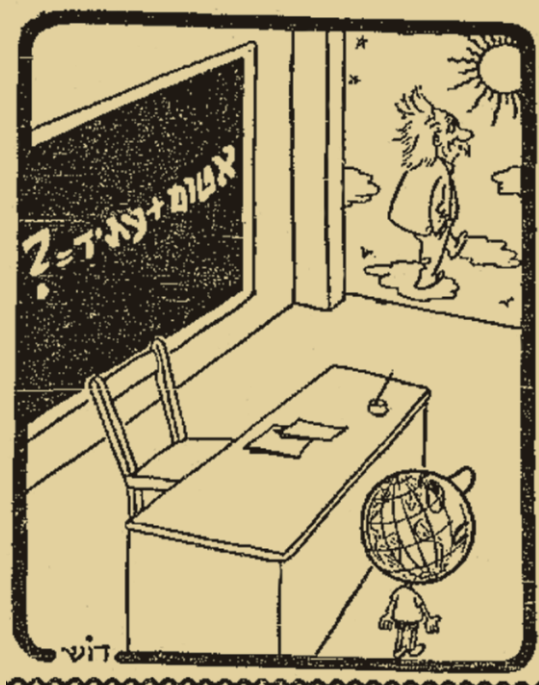


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The Lester and Sally Entin Faculty of Humanities



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and the Jewish World



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The Daniel Abraham Center for International and Regional Studies

The Lester and Sally Entin Faculty of Humanities

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

Tel. 972-3-6405144

Email: presstau@tauex.tau.ac.il

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

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Please contact us by mail:

presstau@tauex.tau.ac.il



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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 by at least two referees. Articles should be submitted in Word to press@tauex.tau.ac.il. A reply will be given within three months. Articles should not usually exceed 8,000 words. The bibliography and notes should appear at the end of the article. Citations should follow the conventions of your discipline.

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

ULTRA-ORTHODOX (HAREDI) NEWSPAPERS IN WARSAW IN THE INTERWAR PERIOD

MENACHEM KEREN-KRATZ

During the interwar period, Warsaw was home to some 360,000 Jews—about one-eighth of Poland’s total Jewish population—and boasted the largest Jewish community in Europe. Approximately one-third of Warsaw’s Jewish population adhered to religious observance and many of them embraced an ultra-Orthodox worldview. The majority of ultra-Orthodox Jews were Hasidim, in particular, followers of the Gur dynasty, named after the town Góra Kalwaria. This town, located some 15 miles south of Warsaw, was the seat of the Gerer rebbe who, besides leading his enormous court was also the most influential figure of Agudat Israel, the international organization of ultra-Orthodox Jews. Given that Warsaw hosted the world’s largest ultra-Orthodox community and some of the foremost rabbinic leaders, the decisions made there served as a benchmark for many communities in Poland and beyond.

In response to the rise of alternative Jewish identities—such as secularism, socialism, and Zionism—and in order to establish a unified ultra-Orthodox identity, the Gerer Rebbe encouraged the publication of ultra-Orthodox newspapers, which were disseminated throughout the interwar period. While many of these newspapers were published weekly in specific cities and their vicinities, the daily newspapers published in Warsaw were distributed to many locations and had a far-reaching influence. An examination of thousands of issues of these publications reveals much about their target audience.

The profile of the typical reader of the Warsaw ultra-Orthodox newspapers differed from that of the contemporary Haredi press. While regular columns in weekend editions focused on matters of faith, education, history, and Jewish thought, the primary purpose of the newspaper was to provide readers with information on more general news, such as foreign affairs, politics, economics, and local stories, as well as knowledge in fields like history, medicine, literature, and science. These newspapers refrained from delving into the interpersonal dynamics and power struggles between religious figures, such as Hasidic and non-Hasidic rabbis and ultra-Orthodox activists, and between Orthodox and ultra-Orthodox organizations, parties, and charities. Texts by leading rabbis were limited to formal announcements, fundraising campaigns, and calls for greater religious observance.

