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WHAT'S IN *KESHER* 53: MEDIA ON GUARD

The role of mass media in the “surveillance” of their surroundings derived, one may imagine, from that of sentries on watchtowers, ramparts, and the camp gate, whose duty it was to detect and warn of exceptional events that might endanger them and their society. Here lies the media’s pledge to fulfill the role of “gatekeepers” and report on any “deviance” from the norms in their purview. The positive side of the coin, of course, is the contribution of the media to maintaining order, security, and public morals, as well as values seen as “positive,” such as progress, democracy, pluralism, and social openness. On the reverse side, however, lurks anxiety, which leads to conservatism and intolerance, sometimes to the point of repression, and harm to all the positive values that the media purport to defend.

Several articles in *Kesher* 53 discuss or touch upon this aspect of the actions of the Israeli and Jewish media or those who dealt with such matters in the Jewish public sphere.

Kesher 53 begins with Nurith Govrin’s comprehensive primary study on the “engaged” and combative—as it defined itself—weekly journal *Al HaMishmar*, published in Jerusalem in 1922–23 (unrelated to the Mapam newspaper of the same name that debuted in the 1940s). Gideon Kouts continues to present analyses of political commentaries in the Hebrew press—this time a series of pieces by the publicist Jacob Rabinowitz in *HaShiloah* on the Young Turk Revolution in 1908, which, in his view, quashed all likelihood of an independent Hebrew state—something that Rabinowitz rued many years later. Nissim Katz turns a retrospective eye on the Hebrew press coverage of the violent events in Wadi Salib in 1959 from a critical postcolonial perspective and finds elements of sectarianism, violence, and civil uprising in what happened there. Barack Bar-Zohar investigates the way the Hebrew press covered the

deaths of senior Hebrew-language litterateurs Chaim Nahman Bialik, Natan Alterman, and S.Y. Agnon. Moshe Pelli sheds light on the editors of the Haskalah journal *HaMe’asef* and their modern perception of the concept of news (in 1784). Ouzi Elyada examines the work and writings of Yishuv and Israeli foreign correspondents from the City of Lights, Paris—from Eliezer Ben-Yehuda (in 1879) to Uri Kesari (in the early 1950s). Menachem Keren-Kratz discusses pictures of women in the Israeli *haredi* (ultra-Orthodox) press from a gender perspective. Monika Szablowska-Zaremba presents primary research on women journalists who wrote in Polish for the interwar Jewish press in Poland and their struggle to improve their lives and working conditions. Yaron Gamburg examines the characteristics and uses of Holocaust discourse in the post-Soviet Russian press. Susy Gruss writes about the “Hebrew column” for immigrants in Israel’s foreign-language press. Yehiel Limor and Ilan Tamir studied Israeli postal stamps as a window onto the country’s culture and found that they leave Hebrew and Israeli art under-represented. Tal Laor describes changes in consumption of radio content in the digital era.

In our documentary section, we present the piercing 1885 “testimony” of the greatest of Haskalah poets, the journalist and satirist Y.L. Gordon, about his “encounter” with gatekeeper police at the “border of Israel,” in which they brazenly ransack his innards with the aid of a knife in order to determine if he is an authentic national Jew.

Our regular sections appear as usual.

We wish you a fruitful and pleasurable reading experience and look forward to seeing you again in our spring edition.

The editors

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).

“BE A JEW AT HOME AND A JEW IN THE STREET!”: *AL HAMISHMAR*, A FIGHTING JOURNAL / Nurith Govrin

The weekly journal *Al HaMishmar*, published in Jerusalem in 1922–23, was an “engaged,” combative, and sometimes baleful journal that yielded to no one. It should not be confused with the Mapam Party newspaper of the same name that appeared from 1943 to 1995. The *Al HaMishmar* discussed here focused on current questions and affairs, important problems, and matters of principle. Alongside publicistic and critical articles, it regularly spiced its content with poetry and prose of various kinds. Particularly conspicuous were its humorous and satirical columns on the front page and occasional features inside. They affirmed the journal’s critical, bellicose policy and, above all, expressed the temperament of its editor, Aharon Zeev Ben-Yishai, to whom a separate chapter in the study is devoted.

