

Journal of Media and Communications History in Israel and the Jewish World  
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## No. 42, Autumn 2011

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## EDITORIAL: *MY GRATEFUL WORDS OF FAREWELL*

### Joseph Gorny

This is my ninth and last introduction to an issue of *Kesher* which I write as Head of the Tel Aviv University Andrea and Charles Bronfman Institute for the Study of Jewish Press and Communications. Following seven years in my post, I should retire. On that occasion I am much obliged to thank everyone who contributed to the reestablishment of our institute and to the republication of *Kesher* after a three year long hiatus that occurred due to a variety of reasons. Without the effort of all these people, this could have not have happened; we had to contend with dire circumstances, which were much worse than the birth pangs of the institute's establishment by our first and unforgettable Head and Founder, the late Shalom Rosenfeld.

So I hereby thank Prof. Itamar Rabinowitz, the ex-President of Tel Aviv University who accompanied me wisely and graciously in the first year of my tenure, when I undertook the duty to administrate this institute.

The next in my list of gratitude is Prof. Dan Laor, Dean of the Humanities faculty, who regarded me as the most appropriate candidate to take the helm and manage this administrative emergency, even though I already retired from the faculty at that time. Dr. Mordechai Naor, the first editor of *Kesher* and Director of this Institute for two decades also deserves my deep respect. When I entered the Head's office, Dr. Naor led the way by bestowing some of his wisdom and good advice.

Deserving thanks are also the two institute secretaries who were also *Kesher's* Editorial Assistants: Hila Bar On-Rinot

and Dafna Kanner-Cohen. Without their administrative skills and personal commitment, we could not manage this Institute. I am sure that our new and reliant administrative assistant, Dafna Bareket has the talent and motivation to perform these tasks as well. Along with these people, we thank our diligent and punctual proofreader and style editor Herzliya Efrati, our superb Tel Aviv University graphic designers Michal Semo-Kovetz and Yael Bieber, and our illustrator Yehudit Eyal who provided her imaginative designs for our front pages.

I am obliged to thank my fellow members of the *Kesher* Editorial staff who contributed their stamina, time and thoughts to our periodical, the colleagues of our Scientific Advisory Board who assisted, advised, encouraged and took initiatives, the anonymous peer-reviewers who read our articles and kept our scholarly standards high and rigorous. But above all, I wish to thank the loyal readers and subscribers of *Kesher* in the academic and professional world and beyond, all of whom are deeply interested in our contents.

Last but not least a deserving special gratitude goes to Prof. Gideon Kouts of Universite Paris 8 who agreed to my request, stepped up and volunteered to work as editor-in-chief of *Kesher* during the seven years of our joint management. Without Prof. Kouts's commitment to the cause, his editorial talent, his profound expertise in the history of the Hebrew press and his acquaintance with the milieu of most *Kesher* writers and contributors, it is doubtful whether we could start anew the publication of *Kesher*.

And finally, I wish to conclude these farewell notes with a

*Kesher*, a scholarly journal devoted to the history of the press and media in the Jewish world and in Israel, is published twice yearly by the Andrea and Charles Bronfman Institute for the Study of Jewish Press and Communications at Tel Aviv University. *Kesher* seeks to publish original research articles and academic reviews on all subjects relating to the history, endeavors, and influence of Jewish media and media people, from a multidisciplinary perspective. All articles are peer reviewed blindly by experts, members of the Journal's Advisory Board and, if necessary, externally. Articles should be submitted in Word to [presstau@tauex.tau.ac.il](mailto:presstau@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).

confession. I was personally and professionally glad to serve as institute chairman. On the professional level, as an historian who bases my studies on archival documents, this task in the institute has led me to the press as a crucial source that may improve our historical perspective and understanding. And indeed, I found this sojourn extremely beneficial when seeking a more profound understanding of history. So I shall continue my press research in the future. On the personal level, in the course of my activities I have met many personal friends of various ages, vocations and walks of life. These

warm friendships have helped me cope with the concerning worries of duty.

So I thank you again, dear friends, for your amicable support during these seven years; for your warmth and willingness to partner with me in my tasks. I cordially greet my distinguished colleague Jacob Shavit who agreed to replace me. I hope that Prof. Shavit would inspire us and share his creative spirit and intellectual vigor to advance the institute's goals and contribute to its activities in the future.

## **INSIDE KESHER 42**

### ***BETWEEN MEDIA AND JUSTICE***

#### **Gideon Kouts**

The relationship between Justice and Media is the main subject of the first section of this issue, which is dedicated to the memory of our late friend and colleague Prof. Zev Segal who departed before his time early this year. In the last issue we published his last study about the media's influence on public opinions regarding the Katzav trial. And in this issue, we published obituaries of Prof. Segal by President Shimon Peres (Segal served as a chief of staff to Peres decades ago) and by the former Chief Justice Aharon Barak. Dan Caspi opens this section in a presentation of the complex reciprocal relationship between the media and the judiciary, which are both powerful and influential institutions. Amit Schechter seeks ideological alternatives to a dominant metaphor of the freedom of speech: the opinion market. Moshe Negbi discusses the tendency of the press to conceive of self imposed limitations as reflected in the Kamm-Blau affair. Yuval Karniel views *sub judice* as a problematic, and even superfluous, principle that infringes on the freedom of the press. Anat Peleg deals with the transformations in the coverage of popular criminal proceedings by the popular (and elitist) Israeli media. Ora Herman's article commemorates a jubilee of the Eichmann trial and discusses the trial's editing and broadcasts in the Kol Israel radio. Her rigorous research has overturned the accepted views according to which, the former premier David Ben Gurion could be seen as the main culprit of the attempt to hold a show trial in Jerusalem. Ada Yurman concludes this section with the story of a man whose punishment was prolonged even after his release from prison: Mordechai Vanunu, the nuclear reactor technician who was

portrayed as a major threat to Israeli society. Dr. Yurman argued thereby that societal regulation does not depend completely on the activities of law enforcement authorities.

