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 The Andrea and Charles Bronfman Institute for the Study of Jewish Press and Communications at Tel Aviv University
 Tel Aviv University, P.O.B. 39040 Ramat Aviv, Tel Aviv 69978, Israel; Tel. 972-3-6408665; Email: presstau@tauex.tau.ac.il
<http://www.tau.ac.il/humanities/bronfman>

Head of The Institute and Managing Editor of *Kesher*: Prof. Yaacov Shavit
Founder of The Institute: Shalom Rosenfeld
First Editor of *Kesher*: Dr. Mordecai Naor

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INSIDE *KESHER* 45

“SOUNDER OF NEWS FROM THE HOLY LAND”

One hundred fifty years ago, on March 5, 1863, the first more-or-less regularly published Hebrew journal (initially as a monthly, later as a weekly), structured like a modern newspaper in the manner of its precursors in Europe, made its appearance in Jerusalem. The three young editors of *Ha-Levanon* managed to break Israel Bek's monopoly on the Jerusalem press, prompting Bek hurriedly to launch his own rival paper, *Havatzet*. *Ha-Levanon* and its editor in chief, Yehiel Brill, migrated to Paris at the end of the year and subsequently to Mainz and London, where both of them passed away. The birth of *Ha-Levanon*, however, marked the onset of the history of Hebrew press and mass media in Palestine/Israel. If so, it seems self-evident that *Kesher* should devote this issue to various aspects of its development. About half of the articles on this theme, arranged chronologically, are based on lectures at a workshop on the Press and Nationalism in Eretz Israel, held on May 30, 2013 at Yad Izhak Ben-Zvi in Jerusalem.

The gateway to *Kesher* is minded by *Ha-Levanon*, of course. Gideon Kouts stresses the Palestinian and Oriental connection that this paper and its editor in chief maintained even when they peregrinated around Europe. Roni Be'er-Marx analyzes the paper's coverage of the purported coming of a “messiah” among the Jews of Yemen and the reasons for it, which traced to the Jewish communities in Europe of all things. In the Documentary section, David Hacohen recalls his grandfather, Michal Hacohen, the least known of the editors of *Ha-Levanon*. Nurit Govrin reviews the development of literature departments in the Hebrew press. When this press was in its infancy, they were more important than counterparts in the general press because they legitimized secularization and the very use of Hebrew in the press, in contrast to their less-encouraging situation in Israel today. The Documentary section continues with an interview with the doyen of Israeli litterateurs, Aharon Megged, who edited one of the main departments of this type, *Massa*, which appeared for several years as a periodical in its own right. *Kesher* then shifts from sectoral aspects to a genre that deserves further development in research: the Hebrew sporting press, which, via its style and its practitioners, influenced additional important genres in the history of the Hebrew and Israeli media even though it experienced a rough childbirth for reasons of tradition. Yair Galili and Haim Kaufman investigate the

first soccer reportage in the Ottoman and early Mandate eras. Uzi Elyada, taking up media and politics, notes candidly and incontrovertibly the sympathetic coverage that the forefather of the Hebrew sensationalist press, Itamar Ben-Avi, gave to the Italian Fascist dictator Benito Mussolini in his newspaper *Do'ar Hayom*, the personal relations that developed between the journalist and his hero, and the legitimacy that Ben-Avi bestowed on the Fascist “niche” in the Hebrew press in Palestine. Michael Birnhak deals with media politics in his article about the power struggles surrounding the control and use of the telegraph in news reportage in Palestine from the mid-1920s on. Reuven Gafni discusses the development of the religious sector press between nationalism and Haredism through the prism of the author, journalist, and editor “Rabbi Benjamin” (Yehoshua Radler-Feldman) and his newspaper, *Ha-Hed*. Mordecai Naor writes about the nexus of literature and politics in the press from an original research perspective that portrays the poet and journalist Natan Alterman as a historian and a critical publicist.