Al HaMishmar gave a voice to non-Labor circles in the Yishuv, including Revisionist personalities, but also to exponents of Labor and religious parties. It captured a busy year of events, actions, disputes, and phenomena in Mandate Palestine as well as in the Jewish domain and the world at large. The journal’s regular culture columns accurately reflected the prolific, effervescent cultural scene in Yishuv society that year, ideological disagreements aside. Ben-Yishai felt it especially important to make his journal interesting, diverse, and controversial. Often, he did not flinch from provocation and sharply critical, defiant, and even insulting turns of phrase. Under cover of humor and satire, *Al HaMishmar* lashed out venomously at everything and everyone in all respects: political, public, social, and personal. It reviewed the “great issues” and the “little citizen,” bureaucrats and bureaucracy. It criticized “within the tent,” namely, Yishuv institutions and leaders, and “outside the tent” —the British authorities, the Arabs, and the leaders of both.

It was a “Jerusalemite” newspaper in all senses: contributors, policies, ideology, and character. Its leanings were all-embracing: conservative, national, non-mobilized, traditional but not strictly Orthodox, and secular but not to extremes. It was a zealot advocate of the Hebrew language and the independence of the Hebrew Yishuv from the Mandate authorities. *Al HaMishmar* invoked a high-level if not mellifluous brand of Hebrew—spiced with Aramaic, based on Jewish sources, and peppered with fragments of Biblical verses. Its characteristics positioned it somewhere between the “quality” and the “popular” press, as Ouzi Elyada defines them. On the one hand, it was a solid, serious, responsible publication with a stable worldview and a restrained style. On the other, it was sensationalistic and

dramatic, with blaring headlines, huge fonts, and the insertion of slogans into otherwise even-handed articles. In the main, however, it represented the “other side,” the back page, in which the column titled *Shemarim*—“Dregs”—appeared regularly: a satirical feature that fired barbs of criticism in all directions in unrestrained language, leaving no one unscathed.

Al HaMishmar appeared in Jerusalem over an 11-month period from the eve of Rosh Hashana 1922 to August 1923—forty issues all told, including six in double format, devoted to Hanukka, Bialik, Ben-Yehuda, Nordau, Purim, and Passover.

The chapters of the study cover the historical background (1922–23) and the historical events to which the journal responded, as well as the column “The Manifesto,” written in a spirited, confident style under the regular subtitle “Free Platform,” and expressing the motto of the journal: “The editors are willing to make room for all current opinions and views in the country, provided they are of public and not personal value.” Several chapters analyze profiles of regular and occasional contributors, including a few women, and the feminist nature of some of the writings. Also scrutinized is the profusion of noms de plume among the contributors. Portrayal of its editorial policy includes analyses and examples from the publicistic section: criticism of British policy, a critique on the domestic front of events in the Yishuv and its institutions, and issues concerning the struggle against the Arab world. A special place is reserved for the journal’s vigilant treatment of the Hebrew language, its advertisements, and various matters on the public agenda such as naturalization and the De Haan affair. The policy of integrating translation and source is examined. Examples of different kinds of literature are presented: prose, essays, sketches of realia, and poetry. Among the conclusions: some poems published in the journal did not appear in the authors’ subsequent anthologies (Avigdor Hameiri, Joseph Zvi Rimon), an anomaly that requires additional research. Finally, typical examples from the journal’s satirical and humorous columns are given.

This primary research is in need of further study, using archival material that will complement various matters, such as decoding the many as yet unidentified noms de plume and uncovering the identities of the interpreters and translators. Subsequent stages will expand on these issues and describe the backstage of the journal.

Needless to say, familiarity with the past is important for understanding the present and preparing for the future. Although almost a century has passed since the rise and fall

of *Al Hamishmar*, many of the problems of that era remain unsolved and continue to be current today.

THE “LANGUAGE OF FACTS” OF JACOB RABINOWITZ: ON PROSE AND POETRY IN POLITICAL COMMENTARIES / Gideon Kouts

This article looks at a political Zionist analysis published at the end of the first decade of the twentieth century, which discusses characteristics of the Turkish Empire, forecasts its future, and arrives at negative conclusions about the chances of establishing a Jewish state in Palestine. It constitutes the second in a series we are presenting in *Kesher* on significant political commentaries printed in the Hebrew Zionist press.

