VISION OF A NEW STATE
Israel as mythologized by Robert Capa

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The establishment of a Jewish homeland is central to many aspects of Judaism, and from any standard of newsworthiness, the events in Palestine in the late 1940s and early 1950s were a major development. Still, journalistic texts are not created in a vacuum. To fully understand the meaning of these texts, the cultural context in which they are created and the viewpoint embodied in the producer’s work must be examined. The work of Robert Capa represents an excellent case study for examining the construction and recapitulation of myth through “objective” news coverage. Photojournalist Robert Capa’s images of the birth of the State of Israel argue for a specific reading, one that celebrates a presumed rightness/naturalness of the Jewish state and embraces dominant Israeli cultural myths related to its founding. Further, his photographs argue that the Israelis were creating a state ex nihilo by turning a desolate, unpopulated strip of land into both an urban and agricultural oasis. Capa’s images tap into the reclamation myth of the land that settlers believed was rightly theirs and their spiritual connection to that land. This analysis gives insight into the practice of photojournalism as a human craft, rather than a mechanical one.

KEYWORDS  Israel; myths; photojournalism; Robert Capa; semiotics

Introduction

On May 14, 1948, in Tel-Aviv, David Ben-Gurion declared independence for the State of Israel, giving Jews a homeland for the first time in nearly 2000 years. The birth and establishment of Israel and the resulting war in May 1948 became headline news throughout the international press. In some ways, this was just another news story characterized by political strife, violence and sorrow. But much of the coverage of the birth of Israel, especially in Western media outlets, argued for a particular way of seeing the event, one that echoed and reaffirmed a Zionist way of seeing the new Jewish homeland. The work of Robert Capa represents an excellent case study for examining the construction and recapitulation of myth through “objective” news coverage. Capa’s images confirm the cultural myths that were already known and show the culmination of events that Zionist myths predicted or outlined.

Capa gained recognition as a war correspondent in 1936 while photographing the Civil War in Spain. During World War II, he photographed in the European theater of war for Life and other magazines. On assignment to Indo-China for Life magazine in 1954, Capa was killed by a landmine, just months before reaching his 41st birthday. The preservation of Capa’s photographic legacy has centered primarily on his work as a war photographer. This legacy includes his extensive coverage of the birth of Israel. “Israel’s war for independence was Capa’s most personal war. It is difficult to find an example of any photographer before or since who has covered a war so brilliantly and bravely” (Kershaw, 2002, p. 202). The extent of that coverage became evident in 1998 when the 50th
anniversary of the Jewish state was celebrated by Magnum Photo Agency’s publication of *Israel: 50 years as seen by Magnum photographers* (Magnum Photos, 1998), a large, coffee-table-sized examination of 33 photographers’ images and words. Capa’s commentary began the book’s text and many of his images were featured in the book’s first section, reminding us of the major role Capa played in documenting this important post-World War II development. Complete with Capa’s cover photograph of arriving refugees, the book jacket of *Israel: 50 years as seen by Magnum photographers* notes:

> From its tenuous beginnings to the present day, Israel has been a special assignment for Magnum. Founding members Robert Capa and David Seymour were themselves Jewish émigrés from central Europe who *shared enormous enthusiasm for the struggle of the new arrivals and covered their story with deep affection*, while fellow founding member George Rodger documented the Arab exiles on Israel’s borders, questioning the price of Jewish victory. (Magnum Photos, 1998, emphasis added)

By looking at Capa’s Israel photographs, we wish to answer the same question posed by Trachtenberg, “[What is] the point of view of the photograph itself, the interpretation it allows viewers to make of its subject?” (1989, p. xiii). We hope to extend Trachtenberg’s question by focusing on the rhetoric of Capa’s images, specifically asking what Capa’s photographs from the late 1940s and early 1950s tell us about the birth of this new state.

We first examine previous work on the practice of photojournalism and the role cultural factors play in the production of news photographs, drawing on a theoretical discussion of standpoint epistemology and journalism as a form of cultural mythology. Then we conduct a semiotic analysis of Capa’s published photographs of Israel, in the context of Israel’s founding cultural myths.