An echo of the Yom Kippur War, now verging on its fortieth anniversary, is audible in Haim Frenkel and Hillel Nossek's article on press-censor relations in Israel, which discusses not only the military censorship but also the self-censorship that the Israeli press applied in its coverage of the controversy over the Bar-Lev Line. Yehiel Limor, Ilan Tamir, and Orly Shiffman bring us back to the sporting press, this time in the statehood era, and write a “requiem” for Israel's principal sports newspaper, *Hadshot Ha-Sport*. Avivit Agam-Dali presents protest graffiti and posters from Israel's social protests in the summer of 2011.

This issue opens by presenting Yosef Gorny's study on Israel and the intellectual and political discourse in the American Jewish press, a continuation of his studies on ethnicity and policy—in particular, his books *The Quest for National Identity* and *Between Auschwitz and Jerusalem*. In the next issue, we will return to the Jewish press in Jewish communities around the world and investigate the attitude of the general press toward these communities.

In this issue we bid farewell to the journalist and researcher Dr. Shlomo Shafir, a member of *Kesher*'s Advisory Board from the time it was founded, and reprint his remarks about an amazing story, the publication of a Hebrew newspaper in the Nazi concentration camps. We follow with memorial remarks

for Professor Shoshana Blum-Kulka, an important scholar of media discourse and language who published in *Kesher* as well.

As we went to press, we received painful news about the untimely passing of the historian and educator Dr. Yosef Lang—author of the monumental biography of Eliezer Ben-Yehuda, *Daber 'Ivrit!* (Speak Hebrew!) and many other studies, as well as a regular contributor to *Kesher*. We will honor his memory at length in our next issue.

The book review and new studies sections appear afterwards as they always do.

We wish you a pleasurable and useful read and look forward to the next encounter with our readers in Spring 2014.

Gideon Kouts

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. 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).

ETHNICITY AND POLICY: AMERICAN JEWISH INTELLECTUALS AND ISRAEL — NEW RELATIONS? / Yosef Gorny

This paper may be regarded as an additional chapter in the author's book, *The State of Israel in Jewish Public Thought: The Quest for Collective Identity* (NYUP & Macmillan, 1994).

The topic of the book was the quest by Zionist leaders in Israel and the U.S. for a new basis for Israel–Diaspora relations in the 1945–1990 period.

The article tracks the states of mind of Jewish intellectuals who were associated with two journals and one newspaper—*Commentary*, *Tikkun*, and *Forward*—from 1990 onward. Their

discourse focused on the Jewish–Arab national struggle. Each publication represented a unique political and spiritual ethnic approach toward the policy vital to Israel for its existence as a Jewish state. *Commentary* recommended power policy, *Tikkun* preached messianic liberalism, and *Forward* advised a realistic political approach. All three approaches express the intellectuals' involvement in the ethno-political issue of “Klal Yisrael”—the Jewish people at large.

THE WANDERINGS OF HA-LEVANON: THE PALESTINIAN AND ORIENTAL CONNECTION / Gideon Kouts

Ha-Levanon (The Lebanon), the first Hebrew monthly in Palestine (1863), was carried by its editor, Yehiel Bril, from the Holy Land to destinations abroad shortly after it was founded. Its stops were Paris, where it appeared in 1865–1870 as a strictly Orthodox Jewish weekly; Mainz, Germany, where it was published in 1871–1882; and London in 1886, where it reached the end of its career and where Bril passed away. In his wanderings, Bril had to adjust to different countries and regimes—a living example of the “wandering Jew” embodied in the press.

Ha-Levanon's “Palestinian” orientation was evident from the start. This is not surprising, since in his first journalistic posting Bril was the first Hebrew foreign correspondent in Palestine (of *Ha-Magid*). The subtitle of *Ha-Levanon*, published in Jerusalem and indicative of its contents as the tradition of this press warranted, was “Messenger of peace from Jerusalem, bringing news from the entire Holy Land and divulging secrets from Syria, Yemen, and India. [Inserted at a later time: “and novelties in Torah (Jewish law) from those who sit before the Lord in holy majesty]. Everything an Israelite would want to know....”

The first two items in the subtitle were mirrored in the first two sections of the paper. The first was titled “*Shlom Yerushalayim*” (The wellbeing of Jerusalem), an editorial section that expressed the views of the heads of the Ashkenazi Orthodox-Mitnaggedim community on the question of Palestine and its settlement. Then came news from Palestine and the Orient, with the assistance of Bril's “traveling” father-in-law, Yaakov Sapir.