Yehiel Limor, Baruch Leshem and Lea Mandelsiz present a typical PR life cycle for Israeli politicians. Alina Bernstein, Lea Mandelsiz and Inbar Shenhar analyze the narrative of national identity in conflict as portrayed in documentary films about the Arab-Israeli soccer team Bnei Sakhnin. Jewish Enlightenment press scholar Moshe Pelli embarks on a historical journey through the Jewish press and media in the Diaspora and presents the literary criticism columns of the *Haskala* periodical *Ha-Meaa'sef* as an important source that may significantly contribute to the reconstruction of the Jewish bookshelf at that time.

And from soccer to fashion – Gideon Kouts presents an unusual account of the writings of the Zionist journalist, spokesman and statesman Nahum Sokolow as a 'fashion critic' who served the 'collective Zionist-Jewish self'. This facet of Sokolow's activity has led to a heated debate in the traditional Jewish society of Poland in the early twentieth century. Richard Ayoun describes the spirit of worker solidarity expressed by a socialist paper published in Ladino for Jews in early twentieth century Thessaloniki. Jeremy Guedj examined the outlooks of the Franco-Jewish press regarding fascist Italy between the years 1922-1938. Ronit Fisher researched the attitude of the British Jewry and its newspaper *The Jewish Chronicle* to Jewish refugees that fled the continent during the Holocaust. Yigal Ben-Nun portrays the role of circulars and handbills published by the Jewish

community in Morocco during the 1960's, and their use by Israeli representatives and Mossad agents posted in Morocco. And finally, Haim Grossman presents a well documented history of greeting cards for Rosh Ha-Shana, the Jewish New Year festival that we celebrated recently, in Israel and the Diaspora. Then, as usual, we turn the pages to the research and books section.

This issue of *Kesher* is the last published during the tenure of Prof. Joseph Gorny as Head of the Bronfman Institute for the Study of Jewish Press and Communications at Tel Aviv University, an Institute he actually reestablished and invigorated after some years of inactivity. Nine issues of *Kesher* published under his guidance may prove his success

in this task which he graciously volunteered to undertake. Prof. Gorny held the helm intelligently, with great talent. His work was extremely efficient and courteous. He maintained a high scientific standard throughout his career. But above all his attitude was friendly and respectful. In the future Prof. Gorny would remain a full member of our editorial staff and continue to share the results of his vigorous and innovative research with us. His successor as Head of the Institute is a senior *Kesher* colleague and contributor, Prof. Jacob Shavit. We greet him warmly. His consent to join and lead us assures that in the future we may greet you as usual and wish an enjoyable and fruitful reading of *Kesher*.

***KESHER* FRONT PAGE  
LAW AND MEDIA**

In Memoriam

**Prof. Zeev Segal**

1947–2011

Member of *KESHER* Advisory Board

**SERIOUSNESS AS ART / Shimon Peres**

Ze'ev was born to be a serious man. His appreciation of humanity was so profound that he reached a conclusion: there is no place for lightheadedness. Seriousness has become his art. And consequently everybody believed his insights due to his profundity and fairness.

To Ze'ev, justice stood higher than the law. But the law held the authority to deal justly.

He never raised his voice. But people were attentive. His integrity and loyalty set an example and his legal commentary was beneficial to his fellow woman or man. It had a truly humanistic and socially conscious character.

He judged objectively and empathically, and sought such justice for his people and state. This was his calling, his quest to the end.

He shall be missed by a nation in need of justice and fairness.

Blessed be his memory.

Shimon Peres

## A CLEAR RESOUNDING VOICE / Aharon Barak

Death is an expected event. But death always comes as a surprise. And so it was when Ze'ev departed. All of us knew about his illness, but when he died we were shattered and shocked. The victim of the grim reaper was Ze'ev himself. But his tragic death had an impact on all his surroundings and acquaintances, far and close. It chanced upon Lilly and Hadar. It chanced upon his fellow scholars of law and society. And it stroke me personally. His untimely death also chanced upon the **Ha'aretz** daily, in which he held the crucial position as legal commentator and analyst of Israeli everyday life in the light of the fundamental judiciary values and outlooks of this country. His journalistic reportage has aptly integrated legal theory and practical, real cases. He responded to daily events and offered legal solutions based upon fundamental values such as human rights, the rule of law, the separation of powers, and the independence of the courts. His journalistic endeavors expressed the moral character of democracy, its complexities and its basic underlying principles. He was always on guard and often criticized court decisions, albeit respectfully and constructively, in an attempt to offer an alternative that befits his opinions. Haaretz may have lost a reporter, but the public is also at loss. Through Ze'ev's commentary, the Israeli public became profoundly acquainted with the principles guiding the state judiciary and became more aware of the court system's general roles and particularly, the roles of the Supreme Court.

Ze'ev's departure is also a great mishap for the Department of Public Policy of the Tel Aviv University, where he served as Head of the Executive Master in Public Policy Program. On several occasions, Ze'ev invited me to participate in his academic activity, and I observed his immense contribution to his students and fellow faculty members. I was particularly impressed by his influence on the insights of his students, who were not law majors, and by the way he introduced the legal and normative way of thinking to them.