### A Theoretical Context: Professional Objectivity and Cultural Mythology in Journalism

The traditional journalistic concept of objectivity focuses on the attempt to portray multiple sides of a story, separating values from facts and being an impartial witness to the events at hand. Objectivity has been a defining aspect of American journalism, at least for the past 100 years (Durham, 1998; Mindich, 1998; Reese, 1990; Schudson, 2001). News photography is especially assumed to be impartial and objective (Becker, 1995; Ritchin, 1999; Sontag, 1977). As Barthes and others argue, there is an assumed “myth of photographic naturalness: the scene is there, captured mechanically, not humanly (the mechanical is a guarantee of objectivity)” (1977, p. 44). When viewing photographs, audiences are less likely to think of the influence of a human being in the interpretation of news events, as opposed to when reading news stories. The public views the photographer as a mere button-pusher. Many news photographers also internalize these ideas of impartiality. Zelizer (1998) argues that news photographers, in the middle part of the 20th century (when Capa was working) primarily viewed their role to be neutral recorders of events, not interpreters. She focuses mainly on sources by and for newspaper journalists and photographers. Certainly attempting to be a neutral recorder of events was largely true for this group of photographers. An early photojournalism textbook argues that like all good journalism, news photography should “be free from opinion or bias of any kind” (Kinkaid, 1936, p. 265; see also Newton, 2001).
Yet, while both Capa and *Life* photographer George Silk “... considered an honest representation of events to be paramount to their photographic reportage, ... they did not believe that objectivity was a desirable or obtainable option”, according to Moeller (1989, p. 241). Capa’s work is more in line with the documentary movement of the 1930s and the European picture magazine tradition, in which the point of view of the photographers was essential to effective storytelling (Stott, 1986). Magazines from Germany (such as *Berliner Illustrirte Zeitung*), France (such as *Vu* and *Regards*), and England (such as *Picture Post*) hired photographers who brought a distinctive point of view to photographic work (Osman and Phillips, 1988). Because of émigré photographers and editors, especially Kurt Korff (Fulton, 1988; Smith, 1988), this approach to photography influenced Henry Luce and *Life* magazine. Rather than covering news events in a neutral way, *Life* photographers were expected to produce photo essays from a decidedly personal point of view (Fulton, 1988).

A person’s point of view on the world is highly dependent on the social groups to which he or she belongs, as Durham (1998) discusses in her essay on standpoint epistemology and journalistic practice. The experience of belonging to one society or class rather than another allows certain ways of seeing the world, while shading others from view. As Durham contends, “The question that arises here is this: Can a valid account of a phenomenon be given if the social locations of the reporter and the subjects are not taken into account? Or, as a corollary: How can social phenomena be best observed while taking into consideration the location of the observer?” (Durham, 1998, p. 130; see also Hammersley and Atkinson, 1995). If this is the case, we must examine the perspectives that are enabled by a social context when exploring a topic.

Discussions of the influence of social context also appear widely in writings on photography: knowing about the photographer is essential to understanding the photographs. Scherer elaborates, “The artist or photographer has a point of view, a personal or cultural bias, and although the camera may pick up more than the photographer originally intended, still the photographer aimed his camera at but one point of one event in a continuum of action” (1975, p. 67; see also Newton, 2001).

Certainly individual photographers are, in part, influenced by cultural ideas or myths about the structure of the world. Every culture has myths, and different cultures often have different myths (see also Berger, 1972; Fiske, 1990; Gertz, 2000). Myths are a preferred or dominant way of interpreting symbolic messages in any culture, and the preferred way of seeing the world. Lule states: “Myth draws upon archetypal figures and forms to offer exemplary models that represent shared values, confirm core beliefs, deny other beliefs, and help people engage with, appreciate, and understand the complex joys and sorrows of human life” (2001, p. 15). Further, myths are recreated repeatedly within a culture in order to give consistency to the world and make experience more understandable (Bird and Dardenne, 1997; Storey, 1996). Myths are often stories that groups put forward to connect their current beliefs and values with the past (Liebman and Don-Yehiya, 1983; Wistrich and Ohana, 1995), thereby validating the present in the past. Similarly, Hall (1973) refers to the ideological value of journalism, as opposed to its news value, which for him refers to those factors deemed newsworthy in a given society. His ideological value refers to a society’s “moral-political discourse” (Hall, 1973, p. 179), or the higher-level themes of a society, similar to Barthes’s myths.

