on an issue since any word choice they make is burdened with political implications. That being the case, it is preferable to pick a political position consciously through considered examination rather than through self-justification. Ideological neutrality in the traditional sense is therefore ruled out, and journalists must not remain indifferent to social and political injustice. That said, when journalists express their opinions they must do so with full disclosure, without obscuring from the reader or viewer the fact that their coverage is subjective. They must permit multiple and opposing viewpoints to be expressed; they must not intentionally twist or hide inconvenient facts. In short, they must act fairly.

This "engaged" approach was precisely the approach followed by the newspaper *Davar* in the last decade of its existence, also the last decade of the 20th century. In doing so it predated by a decade the change which would take place in western journalism during at the start of the 21st century.

During its last decade *Davar* was admittedly the successor to Berl Katznelson's paper, but there was an essential difference between the newspapers in these two periods: the difference between partisan journalism and engaged journalism. In the case of a partisan paper, the party selected the editor-in-chief, who then reflected the positions of the party. In the case of engaged journalism the editor-in-chief is appointed by the publisher, but is free to express his own worldview. Partisan journalism gave voice exclusively or nearly exclusively to opinions considered legitimate in the eyes of party leadership. Engaged journalism is devoted to the principle of pluralism and presents as wide a range of opinion as possible, including opinions contrary to those of the editorial staff. Partisan journalism bowed down to politicians and accepted their precedence. Engaged journalism treats politicians with doubt, suspicion, and primarily criticism. Partisan journalists were loyal to their party and its leadership, while engaged journalists are loyal first and foremost to their conscience and to their readers.

The concept of engaged journalism has not been widely adopted in Israel, where erroneous perceptions persist regarding the advantage of the free market in the cultural arena. But with the weakening and dwindling of public journalism, and in light (or "dark") of the fact that the media is becoming primarily a purveyor of entertainment, it becomes necessary to view the growth of this new genre precisely in a positive light.

ISRAELIS IN THE LOCAL AND THE GLOBAL VILLAGES: NATIONAL IDENTITY FACING GLOBALIZATION AND MULTICULTURALISM IN A MULTI-MEDIA ENVIRONMENT / Hillel Nossek and Hanna Adoni

This article focuses on the role that various means of communication – both new, such as the personal computer and the Internet, and old, such as television, books, and newspapers – play in the process of shaping social identities. In addition, it examines the results of their influence: are existing identities reinforced or new identities created? Or are old identities, such as national identity, erased as new technologies become dominant in society? These issues are examined in the context of two social trends likely to influence the construction of identity: globalization, which furthers the development of a global identity, and multiculturalism, which strengthens and raises awareness of specific ethnic identities.

These two trends are potential threats to the continued existence of national identities in the context of social and cultural identity.

The authors' case study is the Israeli society, which is coping with changes arising from the progress of globalization and the rise of multiculturalism in parallel to its growing exposure to new means of communication. Accordingly they examined the contribution of different patterns of media consumption – reading books and newspapers, watching television, and surfing the Internet – to the structuring of social identities relevant to Israelis: global identity, Jewish identity, Israeli identity, and ethno-cultural identity. The

findings presented in the article are based on data from a telephone survey the authors conducted in September 2001 among 520 respondents chosen as a representative sample of the urban Jewish population above age 21, as well as from discussions held with nine focus groups.

The findings revealed that, contrary to the widespread belief that the new media environment would blur the boundaries of existing national identities, the consumption of means of communication contributed to the construction of complex identities encompassing national, ethnic, and global elements. Following the findings that emerged from a previous study (Adoni and Nossek, 1997) it appears that individuals are capable of being at once "citizens of the world" and active members in an ethno-cultural community without giving up their national identity.

Different media were utilized to strengthen various identities and none of the communicational technologies examined was unique in its contribution to the strengthening of a specific identity. Despite the high interchangeability between different media with regard to reinforcing various identities, they continued to co-exist side-by-side.

OCTOBER 2000 – OCTOBER 2001: THE IMAGINED JEWISH COMMUNITY OF THE FRENCH NEWS MAGAZINES / Shmuel Trigano

This article examines the manner in which the French weeklies portrayed the Jewish community during the month of October 2000.

With the outbreak of the second Intifada, French Jews were victims to violence aimed both at places of worship and at individuals, perpetrated by French Arabs of North African descent. During this month the magazines examined in this article (*L'Express*, *Le Point*, *Le Nouvel Observateur*, *Marianne*) covered these incidents in a paradoxical way. The Jews in France suffered not only violent intimidation but, at the same time, criticism targeted in particular at their "communitarianism." That idea, which spread and matured during this period, would re-emerge when in November 2001 *L'Observatoire du Monde Juif* published a list of the 450 anti-Semitic attacks which had taken place since October 2000, attacks which the media and the establishment had passed over in complete silence during the whole of that year. Where in October 2001, despite being victim to Arab-Muslim aggression, the Jews were accused of "communitarianism" (*communautarisme*[1]); they were in November 2001 accused of "communitarian separatism."