The critic and writer Jacob Rabinowitz (1875–1948) was a central activist of “practical Zionism” and literary life in Palestine from the time of the Third Aliyah. Until the end of his life, he was also a columnist in the daily *Davar*. In 1908, before he finally immigrated to Palestine, he wrote a three-part series for the journal *Ha-Shiloah* on the future of Zionism in Palestine in the wake of the establishment of the “New Turkey.” A “prosaic” analysis, he said, had led him to the surprising conclusion, in retrospect, that there was no place in the future for an independent Jewish state; rather it would have to be an autonomous cultural component in a strong and multinational Turkey.

The Young Turks Revolution aroused the enthusiasm of Zionist intellectuals from all camps, and reinforced supporters of “practical Zionism” in particular in their demand to settle and establish demographic, economic, and cultural facts on the ground.

It should be noted that the Hebrew press in Eretz Israel itself was initially excited by the revolution and its principles, until disillusionment set in.

There is no doubt about Yaakov Rabinowitz’s full enlistment in the service of Zionist ideology. He was even considered the father of a new genre in Zionist propaganda (for the Jews of Eastern Europe)—the “language of facts”—which resembled the genre of reportage that developed from the early twentieth century in the American and international press and later became known as “precision journalism.” When Rabinowitz wrote his articles and editorials, he used for propaganda purposes statistics, demographic analyses, a description of the state of the economy, and practical information on professions and sources of employment. From the age of 23 he dealt with Zionist

hasbara in Yiddish and Hebrew, and became a Zionist not long after the publication of the series, in which he ultimately abandoned the idea of an independent Jewish state in Palestine.

In the third and final chapter of the series, following an analysis of the situation of the Ottoman Empire and an update on the state of the national problem, Rabinowitz concluded that there was little chance of the Arab people uniting in Palestine. Therefore, he said, the Jews should demand their basic national rights, but no more. In a “scientific” resolution, he predicted an unpromising future for the independent “national home.”

... I see no question of a future. A small and free “state of the Jews” in the political sense in Palestine is absurd. In the Land of Israel the “Arabs” also exist with us and will certainly be there in the future. They would not in any way wish to leave Turkey, and we also shouldn’t leave it on any account. How will a weak sheep live among hungry wolves?

He tried to define his writing as follows:

You will say: All this is prose, there is no poetry in it. But I am no more prosaic than others, and I have no less poetry in my heart than the hearts of others. We are Jews and we had prophets, and those prophets prophesied peace.

When he published a collection of selected articles 27 years later, Rabinowitz was somewhat wiser, following the revolution in the map of Europe and its nations. In the article “False Resurrection,” he does not refer to his historical short-sightedness about the prospects for the establishment of an independent Jewish state, but to what he wrote carelessly about the Arab resurrection. He blames the theories of evolution, which were prevalent at the end of the previous century in political and social thought.

One may argue that Rabinowitz’s Zionist activities in Palestine and his literary and journalistic writings were influenced by repentance and justification for the “sin of youth” that eroded his Zionist image. He himself could blame his excessive pragmatism, his adherence to the “language of facts,” and his

tendency to “prose” in editorial writing, which he attributed to his *Mitnagdic* education.

If one can draw from this a possible conclusion regarding the writing of political commentaries, it is also that sometimes there is need of a vision that goes beyond summarizing the facts and “precision journalism.” In this context there may be

room for a certain “rehabilitation” of ideology as an essential component in the writing of commentaries, which will prevent mistakes and distortions.

In any event, both “prose” and “poetry” are essential elements in the writing of a political interpretation that purports to survive beyond the moment it was written.

ETHNICITY, VIOLENCE AND CIVIL DISOBEDIENCE: COVERAGE OF THE WADI SALIB EVENTS IN THE ISRAELI PRESS FROM A POSTCOLONIAL PERSPECTIVE / Nissim Katz

This study analyzes media coverage of the events of Wadi Salib from the perspective of postcolonial theory. The premise is that it is possible, and even desirable, to analyze media coverage of events from the past, using theoretical and research paradigms developed in media research.