The paper's Palestinian-Oriental orientation was proclaimed openly by its editors (Bril, I.M. Salomon, Michal Hacoheh) in an “announcement” that they published before *Ha-Levanon*

made its debut, addressed specifically to the European public and inspired by their wish to satisfy these distant brethren's curiosity. The contents of the current-affairs articles, however, caused internal dissent. It was hard for Bril and his peers not to become “involved” and Bril brought this involvement to Paris as well.

Ha-Levanon did not last a year in Jerusalem, apparently due to a denunciation connected with its competition with Israel Bek's *Havatzelet* and strife among Jewish factions in Jerusalem. The substance of the denunciation was that the editors of *Ha-Levanon* had not received a written license from the Turkish authorities. After attempting unsuccessfully to obtain the license from Constantinople, the Ottoman capital, Bril decided to try his luck in Paris.

The first issue in Paris saw the light of day on January 6, 1865. To emphasize the fact that the paper was a continuation of *The Lebanon* in Jerusalem, Bril numbered it as Issue 1 of Year 2. During the first three of its six years in the City of Light, Years 2–7 in all, *Ha-Levanon* was a biweekly; thereafter it was a weekly. Bril stressed its “Jerusalem” character from the first go, festooning it with the subtitle “Bringing light from the Holy Land Jerusalem” and a motto from Psalms: “Bless Jerusalem, May Your Lovers Say.” The first part of *Ha-Levanon*, titled “History,” carried news from Jewish communities, those in Palestine always first. The first section—“The Tower of Lebanon Overlooks Jerusalem”—makes it clear that *Ha-Levanon* addressed the Jewish reader through the Holy Land as the main commonality among all Jews.

However, Bril seemed unable to refrain from dealing with events in Palestine from the inside. “Tower of Lebanon” presented news items from Jerusalem, generally signed anonymously but

including Bril's own observations and explanations in the form of arguments, settling of scores with various community personalities, and personal opinions on questions concerning Jewish settlement in Palestine. Bril himself pointed out the purpose of the section: "We shall build in *Ha-Levanon* a tower overlooking Jerusalem, and even if somebody cloaks his actions in darkness, the spectator will see them from there. I have a place in *Ha-Levanon* whence I shall be able to display the entire Mount of Zion. . . ." This, of course, reflects the mentality of a political exile. The natural, tangible center for Bril was Palestine.

If so, *Ha-Levanon* was more Palestinian than European. S.L. Zitron remarks, for instance, that "From everything printed in *Ha-Levanon* throughout its second year, one could not know that a country called Russia, where millions of Jews were living, existed in the world." This, at a time when all Hebrew newspapers that attempted to be transnational considered Russian Jewry their principal potential readership, for which reason *Ha-Magid* was founded in 1856 in Lyck, Eastern Prussia.

At the beginning of its Paris career, Bril was forced to abandon the idea of registering *Ha-Levanon* as a political journal. Initially, then, he gave up on inserting a political section. It took until August 30, 1867, for the first political column to appear. The new department dislodged the "Tower of Lebanon," with its news from Palestine, from its primacy in the "History" section dealing with current affairs.

THE "YEMENITE MESSIAH": MESSIANISM AND NATIONALISM IN *HA-LEVANON* / Roni Beer-Marx

The periodical *Ha-Levanon* took a distinct interest in remote and little-known Jewish communities such as those in Yemen, Ethiopia, and Persia. It did so from its very beginning in Eretz Israel in 1863 and during its twenty years as the mouthpiece of Jewish Orthodoxy in Russia. Here, using *Ha-Levanon's* engagement with the Jews of Yemen as a case study, this article examines the forces that motivated the publisher and editor of the periodical, Yehiel Bril, and the connection between these motivating forces and the national ideas that engaged the Jewish society of the time.