The typical ultra-Orthodox reader can best be described by the term *ba'al bayit* (lit., householder)—a self-employed or economically established man who, besides traditional Jewish knowledge of the Talmud and Halakha, also possesses a broad education and comprehensive knowledge of the world around him. Such general knowledge at that time was not limited to the political, economic, and diplomatic realms but also included areas such as culture, literature, and the arts. While the reader appreciated the weekly columns on Hasidic history and the lives of Jewish luminaries, daily affairs engaged him far more. The typical ultra-Orthodox reader

was not a solemn figure. On the contrary, he enjoyed serialized stories, occasionally with a romantic flair, as well as the humorous section featuring jokes, feuilletons, and satirical cartoons. Readers also became accustomed to seeing images of women and girls, primarily in advertisements.

“THE ONLY ONES IN LITHUANIA INSPIRING THE MASSES TO JEWISH TRADITION”: PERIODICALS EMPLOYED BY THE RETURN-TO-TRADITION MOVEMENTS IN INTERWAR LITHUANIA

BEN-TSIYON KLIBANSKY

With the establishment of the Lithuanian state in the interwar period, the process of secularization among its Jewish population accelerated. In response to this trend, Orthodox individuals initiated the formation of educational frameworks known as Tiferet Bachurim societies, aimed at reconnecting young laborers in the towns with Jewish tradition. These societies offered young men the opportunity—often for the first time in their lives—to engage with weekly Torah portions, Mishnah, and basic Jewish law.

In 1927, a central body was established to unite the growing number of these societies into a broader movement. Under its guidance, the movement rapidly expanded, encompassing over one hundred societies and approximately four thousand members within a few years. Between 17 and 40 years old, these members represented a significant portion of the Jewish population of this age group in Lithuania at the time. As the movement grew, its leadership recognized that theoretical study alone was insufficient. They began encouraging members to apply their learning in daily life and to actively participate in charitable and social institutions with the aim of exerting a broader influence on Jewish society.

The success of the men’s movement inspired Orthodox women to establish a parallel initiative. From 1931 onward, women began forming study groups known as Beit Yakov societies, directed at reintegrating Jewish women into religious observance through the study of foundational Jewish texts and the practical application of these teachings at home. Soon after, a central body was formed to coordinate these women’s societies and develop them into a movement. Much like their male counterparts, these women sought to reach out to others of working-class background who had drifted from tradition. Over time, the movement’s leadership recognized that their mission extended beyond this goal: Orthodox women from higher social strata also required guidance and religious education in order to navigate the challenges posed by the rapidly changing environment and the secular ideas brought home by their children.

The women’s movement went beyond promoting study and religious observance within the home. It called upon its members to engage actively in community life, calling for participation in social welfare and charitable institutions in order to help reshape the Jewish public sphere. Thus, both the men’s and women’s movements

sought not only to preserve Jewish traditions but also to empower their members to become agents of change within their communities.

A key tool employed by both movements to unite their members and expand their reach was the publication of dedicated periodicals: *Tsum Yugnt* for men and *Beit Yakov* for women, which served as platforms for members to express their views, share experiences, and reflect on the movements' activities. Through these publications, the movements fostered a sense of shared purpose and community while amplifying their message to a wider audience. The rich content and relatively regular publication of these periodicals provide insight into the inner workings of these movements, documenting their achievements as well as their complex challenges.

These movements represented a non-organized Orthodox response to secularization, utilizing modern organizational methods and media while promoting traditional religious values and practices. Through community engagement and the use of dedicated periodicals, they not only sought to reconnect Jews with their heritage but also endeavored to shape a new generation committed to preserving and revitalizing Jewish tradition. The story of these movements, as reflected in their periodicals, stands as a testament to the resilience of Jewish identity and the power of grassroots initiatives to effect meaningful social and religious change.

RABBI MORDECHAI HACHOHEN OF LIBYA AND THE ITALIAN JEWISH PRESS

RONEL ATIA

One manifestation of the changes that occurred in the cultural space of the Jewish communities in North Africa in the late nineteenth century was the centrality that the non-religious Jewish press began to assume in public discourse which, until then, had been dominated mainly by rabbinical sermons. From this period, this press became a factor connecting readers with developments in the communities, in the Jewish world, and in the world in general, including scientific and technological discoveries. The ideas and opinions that formed the perceptions of the educated found a broad place in the Jewish-European press, such as the newspapers *Ha-Tsfira*, edited by Nahum Sokolov, and *Ha-Maggid*.

