

oriented one. The journal's purpose was to give voice to the extensive secular, nationalist activity in Hebrew and Yiddish that was taking place in Antwerp, in communities throughout the Jewish world, and in Eretz Yisrael. It also contains harsh criticism of community institutions, particularly, the "partisan" ones.

The study reviews the contents of both editions, examines the editors' and contributors' biographies, and concludes by describing the scant responses to the journal's reception, which demonstrate that *Moznaim* never really resonated, and that silence was its lot.

secular, religious, and ultra-Orthodox press in Israel during that period. The research was conducted using a mixed method content analysis: a quantitative content analysis of a sample of news items aimed at systematically monitoring the number and rate of gender references to Meyerson during 1955, alongside a qualitative content analysis involving a deep and critical examination not only of the amount of gender bias but also its nature, character, and direction. The findings indicate significant differences between gender coverage in the partisan versus the general press, as well as in the secular versus the religious and ultra-Orthodox press. The article's conclusions point to the historical anchors of the central theory in the fields of political communication and gender today, and raise the possibility that gender bias toward female politicians in society, politics, and the media was widespread much earlier than was commonly thought. In the context of Golda Meir, who later became the fourth prime minister of Israel, the article challenges her famous statement, according to which being a woman never played a role or harmed her throughout her political career.

## **THE PRE-MOZNAIM MOZNAIM**

NURIT GOVRIN

This study describes a Hebrew-language literary journal titled *Moznaim*—a *Non-partisan Biweekly*, published in Antwerp, Belgium, and edited by Yosef Yirmeyahu Glas and board member Yom-Tov Lewinsky. Its subtitle was “Devoted to Life and Literature.” The journal ceased publication after two issues, the first appearing on December 1, 1926, and the second later that same month. It should be noted that *Moznaim* was not a particularly important journal. Its significance lies mainly in its place of publication, as a journal in the Hebrew language.

This literary journal should not be confused with *Moznaim*, the journal of the Hebrew Writers Association, which made its debut on March 15, 1929, and is published to this day. Whoever gave the name *Moznaim* to the Writers Association journal almost certainly did not know about the *Moznaim* that preceded it in Antwerp.

The history of Hebrew literary journals shows that short-lived journals outnumber long-lived ones by far, and should undoubtedly be restored to the map of Hebrew literature and literary journals. The main significance of these “short-lived” journals lies in their role as incubators for budding young writers. In fact, Hebrew journals in the Diaspora were established wherever a group of writers gathered, sketching the map of Hebrew culture among the Jewish people.

Earlier, Antwerp was a place where one would least expect to see a Hebrew literary journal. However, after the Bolshevik Revolution and the flight of Jews to western Europe, including Antwerp, the community grew and its traditional Haredi-religious complexion changed. The city became the seat of a Hebrew nationalist, and even Zionist Jewish center, a place well suited to the publication of a Hebrew journal.

Informative articles that took up approximately one-quarter of each edition of the journal are the most significant part of the publication, as they make it a locally-

a peak; most of the immigrants had no address and some of them had not yet been issued identity cards. The country was experiencing an acute economic crisis; the future of Jerusalem was unclear; and the echoes of the *Altalena* Affair, the murder of Count Bernadotte, and the dissolution of the Palmach had not yet subsided. Due to these conditions, it emerged that although preparation for the elections was lacking, it was clear that even if the election date had been postponed, given the way things were, already foreseen irregularities would not have been resolved.

Many studies have been conducted on various topics related to the 1949 elections. The goal of this research is to innovate by taking a synchronous approach and explaining the quantitative aspects of election propaganda as expressed in the Israeli Hebrew press, from January 9, 1949, until election day. As part of this approach, party propaganda publications were located in a defined textual space and domain: daily newspapers in Hebrew. Each party was represented by a letter (or two) that was also printed on the ballot papers in the polling booths. This symbol appeared in a variety of propaganda publications in the press. The data collected was used as the basis for a quantitative analysis and for providing answers to the research questions: What was the distribution of propaganda advertising, according to the dailies, according to the contending parties, and over the days of the election campaign?

