

# Visualizing Democracy, Difference, and Judaism in Israeli Posters, 1948–1978

## ABSTRACT

Israeli posters created during the first three decades of statehood express ideas central to constructing national identity. The article argues that posters produced by the state and its official agencies show the complex relationship between democracy and Judaism, as well as gender and ethnic difference. Democracy was represented by manifestations of modernity, progress, gender equality, and ethnic difference; religious symbols and narratives represented Judaism. These elements were visually integrated in posters, and express the complexities of Israeli democracy, as well as changing attitudes towards difference and Judaism. The article demonstrates that designers enlisted sophisticated means of both abstract and figurative artistic devices to mediate these ideas, making a significant contribution to the construction of Israeli visual culture.

## INTRODUCTION

**T**HE ARTICLE INVESTIGATES THE NEGOTIATION OF DEMOCRACY, JUDAISM, and ethnic and gender difference in official Israeli posters. It analyzes how the state, following its establishment in 1948, disseminated ideas through posters produced by the government and by national agencies, most of which existed prior to 1948 as Zionist organizations. The investigation ends in the late 1970s with the termination of the Labor party regime, the rise of the Likud government (1977), and the signing of peace accords with Egypt (1978), all of which engendered profound cultural transformations.

With the goal of presenting a discussion that is both broad and comprehensive, I selected eight posters from the collection of the Central Zionist Archives, which houses over 4,500 posters. These were created by well-known designers and by lesser-known ones. I sought posters of outstanding artistic quality that stood out in their diversity—both in relationship to each other and the corpus—rather than by their conformity to a specific style or maker. Accordingly, my analysis demonstrates a multiplicity of approaches to design and content, and does not suggest the existence of mega-phenomena, although several of the posters discussed here certainly fit into wider design tendencies. This qualitative approach is inspired by similar art-historical studies that analyze posters as embodying national ideologies and social realities, such as Staber's research on Swiss posters or Koščević's study of Yugoslavian ones.<sup>1</sup>

The first section problematizes the relationship between democracy, Judaism, and difference in their cultural context. The second and third sections analyze posters dedicated to the holidays of Shavuot and Independence Day, and address religious imagery alongside broader secular contents and representation of difference. The fourth section demonstrates the negotiation of ethnic otherness through the use of architecture. The article's fifth section considers new approaches during the 1970s, as represented in an Independence Day poster and a publicity/tourism poster for Jerusalem. It concludes with a discussion of the representation of national ideals in posters, as expressed by the works analyzed.

Research on various aspects of Zionist and Israeli posters and poster artists has been conducted to date.<sup>2</sup> In 1989, Batya Donner curated a groundbreaking exhibition of Zionist and Israeli visual culture, titled *Living with the Dream*. It included a large selection of posters created until the 1960s.<sup>3</sup> Several exhibitions and articles dealing with specific artists or themes have since been curated and published.<sup>4</sup> This scholarship examined posters as propaganda and analyzed their iconography. However, as with the study of posters globally, Israeli posters remain on the margins of art history's disciplinary engagement<sup>5</sup> and a large body of posters created after 1948 has yet to be explored. The article contributes to existing scholarship on Israeli posters in two ways: first, in discussing works that have hitherto not been researched; second, in analyzing the posters from cultural and ideological aspects that have not yet been addressed.

## EMBODYING DEMOCRACY, JUDAISM, AND DIFFERENCE IN ISRAELI CULTURE

In past years, scholars in the field of Israel Studies have commenced theorizing Israeli democracy as related to cultural practices and their evolution.<sup>6</sup> Two problems arise in this respect: first—the difficulty in associating a concept as abstract as democracy with concrete images; second—defining democracy itself. It would be over-ambitious to evaluate Israel as democratic and Jewish in the framework of the present research. This issue has received ample scholarly debate and is constantly being revisited.<sup>7</sup> As Ruth Gavison writes, the “tensions between the Jewish and the democratic elements in Israel’s regime . . . have accompanied the Zionist movement and its idea of a Jewish state from the very beginning”.<sup>8</sup> I approach the selected posters under the basic concept that Israel’s regime indeed combines democratic rule with Judaism, making it an important factor not only in politics but also in culture.<sup>9</sup>

Religion is represented in Israeli posters more eloquently than democracy. While often perceived as contrasting the rise of national liberation movements, such as Zionism, religion nonetheless played an important role in constructing Zionist ideology.<sup>10</sup> This interrelationship between Zionism and Judaism continued in the Israeli nation.<sup>11</sup> Sociologist Yehouda Shenhav, drawing on the theories of Benedict Anderson, underscores the discursive relationship between the modern, democratic Israeli regime and its Jewish past, observing, “Nationalism has recourse to religion, religious signifiers, and primordial ethnicity in order to formulate its own identity as secular and modern.”<sup>12</sup> Within this framework Jewish holidays were transformed into civic ones, while imbuing non-religious, civic holidays and commemorative days with religious content as well.<sup>13</sup> This process has been termed “civil religion”,<sup>14</sup> and was clearly represented in posters created during the first decades of statehood.

Ethnic difference was often visualized in posters alongside images of nation-building and civil religion. I will show that it represented *aliya*—mass immigration to Israel—and social diversity. During Israel’s first decades, new immigrants were required to adapt to the democratic, modern state. The “melting pot” approach was implemented, dictating that the state must use its institutions to create a unified Israeli culture into which the new immigrant would be assimilated.<sup>15</sup> Immigrants retained their customs while simultaneously adopting Israeli identity.<sup>16</sup> Within these constructs, the Palestinian minority was politically and culturally excluded. During the late 1960s and the 1970s, unification of culture and religion began to

be contested, and approaches towards minorities changed. The depiction of gender difference in the posters represented diversity and equality. These are examined here as an aspect of democratic regimes' egalitarian principles. The following discussion treats these four concepts—democracy, Judaism, and gender and ethnic difference—as interrelated, and analyzes their visual representation.

### POSTERS COMMEMORATING SHAVUOT: AGRICULTURAL IMAGERY AND GIVING THE TORAH

We begin with two posters from the 1950s and early 1960s, which commemorate the holiday of Shavuot, and represent two differing solutions to visually merging Jewish and national identities. Shavuot was the pilgrimage festival in which the first fruits were brought to the Temple; it also commemorated giving the Torah on Mt. Sinai. In the new state it was celebrated chiefly by agricultural festivals.<sup>17</sup> Transformed into a civic religion, these agricultural rites symbolized the revival of ties with Eretz-Israel.<sup>18</sup>

The first poster discussed here was produced circa 1955–1960.<sup>19</sup> It was designed by Roli Studio (Gerd Rothschild, 1919–1991, and Ze'ev Lipman, b. 1920) for the JNF (Jewish National Fund) Teachers' Council, for educational purposes (see Fig. 1).<sup>20</sup> The JNF, founded in 1901, designated a central place for education, and a significant part of its activities and propaganda were entrusted to its Teachers' Council, founded in 1927.<sup>21</sup>

The poster depicts a procession of children. In the background a reaper is harvesting wheat and a typical agricultural settlement, a *moshav* or *kibbutz*, is depicted. The settlement exhibits ample vegetation, red roofs, tents, a water tower, and what appear to be public buildings. Two sentences appear on the poster: "And thou shalt observe the feast of weeks, of the first fruits of wheat harvest" (Exodus 34:22); and "We have brought the first fruits of the earth as an offering for the redemption of the land of Israel."<sup>22</sup> The poster was executed in a naturalistic style often seen in 1950s posters, and both children and produce are accurately depicted.<sup>23</sup>

The poster's representation of a communal agricultural settlement underscores the latter's perception as the ideal basis for the new state.<sup>24</sup> Agriculture was central to the JNF's ideal of redemption of the land, and this is reiterated in the poster's slogans.<sup>25</sup> In the procession, the first girl has a basket laden with dates, olives, pomegranates, grapes, and figs, and a lamb walks at her side. The boy following her holds a sheaf of wheat, which also represents barley in Zionist iconography. Altogether, their produce

represents the biblical *seven kinds*, which in Zionist iconography symbolized cultivation and the obliteration of wilderness,<sup>26</sup> inscribed in the poster's text. Two children carrying a cluster of bananas on a staff emulate the spies sent into Canaan—a biblical theme popular in both Zionist and Israeli art.<sup>27</sup> As Alec Mishori has shown, cultural engagement with local fauna and flora was central to reuniting the Jewish immigrant with his homeland.<sup>28</sup> This engagement, clearly present in the Shavuot poster, continues similar depictions from the pre-state period. Religious ritual is thus invested with the secular content of agricultural produce and its national importance.