At the methodological level, this study used grounded theory. It examined framing processes in the coverage of the Wadi Salib events in three major newspapers: *Yedioth Ahronoth* and *Maariv* versus *Haaretz*, considered a quality newspaper.

The study found three dominant frameworks in all three newspapers:

1) Guilt – the violence was not spontaneous, but was planned and perpetrated by a group whose motives were political, not socioeconomic.

2) Ethnic violence that emanated from immigrants from North Africa (part of the Mizrahi Jews).

3) Binary contradictions – weak versus strong, victim versus thug, cultured versus uncivilized.

IMMORTAL LYRICS: PRESS COVERAGE OF THE DEATHS OF HAYIM NACHMAN BIALIK, SHAI AGNON, AND NATHAN ALTERMAN / Barack Bar-Zohar

This study analyzes coverage of the deaths of Hayim Nachman Bialik, Shmuel Yosef Agnon, and Nathan Alterman in seven Hebraic and Israeli daily newspapers. The newspapers examined during the 30 days after Bialik’s death in July 1934 were *Haaretz*, *Doar Hayom*, and *Davar*. Those perused during the 30 days after Agnon’s and Alterman’s passing in February and March 1970 were *Haaretz*, *Davar*, *Yedioth Ahronoth*, *Al Hamishmar*, *Hatzofe*, *Maariv*, and *Hamodia*. In light of the central role of Bialik, Agnon, and Alterman in Jewish-Israeli culture, treatment of their deaths included front page coverage, reports from the burial ceremonies, editorials, special sections dedicated to the deceased, photographs, and more. While many studies have focused on links between politicians and the media, few have examined relations between cultural figures and the media. This study, therefore, offers an empiric-historic line of investigation concerning the ways that Hebraic and Israeli newspapers covered the deaths of a well-known author, Agnon, and two poets, Bialik and Alterman.

Press coverage of Bialik’s death reflected his public image as a national cultural hero who united the Jewish people. Although Bialik did not hold an official position within the Jewish Agency prior to his death, the Agency transported his coffin (*aron*) from Vienna, Austria, via Larnaca, Cyprus, and organized his burial ceremony in the old Jewish cemetery in Tel Aviv. Agnon was lauded in the Israeli press as an extraordinary writer. The newspapers emphasized his uniqueness by presenting him as superior to American and European authors who had also won the Nobel Prize in Literature. They thus played a key role in helping to shape and reconstruct his public image.

After Alterman’s death, the press highlighted his political impact by publishing obituaries by governmental institutions, reporting on eulogies and speeches given by leading politicians, such as Moshe Dayan, and linking his poems to central events in the history of the Jewish people and the State of Israel.

WHAT'S NEW, WHAT'S NEWS? THE CONCEPT OF NEWS IN THE EARLY HASKALAH JOURNAL *HAME'ASEF* / Moshe Pelli

“What’s new? What’s news?”—were the questions that the editors of *Hame'asef*, the first Hebrew journal of the Haskalah, asked themselves as they presented an agenda in 1783 for publishing a timely, innovative new publication.

The journal was planned to have five sections, the main one of which was titled *Toldot Hazman*—“Timely history.” The reference was to current news about events occurring in Europe. Using flowery language, the editors defined the new era as characterized by the harvesting of the first fruits of science, knowledge, and tolerance in all the kingdoms of Europe. They stressed that it was marked by a new attitude toward the Jews. The information they provided was being presented as a service to readers who did not read foreign languages in order to update them on the new situation of the Jews in Europe.

A secondary section was *Besorat Sefarim Hadashim*—“Notices and reviews of new books in Hebrew and other languages.” It introduced books published for the benefit and well-being of the Jews, with the intention of providing the Jewish reader with topics relevant to the emerging new age.

The news sections reflect the news as seen by the editors and considered important by them. The first such item that appeared in the Kislev 1783/84 issue of *Hame'asef* focused on a new event in the Jewish community—the founding of a modern school by a group of Maskilim. This was a major achievement for the Maskilim, young Jewish intellectuals, in their pursuit of Enlightenment goals, which included the replacement of the traditional Jewish school with a modern one.

