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INSIDE *KESHER* 49

“MEDIA AND MIGRATION: IN MEMORY OF PROFESSOR DAN CASPI

“You start this story from the end,” said our friend Dan Caspi, quoting Chava Alberstein at the beginning of his last article, published here in *Kesher* 49. By putting this edition of *Kesher* to bed, we part from Dan Caspi forever. At a conference on Media and Migration, held by *Kesher* and the Shalom Rosenfeld Institute for Research of Jewish Media and Communication on August 16, 2016, Dan was unable to present his article for health reasons. Thus, even though he and the rest of us hoped to the last moment that he could arrive personally, I had to read the article to the participants and the audience. After the session, Dan asked the participants to send him their remarks so that he could write the final draft. As usual, he kept all commenters’ views in mind and was particularly pleased about every remark that innovated and broadened—as a researcher, an inquirer, and a savant who did not allow the knowledge that he had accumulated and developed to lift his finger off the pulse of the world. Danny lived in the world of media and, like many of his contemporaries, had first-hand knowledge of migration; thus, he produced several trailblazing studies on the combination of the two. We will find it hard to carry on without him as a member of our board and as a friend. Knowing the importance that he attributed to the existence and advancement of our journal, we are duty-bound to persist in our mission with even greater intensity in honor of his memory, to which *Kesher* 49 is dedicated. Dan’s spiritual presence, intellectual legacy,

and scholarly ways, however, will continue to accompany us in every further edition that we produce.

The question of migration and its social, political, ideological, and media implications has done much to shape current affairs and the global state of mind in recent years. Ancient fears have risen to the surface and some know how to exploit them. Amid the prevailing general confusion, one can attribute everything to this issue—from Brexit via the ascendancy of populism and the far Right in Europe to Donald Trump’s electoral victory. The grim spectacles of migration waves and their victims are being seared into the collective experience and memory. Even in Israel, a country well versed in all matters of migration with its torments and triumphs, the question of whether migration is a threat or an opportunity resurfaces in odd and sundry metamorphoses. The mass media have a central role to play in structuring reality, creating myths or dredging them up from the dead, and representing the problem—of which they may be a part—but also in searching for possible answers. Researchers can only sound an alarm, if one is needed, but can also try to impart tools to heal the fractures, get the story right, and possibly correct false images and rash conclusions, to the extent possible, by providing comparative and critical analyses that often flow from historical experience and its potential intersection with memory.

The main section of *Kesher* 49 focuses on the web of relations

Kesher, a scholarly journal devoted to the history of the press and media in the Jewish world and in Israel, is published twice yearly by The Shalom Rosenfeld Institute for Research of Jewish Media and Communication at Tel Aviv University. *Kesher* seeks to publish original research articles and academic reviews on all subjects relating to the history, endeavors, and influence of Jewish media and media people, from a multidisciplinary perspective. All articles are peer reviewed blindly by experts, members of the Journal’s Advisory Board and, if necessary, externally. Articles should be submitted in Word to 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).

between the Jewish-Israeli Hebrew media and immigration and immigrants to the Land/State of Israel at various times. The leadoff article in this part of the journal continues and broadens a previous study by Dan Caspi. Here Caspi defines four traditions in media and migration research in Israel, which, he says, compete with each other to this day. Gideon Kouts probes stereotypes and the ethnic identity of Ashkenazim and Sephardim in Palestine in the second half of the nineteenth century, as reflected in the testimonies of the pioneers of the country's Hebrew press, Yehiel Brill and Eliezer Ben-Yehuda. David Lavi presents the ways Ben-Yehuda, in his newspapers, promoted immigrants as a hegemonic elite at the "expense" of the Old Yishuv. Uzi Elyada dissects media confrontations between "immigrants" and "natives" in the pages of the Hebrew press in pre-independence Israel in 1908–1931. Yitzhak S. Recanati recounts the struggle of a Jewish weekly in Salonika in 1917–1927 for 'aliya ("ascent," i.e., Jewish immigration) to the Land of Israel and the establishment of a Jewish home there. Osnat Roth-Cohen and Yehiel Limor discuss the contribution of the Fifth 'Aliya (1933–1939), comprised of Jews from Germany, to the development of the Israeli advertising industry. Amos Blobstein-Nevo recalls the sometimes-violent struggle in the foreign-language press that immigrants to Mandate Palestine in the 1930s and 1940s faced from Hebrew-language fanatics. Rafi Mann analyzes the failures of the Israeli media in dodging a role in the integration of immigrants from Muslim countries in the 1950s. Nissim Katz and Hillel Nossek ask how former Soviet immigrants and Israel perceive the way they are

covered on television. Barack Bar-Zohar sheds light on a totally different type of 'aliya—bringing the remains of three Zionist leaders (Nordau, Herzl, and Jabotinsky) to Israel for reinterment and the media coverage of these events. In the documentary section of the journal, Maya Guez describes the image of the French-Jewish author Romain Gary as a "wandering Jew" and a "perennial migrant" on the basis, among other things, of his interviews with the Israeli press.