This special interest was expressed comprehensively and frequently in *Ha-Levanon*. Articles in *Ha-Levanon* consistently tracked unique cultural phenomena and political events in the lives of exotic Jews and encouraged readers to contribute to their salvation and rehabilitation. This intensive preoccupation, however, did not stem from a modern national motive; it was

prompted by intellectual curiosity and traditional solidarity with "faraway brothers" facing times of hardship. The paper's continuous interest in Yemenite Jewry had an additional motive: the messianic unrest that spread throughout the community during the second half of the 19th century at the hands of the self-proclaimed messiah Shukr Kuhayl.

From the debut of the "Tower of Lebanon" and onward, Bril gave coverage to the rulers of the *halukka* (the distribution of alms to poor Jews in Palestine), exposing their dirty laundry in Jerusalem but also reassuring them now and then.

In its fourth and fifth years, *Ha-Levanon* devoted much space to the hostilities of radical rabbis against the Haskala (in *Ha-Melitz*). Concurrently, however, he made room for personalities such as Rabbi Zvi Hirsch Kalisher, the precursor of Zionism, together with his own articles, which then called for caution in settling Palestine.

The Franco-Prussian War (1870–1871) brought the Parisian period of *Ha-Levanon* to an end. After the conflict, in which he served in the Civil Guard and left a moving testimony in a series of notes in *Ha-Levanon* about the "siege of Paris," Bril moved (with his paper) to Mainz, Germany, where the paper was twice suspended.

Bril did not abandon the Holy Land. Typical of his loyalties in this matter was his leading role in bringing eleven farmers (the founders of Ekron) from Russia to Palestine in 1883 after reaching an understanding with such hated competitors as *Ha-Magid* on the promotion of Jewish emigration from Russia to Palestine. Just the same, Bril ended his days in exile, in London, after many vicissitudes. London was also *Ha-Levanon's* last stop.

The "Yemenite messiah" affair received substantial coverage in *Ha-Levanon* because it allowed Bril to voice his harsh and acute criticism of the prevailing moods and sensitivities in his cultural and religious realm. Bril strongly opposed Rabbi Zvi Hirsch Kalisher and Judah Alkalai for their views on human involvement in the attaining and expediting of the redemption but did not express his criticism publicly due to their religious authority and prestige. Therefore, Shukr Kuhayl's remote and exotic image allowed Bril to articulate his religious and culture criticism and to do so bluntly and explicitly.

THE INCEPTION, BLOOMING AND EXISTENTIAL STRUGGLE OF LITERARY SECTIONS IN THE DAILY PRESS / Nurit Govrin

The article is a continuation, a renovation, and a complement of my article "Literary Supplements in the Daily Hebrew Press" in *Keshet* 25 (May 1999). Part 1 briefly reviews the roles that the daily press played from its inception and describes several processes that carried fine literature into the general press. Initially, fine literature appeared mainly ahead of Jewish festivals and observances, either as part of the newspaper or as a separate free supplement for readers. Later, it appeared more frequently and was assigned a regular specific place at the bottom of the page, titled *Feuilleton*. The literary section rarely had a separate editor. As more time passed, literature was graced with a regular separate column in the paper and a special editor as well. The attitude toward translation and the role of serial literature in editorial policy and in enhancing the newspaper's allure are also mentioned. The advantages and disadvantages of fitting the literature department into the general newspaper, and of separating it, are presented in concise detail.

Part 2 reviews the Golden Age of literary supplements in

the daily press between the World Wars and during the State of Israel's first three decades (1921–1978). Thirteen political-party and general newspapers of various types maintained regular literary sections that, in most cases, had a special literary editor. The literary editor's importance in determining the level and contents of the section and the composition of its contributors is described.

Part 3 recounts the existential struggle that the literature sections have had to wage. It mentions the reasons for the disappearance of many such sections from the daily press, describes the condition of such sections as have survived, and the reversal of roles in the ideological slant of the system: the rebirth of literary sections in the "right-wing" press as against the sunset of the "left-wing" press and the glorious literary sections that it had once boasted. The article concludes by expressing a hope for the future that proved truly hopeless even before the study was published, evoking profound concern for the survival of literary journals.