Myths are not necessarily fictional (Liebman, 1978). Barthes argues, “Myth hides nothing and flaunts nothing: it distorts; myth is neither a lie nor a confession: it is an
He goes on to state that myths naturalize history, becoming the only way to read a symbol, as if the mythic interpretation has always existed and is not an arbitrary creation. This naturalization is strengthened because of a connection between myths and perceived truths. Myths are not necessarily false, but they serve a narrative function in framing the present with specific aspects of the past (Wills, 1997; Wistrich and Ohana, 1995). Wistrich and Ohana suggest that myths’ “true significance lies in what they can tell us about the ways in which particular nation, social group or set of individuals, seek to organize its collective memory and to establish a distinctive identity” (1995, p. ix). This is especially the case at times of beginning, such as the creation of a new nation. Myths helps build a cohesiveness between people, giving them a sense of a common past and purpose for the future (Ben-Yehuda, 1995).

The seeming objective nature of photographs (Barthes, 1977; Szarkowski, 1966) makes photographs highly effective for conveying myths. Barthes differentiates between the denotative and connotative levels of meaning in images. The denotative meaning focuses on recognizing who or what is depicted in an image and what is going on; the connotative and mythic meaning is that which the represented subjects stand for (Barthes, 1977). The denotative level, being a representation of a “real” thing, naturalizes the connotative. The symbolic is invisibly linked to the portrayed object. In terms of myth, then, Barthes states, “Everything happens as if the picture naturally conjured up the concept . . . ” (1972, p. 130, emphasis in original). Photographs are very important in the signification of ideology, according to Hall (1973), in that news photographs works to invisibly and seamlessly signify the society’s ideological values. As Hall (1973) states, “It is this double articulation—formal news values/ideological treatment—which binds the inner discourse of the newspaper to the ideological universe of the society” (p. 180). The ideological meaning of pictures is suppressed “by offering themselves as literal visual-transcriptions of the ‘real world’” (Hall, 1973, p. 188).

Likewise, other communication scholars suggest that journalists structure news into existing cultural “plots” (Barkin, 1984; Berger, 1997; Berkowitz, 1997; Bird and Dardenne, 1997; Dahlgren, 1999; Darnton, 1975; Lule, 2001; Manoff, 1987; Rock, 1973). From this theoretical viewpoint, journalism presents a unified vision of values through these narrative structures. Like the concept of myths, these plots occur repeatedly, allowing people to consider them as natural ways to think of issues and events.

Methodology

The literature examined above suggests photographers often will document events through the lens of dominant cultural myths. To investigate the viewpoint or perspective of Israel offered by Capa’s images, we examined his published coverage of Israel. The primary units of analysis for this study included all the photographs from 10 photo stories (totaling 183 photographs) appearing in Illustrated (London), Look, Holiday, and Life magazines (Capa, 1948a, 1948b, 1948c, 1948d, 1949a, 1949b, 1950a, 1950b, 1951a, 1951b). We also examined two books published at the time on Israel that used Capa’s photographs: This Is Israel with writer I. F. Stone and photographers Jerry Cooke and Tim Gidal (Stone et al., 1948); and Report from Israel with writer Irwin Shaw (Shaw and Capa, 1950). Most of the photographs in these books duplicate those published in the magazine stories. Though our analysis focuses on Capa’s published work, we also
examined more than 700 rolls of film he shot in Israel to ensure that the images used in publication did not differ thematically from the outtakes.\footnote{5}

We used semiotics as our tool for analysis, which attempts to qualitatively place content in a larger cultural context of meaning. As Rose suggests, semiotics “confronts the question of how images make meanings head on. It is not simply descriptive . . . ; nor does it rely on quantitative estimations of significance” (2001, p. 69). Rose argues that the semiotic analysis requires “taking an image apart and tracing how it works in relation to broader systems of meaning” (2001, p. 69). For Rose, meaning arises from the understanding of the producer, from the social context in which the images were produced and within the images themselves, as well as from the minds of audience members. Likewise, Hall argues that this type of analysis requires looking for “recurring patterns [that] are taken as pointers to latent meanings . . . ” (1975, p. 15). Or what Marzlof calls “content assessment,” a method of “reading, sifting, weighing, comparing and analyzing the evidence to tell the story” (1978, p. 15).