Analysis of the findings led to a number of conclusions, the main ones being: During the election campaign, party propaganda was published continuously in the dailies every day, except Saturday. Large parties distributed it every day of the campaign, while smaller ones did so only on selected days, probably due to budget constraints and not for ideological reasons. Prominent left- and right-wing parties such as MAKI and Herut published almost exclusively in their party dailies, *Kol Ha-Am* and *Herut*, respectively, while other parties did not use these papers at all. Based on the scope of election ads in the dailies, Fridays were preferred days for publication. The weight of independent dailies was quite high relative to their share of the total of all dailies.

## **“CAN A WOMAN SERVE AS MAYOR ACCORDING TO HALACHA?” GOLDA MEYERSON AND PRESS COVERAGE OF THE 1955 CAMPAIGN FOR MAYOR OF TEL AVIV**

GILAD GREENWALD

In July 1955, the Tel Aviv City Council elections were held in which Golda Meyerson (later, Meir) ran for mayor as the leader of Mapai's list for the council. Although Mapai won the largest number of seats in the city council, following the campaign, Meyerson stood at the center of a political, social, and religious dispute in which representatives of the religious Agudat Yisrael, Ha-Mizrachi, and Ha-Poel Ha-Mizrachi in the council refused to support her candidacy for mayor because she was a woman. The article presents an analysis of the media coverage of Meyerson months before the mayoral election campaign began, during it, and during the political dispute after it ended. The emphasis is on gender framing in the general and partisan, as well as in the

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**“IT’S FORTUNATE THAT MAHMOUD DARWISH PASSED AWAY BEFORE SEEING THIS PAGE”: INTRA-ARAB DISCOURSE ON THE “WRITE DOWN, I AM AN ARAB” FACEBOOK PAGE**

HILA LOWENSTEIN-BARKAI

Since the advent of the Internet, numerous studies have investigated how marginalized groups use online space as a platform to express their views due to their exclusion from mainstream discourse. Among these studies, digital platforms, especially social networks, have been found to offer a domain for the emergence of *counterpublics*—discursive arenas where group members articulate divergent interpretations of their identities and needs. While most literature on digital counterpublics analyzes their modes of operation and formation, scant attention has been given to how they are experienced and interpreted by group members. This is in spite of the fact that investigating the interpretations surrounding digital counterpublics may enhance our understanding of their contributions, as well as limitations, to the construction of collective identities. In order to address this theoretical gap, this study examines the Facebook page “Write down, I am an Arab,” which serves as a platform for the counterpublic of the Arab minority in Israel. It combines interviews with the page’s participants with thematic analysis of user comments made by Arab respondents to their posts. The results reveal a significant discrepancy between two groups. While the page’s participants and some commenters espouse a publicist approach, which advocates the presence of Arab voices in the public sphere, others prefer a separatist line, arguing that seeking recognition from institutions and mechanisms that have historically excluded them may impede their efforts to obtain recognition and equal rights. The latter group harshly criticizes the page and its participants. The findings highlight two main conclusions about counterpublics: first, they are not homogenous and not automatically legitimized by group members; second, the main point of contention among them lies in recognition or non-recognition of the hegemonic group.

**ELECTION PROPAGANDA FOR THE CONSTITUTIONAL ASSEMBLY IN THE ISRAELI PRESS, 1949**

MOSHE HARPAZ

On January 25, 1949, citizens of Israel went to the polls for the first time since the establishment of the state to elect 120 members of the Constituent Assembly, later the Knesset. The elections were held when the country was in a state of political, economic, and social uncertainty. The conflict with Arab countries and the Arabs of Israel had not yet been settled. Although a ceasefire prevailed in the three weeks preceding the elections, the War of Independence was not yet over: the country’s borders were only ceasefire lines and the armistice agreements, which determined the limits of Israeli territory until 1967, had not yet been signed. Immigration was at

“impotence” of the Wali of Damascus. Subsequently, most of his articles would focus on the Damascus massacre and Christian scheming against the Jews, who supposedly collaborated with the murderers.

The regional foreign correspondent Brill competed, as often happens in foreign reporting, with the knowledge and interpretations of the foreign editor sitting in the newspaper headquarters—in this case, David Gordon, who was recruited by *Ha-Magid* in England. Before the newspaper again used the services of its Eastern Affairs correspondent for the column “The Orient (or Eastern) Land” (*Eretz Ha-Kedem*), Gordon himself preferred to report on the horrors that fascinated the world press and to analyze the international aspects.