Two articles explore different aspects of research on the history of the Hebrew press from the middle of the nineteenth century to the early twentieth. Moshe Pelli, in the continuation of his series of important articles on Haskalah journals, analyzes the treatment of current affairs via various genres in the Maskilic weekly *Kochvei Yitzhak*, published in Vienna in 1845–1873. Menachem Keren-Kratz writes about the decline of Orthodoxy in Galicia at the turn of the twentieth century through the prism of two newspapers: *Machzikei ha-Dat* and *Kol Machzikei ha-Dat*. Aharon Geva-Kleinberger and Bedrettin Aytaç take a historical and etymological look at the etymon "Togarma" as a euphemism for the Turkish regime in the late nineteenth and early twentieth-century Hebrew press.

The reader will also find all the regular sections. Our next opus, the jubilee edition of *Keshet*, will be accompanied by a special conference in the autumn for our readers and contributors.

Wishing you an enjoyable and useful read,

Gideon Kouts

THE LATE DAN CASPI THE CRUX OF IT IS: HAVE NO FEAR / Gabi Weimann

Some people are fated to confront difficult and multiple challenges. Few are those who can stand up to them all. Dan Caspi, or Danny as his friends called him, was a professor of communications, a fructive researcher, a gifted writer, a devoted and loving family man, but above all a fighter—a man who knew how to challenge the harshest of challenges and always, with courage, fearlessness, and unwavering persistence, to defeat them.

Fate did not bless Danny with an easy life. His cerebral palsy was a difficult challenge, the first one. But it neither paralyzed him nor stymied his creative, fruitful mind. By strength of spirit, he beat it. He lived with his disabilities but they did not disable him. He learned and taught, traveled to the farthest reaches of the world, lectured and wrote, appeared and accomplished much in academic and communication circles—without palsy and with lots of cerebration and brave spirit.

His academic career was also no simple story. Danny came a long way, assiduously and persistently, switching among the Hebrew University, the Open University, and Ben-Gurion University, where he found a warm and final home. He began his academic career as a student of political science and sociology at the Hebrew University. He wrote his PhD dissertation under the tutelage of great luminaries: professors Elihu Katz (communication) and Emanuel Guttman (political science). After earning his doctorate in 1976, he headed to MIT in Boston for post-doctoral work and then returned to the Hebrew University. In the mid-1980s, he was forced to move to the Open University due to lack of promotion. Today, the Hebrew University undoubtedly regrets having let him go. Once entrenched at the Open University, he pioneered the development of communication studies there, writing and editing a series of textbooks that became fundamental for anyone who studies this discipline in Israel. In 2000, he moved to Ben-Gurion University to establish a department of communication, which he headed while also chairing the Hubert Burda Center for Innovative Communication. Danny was part of *Kesher*; too, as a member of the scientific board and a contributing editor. Although he went to the United States for a pre-retirement sabbatical in 2013, he never retired. From home he continued writing and publishing articles, foremost the regular blog *Dan*

ba-tiqshoret, “Dan [= debating, judging] on Communication,” which appeared on the site of the newspaper *Ha’aretz*.

His was a lengthy and difficult path but it left behind thousands of students who will never forget his courses, dozens of books that became required reading in every department of communication, and hundreds of penetrating, bold, and sometimes prophetic articles. Danny spoke his mind fearlessly, fighting for his principles, his truth, his right to criticize even colleagues and friends. He left no room for guessing because his words and his mind were in total alignment. He knew how to criticize courageously his peers—Israel’s media bigshots and their toadies, the major domos of academia, the politicians, media regulators, disappointing pollsters, PR agents who became tails wagging dogs, and others. His criticism was trenchant and pointed, sometimes highly cynical and sharp-edged—but always emanating from an inner truth and willingness to pay the price. That’s because Danny was a fighter who had no fear whatsoever.

Keenly and bravely, Danny was the first to detect the failures and problems of the Israeli media. He pinpointed the growing centralization and cross-ownership of the Israel media scene and challenged the media barons. He observed the deterioration of the journalistic profession before the rest of us did, noting in concern the growing feminization of the vocation and the formation of a “pink-collar ghetto” in the industry—a ghetto that conferred few rights and scanty occupational prestige. Loudly and bluntly he protested the takeover of broadcasting entities by politicians, even while serving as a member of the Israel Broadcasting Authority Executive Committee and authoring numerous columns. He decried those who shaped the political agenda and defeated vision by trafficking in image and public relations. Audaciously Danny turned to provocative writing in order to stir up interest, spark polemics, and raise consciousness. Thus, when we struggled together against the dismissal of a professional female journalist, he dared to describe this as “ethnic cleansing,” and when we protested the phenomenon of journalists renting themselves out for advertising tasks in contravention of the rules of ethics, Danny called the practice by name: “prostituting the profession.” When he served on the IBA Executive Committee, he did not hesitate to describe the

system's ills, the corrupt appointments, the overt depravity, the hidden unemployment, and the strong-arm practices. Way back in 1992, he penned a critique of Nomi Mozes that went as follows: "Citizen N.M. owns the most circulated newspaper in the country ... a newspaper that's got its own country! [...] The intersection of media and money and politics is no recipe for a free flow of information. No one stands up. Not in the media, not in academia, not in public affairs. No one's bothered by citizen N.M.'s growing power [and] economic and political influence."