The present article seeks to examine the content of copies of two articles written by Rabbi Mordechai HaCohen, a scholarly Jewish rabbi who lived in Tripoli and Benghazi in the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries. Rabbi Mordechai HaCohen kept a notebook containing copies of letters he sent to a variety of individuals and destinations, of letters sent to him, and of articles written by him that were published or intended to be published in the Jewish press. Interestingly, Rabbi Mordechai HaCohen sent at least two articles to two Jewish newspapers published in Italy, *Corriere Israelitico* and *Settimana Israelitica*.

Apart from the uniqueness of a scholar-rabbi in Libya sending articles for publication in Italy, I examine the content of his writings and characterize his goals.

THE ISRAELI PRESS AND THE STRUGGLE BETWEEN THE IDF AND THE MINISTRY OF FOREIGN AFFAIRS FOR CONTROL OVER THE ARMISTICE COMMISSIONS IN THE 1950S

YORAM FRIED

Each armistice agreement between Israel and its four neighbors signed over the course of 1949 required the establishment of a Mixed Armistice Commission (MAC) to oversee the implementation of its terms. Initially, the Ministry of Foreign Affairs supported subordinating the responsibility and management of the commissions to the IDF. However, with time, the weighty political considerations, not only in terms of day-to-day work but also with regard to the media and foreign representatives operating in Israel, became clear.

While the IDF tended to see the commissions as military structures designed to fulfill military/national security purposes, the ministry took a broader view of the notion of national security and contended that the commissions' political-security weight was no less important than their military one—hence, its demand to be involved in the commissions' day-to-day activities and decisions on information that would be shared with the media. It feared that the IDF officers' lack of diplomatic and political experience would put Israeli diplomacy in a difficult position and damage Israel's national security. The IDF rejected this view and worked resolutely to extirpate the foreign ministry from the commissions' activities.

During the entire period, the Israeli press reported on these activities in regard to ongoing and day-to-day security issues and relations with the UN Truce Supervision Organization and the Arab delegations, but almost completely refrained from discussing the dispute between the foreign ministry and the IDF. The media were almost all silent on the main issue of whether the commissions should be under the authority of the IDF or the foreign ministry, and also passed over the power struggles between them. The sole exception was *Haaretz* daily, which supported the position of the foreign ministry early on and claimed that only career diplomats should be allowed to run the commissions.

The Israeli media began publishing items only at the beginning of 1955, prompted by the new political reality in Israel (when foreign minister Moshe Sharett became prime minister and Pinchas Lavon a weak defense minister), and when the prospect of the foreign ministry taking over the commissions became real.

CRITICISM OF THE ISRAEL–HASHEMITE KINGDOM OF TRANSJORDAN ARMISTICE AGREEMENT IN THE ISRAELI PRESS

MOSHE HARPAZ

On April 3, 1949, an armistice agreement was signed on the Greek island of Rhodes between the State of Israel and the Hashemite Kingdom of Transjordan. The research approach to this subject has encompassed diverse fields—political, military, geographical, and legal—and produced many studies. This article seeks to add a research layer—the viewpoint of the Israeli media—by presenting reports, reactions, and critical articles on the agreement as expressed in the Israeli press of the time, and analyzing the findings.

Media coverage of the event was short-spanned—only three days—and included reports on the agreement and its signing and on the discussions held in the Knesset leading up to its approval, as well as criticism in the Israeli press following its ratification. The present review offers a discourse analysis of texts—articles and editorials—published in Israeli newspapers, in Hebrew, during the relevant period. It first explains the historical background to the signing of the agreement and then presents the Israeli press response to this event.

Twelve relevant newspapers were located, nine partisan and three non-partisan. The newspapers first presented, on the front page and in main articles, the agreement and its clauses, some in full and others only clauses that appeared to be important. This overview was then followed by commentaries, usually appearing the next day.