REPORTAGE OF SOCCER GAMES IN THE HEBREW PRESS DURING THE OTTOMAN AND EARLY MANDATE ERAS (1906–1928) / Yair Galili and Haim Kaufman

Soccer is Israel's most popular sport; it began to amass aficionados as soon as it was introduced in late Ottoman Palestine. By comparing the coverage of soccer games in contemporary newspapers with that of other sports and sports reportage at large, we may assess soccer's centrality in early twentieth-century Palestine. The article describes two interlinked processes: how soccer was introduced in Palestine and the popularity it attracted once introduced, and how newspapers in the late Ottoman and early British Mandate period covered it.

The main contention in the article is that items about sporting events in Palestine were terse, marginal, and not very informative. Largely, they reported the scores of soccer games in Palestine and had almost nothing to say on other sporting themes. Sports

columns were introduced in the second half of the 1920s. They were personal in nature, mingling reportage with their writers' opinions. The first personal sports page appeared in the newspaper *Davar*. The first comprehensive sports section, which regularly made room for soccer reportage, was of *North Haifa*, a paper that appeared from February 1926 to August 1927. The political polarization that characterized the 1920s led to the politicization of sports as well and brought on the establishment of Hapoel. Contests between Hapoel and Maccabi were the main topics of articles and readers' letters. The political struggle also influenced the nature of the journalistic reportage, reserving extra coverage for sporting events directly related to confrontations between these sports associations.

ITAMAR BEN-AVI AND THE CRAVING FOR A LEADER: FROM MUSSOLINI TO JABOTINSKY / Uzi Elyada

Doar Ha-Yom, edited by Itamar Ben-Avi, was the most widely circulated newspaper in 1920s Palestine. It derived its popularity from the sensationalist, spectacular editing style

that it employed to intrigue, inflame, and entertain its readers. Ben-Avi used the paper to promote a right-wing ideological agenda that glorified liberalism and capitalist competitive

economics and attacked socialism of whatever stripe. Another typical aspect of *Doar Ha-Yom*, however, was its craving for a strong characteristic leader who would propel the Zionist movement toward sovereign statehood.

The author claims that the desired model of leader for Ben-Avi in 1920s was the Italian Duce, Benito Mussolini. This article analyzes the process of Ben-Avi's rapprochement with Italian Fascism and its leader, a process that crested in a trip several weeks long that Ben-Avi took in the Duce's train across Italy in 1923 to mark the first anniversary of Fascism's ascent to power there. Through the prism of Ben-Avi's dramatically

sensationalistic reportage, the article attempts to understand what this Yishuv Journalist found in Mussolini and his ideology and how this admiration squared with Ben-Avi's favoring of liberal democratic. The article concludes by arguing that Ben-Avi regarded the image of the Italian Duce as a model in his quest for the Zionist leader that he desired. Indeed, he found it in the person of Ze'ev Jabotinsky. From the mid-1920s onward, Ben-Avi glorified Jabotinsky, touting him as the Zionist movement's Mussolini. This admiration also explains why Ben-Avi decided to place the editing of his newspaper, *Doar Ha-Yom*, in Jabotinsky's hands.

THE TELEGRAPH AND POWER STRUGGLES IN THE PALESTINIAN NEWS FIELD, 1925–1933 / Michael Birnhack

Who owns the news of the day? This question arises occasionally, especially when an exclusive report is at stake. The introduction of new technologies in news gathering and distribution often raises the question on a broad scale. This article explores the advent of one such new technology in the mid-1920s in Mandate Palestine: the telegraph. The novelty stirred the small local market and triggered a struggle that translated into a legal battle. The article traces the legal case that dealt with ownership of telegraphic news and sets it in its particular context of the time and place.

The Palestinian Telegraphic Agency (PTA), owned by a Jewish-American media entrepreneur, sued the local Arab publisher of a short-lived newspaper, *Al-Hayat*, for infringement of the copyright that PTA claimed to reports about the Zionist

Congress in Basel that *Al-Hayat* had translated and reproduced without authorization. The courts found that copyright applied not to the bare facts but only to their unique expression. PTA lost but a news bulletin that it published, *Palestine Bulletin*, won.