Everyone knows about Danny's courage in critical writing. Few, however, know the price he paid for his brazenness. His respondents—frothing talkbackers, PR types who bang out reactions for big payoffs, politicians and their gofers—do not flinch from tactics. They scratch, kick, curse, and defame. I discovered this for myself when I co-authored several publications with Danny. One of them "Is It the Media's Fault" led to an aggressive wave of extreme responses and venomous profanity. I found it hard to stomach, whereas Danny, with the placidness of an experienced veteran warrior, soothed me. Danny was aware and mindful of the price: exposure to counter-criticism, ostracism, exclusion from media platforms, and even libel. None of it deterred him in the least. Someone who fought cerebral palsy successfully isn't afraid of the talons of lackey PR types and critics.

Only someone who personally experiences the price of daily struggle against weaknesses and disabilities knows how to come out in defense of the disadvantaged and the impacted. Danny's

many wars were just wars that he fought uncompromisingly, eschewing self-prettification and polite niceties. He fought for a journalist who had been fired without cause; he railed against influential tycoons for the cause of free public broadcasting and against government ministers who wished to emasculate it; he campaigned for free and enlightened investigation and against political NGOs that sought to impair it. In newspaper columns, on online blogs, and at academic conferences he raised his voice for the downtrodden, the casualties, the voiceless public. From his small body, which showed the effects of his condition, emerged a powerful, carrying voice, blunt and brave, the voice of a warrior who has no fear.

Behind every successful warrior stand a brave woman: Dalia was the wind in the sails that Danny always unfurled boldly, the source of his strength and steadfastness. She also contended with difficult challenges and defeated them. Together they brought into the world Inbal, a wonderful golden gift. Anyone who heard Danny talk about Inbal, anyone who read what Danny wrote about her (in his book, *Inbal's Father*), knows how much she filled his life with joy and pride, and also delightful grandchildren.

It's time for you to rest, Danny. You did so much in your seventy-one years with us. You survived all the struggles and bequeathed a written legacy and vast knowledge to others. Rest in peace, dear friend, wonderful colleague, brave warrior.

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FROM *ALIYA* TO *IMMIGRATION*: FOUR RESEARCH TRADITIONS / Dan Caspi

Four social-science research traditions have impacted media and migration studies in Israel, possibly reflecting a semantic shift change from *aliya* to *immigration* in the public discourse. Each tradition, although shaped in a specific sociocultural and historic context based on the dominant social and academic paradigms of its time, remained intact even as circumstances changed. The overview of these traditions in this article may reveal the maturation process of Israeli social science. In retrospect, however, it appears preferable to view all four research traditions as cotemporaneous and competitive.

The *melting pot* research tradition in the social sciences is identified with Israel's initial, formative years. Masses of immigrants flooded the country as soon as independence was achieved, concurrent with a vigorous battle over the new state's national identity. An official policy of "ingathering of exiles" took shape, engendering a compulsory and painful melting pot of languages and cultures. As the chief goal was to achieve a monolithic society, tolerance of ethnic differences was minimal.

Subsequently, a *pluralistic* tradition was introduced for several reasons. The temporary opening of the gates of the Soviet Union

and the resumption of mass immigration prepared the ground for the resurgence of varied sectorial media. Policymakers, too, spoke out vehemently about the cracks that had appeared in the media map, i.e., the dozens if not hundreds of local papers that cropped up around the country. Gender studies also challenged the hegemony—especially the male hegemony—in the academic world, pressing for the adoption of a pluralistic view of society.

The third tradition, *multiculturalism*, was informed by at least three “posts”: post-modernism, post-colonialism, and post-Zionism. In this context, new historians and sociologists set themselves a dual goal: to challenge integrative and functionalist conceptions and to demonstrate the existence of an alternative value concept that perceives the disintegration of a schism-ridden society into tribes and enclaves. Critical re-examination of the melting-pot policy, especially by its former adherents and by post-Orientalist scholars, also contributed to the multicultural tradition.

The *hybrid identity* research tradition, now taking shape, recognizes coexistence and is not resigned to endless struggles among identities. The hybrid identity of minorities is consolidated in constant negotiations between the minorities and the

majority society and by lending various meanings to media content, drawing on original cultural baggage as well as new realities. Studies in this tradition are affected by reception research, especially Hall’s theory, approaching media and minorities primarily through this perspective and considering the interpretations accorded to the content consumed.

The four traditions in immigration and media studies mirror the historical process of relations between immigrant communities and the Israeli host society, in which competition took place but exclusion did not. Perhaps it is no coincidence that the four traditions recently “converged” in the 2016 report of the Biton Committee. The multicultural discourse reverberates in the remarks of the committee members and of those who endorse its recommendations. Several members resort to multiculturalism to attack the melting-pot mindset and the hegemony of the Israel’s mass-immigration years. Many aspire to a controlled hybrid identity, just like their associates from the former Soviet Union—a Mizrahi identity that, however, is denuded of its roots in Islamic culture. Only a very few, chiefly in elite circles, seek their Mizrahi identity in the soil of the Arab culture and define themselves as “Arab Jews.”