The children's representation alludes to two basic principles of democracy: first, both boys and girls are depicted, suggesting gender equality. This principle was upheld by the state, and appeared in posters as a part of constructing an image of women as equals in the new nation.<sup>29</sup> The children's clothes comprise mostly thigh-length dresses, shirts, and shorts, as well as the typical Israeli tembel hat. These were characteristic of kibbutz festive attire in the early years of the state.<sup>30</sup> The girls are allotted stereotypical feminine attributes by the wreaths that adorn their long hair. The girl leading the procession wears a long, Oriental-style headdress, which possibly alludes to images of shepherdesses in Bezalel art, signifying attachment to the land.

One of the children carrying the bananas has prominently darker skin. He wears a barrette and long overalls—an indication of foreign dress. As noted by Donner, these slight differences in ethnic characteristics and dress signified the new immigrant.<sup>31</sup> This child possibly represents a Mizrahi immigrant; his hat, complexion, and hint of sideburns (*peyote*) strengthen this claim. In the 1950s the visual depiction of such ethnic differences expressed *kibbutz galuyot*, the ingathering of diverse Jewish exiles in Israel. As observed by Orit Rozin, the Israeli encounter with Mizrahi Jews, who immigrated from Africa and Asia, was the most significant in the absorption of mass immigration. They came from a markedly different cultural background, and were perceived as primitive Others.<sup>32</sup> Including a dark-skinned child in the procession possibly portrays the absorption of Mizrahi children in kibbutzim, an intervention intended to give these immigrants "modern" education and better living standards, while being separated from their families.<sup>33</sup> The dark-skinned child thus alludes to ethnic diversity, while national unity and gender equality are underscored by the children's mostly white clothing.

The reaper, derived from nineteenth-century portrayals of agricultural labor, lacks ethnic distinction and is shown from behind, thus contributing to this sense of unity.<sup>34</sup> These representations reflect the striving for a

homogeneous culture in the democratic state, which depended to a great extent upon a unified system of education.<sup>35</sup> While these aspirations did not materialize,<sup>36</sup> they were nonetheless vividly present in numerous propaganda posters, as will be shown in the ensuing examples. This poster's emphasis on Shavuot's agrarian aspects underscores national, cultural, and religious unity. It represents Judaism as conceived by the dominant secular Israeli culture, and images democracy through gender equality and ethnic difference, albeit understated and diffused.

Posters such as the one by Menachem Gueffen (b. 1930; see Fig. 2) were less common for commemorating Shavuot.<sup>37</sup> Entitled "Shavuot—Day of Giving the Torah", this poster depicts a different aspect of the holiday. It was also produced by the JNF during the 1950s or 1960s, probably for school-children. An abstract pair of hands rises from Mt. Sinai where, according to the scriptures, Moses descended with the tablets of the Ten Commandments. A large crowd—the People of Israel—is assembled at the foot of the mountain. In the background a row of tents, two of them flagged, appear with stylized clouds and the sun above them. Thick black outlines delineate landscape and figures, and flat colors are used. This poster is more abstract than the Roli Studio poster, testifying to the richness of styles used during these decades, as each designer chose his own artistic devices.

From the civic aspect, the giving of the Torah was perceived as the event during which Jews were first defined as a nation. For example, in a 1932 Shavuot celebration, Menachem Ussishkin underscored the symbolic and historic connection between the Biblical event and Zionist national revival.<sup>38</sup> David Ben-Gurion expressed similar ideas, viewing the establishment of Israel as "a 'messianic' event, equal . . . to the Exodus from Egypt and the giving of the Torah on Mount Sinai".<sup>39</sup> The nation's leading figures thus interpreted Shavuot as marking the creation of Jewish society, and prefiguring modern Israeli society.<sup>40</sup> This interpretation also reflects the JNF's propaganda, which emphasized both historical and Jewish aspects in its dissemination of the civic values of holidays.<sup>41</sup>

Gueffen's abstract treatment of the Torah tablets underscores the fluidity of their civic and religious meaning. The tablets display the first ten letters of the Hebrew alphabet. While representations of the Ten Commandments were common in both Jewish and Christian iconography since ancient times, abbreviating them with letters only was usually reserved for depiction on smaller objects, such as books or tallit brooches.<sup>42</sup> I propose that using abbreviations in the poster medium, which is both large and intended for public consumption, attempted to downplay religion and emphasize national identity. In this case, depicting the first ten letters of

the alphabet represented the adoption of Hebrew as the national language, mediating its seminal importance to both newcomers and veteran Israelis.

The immense gathering of people expresses unity. The multitudes are executed in an overall brown shade, exhibit similar facial features, and are dressed in an Orientalized pseudo-ancient garb. Only one yellow-clad feminine figure is portrayed: her breasts are outlined, she has no beard, and a small child stands next to her. Other than that, it is difficult to distinguish women from men. This homogeneous audience demonstrates that the historical event was important not only in sanctifying Judaism's laws; it contained the roots of a unified and egalitarian Israeli society. Alexander Kaye has shown that religious-Zionist thought during the formative years of the state emphasized the congruence between the democratic principles of social equality and freedom of choice, and Jewish traditions.<sup>43</sup> This poster's depiction of a crowd lacking gender, ethnic, and social distinctions provides an excellent example of how these principles were represented in propaganda: portraying ancient biblical unity as the foundation for a united democratic nation imbues the giving of the Torah with civic meaning.

Each of these posters thus represents Shavuot differently, creating a discursive ground for visualizing ideals of the new nation: Giving the Torah becomes an emblem of unity and popular participation; the agricultural procession reifies attachment to the land, practiced by both girls and boys as a reflection of egalitarianism. As with other cultural products,<sup>44</sup> biblical narrative was used here to create national identity.

### INDEPENDENCE DAY POSTERS: NATION, GENDER, DIFFERENCE

Independence Day is a secular holiday, which prior to the rise of new media was annually commemorated with posters.<sup>45</sup> Scholarly papers dealing with these, as well as the excellent exhibition held in 2008 at Ben-Gurion International Airport, demonstrate the impact that posters have in the making of Israeli visual culture.<sup>46</sup> In this section, I discuss two such posters that disseminate similar national ideals, yet exemplify differing design approaches. Yechezkel Kimhi (1918–94) designed the first poster for the State's tenth anniversary (see Fig. 3).<sup>47</sup> The second is by renowned artist and designer Jean David (1908–93) (see Fig. 4), its date unspecified.

Kimhi's poster is executed in a semi-abstract style that appears to be derived from abstract Surrealism. Accordingly, freeform lines intersect with

each other and transparent, fluid coloring is used. The poster is dedicated to “Jewish children everywhere” by the JNF. Its dedication and title are bilingual: “Ten Years of Israel’s Independence” is written in Hebrew, and in English: “Israel—Ten Years of Statehood”. The titles are located in a banner under the illustration. Accompanying them are slogans in Hebrew: “Gathering of Israel”, “Flowering wildernesses”, “Taking root in the land”, “Fortifying security”, and “Building and creating”. Young men, women, girls, and boys are engaged in activities associated with nation-building and Israeli culture, which include both work and leisure: guarding, planting, carrying fruit, parenting, a loving couple, *hora*-dancing, and making music. Fields, orange trees, and an emblematic settlement (similar to the one seen in Fig. 1) comprise the background. Modern transportation and machinery are represented: a tractor indicates progressive agriculture, a crane represents industry, a sailing ship suggests naval commerce. As with the previous posters, the dedication underscores the JNF’s educational agenda, with the bilingual text revealing the importance of disseminating its mission to children of the Jewish diaspora.<sup>48</sup>

The poster by Jean David was commissioned by the World Zionist Organization’s (WZO) Department of Education and Culture in the Diaspora. WZO established this department in 1948, as part of the restructuring of its international roles vis-à-vis the State of Israel. Education abroad and teaching Hebrew were central to its activities,<sup>49</sup> and commissioning a major artist such as David testifies to this. David implemented language-teaching by spelling the objects’ names and the themes illustrated, using large lettering and punctuation marks.