Apart from establishing important principles in copyright law, the case reflected power struggles between new and old media, different business models and journalistic cultures, and Jewish and Arab media in times of political unrest. The article tells the yet-untold story of the rise of the telegraph at the service of news in Palestine and, as the plot unfolds, the discussion illustrates how a new technology and the law affect the mode of production of news. By the time the case was over, the use of the telegraph was also in decline. It was then time for a new technology, the radio.

FOR JUDAISM AND THE BUILDING OF THE LAND: RABBI BENJAMIN AND *HA-HED* BETWEEN NATIONALISM AND ULTRA-ORTHODOXY / Reuven Gafni

This article probes the history and unique character of the journal *Ha-Hed*, published in pre-state and independent Israel in 1926–1952 under the supervision of the two Jewish national funds.

Ha-Hed's story is unique because the journal was designed to spread the word of the new Hebrew nationalism specifically among the public that considered itself basically detached from the Jewish national movement and unexposed to the movement's propaganda. To attain its goal, *Ha-Hed* was ostensibly designed as a conservative Orthodox organ that was, however, packed with content that actually aimed to attract readers to diverse national developments and events in Israel in three contexts: Jewish

settlement, the institutionalization of the national movement, and the growing role of the religious community in the foregoing.

The peculiar and occasionally awkward position of a journal that masked its true ideological goals often thrust the editors of *Ha-Hed* onto the horns of various different dilemmas and into professionally and personally thorny situations.

Indeed, the story of *Ha-Hed* is largely that of the people who edited and produced it throughout the years: Rabbi Hanoch Bornstein, an employee of the Jewish National Fund and head of the Sochatchov Hasidic court in Jerusalem (since 1942), and the renowned writer and Zionist activist Rabbi Binyamin (Yehoshua Redler-Feldman), who influenced more than anyone else the

contents, the ideological nature, and the design of *Ha-Hed*.

The saga of *Ha-Hed* also opens a window onto the world

of the Religious Zionist press in pre-state Israel, a topic that has yet to draw attention and systematic research.

THE POET NATAN ALTERMAN AS A HISTORIAN AND A CRITICAL COLUMNIST/ Mordecai Naor

Natan Alterman (1910–1970) was one of the key personalities of the Yishuv (the Jewish community in pre-Israel Palestine) and in the first generation of statehood—a famous poet, playwright, translator, and songwriter who produced a very lengthy list of popular songs including many for children.

Alterman's contribution to the press was prodigious indeed: from age twenty-four (1934), he wrote rhymed publicistic columns for the newspapers *Ha'aretz* (eight years) and *Davar* (more than twenty-four years). His regular column, "The Seventh Column" (Ha-tur ha-shevi'i), appearing every Friday in *Davar*, was one of the most popular columns in Israel for years. It was published subsequently in an eponymous series of books that was recently republished in a new chronological edition. The article uses 121 columns in Volume 3 of the new edition (Hakibbutz Hameuchad, 2011, in Hebrew), originally written in 1948–1952, to turn a spotlight on the State of Israel from

the moments of its birth in May 1948 to its victory in the 1948 war, the subsequent mass immigration and its absorption, and the consolidation of Israeli democracy. Alterman addressed all these issues in his columns, sometimes impressed and at other times critical of leaders and institutions.

Alterman was a cultural hero in Tel Aviv and a close friend of Israel's leaders, especially the first Prime Minister, David Ben-Gurion. These social relations did not stop him from criticizing these friends and, of course, his opponents on both wings of the political spectrum, Right and Left.

This is undoubtedly a different look at the history of Israel; it provides the contemporary reader with new insights based on Alterman's unique writings. The new State of Israel, in its first months or years, is described from an exceptional perspective—that of a poet who was also a journalist who brought historical understanding and sharp criticism to his work.