In general, compared with the epic portrayals, reported from a distance and based on the European press, with an accompanying geo-political commentary in Gordon's articles, Brill highlighted the smaller stories, described more accurately the course of events, even during the massacre, and examined the lesser motives of the people involved. Also, since he knew the region better and was closer to the local culture—including its violent manifestations—he tended to play down and humanize the terrible events, with less “orientalism.”

However, during the second part of the “trouble” or “scandal,” when the Christians tried to take revenge and mistreated the Jews in particular, *Ha-Magid* engaged in a press campaign to save the latter, among other actions, by publishing correspondence passed on to its editor-in-chief Zilberman by Baron Rothschild's assistant Albert Cohen, and additional documentation reproduced from the *Jewish Chronicle* in London. However, it did so carefully, for reasons of censorship and other constraints in Lyck, and with almost no opinion articles; for the more geographically distant Brill a little more was permitted.

Coverage of the massacre of Christians in Damascus and the attempted plot against the city's Jews, in 1860, exemplify the first extensive, continuous treatment in the early Hebrew press in Europe (in this case *Ha-Magid*, which was founded four years earlier) of an international crisis which affected the Jews directly. (Notably, the flourishing of the Jewish press in local languages began during the first Damascus Affair in 1840.)

This was also an example of attempts to professionalize and modernize coverage through a combination of commentary from the desk and reports from a foreign correspondent on the ground, or in the region of the events, demonstrating the differences—and sometimes the complementarity—that resulted from this arrangement. All these issues are discussed in the article, which also focuses on the work and texts of the first Hebrew journalist in the Land of Israel, Yehiel Brill.

## **ARAB WOMEN'S ACTIVITY IN THE GREAT ARAB REVOLT AS REPRESENTED IN THE HEBREW PRESS**

RACHEL HART

This article deals with Arab women's representation in the Hebrew press during the "events" of 1936–1939, also known as the Great Arab Revolt. The press carried almost daily reports about Arab women in Mandatory Palestine. They concerned criminal matters such as murder, rape, and car ramming; the women's occupations such as load bearing, fruit picking, laundering, prostitution, and running brothels; and their activity in the revolt itself. Arab women were indeed active: They closely guarded and supervised strikes, agitated for civil insurrection, raised funds for casualties of the violence, sometimes donated their own money to striking drivers and sailors, supplied groups of rebels with food and drink, and engaged in political activity as well.

The women availed themselves of youth organizations such as the Scouts and, above all, the Shabab. They smuggled weapons, threw stones, and organized demonstrations. They marched at the forefront of demonstrations; some headed gangs. At demonstrations and other events, they delivered incendiary speeches, spread propaganda, and spurred the Arab public to join the revolt. They demanded a halt to Jewish immigration and the restoration of Arab rights which, in their opinion, had been taken from them when the British Mandate was instituted.

They also established political and social organizations that supported the rebels. When the British set out to demolish the old quarter of Jaffa in order to punish the Arab population, the Committee of Arab Women in Jaffa presented the district governor with a letter of protest, demanding that he help those affected by offering compensation and assuring them of alternative housing.

In short, according to their representation in the Hebrew press, Arab women played, an active role in the revolt in many ways, while continuing to do the housework, raise their children, work the soil, and herd sheep, among many other tasks.

## **“THE BIG AND TERRIBLE TROUBLE IN DAMASCUS”: YEHIEL BRIL AND *HA-MAGID* REPORT ON THE MASSACRE OF CHRISTIANS IN 1860**

GIDEON KOUTS

The first news report of the first Middle East reporter for the Hebrew press, Yehiel Bril, dealt briefly with the Druze rebellion in Lebanon and Syria and the slaughter of Christians by Druze and Muslims from July 9 to 18, 1860, as a result of which about 22,000 Christians were murdered throughout Lebanon, some 6,000 in Damascus alone. Bril, the correspondent of the first modern Hebrew newspaper in Europe, *Ha-Magid*, in Lyck, Eastern Prussia, would later become known as the editor of the first Hebrew newspaper in the Land of Israel, *Ha-Levanon*. While the “neutral” Bril attributed the bloodshed to both sides, he later became a critic of the Turkish government, citing the