Based on an analysis of the findings, the advantages and disadvantages of the agreement emerge. Among the advantages: direct negotiations that yielded a solution without bloodshed; the inclusion of the Hadera-Rosh HaAyin railway within the state; the opening of a continuous transportation corridor between Hadera and Afula via Wadi Ara; the inclusion of the Negev, with emphasis on the key sites of Ein Gedi, Masada, and Eilat, within the state; and a slight extension of Israel's waistline in the Sharon and Samaria toward the east so that the first western hill line was included in the territory of Israel.

Among the shortcomings: loss of "the Triangle," interpreted as direct or indirect support, or alternatively acceptance, of annexation of the Arab territories of Israel to the Kingdom of Transjordan; non-resolution of the issue of access to the holy places for Jews in Jerusalem, including the Western Wall and the Mount of Olives; the irregularity of direct transit between Tel Aviv and Jerusalem via the demilitarized zone in Latrun; the presence of British forces in Aqaba and other places; non-establishment of an Arab state alongside a Jewish state in accordance with UN resolutions; granting autonomy to Arab villages that became part of Israel by establishing an Arab police force and prohibiting the entry of the Israeli army into those villages; and leaving many issues without a practical solution and referring them to the Joint Armistice Committee.

THE “MASPERO ANTHOLOGY” AND AVIGDOR HAMEIRI: RHYMING CIGARETTE ADVERTISING BY THE MASPERO BROTHERS IN THE HEBREW PRESS, 1923-1925

AMI ZORAN AND ORIT YAAL

This article explores a series of rhymed advertisements published by the Maspero cigarette company in the newspaper *Doar Hayom* during the years 1923–25, and apparently written by the poet and writer Avigdor Hameiri. The advertisements, titled the “Maspero Anthology,” responded caustically and humorously to cultural, social, and political events in the Mandatory Palestine Jewish community, as well as globally; at the same time, it recommended Maspero cigarettes by alluding cleverly to quotations from the Bible, as well as from Hebrew and translated literature and poetry. Hameiri, laid the foundations for rhymed advertising in the Hebrew press about half a decade before poets such as Avraham Shlonsky, Leah Goldberg, and Nathan Alterman made their own contributions.

The anthology influenced Hebrew advertising culture by creating an innovative, rhymed advertising format, connecting product consumption to national and cultural values, enhancing the legitimization of commercial advertising created by writers and poets, and incorporating high literature in advertising language while possibly boosting the commercial success of Maspero cigarettes.

FROM THE KITCHEN WITH LOVE: POPULAR CULTURE AND BOOK PUBLISHING IN A GLOBALIZING ISRAEL

MAYA MAZOR TREGERMAN

Books are an integral component of cultural change, even in the digital age. Cookbooks in particular are regarded as key cultural texts from which we can learn about thought patterns and everyday practices of historical periods. *From the Kitchen with Love* by Ruth Sirkis (1975) is one of these canonical cultural texts. It is one of the greatest successes in Israeli publishing and a significant agent of cultural change in the country’s globalization and capitalization.

In Israel, cookbooks have long been a highly popular genre, frequently topping bestseller lists. Until the 1960s, the few cookbooks published were often used for instilling cultural unification in the spirit of the national-Zionist ideology, in an attempt to establish a unified cultural agenda for the national collective. By the mid-1970s, culinary knowledge began to be commodified and marketed to individual consumers through a message promoting multicultural recognition. *From the Kitchen with Love* marked a major breakthrough for this genre. A deeper examination of the book within a cultural context may offer insights into the role of capitalist ideas in the evolution of alternative ideologies in Israel’s globalization era.

The current research explores the book’s role in challenging dominant ideologies via a historical-cultural approach, highlighting the production field structure, the author’s

motives, and interpretations of the book as a cultural text. Adopting a methodological triangulation approach, the research incorporates: (a) a statistical analysis of the field, (b) a semi-structured in-depth interview with the author, and (c) an interpretative textual analysis that dissects the ideological layers in the text using tools from critical discourse analysis.

The historical period in which *From the Kitchen with Love* was published was examined through ownership structures within the subfield, based on patterns of new titles published between 1927 and 2007. The analysis combines computerized and manual processes using data from the National and University Library catalog, resulting in a curated list of 759 Hebrew-language titles published in Israel by 196 publishers.