Ze'ev's death is a great loss to the field of Israeli jurisprudence. Ze'ev was not a legal philosopher or historian. He was a man of legal action encompassed by legal theory. His understanding of public judicial practice in Israel was profound, and his theoretical outlooks were based upon this profundity. He approached the development of law in Israel

from a historical perspective – a large scale, wide perspective regarding Israeli law and its typical trends. He immensely influenced the formulation of legal provisions regarding the issue of standing and his monograph “Standing Right in the High Court of Justice” has vastly contributed to this field. His article on “Disproportionality in Administrative Law” on judicial proportionality was the first that discussed this issue. As such, it had an impact. His book “The Right to Know According to the Free Information Act” has influenced the formulation of freedom of speech and information provisions in Israel.

Ze'ev was deeply interested in my own judicial philosophy. This has led to the publication of a book co-written with his colleague, Prof. Ariel Ben-Dor deemed “The Hat Maker: A Discussion with Aharon Barak”. This book presents a variety of legal issues and debates my personal responses to them. In many occasions, Zev argued that my problem is not excessive judicial activism but a lack of it. In his book “Judicial Activism and Passivity: The High Court of Justice and the National Labor Tribunal” co-written with Lilach Litor about the judiciary's roles in society he indicated that in many cases, the activism of the National Labor Tribunal is more prominent in comparison to the Supreme Court. Notwithstanding that, and despite our similar opinions in many constitutional matters, he avidly criticized me and the court several times. His viewpoint regarding the constitutionality of law differed from mine, and he preferred the British Common Law approach in this matter. In spite of this, our opinions were basically similar regarding most of the legal issues of our national agenda.

Ze'ev's voice was clear and resounding. He sought to promote the rule of law and justice in Israel. He considered the Supreme Court as the foundation, the main pillar of society. As such, the Supreme Court serves a paramount social role as guardian of Israel's values as a Jewish democracy.

Ze'ev was our North Star.

His memory shall be blessed.

Justice A. Barak

## *English Abstracts of Hebrew Articles*

### **BETWEEN TWO INSTITUTIONS: MEDIA AND THE JUDICIARY** / Dan Caspi

This article focuses on reciprocal relationships between two powerful institutions of Israeli society considered as pillars of democracy – the media and the judiciary. Both institutions employ different means and approaches in order to deal with normative deviations and transgressions. In such activities, both institutions tend to encounter opposition, criticism and other expected pressures. Due to their immense power, various groups and elements attempt to influence their function. Such leverage, and particularly political pressure, may be regarded as threatening one of the greatest assets of such institutions—their independent status.

According to the institutional approach we suggest that formal and informal relations between these institutions should be mapped on two levels – micro and macro. Hence, four typical relationship patterns emerge. In addition, we should consider the question whether the initiative is taken by either one of these institutions – the judiciary establishment, the press or both? Apparently, however, macro-formal arrangements should have been sufficient in order to regulate the judiciary-media relationship, particularly in legal issues. But in practice, the dynamic reality of affairs such as the Ramon and Katzav trials portrayed by the media coverage paves the road for a great variety of productive but informal relationships between these institutions and their representatives, such as investigators, attorneys, and judges

on the one hand and journalists or editors on the other.

This necessarily leads to the formation of vibrant reciprocal relations of appreciation and criticism, of cooperation and competition, of respect and suspicion along with mutual dependence of these institutions. Notwithstanding this reciprocal criticism, the media needs legal counsel and vice versa in order to preserve the crucial independence of these institutions and thwart the joint attempts to infiltrate and control them politically, which can be seen as their greatest foe. As these complex relationships evolve and develop, and as internal institutional processes are revealed to the public, the risks of media over-exposure and of the demystification of the courts become more imminent.

In the concluding chapter, a few challenges for future research are discussed, such as an examination of potential erosion in the status of the media and the judiciary – of political biases in news coverage on the one hand, and of the judiciary's demystification on the other. Along with their mutual support of one another, each of these institutions might undermine the other either directly or indirectly, intentionally or unintentionally. Abrasive media coverage might point to the mundane facets of exalted courts. But the media's focus on criminal and legal affairs instead of political issues is made possible due to the responsiveness of court officials and their willingness to provide information to the press.

### **FOR THE EARTH SHALL BE FULL OF KNOWLEDGE: FREEDOM OF EXPRESSION IN AN AGE OF MYRIAD OPINIONS AND CHANNELS OF EXPRESSION** / Amit Schejter

Metaphors are often used to help explain and justify policy. The accepted metaphor used to justify freedom of expression – the *marketplace of ideas* – might be currently challenged due to the changes in media technology, which may not correspond to its typical utilitarian interpretation. This essay proposes two alternative avenues to challenge this metaphor: The first model suggests adopting true

competition rules that might govern the *marketplace of ideas* that are similar in principle to those used in the regulation of tangible goods markets. Such rules may lead to a theory, which differentiates between speech spheres and provides that each form of speech gets an opportunity to be expressed without being overshadowed by forms of speech uttered by powerful speakers within other spheres. The second

alternative proposes abandoning the “marketplace” metaphor and its utilitarian roots altogether and replacing them with principles of distributive justice promoting the opportunities of individual and previously silent voices.

The first alternative adopts Michael Walzer’s “*Spheres*

*of Justice*” as its philosophical grounding, while the second employs the justice theory put forth by John Rawls in “*Justice as Fairness*” and subsequent writings. Either avenue may entail for a more just implementation of the right for free expression.

## WHO NEEDS SUB JUDICE? / Yuval Karniel

The modern mass media may serve as an additional venue for judicial processes. As such, the media not only acts as the public’s long arm of information gathering and as a means to make it public but is also a venue in which prosecutors and defenders argue simultaneously regarding the innocence or guilt of a tried defendant. The media also shapes the public view regarding judiciary institutions and exerts its influence regarding the public’s confidence in their courts.