The poster’s five registers display festivities and nation-building. David’s style, wherein objects and landscapes are reduced, abstracted, and flattened, is reflected in this poster.<sup>50</sup> The top register displays a Menorah twice: as a ritual object and as the symbol of the state. It is coupled with two additional Jewish symbols—the shofar and the Star of David.<sup>51</sup> The second register cites the national anthem, *Hatikva*, alongside symbols of the national Memorial Day for Fallen Soldiers, which annually precedes Independence Day celebrations. The third register displays a bonfire, representing Lag B’Omer, the holiday commemorating the Bar-Kokhba revolt.<sup>52</sup> It also features *hora*-dancers and musical instruments associated with Independence Day parades. The fourth register shows a combat airplane, weapons, and male and female soldiers. The fifth depicts cypresses, entitled “forest”, representing afforestation; a “*shikun*”—urban mass-housing residences; a building with a smoking chimney, entitled “factory”; and houses, entitled the “*kibbutz*”.



Both Kimhi and David integrate representations of progress, modernity, and military strength with Jewish symbols. Both secular culture and religion are expressed. While Kimhi depicts only an agricultural settlement, David includes the city by imaging a neighborhood and a factory. In this respect, Kimhi's poster reifies Zionist iconography, which often omitted urban representations that were associated with the diasporic Jew and the unwarranted, yet always present, bourgeois/capitalist society.<sup>53</sup> In both posters industry represents progress; seen in conjunction with agriculture, diverse lifestyles are represented, as well as diverse professions. These imply personal freedom, a central value of modern, democratic secular societies.

It is important to note that such emblems of progress do not necessarily reflect democratic regimes, and can be equally associated with totalitarian ones. However, I argue that the combination of pictorial elements that merge progress with personal freedom support their interpretation as democratic. "Democracy, in one form or another, is one of the most ubiquitous features of modernity," argues Anthony Giddens. He too advocates a broad and inclusive interpretation of the term, beyond forms of government, civil rights, etc.<sup>54</sup> The images of progress in the posters can accordingly be considered as discursive elements that, in the context of hailing the individual, suggest democracy. Such a connection between democracy, progress, and freedom, was also introduced into national culture by the declaration of the establishment of the state of Israel of 14 May 1948, which stated that Israel "will foster the development of the country for the benefit of all its inhabitants; it will be based on freedom, justice and peace".<sup>55</sup> While the meaning of this sentence is debated,<sup>56</sup> Kimhi's poster constitutes an artistic interpretation of such democratic ideals, internalized during Israel's first decade.

Nonetheless, the fact that representations of progress could also reflect totalitarian regimes did not go unnoticed by the artists and Kimhi was surely aware of it.<sup>57</sup> As Yuval Danieli has noted, Israeli designers influenced by Soviet poster art were conscious of "the disparity between these two ways of life: a totalitarian regime founded on fear versus a . . . democratic way of life".<sup>58</sup> This disparity, however, was resolved by imaging the nation's society and populace, rather than its leadership, as was often the case in totalitarian regimes.<sup>59</sup> Kimhi's poster indeed represents the people in its depiction of anonymous, abstracted figures, as does David's. Moreover, Israeli posters, as well as posters from the global West, combined representations of civic duty or work, with leisure. In Soviet posters these activities were rarely juxtaposed, an expression of the regime's control of every aspect of life.<sup>60</sup>

Gender equality constitutes an important aspect of democratic regimes. The Independence Day posters differ in their approach to this issue. Kimhi

depicts gender stereotypes rather than gender equality. Women or girls are stylized with long hair and large eyes. Two girls carry a plant and a fruit basket, reminding us of the Shavuot procession; others are dancing, making music, embracing a child, and coupled with a man. These roles are feminine, some are leisurely, and contrast the masculine activities of guarding and cultivating the land. Such representations reify early Israeli national ideologies that, as Nitza Berkowitz has shown, proclaimed gender equality, but in effect established Israeli womanhood as existing first and foremost through marriage, motherhood, and traditional feminine functions.<sup>61</sup> David creates an alternative by his depiction of a woman soldier. She is differentiated by her skirt and has no weapon. This representation may be associated with the 1949 legislation regarding compulsory army service, in which women's enlistment was a central issue. In debates surrounding this law, gender equality was weighed against motherhood, both equally important national ideals.<sup>62</sup> While this poster's dating to the early 1950s is tentative, its representation of a woman soldier could reflect these contradictions in the perception of women's roles.

In both posters soldiers and weapons are integrated with peaceful scenes of dancing, industrious men and women, as well as settlements. This juxtaposition conveys the idea that military strength and defense are vital for nation-building, enabling internal peaceful existence.<sup>63</sup> Haim Grossman has shown that the concept of "peace and security" with all its intricacy and duality of meaning, was prevalent in visual propaganda from the 1950s until the 1970s, and frequently appeared in Independence Day posters,<sup>64</sup> an argument supported by the posters discussed here.

The religious symbols in these posters have direct bearing on issues of religion, democracy, and the construction of national identity. In both posters, the menorah functions as a symbol that is both religious and civic. It represents one of the most important ties between the secular idea of the nation and Judaism.<sup>65</sup> In "Ten Years of Statehood" it is replicated four times in white on the yellow banner, and is barely traceable. Such transparency expresses the duality attached to the menorah in early nationhood, as both secular and religious. David exemplifies this duality by representing two menorahs. The menorah is also boldly figured in the poster for the "Second World Jewish Youth Conference" (see Fig. 5); it structures Cesar's poster (Fig. 6), and is sketched in Dudu Geva's (see Fig. 7), all of which are discussed below. Richard Freund argues that appropriating the menorah as a national symbol required a reinterpretation of its ancient religious, mystical, and historical significance. The menorah's diverse representations in these posters attest to its fluidity, a claim made by Freund as well.<sup>66</sup>

Fluidity also characterizes the treatment of ethnic difference, which is veiled in both posters so as to create an image of national unity. Kimhi's use of delicate shades, transparencies, and lack of detail, as well as the similarities that exist among his figures, mediate the aspiration for unity. The new immigrant is absent, and is perhaps alluded to by the different female physiognomies. The Orientalized images of the girl carrying a basket over her head and the seated flute player suggest the obfuscated presence of Palestinians, as these images are reminiscent of their stereotypical representations in Bezalel art.<sup>67</sup> However, their abstraction and context prevent identification with a specific ethnicity. Kimhi's figures thus expose the complexities of representing Jewish ethnicities and minority identities, chiefly those of Mizrahi Jews and Palestinians.

The customs and social practices of Mizrahi Jews and Palestinians were considered as countering Israeli identity. The latter was defined by progress and modernity, marking any substitutes to this way of life as inferior. In her seminal essay, "Rupture and Return", Ella Shohat writes that "The dominant discourse of Euro-Israeli policy makers and scholars has suggested that Asian and African Jews—not unlike the Palestinian population—originate from 'primitive', 'backward', 'underdeveloped', 'premodern' societies and therefore, unlike Ashkenazim, require modernization."<sup>68</sup> Shenhav, too, underscores the ambivalent attitude towards Arab Jews in the early years of the state, an attitude that categorized them as part of the national community yet, at the same time, a separate entity.<sup>69</sup> Kimhi's representation does not echo, nor does it substantiate, clear dichotomies such as modern vs. traditional, progress vs. primitive, that were used to describe the meeting of Mizrahi Jews or Palestinians with the dominant Israeli culture.<sup>70</sup> Rather, the ambivalence argued by Shenhav is revealed in Kimhi's balancing of modern nation-building with an understated Orientalized imagery. This is coupled with an effacement of ethnic subject matter, as minimal facial features and scant details characterize the figures.

Both David and Kimhi depict *hora*-dancers, a motif that was popular in posters and connoted Israeli identity.<sup>71</sup> The dancers also appear in Effie's 1963 poster for the "Second World Jewish Youth Conference". Both Effie and David represent faceless dancers depicted from behind or in profile; different colors and dress indicate diversity and represent immigrants, various Israeli settlers, or Muslims.<sup>72</sup> However, depicting the dancers as faceless, proportionally small, and devoid of details, mutes this differentiation—an approach similar to Kimhi's. In these posters, citizens are thus identified by their participatory actions of nation-building; they express democratic egalitarianism as well as a shared identity, and exemplify a utopic yearning

for a unified nation, which entailed a relinquishing of any ethnic, cultural, or religious signifiers of the country's diverse communities.