The editors based this news on a letter written by a Christian scholar to a friend, praising this enterprise and complimenting the Jewish enlighteners who wished to educate their youth in a modern setting for the benefit of the community. The use of an external source serves to authenticate the news and its origins. The writer cites the great influence of “Socrates of our time,” referring to Moses Mendelssohn, and congratulates the leaders of the Jewish community in Berlin who supported and financed the school. In a second article, the writer lauds the Jewish students

attending this school for their scholastic achievements, which surpassed those of their peers in Christian schools.

Pointing out a major change in the attitude of nations toward the Jews, the editors attribute this to a divine act. The Almighty alone was responsible for spreading the ideas of tolerance and understanding among the nations. A further editorial comment follows, suggesting that under the new circumstances, the Jews, too, should reciprocate and change their outlook toward Gentiles.

Thus, this story is newsworthy: first, it reports a philo-Judaic message which includes a demand for equal rights for Jews, and second, it supports an educational enterprise of the Maskilim.

An item in the Nisan issue that same year cites the Archbishop of Magenza (Mainz)’s support of modern Jewish education, allowing Jews to acquire land, and changing inheritance laws by removing them from the sole authority of the rabbis and authorizing civil courts to handle them based on Jewish law. He also recommended that teachers be tested by community elders and not by rabbis. The rabbis, on the other hand, should deal only with religious matters, and lead the people along the right path.

The news section is classified according to subject matter, such as relations between the Jews and the authorities: for example, enlisting Jews for military service, equal rights, death of the monarch, crowning of the next monarch, victory at war, the deaths of renowned rabbis, honors and recognition awarded to leaders of the Jewish community, and educational news from the Jewish community; also, there is news from France on the Revolution, and information on dignitaries who advocated granting equal rights to the Jews.

Notably, the news from France is not simple reportage. It is presented in a clear Jewish and Maskilic context. The editors opine that contemporary times are an improvement on the past for the community of Jews scattered among the nations. These phrases of hope end, as always, with a prayer of thanks to the Almighty and a request that He bring redemption to the people anxiously awaiting it.

FOREIGN CORRESPONDENTS’ REPORTAGE FROM PARIS FOR THE HEBREW-LANGUAGE PRESS IN ERETZ YISRAEL / Ouzi Elyada

In this article I examine how foreign correspondents reported from Paris to the local Hebrew-language press in Eretz Yisrael from the end of the nineteenth century to the mid-twentieth

century. I claim that Paris was represented in the local Hebrew press as the model of a desirable society, based on democratic, republican, liberal, secular, capitalist, and consumerist values. It

was also seen as the capital of culture, the arts, and technology, and as such an example for imitation.

Eliezer Ben Yehuda was the first correspondent to report regularly from Paris to readers in the Yishuv. He covered political life in Paris and described the fragile republic that had recently been founded. Another correspondent was Abraham Ludvopol who sent regular reports about the Dreyfus trial and the anti-Semitism that abounded in the streets of the city. Nahum Slousch covered the opening of the 1900 Paris Exposition, which confirmed the role of Paris as the technological and cultural capital of the world. While Slousch's articles were marked by

optimism, those of M. Zarki, who described the great floods in Paris in the winter of 1910 which left half of the city underwater for ten days, were characterized by pessimism and uncertainty.

In the second part of the article I follow the activities of Uri Keisari who worked as a foreign correspondent in the service of four Hebrew newspapers after World War I: *Davar* (1926), *Doar Hayom* (1931–32), and *Maariv* and *Haaretz* (1951–52). In his reports Keisari continued to glorify and perpetuate the legend of Paris as the capital of culture and the arts, and a model for Israel.