The courts recognize the importance of open and public trials and the need to attend to the public’s right to know about enforcement, prosecution and judicial authorities. It is harder to accept, however, the other function of the media that tends to debate along with the courts regarding issues of justice and truth. Accepted courtroom rhetoric does not deny the need for public criticism of judicial proceedings, but in practice, the judiciary has a difficulty handling such criticism

and recognizing that criminal justice proceedings might lead to errors and even to disastrous results such as convictions of innocent suspects. In such affairs the media may step up, provide additional information and criticism that might foil such wrongdoing in the future.

The fact that the *sub judice* prohibition is almost never enforced neither as a judicial obligation nor as a moral norm regarding press institutions indicates a significant ethical and practical difficulty to limit the freedom of press and curtail press actions in this issue. Underlying this lack of enforcement is the insight that in spite of the grave concern about the integrity of judicial proceedings and the detrimental effect of their media coverage, this substantial infringement – which is unethical and even immoral – upon the public’s right to know is unjustified.

## THE KAM-BLAU AFFAIR AS A SYMPTOM OF THE VULNERABLE FREEDOM OF THE PRESS IN ISRAEL / Moshe Negbi

On November 28, 2008, *Haaretz* published a front page story by investigative reporter Uri Blau, alleging illegally targeted killing of Palestinian terrorist suspects by the Israeli Army in the West Bank. The story featured secret military documents. It was, however, submitted to the inspection of the military censor and was published only upon receiving her permission. Thus it may be assumed that the publication of these documents did not harm vital security interests. Notwithstanding this, the security authorities launched a massive investigation to find the person who leaked the documents. They threatened to indict Blau for grave security offences if he does not surrender all the classified documents

in his possession. These threats persisted even after Blau’s source, Anat Kam, was arrested, indicted and convicted. The Israeli media was prohibited to cover Kam’s arrest in spite of the fact it was reported by the foreign media. Here again, the military censor did not object to the publication, and the prohibition was the result of gag writs issued by the court.

The article depicts and analyzes the legal and ethical background of this affair. It argues that this affair may be a symptom of the fragility and vulnerability of press freedom in Israel. It demonstrates that the economic interests of the media pose the major obstacle for any improvement of this situation.

## THE PRESS AS A COURT OF JUSTICE: THE COVERAGE OF POPULAR TRIALS IN THE ISRAELI PRESS / Anat Peleg

This article is the first account of changes that occurred in the coverage of popular criminal trials in Israel throughout its history. It examines the coverage by the dailies *Haaretz* and *Yediot Aharonot* of politicians' trials in comparison to proceedings in which serving judges step down from the bench to the defendant's position. Our findings were:

The discussion of popular trials became common in the media as investigative journalism became a chosen approach and due to the surge in law enforcement officials and defendants who leak information to the press. Writers tended to mix facts and opinions in their coverage and to express positions that were formerly thought as a forbidden *sub judice* attempts to influence court decisions. This surge in leaks and personal opinions combined with the lack of sub judice enforcement have constituted the press as an alternative judicial arena which competes with the official court system and provides facts and verdicts based on judicial analysis and common sense to readers.

Throughout the years court reportage style has gradually become an admixture of elitist and popular journalism, and the traditional difference between tabloid and elitist forms became blurred. All journalists who covered popular trials adopted a similar style: dramatic, personal, critical and tabloid like.

While the trials of public figures are regarded by the Israeli press as if they reflect the teeming government corruption, judge defendants are seen as exceptional cases that deviate from the normal integrity of the Israeli court system. But during the last decade the typical press opinion of courts and magistrates has become more critical and scathing-reportage has become polemic.

The discussion chapter features the relevance of these findings to recent theories regarding the media influence on the management of political institutions (Mazzoleni, 2008; Stroback & Dimitrova, 2011) according to which, the rise in opinionated expressions and media interventionism might impede the propagation of the media logic in the political decision making spheres.

We argue that the media is nowadays a participant in judicial processes. Judges and attorneys tend to accommodate their conduct to the way the media operate and to the media logic, and adapt themselves to media presentations.

The analysis of such profound changes in the style of popular trial coverage in Israel may demonstrate the linkage of such changes to the development of judicial press strategies. Such an account may also contribute to public discussion of the consequences of the media's presence on the fairness of judicial processes.

## BROADCASTING FROM A DIFFERENT PLANET: THE EICHMANN TRIAL, BEN GURION AND *KOL ISRAEL* / Ora Herman

This article focuses on the question whether David Ben Gurion and his administration used *Kol Israel* – which was still a department of the prime minister's office at that time – in order to teach the insights of the Eichmann trial to the Israeli public, or whether they used major television networks to spread this message among the Jews of the Diaspora and the countries of *the world that stood by*. This particular question may be related to a more general problem: is there a grain of truth in an assertion prevalent among Eichmann trial researchers, according to which Ben Gurion planned the Eichman capture and trials to cater for his own manipulative political ends? Examining this issue is important because the argument that Ben Gurion tailored this affair might be

relevant to claims heard nowadays in Israel and abroad that the holocaust justified the establishment of Israel and as such, it might be exploited as a pretext for belligerent policies. Allegations that the Eichmann proceedings would be held as a show trial resounded in the international press before it opened. Israel's actions were already suspect and public prosecutor Gideon Hausner admonished that the state of Israel was also on trial. The Israeli judiciary and other parties involved in the preparations for this trial made a great effort to prove to the international community that justice would be served, and that this would never be a show trial. And consequently, the court banned the use of cameras and microphones in the courtroom. The radio was never involved and the pressure

of global TV networks that sought permission to cover these proceedings and broadcast throughout the world was foiled. But when it was discovered that due to a faulty contract with an American production company the entire trial would never be filmed and recorded, the police official in charge of the trial security granted *Kol Israel* the permission to record if only for the sake of history. *Kol Israel's* Head of Operations Department, Nakdimon Rogel, has decided to broadcast the opening session live without permission. The audience response to this trial coverage broke listening records, and the

radio continued live transmissions from the courtroom before they were halted several weeks later.