STEREOTYPES AND COMMUNAL IDENTITY: REPRESENTATIONS OF JEWISH IMMIGRANTS IN PALESTINE BY 19TH CENTURY HEBREW JOURNALISTS / Gideon Kouts

Tensions between the Jewish communities, particularly in the context of the division between “Ashkenazim” (Jews originating from northern and central Europe, whose customs follow the “German” traditions) and “Sephardim” (Jews originating from southern Europe, Asia and North Africa, whose customs follow the “Spanish” traditions) produce reciprocal images, which, according to social psychologists, create stereotypes that “attach” some characteristics to this or that community. Stereotypes can also have a function in the formation and transformation of cultural identities, including in their historical concept, as diagnosed by cultural studies scholars. However, the separation between Ashkenazim and Sephardim is a product of the Diaspora’s situation. Immigration to the Holy Land transfers and reintroduces it in Palestine - the country of origin that becomes a small-scale model of the transformations in

national identity that took place in the Diaspora. Hall and others introduced the concept of Diaspora for the analysis of identity.

The claim regarding discrimination against oriental communities in shaping the cultural identity of the State of Israel is well known. The rivalry between Ashkenazim and Sephardim constitutes the accepted foundation for this claim. It could be assumed that the phenomenon, as known to us in its present dimensions, is as old as the State of Israel - the melting pot and merging of the diasporas, or as old as the great immigration waves to Israel and the demographic dynamics they created in the 20th century. However, the previous waves of immigration as well created a situation of Communal Identification.

Texts and reports from the years 1878- 1884 written by notable Hebrew journalists of the time, demonstrate that the attempt to identify “Ashkenazi characteristics” and “Sephardi

characteristics” was already obvious in 19th century Palestine. In order to observe the stereotypes of that time and their possible sources, we make use of texts by Yehiel Brill, founder and editor of the first Hebrew newspaper in Palestine, *The Lebanon* (1863), which moved later to Paris, Mainz and London, and Eliezer Ben Yehuda, founder of the Modern Hebrew press in Palestine since 1884.

In 1878, Brill wrote a text as a letter to a friend, who was going from London to Jerusalem, analyzing “communal problems” of Jerusalem. In this text and another one written three years later, the observations of Brill, are more sympathetic to the Sephardim, although he also knows how to qualify his praise. In 1883, Brill visited Palestine again, heading a group of Russian farmers who came to settle. In the course of his travels, he also reached other cities, where he found new comparisons of Sephardic and Ashkenazi characteristics. Brill’s writings contain also interesting commentaries about the Arab population’s vision of the Jewish newcomers.

During the visit of Brill in Palestine, another top Hebrew journalist was already there. The newcomer, Eliezer Ben-Yehuda, the renovator of Hebrew language, arrived from Paris, where he served as the Jerusalem’s *Havatzelet* correspondent. He created his own press “Empire” in Jerusalem. Ben-Yehuda, native of Russia, expressed already its preference to Sephardic pronunciation of Hebrew language, but in his writings, he enlarges the “Sephardic superiority” (however, mixed with “orientalist” approach) also to other stereotypical personal and social characteristics.

It appears that communal tensions existed already in the 19th century. The stereotypes existed, although their contents were not always similar to those of today. However, the communal identity was supposed to merge into a national identity. Nevertheless, identity, as Habermas urges, “is not something given, but also, and simultaneously, our own project”. There is apparently no clear agreement on such a project, even in Israel and the Jewish World of our days.

IMMIGRANTS BECOME HEGEMONY / David Lavi

This article describes the working method that Eliezer Ben-Yehuda (1858–1922) invoked in his newspapers *HaTzvi* and *HaOr*, focusing on the ways these newspapers portrayed immigrants. It describes the range of journalistic practices that Ben-Yehuda employed to shape the images of Jewish immigrants who were settling in the new colonies in the Land of Israel. The image of settlers as a “hegemony” helped Ben-Yehuda to construct a Jewish national consciousness. This consciousness-building effort, launched by Ben-Yehuda in 1881, is a process that largely corresponds to the first years of Hebrew nationalism in the Land of Israel. The article delineates Ben-Yehuda’s method, which is based on identifying Jewish theological concepts, narratives, and ideas and adapting them to nationalist purposes in what was perceived to be an undertaking conducted within

the existing cultural order. Since Jewish theology was not the only wellspring of Jewish nationalism, this study identifies the interface between these theological sources and other ideologies that influenced Ben-Yehuda, among them one of the central influences, the European Enlightenment.

The article is a part of a study that seeks to map the network of elements derived from the theological cultural capital and the ways they were presented in Ben-Yehuda’s newspapers, in contrast to their theological origins, on a host of issues. It examines how this multifaceted system was consolidated into national cultural capital, how it was adapted through a network of contexts to other systems, and how it viewed its roots—as Jewish cultural capital.