The findings indicate that Sirkis' book represents a pivotal moment in the privatization of Israeli cookbook publishing during the late 1970s: the transition from an institutional, ideologically-driven field of production to the private-commercial domain motivated by economic profit. At the same time, the state's involvement in cookbook publishing gradually declined. In its place, commercial publishers entered the field, viewing it not only as a source of economic gain but as an opportunity to influence Israeli culture.

Sirkis, who evolved from cookbook author to significant publisher, was driven by dual motives: to advance professionally the field of cookbook literature in Israel, and to promote broader social and cultural goals. Her work blended local Israeli concerns with global trends. For instance, she "imported" high production standards from the United States—such as the use of color photography—which she linked to profit maximization. She also worked to improve gender dynamics under the influence of American feminism; sought to broaden Israelis' exposure to global cultures and to help bridge ethnic divides; and was committed to preserving the Hebrew language.

Textually, the book combines two distinct genres: the "instructional manual" genre which characterized early Israeli cookbook publishing, utilizing a didactic tone and strict kitchen directives ("do's and don'ts"); and the more innovative "good friend" genre drawn from contemporary women's magazines. Through this hybrid approach, the book explicitly targeted a female readership and engaged with shifting gender roles in 1970s Israel. This dual perception of the cookbook—as both a carrier of global cultural currents and a genre firmly rooted in Israeli-Zionist discourse—mirrors the broader trajectory of globalization in Israel.

In conclusion, the intersection between the expansion of the cookbook publishing field and the onset of postmodern globalization in Israel represents a unique moment for examining the relationship between cultural transformation and change across other social fields. The book exemplifies how transitional periods foster the merging of worldviews and practices: the simultaneous decline and persistence of nationalism, the homogenization of global culture under capitalist ideologies, and the concurrent differentiation of local identities. The hybrid nature of cookbooks as active cultural agents enables the creation of a liminal space—a meeting ground where cultural

perceptions and practices are challenged and reshaped. This space deconstructs the assumed logic of everyday life and reconstructs it in novel ways, offering diverse “toolkits” through which individuals navigate broad processes of social change. Accordingly, it is imperative to critically examine the role of popular cultural industries and the media in shaping historical processes of transformation.

**OUR SAGES, “MAY THEIR MEMORY BE A BLESSING”:
DEATH COVERAGE OF PROMINENT JEWISH SCHOLARS
AND SCIENTISTS IN HEBREW-LANGUAGE NEWSPAPERS**
BARAK BAR-ZOHAR

The empirical literature is comprehensive and widespread when dealing with journalistic coverage of the deaths of kings, queens, statesman, politicians, military leaders, athletes, and musicians. However, far less academic attention has been given to reportage on the deaths of scholars and scientists in the Israeli press. The current text analysis seeks to bridge this historic, empirical, and interdisciplinary gap.

The analysis looks at journalistic death coverage of well-known Jewish scholars Sigmund Freud (1939), Albert Einstein (1955), Martin Buber (1965), and Ben-Zion Dinur (1973). This line of inquiry retrieves and examines journalistic items that referred to them during the week following their deaths in 138 newspaper issues, taken from nine Hebrew-language daily newspapers *Haaretz*, *Ha-Boker*, *Davar*, *La-Merhav*, *Ha-Tzofe*, *Herut*, *Ma'ariv*, *Al Ha-Mishmar*, and *Kol Ha-Am*.

The research hypothesis was that the newspapers would emphasize the scholars' Jewish affiliation, or their solidarity or aversion to the Zionist movement's vision, goals, and actions. The reasoning was that although these figures were internationally known for their personal, academic, scientific, or professional achievements and discoveries, the Hebraic and Israeli press would seek to reconstruct their success by presenting their Jewish roots as a key factor, as well as a secret driving force.

The scholars' affiliation to Judaism, Zionism, and the State of Israel was indeed emphasized, but varied substantially between the four men. More specifically, Freud's Jewish origins were highlighted and his academic success was hailed in light of a rise in extreme anti-Semitism in Europe in general, and in European academic institutions in particular. Einstein's death was covered as a grand media event in Israeli newspapers. It seemed as though the Israeli press went out of its way to present Einstein as the chosen one, the ultimate symbol of the Jewish people, a genuine supporter of the Zionist cause, an unofficial Jewish-Israeli ambassador, and a subliminal human being.