According to this inquiry *Kol Israel* did not succumb to the massive audience pressure, especially of youth, that demanded that transmission from the courtroom should continue. During four months of trial, the radio held merely 12 live broadcasts. In fact, this counters the accepted collective memory in Israel according to which, the public listened to daily radio coverage of the entire trial.

## **ATOM SPY AS ATOMIC THREAT IN ISRAELI SOCIETY / Ada Yurman**

Mordechai Vanunu, a junior technician in the Dimona Atomic Research Center, took an active role in the militaristic discourse while working in the holy shrine of the Israeli defense system for many years. At a certain stage, however, Vanunu decided to detach himself from this collective and launched an assault on this top-secret circle. Israeli society in general and the security establishment in particular found this attack intolerable and unforgivable. They presented Vanunu as a ticking time bomb, delegitimized and portrayed him as 'the other' or the village idiot. In addition, Israeli enforcement authorities imposed myriad prohibitions and sanctions on

Vanunu even after his release from prison – 'as will be done to he who desecrates holiness.'

Social control is not solely linked to law enforcement systems; it is also related to the general cultural system. Culture represents the natural concept of reality, and sometimes it is unalterable. As such, it dictates the social agenda.

Israeli society is characterized, among other things, by cultural militarism that demonstrates the centrality of the national security concept and the military experience as significant and essential cultural elements.

## **LIFE AS CAMPAIGN OR THE SEVEN STAGES OF POLITICAL PUBLIC RELATIONS / Yehiel Limor, Baruch Leshem, Lea Mandelsiz**

Politics and public relations are linked as Siamese twins. Rulers and sovereigns recognize that in order to establish themselves and maintain their leadership they need public relations services. This article focuses on the role of PR in the lives of politicians and political parties in modern democracies. We shall propose a practical "PR life cycle" that commences in the initial decision to enter the political sphere and ends in the moment of retirement from politics, when political actors leave the game either willingly or are ousted by circumstances.

There are seven stages in such political PR life cycles:

- a. The breakthrough – a stage in which novice or seasoned politicians estimate their chances to succeed and decide whether they should enter the political 'running match' or retire.
- b. The preparation to internal elections or primaries – upon the decision to enter the game, politicians establish campaign headquarters, which deal with various organizational matters and media aspects.
- c. Internal elections – at this stage, politicians prepare for party elections by enlisting supporters and potential voters.
- d. General elections – at this stage, politicians elected in primaries join the party effort to succeed in general national elections.
- e. 'Spoils division' – after the final election results are publicized, coalition negotiations begin, and politicians aspire to secure senior government positions.
- f. The 'maintenance' stage – between election campaigns politicians tend focus on the improvement of their public

- image and status and 'maintain' them.
- g. Re-election or re-entrance – when a new election appears on the horizon incumbent politicians must re-enter the race in order to be re-elected.

In these respects, political existence tends to depend on PR presence and activity. If we adopt the famous Cartesian Cogito proverb – *I think therefore I am* – we may say of politicians: *I appear (on the media) therefore I am*.

## **FOREIGNERS IN THEIR HOMELAND: DOCUMENTARY FILMS, NATIONAL CONFLICT AND THE FOOTBALL FIELD / Alina Bernstein, Lea Mandelsiz and Hila Shenhar**

This study deals with social, ethnic and class schisms which are threatening national unification and consolidation in Israel. This notion was examined by analyzing two documentary films that deal with the relationship between the football field and social-national agendas. The directors of "Sakhnin, My Life" and "Hardball" – produced after Bnei Sakhnin FC won the 2004 National Football Cup – portrayed football as a cultural and social experience within their own environment. And indeed, they used this victory and various relevant events as a metaphor for the conflict-ridden identity of Israeli Arab minority.

The films' analyses proposed in this article inquire into at the ways in which the directors – Ram Levi, an Israeli Jew and Suha Arraf, an Israeli Arab Christian – tell the story of the Israeli-Arab conflict through the football field in their individual albeit national voices. Both films explored and documented the severe and complex daily reality of an Arab

minority in a Jewish majority state. By doing so, they reflected the traditional commitment of documentary filmmaking to provide a basis for an outlook according to which the world around us may be seen on a national level.

Dilemmas raised in the films include the complex national conflict between 'the sound of fireworks' and 'the sound of firing' and its representation throughout the documentaries as criticism regarding the existing social and political order. An additional issue that surfaces in these films pertains to the role of football as a vehicle for social-national change on the one hand and as a tranquilizing agent that tends to blunt the edge of the Israeli Arabs' national protest on the other.

The narrative of both documentary films also contains self-criticism; whereas Levi is critical of the Jewish state and its national policies and Arraf is critical of her own Arab people in Israel.

## **THE HASKALA BOOK SHELF AS REFLECTED IN BOOK REVIEWS PUBLISHED IN HAMEASEF PERIODICAL AS A SOURCE OF BIBLIOGRAPHICAL AND IDEOLOGICAL INFORMATION ON HEBREW HASKALA / Moshe Pelli**

The renewal of the 'Jewish Book Shelf' was a significant aspiration of the Hebrew *Haskalah* movement in Germany. The monographs and indices project of early Haskalah periodicals published by the author of this article, which until currently included *Hame'asef* (1783–1811), *Bikurei Ha'itim* (1820–1831), and *Kerem Hemed* (1833–1856), contributed to our understanding of the process that reconstructed the 'Jewish book shelf.'