MILITARY CENSORSHIP AND SELF-CENSORSHIP: COVERAGE OF THE DEBATE OVER THE BAR-LEV LINE IN THE ISRAELI PRESS, 1968–1973 / Haim Frenkel and Hillel Nossek

The article offers a systematic empirical analysis of press coverage of a vitally important issue in military doctrine that the IDF General Staff debated during the Israel–Egypt War of Attrition, one that remained relevant until the Yom Kippur War—the fortification line on the east bank of the Suez Canal, later known as the Bar-Lev Line. The analysis shows that in addition to military censorship, military correspondents imposed a high degree of self-censorship. Until August 1970, the military censor banned public mention of the General Staff dispute over defensive measures in Sinai, including the names of officers who held opposing views. Correspondents were permitted to report that there were disagreements on the subject and what the arguments were. The correspondents' self-imposed censorship, which hid this important and interesting military doctrine debate from the Israeli public, ignored the efforts of General Israel Tal, who, from 1970 to 1972, tried to interest them in the debate, partly by leaking its contents to the American press in direct or indirect ways.

The qualitative content analysis covers all forty-six news items, stories, and articles about the Bar-Lev Line and the

disagreement about it that appeared in 1968–1973 in the Israeli newspapers *Ha'aretz*, *Ma'ariv*, and *Yedioth Ahronoth*. The texts analyzed include in-depth interviews with the officers involved in the debate and the military correspondents and editors who covered it. The latter interviews show that the correspondents' conduct over the Bar-Lev Line debate was motivated chiefly by tremendous respect for the IDF and its senior officers, especially Chief of Staff Haim Bar-Lev, and their fears that publicizing the disagreement within the IDF at that time would weaken the army.

The conduct of the Israeli press on this issue shows how the press functioned during the run-up to the Yom Kippur War in terms of its willingness to tell the Israeli public what was happening at the highest military and security levels concerning one of the fiercest and most interesting disagreements in IDF history, and the opportunity they had to do so. Research of the phenomenon of self-censorship in the context of security and other issues is an important step toward understanding how the Israeli media function on such issues both then and now.

THE SUCCESS THAT KILLED THE NEWSPAPER: REQUIEM FOR *HADSHOT-HA-SPORT*, THE PAPER THAT HELPED TO SHAPE AND CONSOLIDATE SPORTS JOURNALISM IN ISRAEL / Yehiel Limor, Ilan Tamir and Orly Shiffman

Sports journalism in Israel has attracted almost no research attention to this day. Particularly conspicuous in the lacuna is the disregard of the special role that one newspaper—*Hadshot Ha-Sport*, published in 1954–1985, played in the development of this genre.

Most sports newspapers in early Israeli history were associated with centralized sports organizations owned by large political parties: Hapoel (Mapai), Maccabi (General Zionists), and Beitar (Herut). The resulting partisan bias naturally warped the credibility of the journalistic reportage as well. The political partialities and preferences in coverage recurred in the sports columns of the partisan daily press.

This media reality, which most sports journalists wished to change, was one of two factors that brought *Hadshot Ha-Sport* into being. The other factor was the economic reality, i.e., the survival agonies of independent sports journalism. It was believed that only by pooling forces among professional sports journalists and concurrently eliminating competition among newspapers might one good newspaper amass significant circulation and, in turn, establish a stable economic base.

In 1998, thirteen years after it disappeared from the Israeli media scene, *Hadshot Ha-Sport* received the “Nobel Prize” of the Ministry of Education and Culture for its contribution

to sports in Israel. The paper’s contribution, however, was not limited to sports; it left an imprint and, above all, a legacy of which many elements still exist in three domains: sociocultural, professional (journalistic), and economic.

At the sociocultural level, *Hadshot Ha-Sport* exerted an influence in at least three respects: developing a unique language and style, promoting the public status of sports, and nurturing sports that had been considered marginal until then. At the professional journalistic level, *Hadshot Ha-Sport* introduced a series of innovations, some of which helped to shape sports journalism’s *modi operandi* in subsequent years. Prominent among them are the adoption of professional norms of coverage, design novelties, and the extensive use of photographs. At the economic level, *Hadshot Ha-Sport* proved that a professional and credible sports newspaper could also be a business, even a successful one, like successful sports papers in the West.

Steadily growing competition from the evening papers, which considered sports a way to leverage the enhancement of their circulation; the expansion of radio sports broadcasting; and, foremost, the incursion of television to the living room gradually eroded the status of *Hadshot Ha-Sport* as the leader in sports coverage. Its circulation dwindled and its bottom line sank until it shut down in 1985.

