

ISRAEL

STUDIES IN ZIONISM AND THE STATE OF ISRAEL
HISTORY, SOCIETY, CULTURE

The Chaim Weizmann Institute for the Study of Zionism and Israel was set up in 1962 at Tel Aviv University through the initiative and with the assistance of the Executive of the World Zionist Organization, with the aim of furthering the research and the teaching of the history of the Zionist idea, the Zionist movement and the Land of Israel in modern times.

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**The 1967 War and Its Impact
on Culture and the Media**

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Summaries

Chanan Naveh

Israeli Radio during the Six-Day War

Before and during the Six-Day War, Israeli public radio, Kol Israel, in effect became the mouthpiece of official-governmental voices inside the country and abroad. The broadcasts served the military during the days of high alert and especially during the war when the news bulletins became part of the army deception plan. The mobilization of the radio was reflected in its news magazines, commentary broadcasts and music programs, making Kol Israel a crucial factor in the public patriotic effort to “rally around the flag.” Although focusing on a specific event, the article seeks to outline a theoretical model of state–media relations in times of crisis and emergency, arguing that the processes affecting Kol Israel in May–June 1967 recurred in later security crises and wars, including the summer of 2006.

Einat Lachover

Women in the Six-Day War (1967): The Media Narrative

On the basis of a content analysis of 168 news items dealing with women in the two largest-circulation newspapers in Israel, this article investigates whether there was any change in the news media’s representation of women during the Six-Day War. The results indicate that while there was little change in women’s representation in quantitative terms, that is, their visibility remained low, there were differences in qualitative terms. Whereas women typically appear in the news as victims, this type of representation was rare in the Six-Day War, when women were represented in the context of the collective rather than the private sphere. Thus, the image of the “egotistical woman” was replaced by that of the “woman volunteer,” while the wife/mother image appeared in the national context during the war. However, once the war was over, women returned to their private world, and the image of the woman soldier as a sexual object also reappeared. Rather than enabling women to redefine their relations with men, the nation and the state, the war underlined their traditional gender roles.

Na’ama Sheffi

Winning Words: 1967 and the Land Discourse in Israeli Children’s Magazines

The Occupied Territories and their population were key issues in the Israeli discourse following the 1967 war, a discourse that was immediately reflected in children’s magazines as well. This article examines three Israeli children’s magazines – *Davar li-Yeladim*, *Ha’aretz Shelanu* and *Mishmar li-Yeladim* – in the weeks before and after the war, focusing on articles that explored attitudes

towards the two rival societies (Jewish and Arab) and the discourse regarding the Occupied Territories. I argue that the children's magazines reflected the general discourse, and that the editors did not adapt their writing in order to make the issues comprehensible to young readers, thus making it difficult for the children to differentiate between historical landscape and international borders, or to distinguish between the common images of Arabs in the neighboring countries and the actual Arab population they now met for the first time in the occupied territories. By investigating the specific reading material of this period and by analyzing the complexities it raises, I seek to portray a collective profile of a generation that now holds key positions in Israeli society.

Yael Darr

“Every Child Will Tell His Child”: Constructing the Past for Children in the Midst of a “Historical Moment” – The Case of the Six-Day War

This article studies the children's press during the Six-Day War in order to examine the way adults instill in children consciousness of a “historical moment” while it is still taking place. Issues of *Ha'aretz Shelanu*, *Davar li-Yeladim* and *Mishmar li-Yeladim* published in that period devoted particular attention to the story of the national past, while introducing significant changes into the two hegemonic narratives that Israeli children were taught – “from the days of the Bible to the era of an independent Jewish state” and “from the Holocaust to national revival” – in order to give a central role to the current “historical moment.” The historical narrative told to children was dramatically altered twice: first as a response to the anxiety and uncertainty during the “waiting period” before the war, and then in the sharp transition to euphoria after the victory over the Arab armies. After the war, a new historical narrative was presented to children: “the history of Israel's wars against the Arab armies,” beginning with a historical description of the previous wars and ending in a mythic portrayal of the 1967 triumph.

Naomi Meiri-Dann and Shmuel Meiri

Between Victory and Ruin: The Commemoration of the Six-Day War in Northern Sinai and the Western Negev

In 1977 a monument was erected to commemorate the 180 soldiers from the “Division of Steel” who fell in the Six-Day War in Northern Sinai. Although located in the heart of a battlefield, this monument was from the outset associated with the town of Yamit. In April 1982 some of the opponents of the evacuation of Yamit chose the Division of Steel Monument as their stronghold, thus turning it into an icon of the opposition to the withdrawal from Sinai. Once the town was evacuated and demolished, the destroyed monument became a symbol of ruin. A few months later, a new monument was erected in the fields near Kerem Shalom. The choice of the new location, overlooking the battlefield and the ruins of Yamit,

and the ceremonies that take place there shed light on the changing function of the monument in the public sphere as representing simultaneously victory and ruin. The dialectical tension between the different narratives is investigated here through an inquiry into the landscape of war monuments in Israel.

Chava Brownfield-Stein

Six Days, Forty-Five Minutes and One Photograph of a Woman Soldier

The article analyzes visual representations of the Six-Day War, focusing on its first forty-five minutes, on the basis of photographs held in the National Photo Collection (the Government Press Office Photography Department Archive) that depict “mothers, daughters, sisters, women soldiers [and] representatives of the nation.” None of these photographs has become an icon; all have been relegated to the fringe. The article seeks to expose the political uses of photographs and their cultural significance. By examining in particular one photo of a woman soldier, the article investigates the politics of memory and the production and reproduction of national consolidation, sketching the relationship between the iconography of war, anamnesis, gender equality, memorization, sovereignty and the archive.