For this analysis, we follow Rose’s (2001) outline for the semiotic analysis of visuals. First, it is necessary to identify the signs that have been included in the images. Second, what the signs signify “in themselves” must be examined. The third and final step is to “think about how [the signs are] related to other signs both within the image . . . and in other images; and then explore their connections . . . to wider systems of meaning . . . ” (Rose, 2001, p. 91). This is an expanded form of Barthes’s (1977) assertion that to understand images, it is necessary to look at both the denotative and connotative levels of meaning.

Key to any semiotic analysis is the concept of a sign. Signs are representations of some entity or concept, composed of two parts: the signifier, which stands for something else and the signified, the “thing” for which the sign stands (Fiske, 1990; Moriarty, 2002; Rose, 2001). To understand meaning, we must consider what signs were chosen, what signs could have been chosen and how the signs are combined with other signs (Fiske, 1990). For Rose, “all meanings are relational not only within the image but also in relation to other images and to broader dominant codes, referent systems and mythologies” (2001, p. 91).

To examine the denotative meaning, it is necessary to recognize who or what is portrayed in the photograph; what signifiers were chosen. The choice of one subject over another frames our understanding of an event. Thus, it is also necessary to consider what was not chosen for inclusion in the photographs (Fiske, 1990; Szarkowski, 1966; Trachtenberg, 1989; van Leeuwen, 2001). Choices of what to include are only one aspect; we must also examine how the different choices are combined. Meaning is created by the relationships among the present signs (Fiske, 1990). In terms of subject matter, the entire body of work is examined for the themes that arise as well as patterns of coverage. Among the subject matter clues we were looking for, we noted patterns of presence or absence of religious or cultural symbols, the types of activities portrayed, including celebrations, labor, farming, and warfare; emotions displayed such as laughter, pain, sorrow, and pride; types of people, such as Jews or Arabs; and geographical contexts such as urban or rural, or Arab or Jewish lands.

Understanding the connotative meaning in a set of photographs requires examining both patterns of composition, including the vantage point taken by the photographer (Messaris, 1994), as well as the cultural meanings of the subject matter. We look for patterns of composition style in Capa’s images. The photographer’s point of view often is
revealed through the consistent use of subject—camera distance, horizontal camera angle, vertical camera angle and other methods of emphasis. As Messaris suggests, the meaning in all of these aspects of vantage point are analogous to real-world situations. When we see a photograph shot close up, we are more likely to strongly identify with the subject. The opposite is true for subjects shown far away in a photograph. Similarly, horizontal camera angles can suggest how open or engaged a subject is to us. The more a subject is turned to the camera, the more open he or she is to our understanding. Last, subjects photographed from a high camera angle tend to be viewed as powerless, while subjects photographed from a low camera angle tend to be viewed as powerful.

The subject matter suggests possible connotative or mythic meanings, “the layer of broader concepts, ideas and values which the represented people, places and things ‘stand for,’ or ‘are signs of’” (van Leeuwen, 2001, pp. 96–7; see also Hall, 1973). Such an analysis requires a grounding in the cultural context within which the signs circulate.

Finally, we examine how the pages were designed, including the placement and sizing of images, and the use of headlines, text and captions. Texts can serve to “anchor” or narrow the meanings perceivable in photographs (Barthes, 1977), directing readers to a preferred reading (Fiske, 1990; Hall, 1973). For example, texts can serve to keep the subjects of a photograph at a distance by not providing a name; on the other hand, texts can provide a name, thus helping us to better relate to him or her as a known individual. We begin this analysis by briefly examining Capa’s background and his interest in Israel, as well as the place of Israel within Zionism.

Capa’s Roots

Known as one of photojournalism’s legendary heroes, Capa is remembered for uttering the phrase: “If your pictures are no good, you aren’t close enough” (Moeller, 1989, p. 209). Clearly his heroic status is based on his time in the theatre of war, whether in Spain, China, France, Sicily, Poland or Germany, as a correspondent for Life, Picture Post, (Paris) Match, Illustrated (London) or Collier’s. Capa is most known for his image “Moment of Death of a Loyalist Soldier” from the Spanish Civil War in 1936, as well as the blurry image of the Marines’ D-Day landing on Omaha Beach in 1944, and even for his role in the founding of Magnum Photo Agency in 1947.