MEDIA CONFRONTATIONS BETWEEN NATIVES AND IMMIGRANTS IN JEWISH SOCIETY OF PRE-INDEPENDENCE ISRAEL: 1904–1931 / Uzi Elyada

The article investigates native–immigrant relations in the Jewish society of pre-independence Israel. These relations began to take shape in terms of power and conflict in the late Ottoman era and evolved into an overt confrontation in the early British Mandate years. The standoff did not originate in differences between groups of traditional-minded natives and modern secular Zionist immigrants; instead, it unfolded within a secular Zionist society that aspired to modernization. On one side stood a group of native-born Ashkenazi and Sephardi Jews, including offspring of the Old Yishuv, along with members of the second generation of the First Aliya. Opposing them were immigrants associated with the Second and Third Aliyot, most from Eastern Europe. The groups were separated by different cultural traditions, profound ideological disagreements, and divergent political and economic programs concerning the right way to shape the features of Yishuv society—the native group protesting what it called its opposite number’s attempt to impose its ideological platform. In their clash, both groups used the media, foremost the newspaper, as a key instrument for the definition of their identity, goals, and ideology. Thus the newspaper became a crucial medium in advancing each group’s goal of establishing dominance in the public space and excluding its rival. Indications of this media struggle first

appeared at the tail end of the Ottoman era—after the Young Turks revolution in 1908—when the Palestine-born group secured de facto control of the local media scene by means of the popular newspapers *Ha-Or* and *Ha-Herut*. Countering them, the Second Aliya immigrant group voiced its opposition to the native group in poorly circulated vehicles such as *Ha-Po’el ha-Tsa’ir* and *Ha-Ahdut*. This state of affairs changed after the British occupation began. The demographic, political, economic, and cultural power of the immigrant group escalated and the natives-vs.-immigrants war evolved into a tumultuous altercation, in which the newspapers *Ha’aretz* (from 1919 on) and *Davar* (starting in 1925) defended the immigrants’ group while *Do’ar aa-Yom* (starting in 1919) served as the natives’ principal organ. The article examines the media contest between natives and immigrants for hegemony in the Palestinian domain in the late Ottoman era and the early 1920s. An attempt is made to investigate the process by which the natives took over the country’s media scene in 1908–1917—a process that continued well into the 1920s—and the precipitants and the dynamic of the reversal of the trend later in the 1920s, allowing immigrants to seize the local media reins, crowding out the natives for many years to come.

PRO-ISRAEL AND ITS STRUGGLE FOR THE ESTABLISHMENT OF A JEWISH HOME IN THE LAND OF ISRAEL / Yitzhak S. Recanati

One of the most unusual Zionist newspapers in Salonika was the French-language *Pro-Israel*, published in 1917–1927. This weekly, inaugurated in the last quarter of World War I—within the war and in response to it—had the distinctive declared goal, from which it derived its main target audience, of convincing the Allied troops stationed in Salonika of the dire need to establish a national home for the Jewish people in the Land of Israel.

In June 1917, Greece joined the Western Allies and sent its forces into action against Bulgaria on the Macedonian front. A massive Allied military force was stationed in Salonika, which therefore became an important center for the rear,

accommodating nearly a million soldiers in the ensuing months. It was this collective that *Pro-Israel* targeted.

The founders of the weekly looked on as the model of nationalistic awakening in Europe took shape and were influenced by the powerful wish of the citizens of Serbia, Yugoslavia, Bulgaria, and other areas to free themselves of tyrannical rule. Linked to this desire were the Balkan wars—the first (October 1912–May 1913) and the second (1913), which originated in the Balkan states’ aspiration for sovereignty of their own. The migration movements and population exchanges that began to take place in Europe sharpened the notion, for

the staff of *Pro-Israel*, that a mass shift of populations is not only possible but at times quite appropriate, and that the more feasible option, passive adjustment to hardships, is but a solution reserved for the indolent or the cowardly.

In the debut issue of *Pro-Israel*, preceding the Balfour Declaration by four months and following preliminary work by Yitzhak Molho, one of the weekly's editors in its formative years, and the editorial team, one finds a formal statement by the Greek secretary of state, Nicola Politis, in support of the establishment of a Jewish home in the Land of Israel. Thus *Pro-Israel* began to combine journalistic enterprise with political entrepreneurship and action even before it was launched. During its ten-year run, too, it generated its own headlines and combined events on which it reported with those that it created.

During the period between June and July 1918, the weekly was active mainly at the informative and organizational levels, striving to form a volunteer cohort within Ze'ev Jabotinsky's Jewish Legion, an entity that had been established as an integral part of the effort to reclaim the Land of Israel from Ottoman hands, siding with the Western powers. Although *Pro-Israel* received permission from the Greek government to act in this manner, its initiative was, alas, never actualized. It did, however, treat the Balfour Declaration as a constitutive event, viewing the British conquest of the Land of Israel as a "great shofar [sounding of ram's horn] for the redemption of the Jewish people."

Even after the war ended, the paper continued to combine journalistic activity with political action. To advance its goal of creating fertile soil for Jewish settlement in the Land of Israel,

its journalistic staff now pushed forward on the question of the founding of the League of Nations, the international talks, and the effort to create permanent long-term facts in the country.