Rona Sela

The Genealogy of an Image in the Public Consciousness:

From David Rubinger’s Photograph of Paratroopers beside the Western Wall to Alex Libak’s Photograph of the Bus 300 Affair

The essay examines two iconic photographs in Israeli culture and their metamorphosis in public consciousness over the years, seeking to demonstrate the way a landmark image is “recycled” in the public sphere, thus reflecting the cultural and political processes that took place in Israeli society. Each of the two photographs signifies a period: David Rubinger’s photograph of soldiers beside the Western Wall after its capture in the Six-Day War symbolizes the height of establishment control over the construction of the founding national narrative; while Alex Libak’s photograph, taken after the hijacking of bus 300 in 1984, marks the period of criticism in Israeli society that began following the crisis of the 1973 war. The genealogy of these images in the public sphere illustrates Israeli society’s development from a mobilized and tightly controlled society to a mature civil society exercising its rights. The article also considers what causes a particular photograph to gain significance in the public sphere, and demonstrates the ways in which a photograph is used to structure meaning and message.

Haim Grossman

The Portrait of Moshe Dayan as Israeli Hero in Applied Art

The photograph of Defense Minister Moshe Dayan with Chief of Staff Yitzhak Rabin and General Uzi Narkiss triumphantly entering Jerusalem through the Gate of Lions became engraved in Israeli collective memory as the ultimate expression of the victory in the Six-Day War. The photograph was widely reproduced and prompted a stream of popular graphic and art products bearing the image of the victorious Moshe Dayan. His portrait was featured for many years on postcards, posters and various objects in Israel and throughout the Jewish world as an expression of Israel and its power. However, after the Yom Kippur War, and even more so after the Lebanon War and the Palestinian *Intifada*, Israeli society found an outlet for its frustration and anger in shattering the image of soldier-heroes, and in particular of Dayan, whose visual duplications symbolized the glorification of military strength.

Dorit Yerushalmi

The Theatrical Ammunition afforded by the 1967 War

This article considers the effects of the Six-Day War on theatrical products and events in the 1967/68 and 1969/70 theatre seasons, identifying several themes: “the beautiful war” portrayed in musicals; “the tale of the anti-hero” in the satirical performances of *Ha-Gashash ha-Hiver*, which provided an ironic look at the national delusions of grandeur; the translated comedies that demonstrated that “life had returned to normal”; the embodiment of “patriotism and faith” in *The Hassid*; and the “war against ourselves” presented in the original play of that name. By exploiting the cultural ammunition furnished by the war, Israeli theatre on the one hand demonstrated its own relevance and active partnership in the battle waged by the state, but on the other exposed its limitations as a critical medium by mostly avoiding the topics of occupation, bereavement and loss. Thus, the theatre tended to reinforce the “story of normality” and to refrain from confronting its audiences with the sociocultural and economic processes that were taking place as a consequence of the speedy “victory.”

Zahava Caspi

The Patriot in the Service of *The Queen of the Bathtub*: The Six-Day War in the Works of Hanoch Levin

Following the Six-Day War, Hanoch Levin wrote three extremely critical satires: *You, Me and the Next war* (1968), *Ketchup* (1969) and *The Queen of the Bathtub* (1970). He returned to the satiric genre for the last time in *The Patriot* (1982), after the (first) Lebanon War. It was only fifteen years later that he wrote his next directly political play, *Murder* (1997), which was not a satire. This article shows that even though almost thirty years passed between the first and the last work, Levin continued to be occupied with the consequences of the 1967 war.

The change in genre reflected the changing mood of the Israeli public in general and of Levin himself in particular. While the earlier satires expressed Levin's belief in the possibility of change and rectification, as well as in his own power to influence his audience, in the late 1990s he came to the despairing conclusion that the political reality in Israel had reached a deadlock. Nonetheless, one theme was consistent: his plea to consider life from the viewpoint of the dead who had sacrificed everything, for only then would Israeli society be able to free itself from the endless cycle of bloodshed.

Alon Gan

Si'ah lohamim and *Hasufim ba-tzariah* as Symbols of Different Approaches

The Six-Day War generated two books that can be added to the pantheon of formative documents in the Israeli ethos: *The Seventh Day: Soldiers' Talk about the Six-Day War* (*Si'ah lohamim*) and Shabtai Teveth's *The Tanks of Tammuz* (*Hasufim ba-tzariah*). Both books became symbols of different approaches that emerged after the war, and both were extremely popular and widely praised. Many saw them as the ID card of an entire generation and as reflecting the image of the Israeli soldier. Over the years these books became milestones and key terms in the public discourse. The former became a symbol of the anguished soldier who "shoots and weeps," and the latter became a symbol of the cult of generals, with all the arrogance, intoxication with power and scorn for the enemy associated with it. This article makes an analytical comparison between these two books, arguing that they indicate totally different ways of processing the abrupt transition from the anxiety of the "waiting period" before the war to the euphoria after the rapid victory.

Alon Confino

Writing the History of the 1967 War

The 1967 war, argues this essay, stands in the twilight between memory and history. While there are good reasons why a body of historical work on the war has not been formed, it is time to make the war and its consequences – that is, Israel's rule over the Palestinians in the Occupied Territories – a full-fledged topic of historical inquiry. The essay discusses some of the narrative, methodological and historiographical problems in considering the war and its consequences as history by focusing on four topics: the need to write Israeli history after 1967 as inextricably linked to the history of the Occupied Territories; the relations between contingency and a long-term historical pattern in understanding Israel's motivations in the territories; the place of memory in understanding the period; and the various historical possibilities that existed immediately after the war and thereafter. As this article argues, one historical possibility has been realized by the Israelis since 1967 with growing intensity: maintaining control of the territory while transforming the Palestinians into a people without rights.