### “ARCHITECTURAL” OTHERNESS

I explore here the presence or absence of Palestinians as a minority, which exposes the complexity of defining Israel's national identity as Jewish and democratic, and problematizes the negotiation of difference. This complexity is exhibited in posters of the 1960s and early 1970s, which often represented Palestinians not by their portrayal, but through the depiction of Islamic architecture.<sup>73</sup>

The exclusion of Palestinians from national identity was both cultural and political.<sup>74</sup> Their absence in the earlier posters is problematized by the obfuscation of Middle Eastern ethnicity in general, which I have demonstrated in analyzing the representation of Mizrahi Jews. My search for such representations is in itself problematic, since it suggests that Middle Eastern ethnicity must be preserved by stereotyping. Nonetheless, in official posters the negotiation of difference often recruits stereotypes for the sake of visibility, as will be shown with regard to architecture.

Effie's "Second Jewish World Conference" poster (see Fig. 5), discussed above in relation to the *hora*-dancers, exemplifies this. Here a prominent tower rises above the walled and domed Jerusalem, echoing a typical minaret. It probably represents the Tower of David, an Ottoman minaret appropriated by Zionism as a symbol of Jerusalem.<sup>75</sup> The style evokes a torn-paper collage, and abstraction is again used for the erasure of religious details such as the crescent. The tower is represented alongside recognizable, newly-built Jewish religious edifices: the *Hechal Shlomo* and Hebrew University synagogues.<sup>76</sup> The Tower of David, a Muslim minaret, demonstrates the ambiguity of using architecture to represent minorities: while it forms part of the city's iconic architecture, when coupled with Jewish edifices and the Menorah it promotes the Israeli-Jewish image of Jerusalem, which was appropriate for a WZO poster dedicated to convening Jewish youth from twenty countries.<sup>77</sup> Thus, Jerusalem's architecture unifies international Jewry, and local ethnic diversity remains obscure.

An additional example of alluding to Palestinians by evoking Islamic architecture is Cesar's poster "There's a place for you in Israel" (see Fig. 6), dated 1971. It was produced by the Jewish Agency in the year of its reconstitution.<sup>78</sup> The poster promotes *aliya*—the agency's key mission—and was thus an appropriate theme for reconstitution. The English text indicates

that Anglo-Saxon Jewry was this poster's target audience. It displays a large stained-glass-like menorah, divided into compartments. The menorah's second tier depicts Jerusalem, with colorful towers and domes rising above its walls, integrated with menorahs. The towers are reminiscent of minarets or church steeples, yet have no crescents or crosses. The domes either carry menorahs or have no symbols at all. These elements thus potentially explore the presence of Israel's Others, yet are an Oriental pastiche and a very vague reminder of them. Contrary to these, national architectural icons identified with Judaism, such as the Shrine of the Book at the Israel Museum,<sup>79</sup> as well as one of the Jewish neighborhoods' windmills, can be clearly recognized. Democracy, as expressed through diversity, is represented by architecture; yet the menorahs and the Zionist/Israeli architecture suggest that it exists under Jewish hegemony, while the absence of Christian or Muslim symbols on the buildings underscores the cultural exclusion of Israel's minorities.

In their use of architecture to express diversity, these two posters exhibit a significant transformation in displaying ethnic minorities. However, the abstraction of this architecture renders Israel's Others as stereotypical and generalized.

### DEMOCRACY, DIFFERENCE, AND JUDAISM ARTICULATED ANEW

This section investigates new approaches to democracy, difference, and Judaism in posters of the 1970s. In the beginning of this decade, poster design continued earlier trends, as in the case of Cesar's poster discussed above. Other examples, however, reflect the increasing moral introspection in Israeli society during this period.<sup>80</sup> Israel's cultural atmosphere transformed significantly: the assertion of identity by Mizrahi Jews vis-à-vis the European-Ashkenazi hegemony, the growing debate regarding the Palestinian question, and the Yom Kippur War—all affected this change. The signing of the peace treaty with Egypt in 1978 further impacted Israel's self-image and perception of regional relationships. As shown by Grossman and Agam-Dali, posters expressed these changes in numerous ways.<sup>81</sup> The examples I discuss here demonstrate this too.

The first poster is by caricaturist and designer Dudu Geva (1950–2005), printed in 1971 for Israel's 23<sup>rd</sup> Independence Day (see Fig. 7).<sup>82</sup> This English-language poster was commissioned by the Ministry of Education's Publicity Department, and the slogan "Israel: Real, Free and 23" indicates that it was intended for audiences abroad. Stylistically, it is closely associated

with 1960s “Hippy” posters<sup>83</sup> that were characterized by dense, swirling patterning, and an abundant use of bold colors, such as magenta and cyan.<sup>84</sup>

The poster was created in the interim between the War of Attrition and the Yom Kippur War. As a consequence of the Six-Day War, this period witnessed some markedly euphoric and optimistic cultural manifestations.<sup>85</sup> Geva’s joyful poster accordingly depicts a rising sun and is packed with smiling figures. Jerusalem is depicted in its center with the Red Sea, the Dead Sea, the Lake of Galilee, and the Mediterranean abstractly condensed around it, in a map-like arrangement. Maps frequently appeared in posters; they symbolized the state and their delineation of borders and choice of locales carried political significance.<sup>86</sup> The articulation of geography and territory in this poster is unique, as Geva draws a state without borders, avoiding their definition and thus representing a momentarily carefree Israel. This collapse of the familiar representation of national borders is comparable to other cultural manifestations, which following the Six-Day War connoted a new sense of a “borderless” geographic space.<sup>87</sup>

Geva portrays diversity in an uncompromising manner. Architecture again plays a central role: the Dome of the Rock and the Tower of David are placed at the center of the composition. Unlike Cesar’s poster, where domes functioned as a generalized or Jewish symbol of Jerusalem, Geva depicts a specific edifice and displays the Muslim crescent. The dominance of the Dome of the Rock establishes it as part of the post-1967 unified Jerusalem, which was perceived as unthreatened by Arab and Palestinian presence. Christian architecture is also represented, by depicting crosses on church belfries. In addition to this architectural diversity, Palestinians are clearly represented. The poster’s caricature style dictates stereotyping, and thus Muslims wear Kaffiyas, and are either riding a camel or a donkey, or kneeling in prayer; Christians are represented by a crusader knight and robed clergy. Additional domed buildings possibly represent synagogues, yet have no precedence over other religious architecture. Jews wearing Kippahs and some *Haredi* Jews are portrayed, but altogether the majority of characters represent secular Israelis. These representations and the emphasis on cultural and religious diversity are certainly novel. However, Geva’s use of caricature locates diversity within the relatively secure sphere of humor.

The slogan “free” attached to Israel underscores a democratic regime, reminding us of David’s quoting of the national anthem in his poster. Moreover, the Knesset building, the seat of parliament and the heart of democratic rule, is placed quite centrally. A tiny national flag and a Menorah refer to the flags that adorn the building and to the sculpture of the Menorah of the Knesset.<sup>88</sup> These symbols represent the physical space of democracy in

Jerusalem's government precinct and function in a dual meaning, signifying the national and the religious spheres. The myriad of figures, buildings, and landscapes thus articulate democracy and diversity in their idyllic state, without allowing controversy or conflict to surface.

The second poster was made as part of a series commemorating Jerusalem, created by Raphie Etgar (b. 1947) for WZO, and sponsored in association with the Ministry of Tourism and Israel's national airline, El-Al (see Fig. 8).<sup>89</sup> This series is not dated,<sup>90</sup> but based on Etgar's emergence as a designer in the 1970s and the posters' style and production techniques, they can be dated to the 1970s. I propose a dating circa 1978—a year marking important developments: The WZO 1978–79 annual report describes the establishment of a new advocacy department,<sup>91</sup> which undertook productions celebrating Israel's thirtieth anniversary and Jerusalem Day—the annual celebration of the reunification of Jerusalem. To commemorate the latter, at least one poster, titled “One Jerusalem—the City of Peace”, was produced.<sup>92</sup> It is likely that Etgar's series was part of this initiative. Each of his posters mediated peace and co-existence by displaying photos of the city on a black background. On every poster “Jerusalem” was inscribed in English, in an antiquated Celtic-style font; an additional text was included, describing an aspect of the city in Hebrew and in five additional European languages (English, Russian, Spanish, French, and German). The aspired-for image of co-existence was lessened by the omission of Arabic, although this was obviously because the posters were intended for political and touristic propaganda in Europe and America. The posters' themes could also be related to President Anwar Sadat's historic visit to Jerusalem in 1977, and to the signing of the peace treaty with Egypt the following year.