The ultimate goal of *Pro-Israel* gradually became more and more focused. On February 14, 1920, the weekly argued for Jewish statehood, and on April 8, 1920, following the surrender of Yosef Trumpeldor and his comrades at Tel Hai, Avraham Recanati, its editor throughout its existence, demanded "a protective Jewish army in the Land of Israel." On June 27, 1922, Recanati reported that the Zionist leadership was in the process of reviewing various job-creating projects in the Land.

After returning from a visit to the Land of Israel in 1925, where he had attended the cornerstone-laying of the Hebrew University, Recanati told his readers that he had been privy to "the new life being conceived there, an eruption in giant waves," and had "appraised the values being created there in every respect, which attest to the Jewish people's unquenched desire to assure its normal existence as a people, whatever the cost may be. [...] A huge miracle is about to take place. Israel is on the verge of being reborn in all its strength, in all its might."

Pro-Israel was an island of political activism that promoted, all the way back in World War I, a craving for the immediate establishment of an independent Jewish state in the Land of Israel. Pursuant to this initial wish, it also supported Jabotinsky's national goals and his subsequent establishment, in 1924, of the Revisionist Zionist movement—which became both a trigger of activism within the movement and the boundary-setter of Zionism's right wing.

GERMAN-JEWISH IMMIGRATION AND ITS IMPACT ON THE DEVELOPMENT OF AN ADVERTISING INDUSTRY: THE CASE OF PRE-INDEPENDENCE ISRAEL IN THE 1930S / Osnat Roth-Cohen and Yehiel Limor

The article demonstrates some early buds of globalization—one of the hallmarks of modern life—in the advertising industry, focusing on the influence of Jews who left Germany due to the Nazi rise to power and immigrated to Mandate Palestine (Eretz Israel or the Land of Israel) between 1933 and 1939.

The local advertising industry was small and undeveloped until this great wave of immigrants, numbering over 200,000—

about a third from Germany—reached Eretz Israel. Among them were a large proportion of intellectuals, including advertising agents and graphic artists who set up professional advertising agencies. Their enterprises competed with the few existing advertising agencies, which were unprofessional and dealt with other activities, such as real estate, in addition to the advertising business.

The German immigrants' advertising agencies invoked working models and norms that their founders had brought with them from their native country—exerting, in fact, the earliest global influence on the advertising industry in the Land of Israel. They imported an advertising style that focused on emphasizing the term “Made Abroad” on imported products. Their advertisements proclaimed, for example, “Be dressed beautifully and elegantly, like the ladies of Paris, Vienna, and other world capitals.” They also bombarded the local Jewish

society with messages that touted an individual, hedonistic West European lifestyle, presenting comfort and aesthetics as ideals for which those being addressed should aim.

In historic retrospect, it is certain that the contribution of the immigrants from Germany changed the face of advertising in the Land of Israel in the 1930s. It may be identified as one of the early signs of global influence on the advertising industry—in this case that in the Land of Israel and subsequently in the State of Israel that was established in 1948.

“TORCHING NEWSPAPER KIOSKS WILL NOT CAUSE HEBREW TO TAKE ROOT” / Amos Blobstein Nevo

The goal: wipe out non-Hebrew-language newspapers in the Land of Israel.

The strategy: blow up printing presses, burn down newspaper kiosks, threaten business establishments that stock foreign-language newspapers, conduct advertising boycotts and journalist boycotts, and so on.

Such were the features of the struggle that took place in the 1930s and 1940s in pre-independence Israel between Jewish leaders who fancied themselves guardians of the Hebrew language and the local non-Hebrew press. The article, recounting the tussle by presenting newly unearthed archival material, culminates with the conclusion that the fracas ultimately failed owing to the duplicity of Hebrew-language journalists who had little if any fear of harming new immigrants or compromising

“freedom of the press,” and whose sole concern was their financial wellbeing and that of their newspapers. Jewish leaders were also at fault for having failed to assess properly the severity of the phenomenon, instead committing to a most challenging undertaking that they ultimately did not know how to brave. When all was said and done, instead of wearing down their opponents, these “Hebrew-language warriors” only empowered their rivals further, amplifying immigrants' existing aversion to acquiring the Hebrew language in the process.

At the end of this decade-long struggle, foreign-language newspapers boasted a victory, albeit a temporary one. Only a handful of its publications had shut down; the majority continued to prosper, at times surpassing Hebrew-language newspapers in their circulation.

THE SHORTCOMING OF COMMUNICATION WITH MIZRAHI IMMIGRANTS IN THE 1950S / Rafi Mann

The great wave of immigration to Israel in the country's first decade and the absorption of the new citizens have been the topics of numerous research projects, books, and articles. While the social, cultural, geographical, and economic aspects of the process have been widely studied, much less attention has been devoted to the channels of communication between the host elite and the new arrivals. Focusing on this subject, this article presents and analyzes the inadequacies of the mass communication channels that targeted the Mizrahi immigrants, mainly those who arrived from Arabic-speaking Middle East

countries.