“COME BACK, COME BACK, SO THAT WE MAY LOOK UPON THEE”: WOMEN’S PICTURES IN ULTRA-ORTHODOX NEWSPAPERS / Menachem Keren-Kratz

Following growing awareness of the need for gender equality, a global trend that has intensified during the twenty-first century, the Israeli media has turned a spotlight on the local Haredi society. The latter is perceived, and rightfully so, as a society that has ignored the feminist revolution and continued to consider women inferior to men, namely rabbis, fathers, and husbands, whom they must obey. One notable example of this derogatory attitude is the absence of female images from the written and electronic Haredi press. The explanation given by Haredi spokesmen refers to past practices, claiming that moral and religious norms that have long existed in ultra-Orthodox society, forbid the presentation of such images. The present study proves that this claim is totally false. Images of women first appeared in the decoration of the cover pages of holy books, and commonly featured in ultra-Orthodox newspapers throughout the Jewish world for at least a century. In fact, it

turns out that the “tradition” of banning the display of female images began only in the 1980s.

Jewish holy books printed from the sixteenth century onward continued the practice that existed previously in manuscripts, especially in Passover haggadahs, of including female characters as part of the decoration of the books' cover pages. From the end of the nineteenth century and for some one hundred years, many ultra-Orthodox newspapers published in Europe, in the Land of Israel (Mandatory Palestine), and in the United States, displayed female images. Most of these newspapers were affiliated with Agudat Israel—the international ultra-Orthodox movement. The presentation of such images continued in some of the leading Haredi newspapers printed in the State of Israel. The present study demonstrates this phenomenon by showing dozens of pictures of women that were published in some 25 newspapers and magazines from different countries and eras.

WOMEN JOURNALISTS IN THE INTERWAR POLISH-JEWISH PRESS / Monika Szablowska-Zaremba

This study presents an overview of women journalists who published in the interwar Polish-language Jewish press. Several dozens of names are mentioned, but four are introduced in more detail: Paulina Appenzlak, Miriam Wolman-Sieraczkowa, Cecylia Klawfenowa, and Ada Reichenstein. Each journalist was assigned to a particular press title, although it is important to note that some of them tried to publish in various journals. The interwar period saw the appearance of the first professional women journalists, who used their writing as a weapon in the

struggle to improve their private lives, status in society, and work conditions. The difficulties that affected the lives of Jewish women, and Polish women in general, as well as other problems that preoccupied them, such as raising children, a woman's role in society and religious practice, and skills and professions suited to women are discussed. Further research on the lives, as well as the political and social activities, of Jewish women journalists is recommended.

FROM OBLIVION TO CENTER STAGE: OFFICIAL DISCOURSE ON THE HOLOCAUST IN POST-SOVIET RUSSIA / Yaron Gamburg

Russia's official discourse on the Holocaust underwent a radical transformation after the dissolution of the Soviet Union. The Soviet government's policy of deliberately ignoring the Holocaust was replaced by official recognition by the Russian authorities in the 1990s, and by greater awareness in Russian society and the media. From his first presidential term, Vladimir Putin introduced the issue of the Holocaust into official Russian discourse and significantly expanded the public dimension of this policy to an unprecedented level. This policy, based on Russia's interpretation of World War II, reflects the Russian president's warm relations with the Jewish community and his willingness to forge closer ties with Israel and Jewish organizations in Europe and the United States.

Russian discourse on the Holocaust has become part of an

overarching narrative of the Great Patriotic War, considered by Putin to be a key component of the national identity of the new Russia. Following the Maidan events in 2014, Russian authorities and state media have dramatically increased their use of Holocaust discourse as part of their "memory wars" with Ukraine and renewed confrontation with the West. However, despite a substantial change in the public discourse, there are important disparities between official rhetoric and implementation of Holocaust remembrance and education in Russia. The current study attempts to provide an explanation for these gaps, while its conclusions discuss factors that could influence continuation of the advancement of official Russian discourse on the Holocaust.

TUR IVRI (THE HEBREW COLUMN) IN ISRAEL'S FOREIGN PRESS, 1953–55 / Susy Gruss

The newspaper industry of the incipient State of Israel had to face not only budget crises and paper shortages but also unexpected competition.

The number of inhabitants of the *Yishuv* tripled rapidly as a result of the masses of new immigrants who arrived in the country after the Declaration of Independence. Seeking to inform, educate, raise public awareness of the government's ideology, and integrate new citizens with little or no knowledge of Hebrew, national institutions issued newspapers and weeklies such as *Hegue*, *Omer*, *Prozdor*, and *Sha'ar*, written in "easy," punctuated Hebrew. These publications did not satisfy the needs of the principle user group, which demanded expression in their mother tongues.