Buber was portrayed as a humane, compassionate, and benevolent Israeli philosopher who had gained international recognition. At the same time, the Israeli press pointed out his complex, ambivalent, and critical stance toward Jewish-Revisionist resistance groups operating in British Mandatory Palestine, the Zionist movement, and the establishment of a halachic state. In contrast to Buber, the general narrative following Dinur's death was free of controversy. Although Dinur was a historian and politician,

he was evidently not involved in major disputes or conflicts during his career. Thus, in this case, the newspapers refrained entirely from speaking ill of the dead.

Lastly, as an empirical limitation, it should be stated that Dinur was not as prominent a figure as Buber, Freud, or Einstein. Ultimately, individuals are never perceived in exactly the same way, even if they share similar traits or the same profession. As such, empirical comparisons between people are inherently complex and can never be fully captured with mathematical precision.

CENSORING IS THE MESSAGE: THREE WORLDS OF CENSORSHIP IN THE CASE OF CHAIM WALDER

EFI FRIEDMAN AND TSURIEL RASHI

This article explores differences in the nature of censorship imposed by three types of ultra-Orthodox media: print, online, and social networks, revealing significant differences among them. The case study is that of Chaim Walder—the author, educationalist, and counselor, who was accused in November 2021 of serious sexual offenses and eventually committed suicide. Reportage of the case was censored in various ways in most of the ultra-Orthodox media. The present research focuses on the differences among the various modes of censorship evident in the media in their coverage of the affair, focusing on the differences themselves, explaining those differences, and expounding on why censorship continued in this case even after the story was widely published and known to the public. The research methods included a systematic collection of all Haredi journalistic sources during the relevant period (59 printed sources and 9,933 online sites) and their textual analyses; netnography, and in-depth interviews. The study indicates significant differences in the characteristics and patterns of censorship among the three types of media. Notwithstanding, clearly all of the ultra-Orthodox media share common ground in that they all function under some sort of censorship. The conclusions drawn from this study not only expand the initial scope of the issue but include a new theoretical perspective: censoring is not merely a tool for hiding information but also a vehicle for transmitting it. Moreover, it is an instrument for conveying educational and social messages.

POSTAGE STAMPS AS A PROPAGANDA TOOL: HAMAS STAMPS AND ANTI-ISRAEL MESSAGING**

YEHIEL LIMOR AND IDO ZELKOVITZ

In 2007, the religious-political movement Hamas seized control of the Gaza Strip, overthrowing the Palestinian Authority and establishing an independent governing mechanism. Two years later, the Hamas administration began issuing postage stamps. While stamps serve a basic function in postal systems as proof of payment for mail delivery, they have long been used as a miniature platform for disseminating ideological and political messages, projecting national identity, promoting leaders, and mobilizing public sentiment.

Between 2009 and 2019, Hamas issued a total of 148 stamps, all solely for domestic use, as they were not recognized by the Universal Postal Union (UPU). The stamps were printed locally in Gaza in small quantities, typically fewer than 5,000 copies per release, reflecting both the limited geographic and demographic scope of the territory and the increasing use of digital communication.

This article focuses on Hamas' strategic use of postage stamps as a tool of anti-Israel propaganda. A content analysis reveals that more than half of the stamps focus on a central theme: the national struggle. The stamps construct a narrative of resistance, glorifying armed conflict with Israel and positioning Hamas as the primary actor in the Palestinian armed struggle.

Notably, the word "Israel" does not appear on any of the stamps. In only one does an abstract map of Israel appear, presented as part of "Greater Palestine," with no reference to Israel by name.

The most prominent message in the stamps integrates nationalism with religious faith through the motif of martyrdom (*shahada*). Other major themes include significant battles and military campaigns between Hamas and Israel, such as the 2012 war, known in Israel as Operation Pillar of Defense, commemorated in a series featuring the image of Hamas military commander Ahmed al-Ja'abari and the caption "Gaza won."