Amid their nation-building efforts, the elites understood the importance of mass media in the acculturation process. They did not, however, implement this understanding vis-à-vis the largest immigrant group of all, the Mizrahi Jews. In the Voice of Israel's special attention to immigrants, Arabic was never included among the “immigrant languages” in which special programming was broadcast, as opposed to European languages, Ladino, Mughrabi, and Judeo-Yemenite. Arabic programs were on the air, but only in propaganda broadcasts for Arab countries

and Israel's own Arab population—not for Jewish immigrants. Similar inadequacies may be identified in the press as well: the government, political parties, and private publishers made almost no effort to reach out to Mizrahi immigrants with newspapers in Arabic, as they did extensively in European tongues.

This indifference to the media requirements of Arabic-speaking immigrants reflected the host elites' patronizing

attitude toward Mizrahi newcomers at large. It was also an outcome of the treatment of Arabic first and foremost as "the language of the enemy." In the long run, the shortcomings of communication with Mizrahi immigrants through the media abetted the deepening of social alienation and ethnic divisiveness that have been part of Israeli society ever since.

THE BRIGHT SIDE OF DEATH: JOURNALISTIC COVERAGE OF POLITICAL LEADERS' SECOND BURIAL / Barack Bar-Zohar

This article examines the journalistic coverage of the reinterment of Max Nordau, Benjamin Zeev Herzl, and Ze'ev Jabotinsky in Mandate Palestine and Israel as published in six daily newspapers—*Doar Hayom*, *Ha'aretz*, *Davar*, *Ma'ariv*, *Herut*, and *Hatsofe*—in 1926, 1949, and 1964, respectively. Analyzing these journalistic texts and their contexts reveals both significant changes and patterns of press-coverage strategies on the occasion of a national leader's second burial service. The research also identifies differences in the commercial interests and political ideologies that guided the newspapers. The resulting examination clearly shows the attitude of each newspaper's editorial board toward the three leaders. The article includes examinations and interpretations of photos, articles, eulogies, speeches, interviews, foreign media quotations, opinions, and editorial columns that focus on Nordau, Herzl, and Jabotinsky as their remains made their way to the homeland for reburial in its soil.

Theoretically, a burial service is supposed to be a sad and

tragic event. In their coverage of these leaders' second burial journey, however, the newspapers described the event as a "national ceremony" rather than an exercise in collective grief. In practice, the symbolic act of embracing these Zionist leaders and allowing them to rest in peace in their re-inhabited homeland legitimized and strengthened solidarity and was portrayed as an act of symbolic advancement and closure for the Zionist movement as well as the State of Israel. The patriotic practice manifested by reporters who published nostalgic stories about the leaders' past expressed genuine personal pride and sets the statesmen within a Jewish pantheon. In addition, politicians used the journalistic platforms to eulogize and praise the leaders, commemorate their heritage, and link their legacy to the present and future goals of the Zionist movement, in respect to Nordau, and the State of Israel and the Israeli government in Herzl's and Jabotinsky's cases. All six newspapers other than *Hatsofe* went out of their way to praise and hail Herzl, even complimenting his physical appearance and likening him to a Roman god.

TIMELY ISSUES AND CURRENT EVENTS IN *KOCHVEI YITZHAK*—IN POETRY, PROSE AND APHORISM / Moshe Pelli

The journal *Kochvei Yitzhak* is unique among Hebrew periodicals of the Haskalah, having been published for an extended period (1845–1873) in thirty-seven issues. Its editor was Mendel Stern, an enlightened Maskil and a prolific writer. Its editorial goals, as stated on the title page, were to encourage creative writing in Hebrew and cultivate an interest in the Hebrew language and its literature among its readers. *Kochvei Yitzhak* also promoted Haskalah ideas and ideals in respect of

openness to the surrounding cultures, modernization of Judaism, and rejection of superstitious beliefs and practices.

The most popular genre in *Kochvei Yitzhak* was poetry, represented in hundreds of contributions. Although the quality of the poems was inconsistent, the works represent the spirit of the times and the writers' urge to write in Hebrew and express their feelings, thoughts, and experiences in the revived language. Their themes vary but many concern nature, changes of the

seasons, and descriptions of the spring, which is sometimes offered as a metaphor for the revival of the Jewish people.

What is interesting about the poetic writings in *Kochvei Yitzhak* is the use of the medium for reactions to current events. Many of the poems reflect an awareness of the new times. Writers and poets glorify the king of the Austro-Hungarian Empire for an edict that granted more freedom to the empire's Jewish subjects. The poet Mordechai Boss praises the monarch for announcing freedom of the press for Hebrew books and journals; in his paean, he invokes Biblical phrases that relate the event to the Exodus. The poetess Rachel Morpurgo writes about the "Spring of Nations" (1848) and the bloodshed that occurred in its aftermath. Some poets lauded the "new times" that created favorable changes for the Jews. Another reaction to current event is found in an aphorism about the riots perpetrated against the Jews in Hungary that year. A prose contributor, writing under the initials J.T., praised the king for the new constitution that alleviated certain restrictions that applied to

Jews, allowing them to acquire property, gain access to higher education, and apply for high government positions.