A Hungarian, Capa was born Endre (‘Andre’) Erno Friedmann on October 22, 1913, in Budapest. He was the son of middle-class Jews Dezso and Julianna Berkovits Friedmann who owned a custom dressmaking shop. Photographer “Robert Capa” was an invention—a rich, successful American photographer whom Andre and his lover and agent, Gerda Taro, created in an effort to advance his career. His new identity “was conceived partly as an imaginary character, an alter ego, and partly as a pseudonym for Andre to adopt . . .” (Whelan, 1985, p. 80).

As his agent, Taro reportedly convinced editors in Paris that Capa’s international reputation would be insulted if payment were less than 150 francs (three times the going rate) for each photograph (Whelan, 1985). “Editors gladly paid the asking price for ‘Capa’s’ photographs, the very same picture for which they might have refused to pay even fifty francs had they realized they were the work of the struggling émigré Andre Friedmann. It was really true, after all, that nothing succeeds like the illusion of success” (Whelan, 1985, p. 104). The name “Robert Capa” was not clearly one ethnicity or another, which must have been very convenient for the world-traveling journalist. His biographer suggests that
he also chose such an ethnically ambiguous name in order “to hide his Jewishness from
the editors of the Berliner Illustrirte” (Whelan, 1985, p. 81).

In 1947, Capa helped found the photo agency, Magnum. The photojournalist-
founders created the cooperative in order to retain more control over assignments and
allow them to work more intensely on long-term projects. As Ritchin (1996) states:

It was important for Magnum’s photographers to have this flexibility to choose many of
their own stories and to work for long periods of time on them. None of them wanted to
suffer the dictates of a single publication and its editorial staff. They believed that
photographers had to have a point of view in their imagery that transcended any
formulaic recording of contemporary events.

It was this belief that led Capa to Israel without a guaranteed contract from any
publication.

Capa’s Interest in Israel

Shortly after the May 1948 announcement that the British would vacate Palestine,
Capa specifically requested a Life assignment to cover the birth of Israel. Unfortunately for
Capa, the magazine’s editors already had three photographers assigned the story. Life
editors instead wanted Capa to shoot a story on Communist guerrillas in northern Greece,
“... but in the end Israel meant so much to him personally that he decided to go there
even though he could get an advance commitment only from Illustrated (London)”
(Whelan, 1985, p. 260). Capa therefore covered Israel’s 1948 official declaration of
statehood without the security of a signed magazine contract.

A frighteningly close call in Israel in the summer of 19488 sent Capa packing his bags
for Paris. But he was eager to return to the Middle East once the armistice had been signed
in January 1949, especially after he heard that writer Irwin Shaw was assigned to do a
three-part New Yorker series about conditions in Israel after a year of independence. Capa
persuaded Shaw to collaborate on a book instead (Whelan, 1985; see Shaw and Capa,
1950).

It is interesting to note that in addition to covering Israel as a journalist, Capa also
directed a fund-raising film entitled “The Journey” for the New York United Jewish Appeal
in the fall of 1950 (Whelan, 1985). According to Whelan, one of Capa’s biographers, “he
knew that he wanted the film to focus on the arrival, internment, and eventual settlement
of immigrants” (1985, p. 340). Capa reportedly thought about settling down in Israel,
saying what he “liked best about Israel was dealing with the challenge of living well in a
country plagued by shortages” (1985, p. 343). In fact, as Whelan points out, Capa, “in his
brief moods of longing for some sort of permanent home, ... began to entertain the idea
of eventually finding a place in Tel Aviv and encouraged his mother to think about doing
the same” (1985, p. 343). Ironically, this embracing of Israel came from a man who years
earlier had changed his name to hide his Jewish ancestry. As students of photojournalism
know, however, Capa did not live long enough to settle anywhere permanently.