The first monograph dealt with *Hame'asef* and its

contributors who aspired to build the '*Haskalah* Library' in order to establish a modern literary and cultural center in Germany at the latter eighteenth century.

This article presents selected examples from the 80 to 115 literary reviews published by *Hame'asef*, which provide relevant and contemporary information about the publication projects of the *Maskilim* in various creative fields which became, in turn, the basis of revived Jewish culture and dealt with subjects such as the Hebrew Bible, medieval philosophy,

Judaica, sacred texts, *belles lettres*, grammar and philology, educational theses and school textbooks, scientific works, ethics and morals, and biographies among others.

A study of book reviews published in *Hame'asef* points out the joint efforts to publish the fundamental texts of the *Haskalah*, which constitute the ideological platform of this cultural movement – seminal texts such as Naphtali Herz Wessely's innovative educational work, *Divrei Shalom Ve'emet*, or new editions of canonic works in Judaism by Maimonides and Sa'adia that also include commentaries by Maskilim.

An additional section of this periodical announced the publication of new books. In this section prospective authors could announce their plans for new books, which, at times, did not materialize.

One of the ways to attract readers and to disseminate Hebrew books among them was through publishing chapters and excerpts from forthcoming books. Introductions to such books, elaborating on their worth and importance to *Haskalah* were also published. Entire books were serialized by

*Hame'asef* and then published separately in book form. These details, as discussed in this article, enrich our bibliographical knowledge about the Hebrew book culture at that time.

Such reviews also reveal 'behind the scenes' matters of book publication for instance, the authors' struggle to publish, the difficulties of disseminating and selling books, information on getting pre-publication subscribers which could pay for printing and other expenses, efforts to communicate with the journal's subscribers, lists of subscribers and subscriptions solicitors, and sales in book fairs. Literary plagiarism, rivalries and tensions among Hebrew writers of different schools of thought (such as between Aaron Wolfsohn and Isaac Satanow) are also exposed.

Furthermore, the periodical published announcements of Hebrew libraries as well as catalogues and book lists of recent publications.

This cumulative and diversified information may represent the basis for reconstructing the book shelf of early *Haskalah*, and present a 'true-to-life' image of the Hebrew book milieu.

## **FASHION, JUDAISM AND ZIONISM IN THE THOUGHT OF NAHUM SOKOLOW / Gideon Kouts**

The renowned Zionist leader and journalist Nahum Sokolow (1859-1936) was also the first practitioner of the Zionist Propaganda, to which he gave the name of "*Hasbara*" ("explanation"). Sokolow's works and speeches often deal with theories and practical methods to promote Zionism and the idea of Jewish State among Jews as well as foreign nations. He advocated the use of "authentic" cultural products (including clothing) to recreate and promote a Zionist culture as an essential component of the historical and political process of Zionist renaissance. In a pioneering book published in Hebrew, "The Collective Me" (New York, 1930) he explains and adopts modern theories of Social Psychology and "Mass Psychology" to the needs of the Zionist movement. But in a controversial chapter of this book he uses the insights

of the German sociologist and pioneer fashion analyst Georg Simmel to examine the history of clothing and fashion in Judaism, and to demonstrate the importance of fashion for Zionism. Sokolow thus criticizes Orthodox Jewish society, arguing that the "specificity" of "traditional Jewish clothing" does not stem from true religious origins. Jews should not concentrate on the symbols of clothing but on the true values of Judaism, which should lead them towards Zionism (this chapter was angrily criticized by orthodox thinkers). According to Sokolow, fashion can benefit the national movement only if it does not tend to interfere with ideology. The renewal of Jewish national life should be based upon collective values that cannot be produced by any type of fashion or apparel.

## **LA SOLIDARIDAD OVRADERA AND THE SPIRIT OF WORKER SOLIDARITY / Richard Ayoun**

The Jews of Thessaloniki, who were divided to various sects and denominations, expressed themselves thru a variety of papers and periodicals published in their city. One of these was *La Solidariad Ovradera* (Worker Solidarity) published in the Ladino language by the Jewish division of the *Thessaloniki Socialist Federation*. This paper was a weekly distributed every Friday. It was printed in the Rashi font, without vowel punctuation, and sometimes included articles written in French, regarded as the language of luxury and culture, or Bulgarian. The *Socialist Federation of Thessaloniki* published three periodicals, the first of which was the *Jornal del Lavorador* (The Worker's Journal) published between 1909-1910 the included in the early days of its existence four pages in four languages – Ladino, Turkish, Bulgarian and Greek. Its successor, *Avanti* (Forward), was established in 1912, when Thessaloniki was annexed by Greece, and was usually written in Ladino with some French articles. In its beginning, this paper appeared three times per week. On 1915 it became a daily. The third paper was *La Solidaridad Ovradera* discussed herein. Several issues of *Solidaridad* can be found in the Jerusalem *Yad Ben Zvi* institute and in a library located in Sofia, Bulgaria. This paper was published with the assistance of Dimitar Vlahov, a Macedonian member of the Ottoman parliament. The items published by this periodical may offer insights regarding the everyday life in one of the largest Sephardic communities of that period and about

cultural, social, political and economic affairs that interested this reading public. The first issue examined was released on February 19, 1911 and was reprinted in a Master degree thesis by Ms. Cohen-Rak, written under the supervision of Prof. H. Vidal Sapiha. This issue highlights most of the subjects prevalent in other issues. It alludes to various obstacles that hamper its publication. But the *Thessaloniki Socialist Federation* informs the readers that publication should continue regularly for a year at least. It also declares that this publication represents 'a struggle' and as such, it intends to foster the spirit of worker solidarity and workers' emancipation and post items about socialist, political and syndicate activities throughout the entire European continent and Turkey. Its founders declared that their goal, as alluded in the name of this publication, is to promote solidarity, unity and comradeship among the workers regardless of class and religion. They sought: (1) to defend the workers from exploiting managements, (2) to seek equality and freedom assured by the constitution to all citizens (3) to promote legislation that benefits the workers, provides for a right to organize and establish worker unions and a right to strike, (4) to help the working class achieve political significance and to improve its status, (5) to disseminate the principles of socialism throughout the nation, and (6) to compete against the capitalistically inclined press.