## **THE HEBREW PRESS AND THE POGROM IN MANDATORY PALESTINE, 1920–1929**

OUZI ELYADA

Following the April 1920 riots in Jerusalem, a discussion arose in the Hebrew press in Palestine regarding the question of how to define the events and whether the word “pogrom” (*praot*, in Hebrew) should be used to frame them, or the neutral word “event” (*meoraot*). The discussion continued after the May 1921 riots and reached a peak following the August 1929 attacks. In this article, I will examine the debate that took place in the Hebrew press in Palestine (*Haaretz*, *Doar Ha-Yom*, and later *Davar*) during the 1920s around the question of whether “pogroms” occurred in Mandatory Palestine: Was an attempt being made to hide their very existence? Who tried to hide them and why? And if pogroms really occurred in Palestine, what were their origins and causes, and what consequences would they have on the advancement of the Zionist project?

## **EXPOSURE OF HORRORS IN MEDIA REPORTING IN THE YISHUV DURING THE BLOODY CLASHES OF THE 1920S AND 1930S**

DEVORAH GILADI

The exposure of horrors in contemporary news media is intended to have the reader share in the experience of the victims’ suffering and thus become a partner in their trauma. This is done with the aim of awakening the public to action and rebellion.

This article compares two waves of bloody clashes that the Yishuv endured: those of the 1920s—peaking in the cruelest and most murderous of them in 1929—and the Great Arab Revolt of the 1930s, which included thousands of terrorist attacks during the years 1936–1939. The article presents a sharp difference between the two waves of terror in regard to reportage intended to shock the reader.

The events of the 1920s were reported in a manner arousing dread, including exposure of horrors committed and details intended to shock in various ways, such as gruesome photographs, graphic descriptions, and comparisons with pogroms.

The years of the Arab Revolt, on the other hand, were conveyed using a completely different terminology which presented terror incidents as trivial. The media urged encouragement and acceptance; their reportage of funerals focused on ceremony rather than on loss, and in general fostered a mood of forbearance. Instead of emphasizing the horrors, they underlined the honor accorded to those murdered.

Whereas the media of the 1920s tried to arouse rebellion, that of the 1930s actively led a process of acceptance of the reality of a bloody war while negating mourning, as part of a policy of restraint (*havlaga*) and responding to the clashes by strengthening the Yishuv rather than revolt.

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## **THE PSYCHOLOGICAL WARFARE OF HAMAS**

### **GABRIEL WEIMANN AND DANA WEIMANN-SAKS**

The Hamas attack of October 7, 2023, was based on a ground invasion of thousands of armed terrorists into Israeli communities and army camps, but it was also the beginning of a well-planned traumatizing psychological invasion that has lasted for many months since that terrible day of mass slaughter. Hamas, one of the most experienced terrorist organizations in the arena of propaganda and psychological warfare, sought to combine physical warfare with a psychological campaign that would harm the morale of the Israelis, their cohesion, desire to fight and sacrifice, confidence in the political and military leadership, and mental resilience. Continuing our previous series of studies on the media-oriented conduct of Hamas, we focused on Hamas' psychological campaign during the war, from platforms and messages to target audiences and effectiveness. The article reveals how Hamas preplanned its psychological operations, from the cameras used to videotape the massacre and uploading to online social media, to the use of hostages and their ceremonial, mass-mediated release. The article examines some of the countermeasures that can be used to fend off psychological attacks and Israel's attempts to minimize Hamas' success in traumatizing the Israeli home front.

## **THE WAR FOR MINDS: FALSE PALESTINIAN PROPAGANDA DURING THE WAR OF ATTRITION ALONG ISRAEL'S NORTHEAST BORDER, 1967–1970**

**ERAN ELDAR**

The war between Israel and its neighbors and Palestinian terrorist organizations in the late 1960s was also a war for people's minds, for global public opinion, for public opinion in Arab countries, and for the terrorist organizations themselves, as a way of empowering and encouraging members of those groups. The lies in Arab publications were many. This article deals with false Palestinian propaganda in the period after the Six Day War, a time when neighboring Arab countries were licking their wounds after a difficult campaign in which they suffered defeat, and Palestinian terrorist organizations were raising their heads and persisting in their struggle against Israel. This took place on two fronts: the physical one, on the battlefield along Israel's northeast border; and the psychological one, in the Middle East and global arenas. The article examines Palestinian propaganda, including its local and global influence, as well as Israel's ability to cope in this area. False Palestinian propaganda presented Israel with many challenges, and frequently the Palestinians had the advantage in the Middle East and global arena, where they received extensive media exposure in the press, thus creating awareness of the Palestinian problem, even if the data they provided journalists was far from the truth.