The poster discussed here reads: “Thousands of worshippers of all religions and creeds, all look up to the same skies of the holy city, all hoping for one moment of heavenly grace.”<sup>93</sup> It displays three equally-sized photos depicting Jewish, Christian, and Muslim liturgy: Priests during a ceremony at the Holy Sepulcher, Jews celebrating Succoth at the Wailing Wall, and Muslims, mostly women, praying in the exterior space of the *Haram-al-Sharif*, with the Dome of the Rock seen in the background.

The equal space occupied by the photos and the unity of their subject matter certainly suggests a novel, egalitarian approach. The poster's composition constructs an image of Israel as upholding democracy by underscoring the religious liberties of all its minorities.<sup>94</sup> The use of photographs renders this image an objectivity that cannot be achieved by graphic design alone. Their documentary character disguises the historicizing and stereotyping of diversity: The clergy wear traditional ceremonial attire, conveying

historical continuity between present-day Jerusalem and its Christian past. The Muslim women wear traditional clothes and pray in the historical context of the ancient monument, while traditionally-dressed Orthodox Jews enact the Succoth ceremony. Here, Judaism is no longer perceived chiefly as a civil religion, a fact that attests to a changing attitude towards it. However, the depiction of the Wailing Wall, which was conquered during the Six-Day War and symbolized its victory, contributes national meaning to the image.<sup>95</sup> While religious egalitarianism is upheld, the Jewish scene is placed in the center. Its participants are proportionally larger and more salient than their counterparts, thus declaring Jewish hegemony. This representation reinforces the poster's political agenda of confirming Jerusalem's status as the Israeli capital and as a united city, an idea that was strengthened by underscoring its ecumenism.<sup>96</sup> In this respect, this poster visualizes the peace discourse that took place in Israel during these years. According to Gavriely-Nuri, this discourse had a dual meaning of upholding a longing for peace, yet conversely emphasizing the importance of the strategic gains of the Six-Day War, and thus perceiving peace as compromising these gains.<sup>97</sup> Etgar's poster is consistent with this observation, as it creates a discourse between ecumenism and an understated manifestation of Israeli hegemony.<sup>98</sup>

A significant change in cultural meanings is thus demonstrated in these 1970s posters: Judaism is represented as one among several religions, as opposed to its singularity in the earlier posters. The inclusion of Christian and Muslim Palestinians and depiction of Orthodox Jews exposes Israel's Others. They are present, yet their earlier obfuscation is replaced by stereotyping. As Ruth Iskin concludes in her investigation of the use of anti-Semitic stereotypes in Israeli posters, even when a stereotype is enlisted in a new critical context—in our case as an affirmation of Israeli society's Others—it nonetheless remains a stereotype, framing its subjects in their familiar roles and impeding or disregarding change and difference among the minorities themselves.<sup>99</sup> A clear representation of the Other, achieved here by traditional garb or characteristic gestures, is necessary, as Lisa Nakamura notes “To both attract [viewers] with its beauty and picturesqueness and reassure [them] of their own identity as ‘not Other’.”<sup>100</sup> Similarly, the minorities represented here define Jewish and Israeli identities by reiterating what they are *not*. These posters nonetheless suggest a profound change in the perception of national identity, and introduce multiculturalism. As propaganda posters they do not subvert national identity. Rather, they manipulate it by allocating a new space for Israeli democracy's Others, who are defined mainly by their religion.



## CONCLUSION

The posters discussed above created the visualization of Israeli national identity through an articulation of democracy, Judaism, and gender and ethnic difference. Created by eight design studios, these posters are not necessarily representative of an entire corpus. Rather, some of them are quite unique in their exploration of the medium and interpretations of local and global styles. The themes they engage reveal the palimpsest of Israeli society and nationhood with all its complexities, exhibiting ideals, identity, and social practices.

In their paper on popular culture in Israel and Palestine, Rebecca Stein and Ted Swedenburg discuss the place of culture in the scholarship of Israel/Palestine, advocating a reassessment of the relationship between culture and hegemony.<sup>101</sup> Their analysis is valuable for the present study, and applies to the role of posters in society as well. In this vein, the poster's cultural and social contribution is a "crucial locus of political engagement".<sup>102</sup> However, the propaganda poster is not entirely subservient to the nation-state, as it expresses the artist's position vis-à-vis hegemonic structures; the poster's function as a *visual* manifestation allows it to convey multiple meanings even when commissioned by government authorities or national agencies. Thus, although I have identified recurring social phenomena and national ideals, each poster requires individual analysis. Still, the posters analyzed here can offer new insights on the representation of nation and society. Exploring how posters image the concepts of democracy, difference, and Judaism helps understand their negotiation and assess the posters' contribution to the formation of other visual forms.

At the beginning of the article I discussed the problem of defining democracy and the difficulty in determining how it was visualized. Its definitions have been controversial, and, as a "Jewish" and "democratic" regime within which the Palestinian minority lacks full civil rights, Israeli democracy remains inherently contradictory. The article researched the representation of these contradictions. In this context, posters represented Judaism so as to affirm Israeli identity as Jewish and democratic. Two approaches for visualizing this were demonstrated: first, Jewish textual and liturgical content was represented alongside nation-building, as exhibited by the holiday posters; second, emblematic representations, wherein symbols, such as the menorah or architecture representing Jewish religious buildings, were depicted. Diversity within Judaism itself became more apparent in the 1970s posters, with the representation of *Haredi* Jews.

Holiday posters and posters promoting *aliya* manifested the connection between democracy and nation-building. They pictured industrial and agricultural labor, defense, settlements, towns, and new public architecture. In their expression of different ways of life, they constituted democratic spaces; Jerusalem's buildings also constructed these spaces as representing ethnic difference, thus suggesting multiculturalism.

Most of the posters discussed here, especially those created prior to the 1970s, obfuscated Israel's Others—be they new immigrants or Palestinians. The veiling of difference was not only a product of unsolved political issues; it served as a tool for representing a unified Israeli society—its Others understated so as to fit in hegemonic cultural practices. The artists' use of modern artistic devices such as abstraction, collage, and bold coloring, was crucial to mellowing representations of difference and lessening their salience. Later posters used caricature and photographic documentation to represent not only ethnic difference, but also the diverse social or religious practices identified with specific ethnic groups. Thus, while earlier posters represented democracy by obscuring ethnic diversity, later works projected democratic ideals by using forthright representations of difference. The posters' propaganda function remained apparent in their use of stereotypes and the portrayal of an idyllic coexistence. Thus, images of ethnic difference were not used to expose the complexities of Israeli democracy, and glossed over the Arab-Israeli and Palestinian-Israeli conflicts.

Finally, posters represented gender equality—central to a secular and democratic national identity—by depicting men and women engaged in similar cultural activities and civic duty. However, posters used feminine stereotypes and partially preserved the traditional roles of women, thus negating a full egalitarian display.

The article has shown that each poster, at the time of its creation, represented the ambiguities of Israeli culture and the complexities of its democracy and multiculturalism. Poster artists chose styles and imagery that were directly related to these dilemmas of representation. They demonstrate the different approaches towards issues of secularism and religion, unity and diversity, equality and progress—all aspects of the modern, democratic nation-state. The posters constructed the visual expression of national identity, as well its processes of transformation and change.