Capa found it difficult to be dispassionate about his work: “In a war you must hate
somebody or love somebody, you must have a position or you cannot stand what goes
on” (quoted in Whelan, 1985, p. 275). According to his colleague and friend, John Morris
(1998), Capa could easily identify with the Israeli side of the 1948 conflict. Capa
approached Israel as he did all wars by taking a side; and he was unabashedly pro-Israel.
Israel's Place in Zionism

In order to set the cultural context for Capa’s photographs, we briefly examine the place of Israel within Zionism, both mythically and historically. The establishment of a Jewish homeland is central to many aspects of Judaism. One of the most important Jewish holidays, Passover, concludes with the phrase: “Next year in Jerusalem,” expressing the desire for the creation of a Jewish homeland. Most of the major prayers of Judaism make reference to Israel—both the land and the people, in fact, there is not a differentiation. “The theme of returning to one’s mythic homeland is part and parcel of the Jewish ethnic identity in the Diaspora” (Lomsky-Feder and Rapoport, 2001, p. 3).

Attempts to create the state of Israel spanned many years. The modern struggle for Israel is given structure in the writings of Theodor Herzl, specifically his 1896 book called The Jewish State, which was a result of witnessing anti-Jewish demonstrations in France. Herzl argued that a Jewish state was the only way to protect the Jewish people (Dan, 1987). In 1897, the first World Zionist Congress was held in Basle, Switzerland, at which Zionist leaders, led by Theodor Herzl, called for the establishment of a Jewish homeland in Palestine—a place where Arabs owned 99 percent of the land and comprised 90 percent of the population (Shlaim, 1988). This event in 1897, according to Shlaim (1988), marks a certain beginning point for the Arab–Zionist conflict in the Middle East.9

Zionism saw the world through a cultural narrative created through selective use of history, contrasting ancient times with the contemporary exile period, and culminating in a period of return to the ancient homeland (Zerubavel, 1995a). In order to link together a disparate group of people living under a variety of conditions, a unified narrative had to be constructed, both intentionally and unintentionally. The main theme of this narrative was the connection between Jews and the land in which they had lived in Antiquity (Feige, 2002; Zerubavel, 1995a, 2002). Central to this narrative was the complete rejection of the exilic past, reflecting the experiences of eastern European Jews who founded Zionism.

Even-Zohar (1981) demonstrates that unlike members of other migration movements, Zionists consciously replaced the culture from which they came with a new one. These myths were often deliberately constructed as reactions to Jews in the Diaspora, a group viewed as passive, weak and overly religious.

Jewish settlers began to immigrate to Palestine throughout the early part of the 20th century and adopted these Zionist concepts. Great Britain gained control of this area of the Middle East following World War I, and at this point, the British government supported the creation of a Jewish state in Palestine. In 1939, when Britain limited immigration of Jews to Palestine and limited the purchase of land by Jews, Jewish settlers, who had organized defense leagues against the Arabs, began to attack the British through sabotage (Dan, 1987).

These attacks stopped during World War II, as the Jews and British joined forces to defeat a common enemy—the Germans. The Jewish leaders in Palestine thought this alliance, coupled with the fact that the Arabs sided with Germany, would push the British to work harder for a Jewish state after the war. This did not happen, however, and attacks by Arabs increased against the Jews, beginning in 1946.

The strongest push for a Jewish homeland came in 1945 at the end of the war when news of the Holocaust emerged. Many people were determined to bring the survivors to Palestine. “And the more they (Jews in Palestine) came to learn the horrendous details of the Final Solution . . . the stronger became their dream of a Jewish state, so that Jews would be able to defend themselves against any repetition of that horror (Dan, 1987, p. 23;
see also Morris, 1999). In addition, American Jews felt especially guilty over not having done enough to save European Jews. The Zionist myth of return, then, resonated strongly with American Jews, even those who had no interest in immigrating to Israel (Safran, 1991).

As factions of Jews attacked the British after 1945, headlines and articles began appearing in British and American media. Arabs and Jews skirmished back and forth throughout 1947 and early in 1948 until finally on May 14, 1948, the British pulled out of Palestine (Morris, 1999). David Ben-Gurion, who became Israel’s first prime minister, was one of several individuals who quickly declared the independent state of Israel. The next day seven Arab countries invaded Palestine; the War of Independence lasted until March 1949 (Dan, 1987).