in the context of the *mehdal* (blunder, fiasco) of Yom Kippur 1973, but this time against the background of journalistic coverage of Golda Meir (Meyerson)'s race in 1955 for the mayoralty of Tel Aviv from a gender standpoint. In the concluding article of *Kesher* 61, Nurit Govrin introduces us to a hitherto unknown literary journal that she discovered during her years of research into the history of Hebrew literary periodicals. The publication came out in 1926 in Antwerp under the title *Moznaim*, three years before the famous eponymous magazine was founded by the Hebrew Writers Association, which was almost certainly oblivious to its existence.

The other regular sections of *Kesher* appear for your perusal and use. We look forward to meeting with you again in the summer with new, interesting, and high-quality material—and especially, good news.

The Editor

## WHAT'S IN *KESHER* 61

### **FIGHTING ON THE BATTLEFIELD AND CONFRONTING ATROCITIES: THE MEDIA BETWEEN WAR AND POGROM, BRAVERY AND SACRIFICE, REPORTING AND PROPAGANDA**

Unfortunately, the shock and brutality of the events of autumn 2023 and their aftermath forced us to postpone the publication of *Kesher* 61 to late winter 2024. Much of the content of this issue has been adjusted to reflect current events, allowing us to publish initial studies about media aspects of the ongoing war from a historical and comparative perspective without forgoing current ones.

*Kesher* 61 commences with a brand-new study by Gabi Weimann and Dana Weimann-Saks about the psychological warfare that Hamas has been waging in the war in Gaza, the means it employs, and the way they are used to influence the Israeli public and the international scene. Eran Eldar takes us back to false Palestinian propaganda in the War of Attrition years, on the northeastern front, as part of a battle for minds against the Israeli authorities.

In the opening article of the section dealing with violent historical “events” in our region, Ouzi Elyada writes of the prickly debate that erupted in the Hebrew press in Mandatory Palestine about how to frame the hostilities of the years 1920–1929, and the use of the diasporic term *pogrom* in this context. The word made a big comeback in the wake of October 7 and in reference to the implications of what happened that day. Devorah Giladi discusses the policy of the Hebrew press on disclosing atrocities during hostilities, and the differences in portraying the violence of the 1920s and that of the 1930s. Rachel Hart describes the personae of Arab women and their role in the 1936–1939 Great Arab Revolt, as represented in the Hebrew press at the time.

In his review of the contemporary Hebrew press, Gideon Kouts takes up an earlier and more far-reaching slaughter of Christians by Druze and Muslims—the 1860 Damascus massacre—which had a “Jewish offshoot” in the form of a libel brought against the Jews after the violence waned. Kouts’s analysis also compares reports from the local correspondent, Yehiel Brill, with those of David Gordon, the editor of *Ha-Magid*, in its place of publication, Eastern Prussia.

In our Documentation section, we present verbatim reports from the Hebrew press about the city of Gaza after the British conquest in the 1920s, and the Jewish attempt to settle there.

Hila Lowenstein-Barkai, in her article “Write down: I am an Arab,” discusses the current inter-Arab discourse on Facebook, which serves as a platform for the “counterpublic” of Israel’s Arab minority.

Moshe Harpaz portrays election propaganda surrounding Israel’s first Constitutional Assembly in 1949.

Gilad Greenwald investigates a personality who has returned to topicality recently

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

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

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The Shalom Rosenfeld Institute for Research of Jewish Media and Communication

The Daniel Abraham Center for International and Regional Studies

The Lester and Sally Entin Faculty of Humanities

Tel Aviv University, P.O.B. 39040 Ramat Aviv, Tel Aviv 6139001, Israel

Tel. 972-3-6405144

Email: [presstau@tauex.tau.ac.il](mailto:presstau@tauex.tau.ac.il)

<https://dacenter.tau.ac.il/shalom-rosenfeld>

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Please contact us by mail:

[presstau@tauex.tau.ac.il](mailto:presstau@tauex.tau.ac.il)

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