Figure 1: Roli Studio (Gad Rothschild and Ze'ev Lipman), *Bikkurim*, N.D. (c. 1955–1960), Printed by JNF (Keren Kayemet LeIsrael). CZA, KRA/1814. *Courtesy of the Central Zionist Archives.*

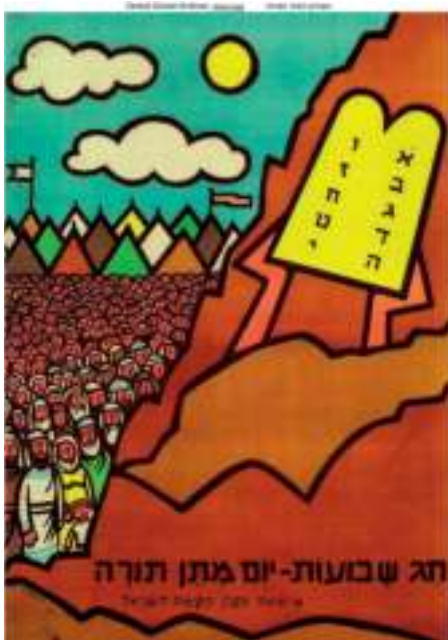


Figure 2: Menachem Gueffen, *Chag Shavuot - Yom Matan Torah* (Shavuot - Day of Giving the Torah), printed by JNF. CZA, KRA/248. *Courtesy of the Central Zionist Archives.*



Figure 3: Yechezkel Kimhi, *Israel - Ten Years of Statehood*, 1958, produced by JNF. CZA, KRA/135. *Courtesy of the Central Zionist Archives.*



Figure 4: Jean David, *Yom Ha'Atzmaut (Independence Day)*, N.D., Printed by the WZO. CZA KRA/122. *Courtesy of the Central Zionist Archives.*



Figure 5: Effie, *Second World Jewish Youth Conference*, 1963. CZA, KRA/2104  
*Courtesy of the Central Zionist Archives.*



Figure 6: Cesar, *There's a Place for You in Israel*, 1971. Printed by the Jewish Agency. CZA KRA/334.  
*Courtesy of the Central Zionist Archives.*



Figure 7: Dudu Geva, *Israel: Real, Free and 23*, 1971. CZA KRA/318.  
*Courtesy of Mishkan Museum of Art, Ein Harod and the CZA.*



Figure 8: Raphie Etgar, *Jerusalem, N. D.* Printed by the WZO. CZA KRA/3806.  
*Courtesy of the Central Zionist Archives.*

## NOTES

I would like to thank Luba Basin, Ruth E. Iskin, Einat Lachover, Naomi Meiri-Dann, Sara Offenberg, and Na'ama Sheffi for their help and insightful comments.

1. Margit Weinberg Staber, "Poster Persuasion," *The Journal of Decorative and Propaganda Arts* 19 (1993): 62–83; Želimir Koščević, "The Poster in Yugoslavia," *The Journal of Decorative and Propaganda Arts* 10 (1988): 54–61.

2. See Alec Mishori, *Lo and Behold: Zionist Icons and Visual Symbols in Israeli Culture* (Tel-Aviv, 2000); Dalia Manor, "Biblical Zionism in Bezalel Art," *Israel Studies Review* 6.1 (2001): 55–75; Aaron Farkash, *Living in a Film: An Album of Israeli Film Posters from Then Until Now* (Tel-Aviv, 2014); *Four Israeli Poster Designers: Raphie Etgar, Yarum Vardimon, David Tartakover, Dan Reisinger* (Exh. Cat.) (Tefen, 1991) [all in Hebrew].

3. Batia Donner, *Living with the Dream* (Exhib. Cat.) (Tel-Aviv, 1989) [Hebrew].

4. *Israel Studies* 6.2 (2001): Eli Tzur, "Hakibbutz Ha'Artzi, Engaged Art and the Historical Background," 54–64; Yuval Danieli, "Ideological Identification and Freedom of Expression," 65–74; Batya Donner, "The Boundaries of Affiliation: The Formulation of Iconographic Motifs in Left-Wing Posters," 75–89. See also Ruth E. Iskin, "Relational Media Images: Jewish Responses to the Jewish Banker Stereotype in 1890s Paris and 1955 Israel," in *Jewish Images in the Media, (Relation series 5.2)*, ed. Martin Leipach, Gabriele Melischek and Joseph Seethaler (Vienna, 2007), 177–202; Shelomoh Shealtiel, ed., *Art in the Service of Ideology: Hashomer Hatzair Political Posters, 1937–1967* (Yad Ya'ari, 1999) [Hebrew].

5. James Housefield, Review of Ruth E. Iskin, *The Poster: Art, Advertising, Design, and Collecting, 1860s–1900s, Interfaces: Studies in Visual Culture* (Hanover, NH, 2014), CAA Reviews.

6. Hizky Shoham, *Let's Celebrate! Festivals and Civic Culture in Israel* (Jerusalem, 2014), 183–5. <https://www.idi.org.il/books/4998>. Esther Meir-Glitzstein, "Iraqi Zionist and Communist Leadership Facing the Challenge of Absorption of New Immigrants in Israel," *Pe'amim* 101–02 (2004): 5–38 [all in Hebrew].

7. *Israel Studies Review* 26.1 (2011), especially Naomi Chazan, "Israeli Democracy and Identity under Attack," 19; Ruth Gavison, "Jewish and Democratic?," 44–72. See also Avihay Dorfman, *Democracy as Collective Self-Rule* (Jerusalem, 2016); Yehouda Shenhav, *Arab Jews: A Postcolonial Reading of Nationalism, Religion, and Ethnicity* (Stanford, 2006), 77–109; Michael Walzer, "Zionism and Judaism: The Paradox of National Liberation," *Journal of Israeli History: Politics, Society, Culture* 26.2 (2007): 125–36; Lilly Weissbrod, "Religion as National Identity in a Secular Society," *Review of Religious Research* 24.3 (1983): 188–205.

8. Ruth Gavison, "Jewish and Democratic? A Rejoinder to the 'Ethnic Democracy' Debate," *Israel Studies Review* 1 (1999): 44, 66n7.

9. Sammy Smootha, "The Model of Ethnic Democracy: Israel as a Jewish and Democratic State," *Nations and Nationalism* 8.2 (2002): 475–503; Guy Ben-Porat,

*Between State and Synagogue: The Secularization of Contemporary Israel* (Cambridge, 2013), 1–59; Dorfman, *Democracy as Collective Self-Rule*, 11–3.

10. Michael Waltzer, “Zionism and Judaism: the paradox of national liberation,” *The Journal of Israeli History* 26.2 (2007): 125–36; Alexander Kaye, “Democratic Themes in Religious Zionism,” *Shofar* 31.2 (2013): 8–30.

11. Charles S. Liebman and Eliezer Don-Yehiya, *Civil Religion in Israel: Traditional Judaism and Political Culture in the Jewish State* (Berkeley, 1983), 4–5; Ben-Porat, *Between State and Synagogue*, 29–34.

12. Shenhav, *Arab Jews*, 192.

13. Liebman and Don-Yehiya, *Civil Religion in Israel*, 4, 25–58.

14. *Ibid.*, 12–24; Waltzer, “Zionism and Judaism,” 128; Motti Regev, “To Have a Culture of Our Own: On Israeliness and its Variants,” *Ethnic and Racial Studies* 23.2 (2000): 223–47.

15. Eliezer Don-Yehiya, “*Mamlakhtiyut*, Education and Religion in the Struggle over Mass Immigration,” *Journal of Israeli History* 26.2 (2007): 229–50; Mitchell Cohen, *Zion and State: Nation, Class and the Shaping of Modern Israel* (New York, 1992), 42–3.

16. Orit Rozin, *The Rise of the Individual in 1950s Israel: A Challenge to Collectivism* (Lebanon, NH, 2011), 186–99.

17. Shoham, *Let’s Celebrate!*, 24–5.

18. Liebman and Don-Yehiya, *Civil Religion in Israel*, 49–54; Yael Zerubavel, *Recovered Roots: Collective Memory and the Making of Israeli National Tradition* (Chicago, 1995), 218, 295n6.

19. Central Zionist Archives (henceforth CZA) dating.

20. Rothschild and Lipman were among the foremost graphic designers in Palestine before 1948 and later in Israel. Both studied at the Bezalel Academy of Art between 1936 and 1939, and their partnership lasted for over thirty years. They designed several Roli Studio Hebrew fonts, and numerous posters, stamps, medals, certificates, and books. Ze’ev Lipman, personal communication, 3 February 2016. <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=v7t8d9o-1L8>

21. Abraham Kamini, *In Heart and Soul: a Selection of the Author’s Essays/Speeches* (Jerusalem, 1965), 170–4 [Hebrew].

22. According to Lipman, Rothschild was responsible for the illustrations, while he was in charge of applying or designing fonts. The fonts used here appear to be derived from a Roli Studio book on Hebrew fonts, published by Lipman and Ludwig Fritz Tobi in 1951. Based on the 1955 edition, the fonts used here were “New Jerusalem Font” and “Budko” (named after Joseph Budko [1888–1940], the first director of the Bezalel Academy of Art, following its reopening in 1935). Ze’ev Lipman, personal communication, 3 February 2016.

23. Carmela Rubin, David Tartakover, and Ruthi Offek, *Jean David—Many Faces* (Exhib. Cat.) (Tefen, 2002), 118 [Hebrew].

24. Preferring agricultural settlements to urban ones is discussed in: Eric Cohen, “The City in Zionist Ideology,” *Jerusalem Urban Studies* 1 (1970): 2–5.