GRAFFITI AND PROTEST POSTERS IN ISRAEL DURING THE 2011 “SUMMER OF PROTEST” / Avivit Agam-Dali

During the summer of 2011, a tent city arose on Rothschild Boulevard, one of Tel Aviv’s historic main streets. This “city” was characterized by a reflection of the mass protest that its “squatters” expressed. By visiting the site and consulting media coverage of the events, viewers were exposed to street art—graffiti and posters—that mirrored the mass protest against the high cost of living in Israel, the impossibility of ever purchasing an apartment, the establishment’s insensitivity and alienation, and other issues in the Israeli reality, i.e. the economic and political situation and the politics of life in Israel. The street art was a popular creation, a medium accessible to huge crowds, expressed on walls, buildings, and posters. Most of its texts, in writing and in paintings, were humorous or demonstrative,

presenting the non-standard, informal, subversive side of an entire urban culture.

Street art is a transient medium, a spontaneous graphic vehicle that the “man in the street” uses to articulate a personal stance on a given situation. Since graffiti and underground posters are associated with a given time and place they may be irrelevant to non-locals, because their language and jargon are familiar mainly to those who live in the artist’s proximate environment. Consequently, they derive their vitality and significance from the group and the context that they address, their explication being based on a folkloristic cultural context that is inseparable from them. The article describes various aspects of the graffiti and street posters of Israel’s 2011 “Summer of Protest.”

CONTRIBUTORS TO THIS ISSUE

Prof. Yosef Gorny

Former Head of Andrea and Charles Bronfman Institute for the Study of Jewish Press and Communication, Tel Aviv University.

Prof. Gideon Kouts

Head of Jewish Media, Culture and History Department, University of Paris 8, France. Editor of *Kesher*.

Dr. Roni Beer-Marx

Department of History, Philosophy and Judaic Studies, The Open University of Israel.

Dr. Haim Kaufman

Researcher and Lecturer at the Zinman College, Wingate Institute.

Prof. Nurit Govrin

Department of Hebrew Literature, Tel-Aviv University.

Dr. Yair Galily

Dean of the Zinman College, Wingate Institute and Senior Lecturer at the Interdisciplinary Center, Herzliya.

Dr. Uzi Elyada

Department of Communication, Haifa University.

Prof. Michael Birnhack

Faculty of Law, Tel-Aviv University.

Dr. Reuven Gafni

Deputy Chairman, The Institute for the Research of Eretz-Israel, Yad Ben Zvi, Jerusalem; The Department of Eretz-Israel studies, Herzog Academic College.

Dr. Mordecai Naor

Author, Researcher of Israeli Media and History; First Editor of *Kesher*.

Prof. Hillel Nossek

Dean, School of Media Studies, College of Management Academic Studies, Rishon LeZion.

Mr. Haim Frenkel

The School of Media Studies, College of Management Academic Studies, Rishon LeZion.

PhD Candidate, Department of Communication, Bar-Ilan University.

Prof. Yehiel Limor

Department of Communication, Tel Aviv University.

Dr. Ilan Tamir

Researcher, School of Communication, Ariel University Center and Bar-Ilan University.

Mrs. Orly Shifman

M.A. in Political Science and Mass Communication, Bar-Ilan University.

Dr. Avivit Agam Dali

The Max Stern Yezreel Valley College; Head of Communication Department, Nazareth Academic Institute.

Dr. Yaron Katz

School of Communication, Bar Ilan University.

Prof. Sam Lehman-Wilzig

Deputy Director of the School of Communication, Bar-Ilan University.

Dr. Rafi Mann

Senior Lecturer, School of Communication, Ariel University Center.

Mr. David Hacohen

Editor, *Calcalist* Website.

Dr. Shlomo Shafir

Former Editor of *Gesher*, Published by the World Jewish Congress; Former Member the Editorial Staff of *Davar* for 35 years.

Dr. Michal Hamo

Netanya Academic College.

Dr. Zohar Kampf

The Hebrew University of Jerusalem.