From a logical point of view, we may infer that the media discourse during the year 2000 was the primary factor in the pervasive silence throughout the entire year regarding the repeated and varied forms of anti-Semitic harassment which took place. In order to justify their silence, those in position to shape this discourse chose to rule out, in advance, the legal validity of the Jewish community's protests. From the moment this ideological approach was adopted, any logical conclusion that might have been derived from examining real events became unimportant, or more precisely was re-examined in light of the first, misleading thesis: that is, because the Jews are "communitarian," their complaints cannot not be other than an attempt at protecting their community, are thus impossible to take seriously, and should be condemned.

From a factual point of view, the articles about the anti-Semitic attacks form part of a general journalistic trend regarding the Intifada and Israel, notable in its negative treatment of the latter. This is the period which saw the tragic death of the twelve-year-old Muhammad al-Dura, an event prominently reported in every paper. France's Jews were held responsible, as an extension of the alleged guilt accorded to Israel. In this way a direct connection was drawn between the events in Israel and those in France, as though it were possible to equate the two. At any rate, it seems that such was the opinion held by journalists.

Figures in the Journalistic Discourse
The media's story followed a fixed model which on the one hand censured "guilty" members of the Jewish community, and on the other praised "exemplary" Jewish figures, who could be considered "positive" and a balance against those "negative" figures who should be denounced. Thus the discourse adhered to a shallow binary model (positive or negative, a good or bad Jew) which required a guilty party to exist; the guilty party in this case was "the Jewish community", which the media insisted on differentiating from "the Jews." But in order to establish Jewish culpability, it was first necessary to deny that any attack was being made upon them; that is, to present such an attack in relative terms, by implying that the Jews themselves failed to understand matters, and afterwards removing the attack from its original (French) context and reframing it in the context of events in the Middle East, which would explain and justify it.

The textual deconstruction of violent incidents typically adhered to the following outline:

1. The irrationality of the Jews.
2. Downplaying the incident.
3. Depersonalization and denial of the violence.
4. For lack of alternative, both Jews and Arabs should be held responsible.
5. Nevertheless, the Jewish community is responsible to a greater extent; France's Jews are equated with Israeli settlers.
6. Who are the "bad" Jews?
7. The "bad" Jews are the Sephardic, right-wing Jews who identify with Israel.
8. Even worse is the "Jewish lobby."
9. Despite this, there exist "good" Jews: respectable Ashkenazis whose religion is Judaism (*Israélite*).
10. Which party is guilty? The media is innocent.
11. A tie in the best case: the increasingly "communitarian" nature of the two communities.

October 2001:
Criteria for Referring to the Muslim Community
The picture that emerges from the journalistic discourse regarding the Muslim community following the September 11 attacks is surprising in its contradictions. In the name of Islam a new kind of attack was carried out and applauded by nearly the entire Muslim world, including in France, to almost no criticism from the media. On the contrary, the written media united around the Muslim community, intercepting any attempt to involve it in what occurred.

As a result the French public has been presented with a discourse on a Jewish community whose nature, supposedly violent and troublemaking, stands in stark contrast to the "pacifism" of the Arab-Muslim community ("The calm Islam of the Muslims in France", *Le Monde*, October 5, 2001.) The positive discrimination in favor of Islam has a darker side: negative discrimination against the Jewish community.

Note
Communautarisme is a philosophy which accords the community (be it ethnic, religious, cultural, social, political, or even athletic) equal or even greater importance than the universal values of freedom and equality. It often occurs as a reaction to liberalism and individualism, and is thus in conflict with the values of the French republic. With regard to the negative connotations of the word as it is used in France, another fitting translation might be "sectarianism." This article will use the word "communitarianism."

and on the other praised "exemplary" Jewish figures, who could be considered "positive" and a balance against those "negative" figures who should be denounced. Thus the discourse adhered to a shallow binary model (positive or negative, a good or bad Jew) which required a guilty party to exist; the guilty party in this case was "the Jewish community", which the media insisted on differentiating from "the Jews." But in order to establish Jewish culpability, it was first necessary to deny that any attack was being made upon them; that is, to present such an attack in relative terms, by implying that the Jews themselves failed to understand matters, and afterwards removing the attack from its original (French) context and reframing it in the context of events in the Middle East, which would explain and justify it.