25. Liebman and Don-Yehiya, *Civil Religion in Israel*, 32–3; Walter Lehn, “The Jewish National Fund,” *Journal of Palestine Studies* 3.4 (1974): 74–96. See Dalia Manor, “Imagined Homeland: Landscape Painting in Palestine in the 1920s,” *Nations and Nationalism* 4 (2003): 533–54; Joanna C. Long, “Rooting Diaspora, Reviving Nation: Zionist Landscapes of Palestine–Israel,” *Transactions of the Institute of British Geographers* 34.1 (2009): 61–77.
26. Mishori, *Lo and Behold*, 245–47.
27. *Ibid.*, 252–4; Dalia Manor, “Biblical Zionism in Bezalel Art,” *Israel Studies Review* 6.1 (2001): 55–75.
28. Mishori, *Lo and Behold*, 241–5.
29. Gender equality surfaces in political posters of this period as well. See Donner, “The boundaries of affiliation,” 76. Ample research has been conducted on gender in Israel and its visual manifestations. See for example: Nitzza Berkovitch, “Women of Valor: Women and Citizenship in Israel,” *Israeli Sociology* 1.2 (1999): 277–317; Billie Melman, “On the Margins and at the Center: Women’s History and Histories of Gender in Israel,” *Zion* (2009): 245–66; Sylvie Fogiel-Bijaoui, *Democracy and Feminism: Gender, Citizenship and Human Rights* (Ra’anana, 2011), 157–77 [both in Hebrew]; Julie Grimmeisen, “Halutzah Or Beauty Queen? National Images of Women in Early Israeli Society,” *Israel Studies* 20.2 (2015): 27–52.
30. Anat Helman, *Coat of Many Colors: Dress Culture in the Young State of Israel* (Boston, 2011), 139–40.
31. Donner, *Living with the Dream*, 121. For additional examples of the different clothes attributed to new immigrants see posters by Shmuel Katz (1926–2010), titled *Ten Years of Aliyah* (CZA, KRA/338, 270).
32. Rozin, *The Rise of the Individual*, 139.
33. *Ibid.*, 170–1.
34. See Vincent Van Gogh, *The Reaper (after Millet)*, 1889, oil on canvas, 25 × 43.5 cm, Memorial Art Gallery of the University of Rochester, United States.
35. Don-Yehiya, “*Mamlakhtiyut*, Education and Religion”; Shoshana Setton, “The Contribution of the Teachers’ Council to the Jewish National Fund in Designing Zionist Festivities and Ceremonies,” *Proceedings of the World Congress of Jewish Studies, Vol. Division B: The History of the Jewish People Vol. II: Modern Times* (Jerusalem, 1993), 235–42.
36. Rozin, *The Rise of the Individual*, 186–99.
37. A survey of the online collections of the National Library of Israel, the CZA, and the “Shittim” (Kibbutz Institute for Holidays and Jewish Culture) website, presents a clear preference for depicting agriculture in Shavuot posters, rather than Giving the Torah. There are two posters representing the latter, out of roughly 60 available online. See [http://web.nli.org.il/sites/NLI/Hebrew/digitallibrary/time\\_journey/galleries/Pages/full\\_gallery.aspx](http://web.nli.org.il/sites/NLI/Hebrew/digitallibrary/time_journey/galleries/Pages/full_gallery.aspx) and <http://www.zionistarchives.org.il/Pages/ArchiveSearchResults.aspx?k=בִּיכּוּרִים&t=T6>
38. “Shittim” website, <http://www.chagim.org.il/ListPages.aspx?catid=550>  
אוסישקין-

39. Yitzhak Conforti, "Zionist Awareness of the Jewish Past: Inventing Tradition or Renewing the Ethnic Past?," *Studies in Ethnicity and Nationalism* 12.1 (2012): 155–71.

40. *Ibid.*

41. Yoram Bar-Gal, *An Agent of Zionist Propaganda: The Jewish National Fund, 1924–1947* (Jerusalem, 1999), 105–14; 173–86 [Hebrew]. The JNF's relationship with the state was redefined in 1961, and its educational activities within Israel and the diaspora continued: Lehn, "The Jewish National Fund," 87–8.

42. Gad B. Sarfatti, "The Tablets of the Law as a Symbol of Judaism," in *The Ten Commandments in History and Tradition*, ed. Ben-Zion Segal and Gershon Levi (Jerusalem, 1990), 383–418 [Hebrew].

43. Kaye, "Democratic Themes," 13–4.

44. Conforti, "Zionist Awareness of the Jewish Past," 155–71; Zerubavel, *Recovered Roots*, 13–33; 214–21; Guy Ben-Porat, "Are We There Yet? Religion, Secularization and Liberal Democracy in Israel," *Mediterranean Politics* 18.2 (2013): 245–6.

45. Some are exhibited on the Israel State Archive website: <http://www.archives.gov.il/ArchiveGov/gallery/gallery10/>

46. Haim Grossman, "Peace on Israel: the History of the 30<sup>th</sup> Independence Day Poster," *Israel* 8 (2005): 95–117; Avivit Agam-Dali, "The Image of the Dove in Israel Independence Day Posters," *Kesher* 43 (2012):142–9; Amir Marom, "A Historical Poster Exhibition at Ben-Gurion Airport: Commemorating Israel's 60<sup>th</sup> Anniversary: An Exhibition of 60 Independence Day Posters is on Display at Ben-Gurion Airport," *Ma'ariv/NRG*, 5 May 2008, <http://www.nrg.co.il/online/55/ART1/729/872.html> [all in Hebrew].

47. Kimhi's notable works include wall reliefs for public buildings such as Ben-Gurion International Airport and the *Kibbutz Ha'artzi* building in Tel-Aviv.

48. Long, "Rooting Diaspora, Reviving Nation," 61–2; Bar-Gal, *An Agent of Zionist Propaganda*, 159–61.

49. Hagai Tzoref, ed., *Zalman Shazar: the Third President: A Selection of Documents from his Life (1889–1974)* (Jerusalem, 2008), 374–7 [Hebrew].

50. Rubin, Tartakover, and Offek, *Jean David—Many Faces*, 113, and figures on pages 114, 117, 120–1, 123.

51. For the Star of David as national symbol see: Richard A. Freund, "The Mystery of the Menorah and the Star," in *Nationalism, Zionism and Ethnic Mobilization of the Jews in 1900 and Beyond*, ed. Michael Berkowitz (Leiden, 2004), 285–8; 297–303; Mishori, *Lo and Behold*, 120–37.

52. For the transformation of Lag B'Omer into a civic holiday see: Zerubavel, *Recovered Roots*, 96–113.

53. Iskin, "Relational Media Images," 188; Cohen, "The City in Zionist Ideology," 2–5.

54. Anthony Giddens, "Modernity, History, Democracy," *Theory and Society* 22.2 (1993): 289–92.

55. Source for translation: Israel Ministry of Foreign Affairs: <http://mfa.gov.il/MFA/AboutIsrael/History/Pages/DeclarationofEstablishmentofStateofIsrael.aspx>

56. These debates are connected to defining Israel as Jewish and Democratic. See for example Gavison, "Jewish and Democratic?," 46n4; Shulamit Aloni, "Educating for Essential Democracy on the Basis of the Declaration of Independence, the Declaration of Human Rights and Establishment Myths in Israeli Culture," in *Bringing Spirit and Culture back to Education, Proceedings of the Second National Conference for Advanced Education*, Vol. 3 (Tel-Aviv, 2008), 124–6; Uzi Ornan, "A Different Interpretation of the Declaration of Independence: the Israeli Nation vs. the Jewish People," *Kivunim Hadashim* 20 (2009): 112–3 [all in Hebrew].

57. Kimchi was a Soviet army painter during WW II. See David Tidhar, *Encyclopedia of the Founders and Builders of Israel* (Tel-Aviv, 1947–1971), Vol. 15, 4769. <http://www.tidhar.tourolib.org/tidhar/view/15/4769>; [https://he.wikipedia.org/wiki/דָּהוּקָאָל\\_קִמְחִי](https://he.wikipedia.org/wiki/דָּהוּקָאָל_קִמְחִי). For the Soviet influence on Zionist and Israeli poster design see Danieli, "Ideological Identification," 67–8 and Donner, "The Boundaries of Affiliation," 75.

58. Danieli, "Ideological Identification," 68. Danieli discusses artists affiliated with the *Kibbutz Ha'Artzi* movement. Kimchi was a member of the movement's Kibbutz Yakum.