The stamps also reinforce key historical narratives, such as the Nakba (the displacement of Palestinian Arabs in 1948), and highlight the plight of Palestinian prisoners held in Israeli jails. Furthermore, the imagery extends beyond adults, portraying children as active participants and victims of the national struggle. Palestinian journalists are also featured, depicted as contributors integral to the resistance narrative.

Through its stamp production, Hamas employed philately as a propaganda medium, crafting a visual and ideological message that underscored its role as both a political authority and the vanguard of the armed Palestinian struggle against Israel.

* This article is based on Ido Zerkovitz and Yehiel Limor, "Postage Stamps as Political and Religious Propaganda: The Case of Hamas," *Studies in Conflict & Terrorism* (2024), doi.org/10.1080/1057610X.2024.2403058.

USE AND NON-USE OF ONLINE LEARNING CHANNELS AMONG CONSERVATIVE COMMUNITIES: THE CASE OF THE ULTRA-ORTHODOX POPULATION IN ISRAEL DURING COVID-19

CHEN SABAG-BEN PORAT, HANANEL ROSENBERG, HILA LOWENSTEIN, AND MIRIAM BILLIG

The restrictions imposed on the citizens of Israel following the outbreak of the Corona virus epidemic forced educational institutions to adopt online channels for distance learning. Ultra-Orthodox society, which is generally suspicious and disapproving of the use of online media, especially among teenagers and children, were forced to confront this new need and decide on its course of action. The present study aims: a) to investigate whether and to what extent online channels were used in ultra-Orthodox educational institutions in their various sub-streams, and b) to ascertain the considerations, attitudes, and perceptions of parents and teachers regarding the introduction of online learning during the COVID-19 crisis, as well as its use in future emergencies. The article combines quantitative and qualitative methods and is based on a survey of a representative sample of parents of primary school-aged children (N=395) and semi-structured interviews (N=45) with parents and teachers in ultra-Orthodox schools. The results show that 14% of all parents in the sample used Zoom for distance learning for their children. Furthermore, significant differences were found among the various sub-currents, with the Chabad stream leading (94%), followed at a great distance by the Sephardic public (15%), the Lithuanian (13%), and the Hasidic (4%). Differences were also found between the sub-currents in terms of parents' willingness to use online learning channels in the future. Moreover, a correlation was found between parents' level of conservatism/modernism, pupils' gender identity, and their age and willingness to use online learning channels. Notably, almost no voices were found that saw this period as an opportunity for pedagogical development related to the potential of study in online spaces, but as a limitation that required coping and necessary adaptation to minimize damage. These findings are discussed in light of Max Weber's theory of legitimacy and its application in the context of the interface between new media and conservative communities, and as a process that builds or negates a normative-value sense of social practices.

A NATIONAL MINORITY'S PERCEPTION OF ITS REPRESENTATION IN THE MEDIA DURING A GLOBAL PANDEMIC—THE CASE OF ISRAELI ARABS AND COVID-19

NISSIM KATZ

The purpose of this research was to examine how a national minority perceived its representation in the media during the COVID-19 pandemic. The national minority in question was the Israeli Arab population. The aim of the research was to gain a better understanding of the perceptions of a national minority during a global health crisis that can also serve as a framework for future studies. Israeli Arabs are usually represented on Israeli television in negative ways. During the epidemic, they were viewed as those who did not obey the instructions of the Ministry of Health and the government; had a low vaccination rate compared to that of the rest of the population; and had a morbidity rate that was one of the highest in the country.

In order to answer the research question, semi-structured in-depth interviews were conducted, as is customary in qualitative research. About 30 interviewees from the Arab sector with various demographics were selected. The interview included questions aimed at understanding their perception of their representation in television news.

The findings of the study show that the interviewees believed that the Arab population did not know how to observe the guidelines. At the same time, the media represented them in a stereotypical and discriminatory manner compared to their portrayal of the Jews. In addition, it was found that Israeli Arabs lacked trust in the government and the Ministry of Health, and believed the media cooperated with the government. According to them, the Ministry of Health and the media should have adapted the health messages related to the guidelines in a way that was compatible with their culture. The research conclusions indicate that the media has a responsibility to present minorities in a more appropriate and positive way. Further, the media has a crucial role to play during a global health crisis in mediating the message so that it accords with the cultural and social codes of minorities.