The textual deconstruction of violent incidents typically adhered to the following outline:
1. The irrationality of the Jews.
2. Downplaying the incident.
3. Depersonalization and denial of the violence.
4. For lack of alternative, both Jews and Arabs should be held responsible.
5. Nevertheless, the Jewish community is responsible to a greater extent; France's Jews are equated with Israeli settlers.
6. Who are the "bad" Jews?
7. The "bad" Jews are the Sephardic, right-wing Jews who identify with Israel.
8. Even worse is the "Jewish lobby."
9. Despite this, there exist "good" Jews: respectable Ashkenazis whose religion is Judaism (*Israélite*).

10. Which party is guilty? The media is innocent.
11. A tie in the best case: the increasingly "communitarian" nature of the two communities.

October 2001:
Criteria for Referring to the Muslim Community

The picture that emerges from the journalistic discourse regarding the Muslim community following the September 11 attacks is surprising in its contradictions. In the name of Islam a new kind of attack was carried out and applauded by nearly the entire Muslim world, including in France, to almost no criticism from the media. On the contrary, the written media united around the Muslim community, intercepting any attempt to involve it in what occurred.

As a result the French public has been presented with a discourse on a Jewish community whose nature, supposedly violent and troublemaking, stands in stark contrast to the "pacifism" of the Arab-Muslim community ("The calm Islam of the Muslims in France", *Le Monde*, October 5, 2001.) The positive discrimination in favor of Islam has a darker side: negative discrimination against the Jewish community.

Note
Communautarisme is a philosophy which accords the community (be it ethnic, religious, cultural, social, political, or even athletic) equal or even greater importance than the universal values of freedom and equality. It often occurs as a reaction to liberalism and individualism, and is thus in conflict with the values of the French republic. With regard to the negative connotations of the word as it is used in France, another fitting translation might be "sectarianism." This article will use the word "communitarianism."

CONTRIBUTORS TO THIS ISSUE

Prof. Dan Caspi: Chair of the Department of Communication and Head of the Burda Center for Innovative Communications, Ben-Gurion University of the Negev.

Prof. Raphael Cohen-Almagor: Director, Center for Democratic Studies; Department of Communication and Library and Information Studies.

Marc Biano: Department of Communication, University of Haifa.

Haim Grossman: Researcher of Hebrew Folklore and Culture.

Dr. Yuval Shahal: Dean of Students, School of Media, College of Management.

Prof. Moshe Pelli: Professor, Abe and Tess Wise Endowed Professor of Judaic Studies and Director of Judaic Studies Program, University of Central Florida, Orlando, FL.

Dr. Mordechai Zalkin: Dept of Jewish History, Ben-Gurion University of the Negev.

Prof. Gideon Kouts: Head of Jewish Media and History Studies, University of Paris 8, France. Editor of *Kesher*.

Dr. Shlomo Shafir: Scholar of Post-Holocaust relations between Germany, Israel & the Jewish Diaspora**,** former editor of **Gesher**.

Prof. Anita Shapira: Head of the Chaim Weizmann Institute for the Study of Zionism and Israel, Tel Aviv University.

Prof. Yaacov Goldstein: Kinneret College on the Sea of Galilee.

Prof. Nurit Govrin: Department of Hebrew Literature**,** Tel Aviv University.

Prof. Yosef Gorny: Head of the Andrea and Charles Bronfman Institute for the study of Jewish press and communications, Tel Aviv University.

Dr. Yael Darr: Head of the Division of Culture & Education of the Child, General and Interdisciplinary Studies, Tel Aviv University. Head of the Division of Children's Literature, the School of Communication, Sapir Academic College.

Dr. Orly Tsarfaty: Department of Communication, Emek Yezreel College.

Prof. Yoram Peri: Head of the Chaim Herzog Institute for Media, Politics and Society, the Faculty of Social Sciences, Tel Aviv University.

Prof. Hanna Adoni: The Max Stern Academic College of Emek Yezreel. Danny Arnold Chair in Communications. Chair of the Department of Communication.

Prof. Hillel Nossek: Academic Director of the Teaching and Research Authority of the College of Management Academic Studies and Professor of communication in its School of Media Studies.

Prof. Shmuel Trigano: Department of Sociology, University of Paris 10th.

Dr. Einat Baram Eshel: Department of Hebrew Literature**,** Tel Aviv University.

Dr. Baruch Leshem: Head of Marketing Communications and Journalism, The School Of Commnications, Sapir Academic College.

Dr. Mordecai Naor: Author, researcher of Israeli media and history; first editor of *kesher*.

Dr. Uzi Elyada: Department of Communication, Haifa University.

Prof. Ze'ev Segal: Professor of Law, Faculty of Social Science, Tel Aviv University; Legal Commentator, *Ha'aretz* Daily Newspaper.