There are also reactions to events that did not affect the Jews directly. Naphtali Keller contributed a poem that uses metaphors of springtime in reference to the 1856 Paris treaty that ended the Crimean War. A unique heavenly occurrence is marked on the pages of *Kochvei Yitzhak*: the comet of 1857, which created havoc and fear that the end of the world was near. An aphorism by Mordechai Boss ridicules this trepidation.

The threat of epidemic cholera is central in the prose, as fast-moving as the plague itself, of Isak Ohringer, who ends his description of the mysterious phenomenon with a statement of theodicy The collapse of the Berlin stock market prompted another writer, Mordechai Weissmann, to offer solace and a suggestion to those who were harmed, saying that they should place their trust not in the market but in ... God. In most of the poems, too, the religious tone is dominant.

THE DECLINE OF JEWISH ORTHODOXY AT THE TURN OF THE 20TH CENTURY AS VIEWED THROUGH GALICIA'S ULTRA-ORTHODOX NEWSPAPERS / Menachem Keren-Kratz

Recent decades have witnessed a growing number of scholarly works that review various aspects of the secularization of Jewish society. Only rarely, however, can this process be monitored in a continuous fashion and not as a sequence of discrete incidents. Following a decades-long series of journalistic publications is much like the making of an animated cartoon, in which many small changes create the perception of continuous movement. Much as in this analogy, exploring Galicia's ultra-Orthodox newspapers, which were published continuously for thirty-five years and ceased only as result of World War I, vividly depicts the steady decline of Jewish Orthodoxy. It also reveals Orthodoxy's main rivals—the Enlightenment (*haskalah*) movement, acculturation, secularization, and Zionism—and its most significant opponent, its own internal disagreements.

From being one of the most conservative of societies, in which all children received Jewish education in *heder* and later in *yeshiva* and in which most members observed at least the principal Jewish *mitzvot* and customs, Galician Jewry became modernized. By the eve of World War I, in a process that lasted

roughly half a century, most Galician Jews had abandoned their fathers' tradition, instead adopting a modern lifestyle, embracing Western culture, and exchanging their spiritual and religious heritage for newly invented ideologies such as nationalism, socialism, and Zionism.

By flipping through the pages of newspapers more than a century old, the article reviews the main events in the evolution of Galicia's Orthodox society. Many items in these publications express both concern over the decline of Orthodox society and, especially, its younger generation, and frustration over the rabbis' inability to deal with it. In some instances, journalists and some rabbis criticize other rabbis who did try to confront the challenges by introducing innovations into the Orthodox education system and the community's social and administrative institutions. These reports reveal an ideological rivalry between two major Orthodox camps: those who sought to maintain the old traditions at all costs and those who acknowledged that the world had changed and that Orthodoxy must also change in order to survive. This clash resulted in an impasse that, in

retrospect, was the main cause of the Jewish religious decline in pre-World War I Galicia.

After the war, however, backed by the international Orthodox movement of Agudat Israel, the more progressive and realistic rabbis and spiritual leaders among Galician Jews finally managed to promote certain innovations. These included, for example,

the introduction of general studies into the ultra-Orthodox education system, the establishment of the Beit Yakov Orthodox girls' school system, and daily study of the Talmud (*Ha-Daf ha-Yomi*). These and other changes eventually curbed the decline of Orthodoxy in the interwar period not just in Galicia, which was then part of Poland, but in Eastern Europe in general.

THE ETYMON *TOGARMA* IN THE HEBREW PRESS AS A EUPHEMISM FOR OTTOMAN RULE IN THE LATE 19TH AND EARLY 20TH CENTURIES / Aharon Geva-Kleinberger and Bedrettin Aytaç

Togarma (Hebrew: תוגרמה or תגרמה) is an obsolete term that has simply disappeared from present-day Hebrew and is used and understood neither in daily life nor in the contemporary Israeli and Jewish press. This article probes the development of this etymon, which first appears in the “table of nations” in Genesis 10:3 that lists the descendants of Noah—peoples and tribes known to the ancient Hebrews—and was widely used in the Jewish press in the nineteenth century to denote Ottoman rule and also the Turks. The use of *Togarma* in the Jewish press

declined rapidly at the end of Turkish rule in Palestine/Eretz Yisrael and faded out during the Mandate era. The research is based on Hebrew press items at the Historical Jewish Press Web site. The co-authors, one from Israel and the other from Turkey, describe the historical development of the etymon and its semantic uses in Jewish texts from a longitudinal chronological perspective, focusing particularly on Jewish newspapers in the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries.

THE ETERNAL IMMIGRANT: ROMAIN GARY AND THE WANDERING JEW / Maya Guez

This article traces the internal need of the French-Jewish author Romain Gary (1914–1980) to recreate a home for himself in every geographical location where he lived and visited. It is claimed that Gary, who embodied the characteristics of the wandering Jew, could not detach himself from his Jewish identity even though he presented himself as a cosmopolitan who identified with no religion and culture whatsoever. In

interviews that he gave to the local press during his visit in Israel in 1969, Gary referred to this subject in relation to Israel, France, Judaism, and identity issues. These interviews—particularly that with the journalist and diplomat Gilles Kessary—and their analysis yield interesting insights and observations about this controversial French-Jewish author.

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