By this time, a “native, Hebrew culture” had taken root, both in the Jewish settlements in Palestine and within Jewish communities in other countries (Even-Zohar, 1981). This view of a historic, unified, and thriving Jewish culture in Palestine was for the most part taken as “self-evident” up through the first years after independence of Israel, and “the national narrative was understood as ‘objective history’” (Feige, 2002, p. vi). These views circulated through all aspects of culture, including political discourse, literature, and mass media (Gertz, 1986). Zionist fundraising organizations, such as the Jewish National Fund (JNF) established in 1902, used films, photographs and other media to portray the land as a beautiful place to settle (Bar-Gal, 2003; Oren, 1995). These images were widely seen in Jewish communities throughout Europe and the United States. Oren argues, “The photographs were intended to convince Diaspora Jewry of the reality of the land, and of this beauty and the new life being built there. Archaeology was also used during the British Mandate period to legitimate claims to the land dating back 2000 years” (1995, p. 202; see also El-Haj, 2002).

From any standard of newsworthiness, the events in Palestine were a major development. Following the end of World War II, the events in Palestine marked a new conflict on which war correspondents could focus. Capa even compared the action in Palestine to the action he photographed during the Spanish Civil War 10 years earlier (Whelan, 1985), a conflict in which he definitely took “sides”. Still, not all Western news media outlets simply replicated these myths. Evensen analyzed news coverage of the events leading up to Israel’s independence, and finds the American news outlets did not insist on any particular course of action on Palestine in the months leading up to Israeli independence. Nor is there evidence to conclude the media exerted a direct and powerful influence over the shapers of policy and the public at large. (1992, p. 13)

However, Evensen only examined newspapers and news magazines, such as Time. He did not look at Life, Look or Illustrated, the magazines in which Capa’s photographs appeared.

An Analysis of Capa’s Magazine Stories from Israel

Having a famous war photographer cover the emerging story of the birth of Israel must have been a boost to local politicians. The new Israeli prime minister reportedly withheld the independence announcement until Capa was ready to photograph (Postal and Henry, 1973). “People who watched Capa almost felt that Ben-Gurion wouldn’t start the proceedings until Capa nodded that he had enough photographs” (Postal and Henry,
Following the Ben-Gurion announcement, Capa went to cover the war in the Negev desert.10

The analysis of Capa’s published photographs reveals a consistent rhetorical viewpoint toward the birth of Israel, one that reflects three cultural narratives or myths. These myths arise repeatedly in previous examinations of the Jewish state (Almog, 2000; Collins and Clark, 1992; Flapan, 1987; Gertz, 2000; Shalit, 1999)—the “wider system of meaning” to which Rose (2001, p. 91) refers. First, members of the Yishuv (the Jewish settlements in Palestine) and, later, Israelis, saw themselves as the civilized, though greatly outnumbered, defenders of their land. Arabs were seen as the uncivilized attackers. Second is the concept of the Sabra, the heroic native-born pioneer/soldier who brought life to desert and defeated the larger Arab army. Last is the land itself. Israelis believe they were reclaiming the religiously- and historically-based land of Israel. To illustrate these points, we include pages of “Israel Reborn,” which ran in Look on November 8, 1949, and for which Capa produced both the photographs and text (see Appendix). This picture story provides a good example of how these narratives are revealed in his shooting as well as in his writing.

**Narrative 1: Israel as Civilized Defenders, Arabs as Uncivilized Attackers**

The view that “the tiny, newborn state of Israel faced the onslaught of the Arab armies as David faced Goliath: a numerically inferior, poorly armed people in danger of being overrun by a military giant” persists (Flapan, 1987, pp. 9–10). “[The War of Independence] was always considered a war of self-defense, a struggle for survival,” states Flapan (1987, p. 6). From many cultural texts, including newspapers, film, literature, and speeches, it is clear that “One of the central narratives in Zionist culture depicts the Jewish–Arab conflict as a ‘war of the few against the many.’ The few were those who emulated the historic freedom fighters of ancient Israel; the many were the modern embodiment of various ancient oppressors” (Gertz, 2000, p. 5). Israelis viewed themselves as an isolated people surrounded by hostile adversaries. “The Jews were besieged by hostile Arab armies on every side but one, the Mediterranean’, said I. F. Stone in his book about the birth of Israel (Stone et al., 1948, p. 20).