Despite the state's declared mono-linguistic policy, the government and political parties could not withstand the pressure of the continuous waves of immigration, and allowed the publication of ethno-community newspapers. Apparently,

one of the conditions imposed on editors and directors of these newspapers was the inclusion of Hebrew lessons, *Tur Ivri*.

Tur Ivri not only taught Hebrew but contained news about what was going on in Israel, and information about events, holidays, and institutions in the country. The lessons were composed by the World Hebrew Alliance and sent to non-Hebrew newspapers in Israel and to the World Jewish Press by the Ministry of Education, in cooperation with the Department of Education of the Jewish Agency.

This study deals with the documentation and preservation of those Hebrew lessons published in foreign-language Israeli newspapers between 1953 and 1955. We focus on a description of the *Tur Ivri*, *La Rubrika de Ivrit*, which appeared in the Judeo-Spanish weekly *El Tiempo* (Tel Aviv 1950–67). These columns are a representative model and shed light on other Hebrew ones published in all foreign-language newspapers during the first decade of the state.

POSTAGE STAMPS AS A CULTURAL PORTAL: THE UNDER-REPRESENTATION OF HEBREW AND ISRAELI LANGUAGE AND ART ON STATE-ISSUED STAMPS / Yehiel Limor and Ilan Tamir

Postage stamps are much more than an innocent receipt for sending letters and packages. Issuing stamps bearing the name of the state is one of the first actions taken by all new nations immediately upon the declaration of their independence.

Even in the modern era when many public services previously provided by the government have been privatized, issuing stamps remains in the hands of the state. Due to the fact that postage stamps, like coins and banknotes, are official state documents, they can be viewed as reflecting the state's image, values, and culture which it seeks to present to anyone who affixes one to an envelope, to the recipient, and to those who see the mail. In short, stamps contain many messages, both overt and covert, about the state, its history, and culture; hence it can be seen as an agent of culture. Some have even given stamps, which are small mass media with visual and /or textual messages, the nickname "paper ambassadors."

This study examines themes conveyed in the Hebrew

language and art work represented on Israeli stamps, from the establishment of the state to the present day. By analyzing the content of all Israeli stamps issued between 1948 and the end of 2017 (a total of 2,472 stamps), it was found that less than 7 percent were devoted to Hebrew language and art. Categorizing the stamps into themes, it was found that music and the Hebrew language were relatively well represented in comparison with theater, the performing arts, cinema, and journalism. It should be noted that the category "Hebrew creation" in this study does not include religious aspects, such as holidays and festivals that are part of Jewish tradition, or holy sites and figures.

Deciding who (personalities) and what (themes, sites, etc.) to perpetuate on stamps, signifies their use as a way to shape national memory. The power and importance of this small agent is evident in light of the fact that each new stamp is printed in tens or hundreds of thousands of copies, and is thus another form of mass media employed to achieve this objective.

CHANGES IN RADIO CONTENT LISTENING HABITS / Tal Laor

As radio adapts to the internet, great efforts are currently being invested in customizing radio consumption to comply with new media characteristics and in using the added value of new platforms that are offered. This research examines changes in the radio listening habits of consumers who use radio websites and apps, as well as factors influencing new listening patterns, including content on-demand, which are not dependent on broadcasting timetables.

A survey of Israeli Internet users of Radio 103FM and in-depth interviews with consumers of the station's on-demand radio content was conducted. Findings indicate high daily listening rates to online on-demand radiophonic content (excluding current events programs): Listeners are not constrained by program

schedules and are free to choose when and where to consume the programs of their choice. However, they prefer to listen to current events programs at the time of their scheduled broadcast. It was found that frequent consumption of more varied content was influenced and encouraged by a diversity of online radio offerings. For example, while looking for a content segment, listeners encounter new content and segments. Catchy titles also play an important role in unplanned listening. The findings indicate that as radio adapts to the internet, transforming and converging into the field of new media, it expands its distribution and helps maintain its status as an up-to-date medium which is relevant, important, and influential.