59. Margaret Timmers, ed., *The Power of the Poster* (London, 1998), 123–4.

60. Tatiana Koloskova, *Symbols of an Era in Soviet Posters* (Moscow, 2001); Nina Baburina, *The Soviet Political Poster: What About the Poster?* (Moscow, 1984). For posters exemplifying separation between work and leisure in the context of agricultural labor, see Nina Baburina and Klaus Vasnik, *Reality of a Utopia: Soviet Poster Art of the Twentieth Century* (Moscow, 2004), 177–8, 321, 322. See also Ludmila Gritsay, "Soviet Posters on Parenting Children as a Cultural Phenomenon," <http://vestnik-rzi.ru/2014/03/1413> [all in Russian].

61. Berkovitz, "Women of Valor," 277–317; Fogiel-Bijaoui, *Democracy and Feminism*, 166–8.

62. Berkovitz, "Women of Valor," 301–8.

63. Donner, *Living with the Dream*, 174; Ze'ev Drory, *The Israeli Defense Forces and the Foundation of Israel: Utopia in Uniform* (London, 2004).

64. Grossman, "Peace on Israel," 104–5.

65. Mishori, *Lo and Behold*, 138–64; Freund, "The Mystery of the Menorah and the Star". See also the Israeli Cartoon Museum exhibition (2010) curated by Daniella Santo Gardosh and Yoram Shamir: [http://www.cartoon.org.il/article/לֹא\\_וְיִבְרָךְ\\_מְנוֹרָה\\_וְכֹכֵב](http://www.cartoon.org.il/article/לֹא_וְיִבְרָךְ_מְנוֹרָה_וְכֹכֵב)

66. Freund, "The Mystery of the Menorah and the Star," 285–303.

67. Manor, "Biblical Zionism in Bezalel Art," 66.

68. Ella Shohat, "Rupture and Return: Zionist Discourse and the Study of Arab Jews," *Social Text* 75.2 (2003): 49–74.

69. Shenhav, *Arab Jews*, 10, 192–3.

70. Shohat, "Rupture and Return," 63.

71. Donner, *Living with the Dream*, 121.

72. In Haim Naor's 1953–Independence Day poster that depicts similar, yet much larger, dancers, an Arab wearing a *jalabiah* can be clearly identified: [https://he.wikipedia.org/wiki/העצמאות\\_יום\\_כרות-/media/File:Israel\\_05\\_Independence\\_Day\\_1953.jpg](https://he.wikipedia.org/wiki/העצמאות_יום_כרות-/media/File:Israel_05_Independence_Day_1953.jpg)

73. Agam-Dali identified Arab architecture as substituting the Arabs themselves in advertisements: Avivit Agam-Dali, "The Image of the Arab in Israeli Advertisements: as Stereotype, as Exotic, as Landscape," *Tav+ 10* (2007): 86 [Hebrew].

74. Oded Haklai, *Palestinian Ethnonationalism in Israel* (Philadelphia, 2011), 52–70. <http://www.questia.com/read/124223865/palestinian-ethnonationalism-in-israel>. For Palestinian posters see Daniel J. Walsh, "The Palestinian Poster Project Archives: Origins, Evolution and Potential" (MA thesis, Georgetown University, Washington DC, 2011).

75. Ayelet Kohn and Kobi Cohen-Hattab, "Tourism Posters in the Yishuv Era: Between Zionist Ideology and Commercial Language," *Journal of Israeli History* 34.1 (2015): 69–91.

76. Alexander Friedman (1905–87) was the architect of *Hechal Shlomo* (1958); David Reznik (1924–2012) and Heinz Rau (1896–1965) planned the Hebrew University synagogue at Givat-Ram (1956–57).

77. The conference took place on 4–9 August 1963. See *Jewish Youth Movements of the World: Prepared for the Second World Jewish Youth Conference, Jerusalem, August 4–9*, (Jerusalem, 1963); "World Jewish Youth Parley to be Held in Israel; 20 Lands Participating," *Jewish Telegraphic Agency*, 8 July 1963. <http://www.jta.org/1963/07/08/archive/world-jewish-youth-parley-to-be-held-in-israel-20-lands-participating>

78. Yael Ikan, *World Zionist Organization: National Institutions: Structure and Functions* (Jerusalem, 1996), appendix 14, 71–87 [Hebrew]; Zelig Chinitz, *Common Agenda: The Reconstitution of the Jewish Agency for Israel* (Jerusalem, 1985), 48–66 [both in Hebrew].

79. The Shrine of the Book was planned by Armand Bartos (1910–2005) and Friedrich Kiesler (1890–1965).

80. Joseph Massad, "Zionism's Internal Others: Israel and the Oriental Jews," *Journal of Palestine Studies* 25.4 (1996): 62–4.

81. Grossman, "Peace on Israel," 104–5; Agam-Dali, "The Image of the Dove in Israeli Independence Day Posters," 146–7.

82. Dudu (David) Geva was one of Israel's leading caricaturists, famous for *The Duck* and other caricature series. He designed few posters and the one discussed here is a rare example of this aspect of his oeuvre. See <http://www.israel21c.org/remembering-the-man-behind-the-duck/>

83. John Barnicoat, *Posters: a Concise History* (London, 1972), 57–71.

84. Kevin M. Moist, "Visualizing Postmodernity: 1960s Rock Concert Posters and Contemporary American Culture," *The Journal of Popular Culture* 43.6 (2010): 1242–65.

85. Dalia Gavrieli-Nuri, "Saying 'War', Thinking 'Victory'—the Mythmaking Surrounding Israel's 1967 Victory," *Israel Studies* 15.1 (2010): 95–114.

86. See examples in Donner, *Living with the Dream*, 170, 177, 163.

87. Gavrieli-Nuri, "Saying 'War', Thinking 'Victory'," 106–7; 109.

88. The bronze Menorah in the entrance to the Knesset was commissioned by Benno Elkan (1877–1960) in 1950.

89. Raphie Etgar, among Israel's leading poster artists, graduated in 1972 from the Bezalel Academy of Art. In 1999 he founded the Museum on the Seam in Jerusalem, whose exhibitions engage international encounters and sites of friction: <http://www.mots.org.il/Eng/Index.asp>

90. For other posters in the series see CZA KRA/3799, 3800, 3801, 3802, 3803, 3804, 3805, 3807, 3808, 3809.

91. *Report of Activities: June 1978–May 1979, Submitted to the General Council of the WZO* (Jerusalem, 1979), 74, 77, 79.

92. *Ibid.*, 79.

93. Text written by Michael Dak; photographs: Werner Braun.

94. An additional poster in this series refers to democracy by displaying the *Knesset* (CZA, KRA/3801).

95. Gavrieli-Nuri, "Saying 'War', Thinking 'Victory'," 95.

96. Dalia Gavrieli-Nuri, "The Social Construction of 'Jerusalem of Gold' as Israel's Unofficial National Anthem," *Israel Studies* 12.2 (2007): 104–20.

97. Dalia Gavrieli-Nuri, "The Outbreak of Peace in Israeli Children's Periodicals, 1977–1979," *Journal of Multicultural Discourses* 11.2 (2016): 1–15.

98. Grossman discusses similar images of Jerusalem in the official 1977 and 1978 Independence Day posters: Grossman, "Peace on Israel," 108–10.

99. Iskin, "Relational Media Images," 195–6.

100. Lisa Nakamura, "'Where Do You Want To Go Today?' Cybernetic Tourism, the Internet, and Transnationality," in *The Visual Culture Reader*, ed. Nicholas Mirzeoff (London, 1998), 263.

101. Rebecca L. Stein and Ted Swedenburg, "Popular Culture, Relational History, and the Question of Power in Palestine and Israel," *Journal of Palestine Studies* 33.4 (2004): 5–20.

102. *Ibid.*, 10.

INBAL BEN-ASHER GITLER is a Lecturer at Sapir Academic College and an adjunct lecturer at Ben-Gurion University of the Negev. Her recent publications include: "Landscape and Architecture of the Israeli Kibbutz as Represented in Film and Television," co-author with Amir Har-Gil, *Israel Studies Review* 30.1 (2015); editor, *Monuments and Site-Specific Sculpture in Urban and Rural Space* (Newcastle upon Tyne, UK, 2017).

Copyright of Israel Studies is the property of Indiana University Press and its content may not be copied or emailed to multiple sites or posted to a listserv without the copyright holder's express written permission. However, users may print, download, or email articles for individual use.