## **THE JEWISH PRESS IN FRANCE AND ITS ATTITUDE TO FASCIST ITALY IN THE YEARS 1922-1939: A MEANS TO PROMOTE THE SOLIDARITY OF MEDITERRANEAN JEWISH COMMUNITIES / Jérémie Guedj**

Two utterly different historical periods that do not resemble each other have shaped the portrayal of Italy in the Franco-Jewish press during the years 1922-1939. During a period that exceeded fifteen years, the assimilation of Jews in Italy was portrayed through sugary descriptions and positively stereotypical views. But this attitude changed when the illusions were shattered and Jews awoke to the awareness that anti-Semitism has become official Italian policy that sought

to oust Jews from the Italian nation.

This study has examined issues of the five most prominent newspapers published by Jewish communities in France. These publications have dedicated 438 items, articles and news stories to Italy.

The Jewish press has therefore taken a major role in the relationships and the mutual communications between French and Italian Jews. It has nevertheless not served as an

official instrument that might legitimize an actual relationship between these parties. On the most part, the press affected the imagination and helped cultivate the relationship between distant Jewish communities. Moreover, the Jewish press's repeated effort to express its aspiration for a strong bond between Jews living on both sides of the Alps has fed the illusion regarding the actual power of such bonds. The press has thereby contributed to an exaggerated, disproportionate account of relations that were practically quite limited. But it may be stated that the press has somehow shaped the relationship between French and Italian Jewish communities on a spiritual, rather than actual, plane – in the imagination. Located in the Mediterranean region and on the Mediterranean

coast, the Franco-Jewish press was Mediterranean by affiliation and professed the idea of a united Mediterranean – an immense geographical region. Notwithstanding that, this press has mainly served an elitist readership deeply conscious of its Jewish identity. So when Italian Jews sensed the impending threat, the press misrepresented the dire situation to and thus contributed to the blindness of its French readers. The press did not wish to admit that the amicable relationship between fellow Mediterranean communities was shattered. In its choice between the mythical image according to which Jews should choose assimilation and harmony and the actual circumstances, it was clear that the Franco-Jewish press has clearly professed the former outlook.

## **BROTHERS AND STRANGERS: THE *JEWISH CHRONICLE* AND THE JEWISH COMMUNITY FACING THE PROBLEM OF REFUGEES FROM NAZI GERMANY, 1933-1940 / Ronit Fisher**

The movement of refugees from the Third Reich was divided into three main waves: the first 1933-35, the second 1938 – 1939 and the third Sept.1939 – October 1941<sup>1</sup>. The total number of people who had fled from the Reich until the end of 1941 was 440,000 (nearly all of them were Jews)<sup>2</sup>, most of them found refuge only in definite countries.<sup>3</sup>

England was one of the most preferred destinations for the refugees, because of its geographical location, and became safe haven to 50,000 of these refugees who reached its shores until the outbreak of the war.<sup>4</sup> England, however, was struggling to cope with the influx of refugees during the 1930s, together with its own acute economic crisis, rampant unemployment, and internal social tensions together with pressures on the international scene. Because of the increased tension created by Nazi Germany within the Continent,

the social and political sensitivity demanded of the British leadership toward the refugees, most of whom were Jews from Germany and Austria was very high. This sensitivity derived not only from her historical relationship with the Jewish people, which reached its peak in 1917 with the signing by His Majesty's Government of the "Balfour Declaration", but mainly because of her role as Mandatory Power in Palestine. Due to that, the Jewish community in the UK had gone under grate pressure between their wish to maintain their loyalty to their country on one hand, and their concern to their fellows Jewish brothers under Nazi regime.

During these years, like its long stretched over one hundred and fifty years' history, the *Jewish Chronicle* held one of the most important roles, as "*The Organ of Anglo-Jewry*."<sup>5</sup>

This article examines the main approaches of the *Jewish Chronicle* during the years 1933-1940 to the influx of refugees. The article analyze the different manners that were chosen by the J.C. in dealing with this problem, through investigating its most important dilemma: The need to maintain an objective and professional outlook, as a leading newspaper, together with the need of maintaining its loyalty to the government, and that along-side with its moral obligation to help the Jewish population under Nazi rule and try solving the refugees problem, all of that through considering its leading position

1 In 1935, after the Nuremberg decrees, the flow of refugees increased again for a few months and then dropped until 1938, when the second wave began. See: B.Vaserstein, *Great Britain and European Jewry*, (Tel-Aviv, 1982), p.15

2 About 370,000 Jews left the Reich until the outbreak of the war, and some more 71,000 Jews left until the end of 1941. Ibid

3 These refugees found asylum mainly in the following countries: U.S A, 57,000; Palestine, 53,000; Grate Britain, 50,000; France, 40,000; Belgium, 25,000; and Switzerland, 10,000. Jews were given asylum in other countries also. See: Ibid, pp.15-17

4 Only about 10,000 had found refuge in UK during the years 1939-1945. See: Ibid, p.77 by the Report of the Anglo-American Committee of Inquiry regarding the problems of European Jewry and Palestine, London, 1946, p.59

5 David Cesarani, *The Jewish Chronicle and Anglo-Jewry, 1841-1991*, Cambridge University Press, 1994, p.ix

in the creation of the Jewish public opinion in Great Britain.

This article elaborates the J.C.'s main tendencies to the refugee problem during the 1930's, and especially emphasizes the dramatic changes, which had occurred with the outbreak of the war. These changes, that were affected by the hostile atmosphere, created by the general panic of German invasion and the activities of a "fifth column" of native German living in England, appeared even in the linguistic manner by the change from "refugees" into "German Aliens" and "enemy

country's subjects". This extreme approach, expressed by the J.C. at the spring of 1940, when the news-paper even joined the voices urged for increasing the arrests of the German aliens<sup>6</sup>, had undergone another alteration only with removal of immediate German invasion and the tragic drowning of the "Ardonera-Star" during the summer and autumn of 1940<sup>7</sup>.

6 J.C. 24 May 1940

7 J.C. 22 November 1940

## **THE WEAPON OF PUBLIC ANNOUNCEMENTS, CIRCULARS, PETITIONS AND MANIFESTOS AND THEIR INFLUENCE ON JEWISH-MOSLEMS RELATIONS IN THE INDEPENDENT STATE OF MORROCO / Yigal Bin Nun**

Manifestos, public announcements and press release statements were particularly used by Jewish-Moroccan intellectuals who sought to be integrated in post independence Moroccan society. Public statements of the national council of Jewish communities written in the Jewish-Moroccan dialect were read every Saturday to congregations convened for prayer in their synagogues in order to convey such messages to the community. Israeli agents in Morocco have made a covert use of public statements in order to interfere in Jewish community affairs and express opinions that opposed the Moroccan authorities. When seeking to reconstruct the history of the Moroccan Jewish community during the 1950's and 1960's it may be worthwhile to consider a fascinating phenomenon: Moroccan Jewish society and its leadership consisted of several detached social spheres. Due to the relative weakness of the communication within a minority that lacked mass media capabilities, the various echelons of the Moroccan Jewry were isolated from each other. As a result, certain Jewish public figures were misinformed about the actions and opinions of other leadership groups within the community. This isolation of certain communities from others continued even after the Jews emigrated from Morocco. In

the Moroccan reality, however, public announcements have had a potent and even hazardous force.

Clandestine Israeli agents in Morocco could not expect better results after they published a circular regarding the sinking of the ship "Egoz" laden with Jewish immigrant passengers on their way to Israel. On the one hand, they caused hysteria that escalated the anxiety of Jewish communities. This might have tipped the scales and convinced the last people who considered assimilation in the fledgling state that they had no future in Morocco whatsoever. On the other hand, the hostile reactions of the Moroccan press have only corroborated this ominous scenario. Without fostering this anxiety about the future, Israeli envoys could not have engineered the mass emigration of Jews that they sought. In retrospect, it appears that Egyptian president Nasser's participation in the 1961 Casablanca convention, the "Egoz" sinking incident and the massive arrests have all served the Israeli interests; Israeli officials sought to "provoke such incidents", to cause a "dramatic event" and to "exacerbate" the situation. So due to the publication of this circular, the evacuation of Jews from Morocco has begun earlier than expected even by its staunchest supporters.

## **THE SEASON GREETINGS: ON HOLIDAY GREETING CARDS IN THE AGE OF MODERN COMMUNICATIONS / Haim Grossman**

The custom of sending greeting cards in the days before the Jewish New Year originated from Middle Ages Germany. This custom became an accepted norm in the German speaking communities and spread considerably in the Jewish communities throughout Central and Eastern Europe. The emergence of commercial postcards in the 19<sup>th</sup> Century has made this trend even more popular within the European Jewries. In the late 19<sup>th</sup> century, greeting cards have tremendously increased in popularity increased due to emigration waves and passionate national aspirations that led millions of Jews to the USA and hundreds of thousands to Eretz Israel. Greeting cards featured a variety of colorful subject-matters from traditional Diaspora Jewish scenes to the images of Hebrew-Zionist pioneers planting trees in Eretz Israel. One of the common subjects depicted on postcards was the images of communication workers such as mailmen and devices such as telephones and telegraph equipment, which were used as means of communication. Such images added a modern and innovative facet to traditional greeting cards and showcased the ability to maintain communications throughout the Jewish world.

These visual texts were highly significant despite their short-lived and temporary existence because they constituted an array of symbols and signs that belonged to a single conceptual category. As such, they created an

identity, reinforced the mutual partnership between senders and receivers and defined who belonged to this group. The "Happy New Year" card sent from the European Diaspora to the American New World or from the Diaspora to Eretz Israel and vice-versa was a festive artifact immersed in the Holiday spirit that could be found in the abodes of every Jewish family or individual during the New Year celebration season. These cards were cherished in every Jewish home; they alluded to the possible communication between family members across oceans and continents.

A modern world scene depicted on a greeting card that featured a modern communication device marked the winds of change in an epoch of national revival, an epoch in which Jews sought personal and national solutions for the Old World misery. The active image of the world outside the European continent and its myriad visual representations, its constant presence and increasing importance, were therefore ripe with meaning; they manifested a comprehensive outlook and its crystallization.

Images of America and the Holy Land, which was comparably more powerful in these respects, became desirable subject-matter for Jewish greeting cards. These cards represented an actual reality and may have even contributed to the reconstruction of an ideal reality that could also translate to a national act of immigration to Eretz Israel.

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