Drawing on ancient history, Zionists reinterpreted past events to support the view that they were fighting to the end to defend their land. “Within this context, Masada was reinterpreted as a myth of renewal, representing a fight to guarantee the nation’s survival and hence symbolically leading to the modern Zionist revival” (Zerubavel, 1995b, p. 112; see also Ben-Yehuda, 1995). Such myths helped to unite a small Jewish community in Palestine and give them hope that, even surrounded by a much greater hostile Arab force, they would prevail (Gertz, 1984).

At the time of independence Israelis believed that Israeli fighters represented the “broad coalition of European nations in confrontation with a cruel and primitive eastern/Asian world” (Gertz, 2000, p. 29; see also Said, 1997). Arabs are portrayed as a culture of desert-dwelling nomads that have few ties to civilization, while Europe, and by extension the Israelis, are depicted as a civilized culture of cities and farms. For example, a common belief is that the Jewish settlers were able to bring about rich harvests from what were previously barren, Arab-controlled deserts (Said, 1979).

A central part of Zionist myths was the elimination of Arab claims to the land. Gerber suggests that early Zionist films depicted Arabs as “a brutal and cultureless creature whose
objection to Zionism lacks rational grounding” (2003, p. 23). In addition, Arabs in Palestine were seen as primitive and disorganized, having no separate national or cultural identity distinct from Arabs of nearby areas. According to Zerubavel, “Zionism suppressed the Arabs’ memory of centuries of life in Palestine by ignoring its presence” (1995a, p. 215; see also Liebman and Don-Yehiya, 1983). Similarly, Finkelstein argues: “The mythology served a double, interrelated purpose: it no longer legitimated any Arab claim to Palestine, and it validated the central Zionist dogma of a sui generis connection between Jews and Palestine in that only the Jewish people could establish an authentic, organic bond with the ‘Land of Israel and cause it to blossom forth’” (1995, p. 96).

This theme of “Jews as civilized defenders” can be seen in the June 19, 1948 issue of Illustrated (London), which opens with an image, filling two-thirds of the page, of Jewish troops on the frontlines. All 13 of Capa’s pictures from the war show only Jewish troops, again emphasizing the Jewish perspective to this war. There is only an implied enemy. The July 17, 1948 story in Illustrated (London) (Capa, 1948d) contains no Arabs, which also is true of Capa’s battle story from the Israeli perspective in Illustrated (London) on June 19, 1948 (Capa, 1948a). Finally, two Arabs are pictured in the 25 photographs used in Illustrated (London) in the August 27, 1949 (Capa, 1949a) story. Both Arabs look defeated: one stands behind barbed wire in a refugee camp, while the Jews are shown eating, living, and celebrating life—dancing and enjoying the beach.

Accompanying texts support this reading of the photographs. For example, in one of Capa’s captions in the July 3, 1948 (Capa, 1948b) issue of Illustrated (London), he refers to the Jews as the “defenders,” implying which faction is the victim and which the aggressor.

Arabs are again absent in Capa’s pictures in Illustrated (London) on June 17, 1950 (Capa, 1950b). While Shaw’s text discusses the nature of Jerusalem as really two cities, one old and one new, one Arab and one Jewish, Capa’s pictures only show the Jewish sector. Still, it is possible that this lack of photographs of Arabs is the result of limited access. Kershaw says:

In all fairness, it should be pointed out that Shaw and Capa were prevented from covering the Arab side because it would have been too dangerous, particularly for Capa as a now famous Jew, to venture into the Arab-controlled areas bordering Jerusalem and other cities . . . (2002, p. 211)

In addition, none of Capa’s photographs shows Jewish attacks on Arab villages or civilians. In fact, no Arab villages are seen, the photographs depicting only cities such as Jerusalem. Arab villages were often abandoned and Jewish villages built in their place (Finkelstein, 1995; Flapan, 1987; Morris, 1987). Capa’s photo essays do not show any Arab villages emptied by threat of force by the Jewish forces, nor any Arab civilians injured or killed by the Jewish forces (Finkelstein, 1995; Morris, 1999).

The few Arabs who do appear in Capa’s images are highly marginalized in a visual sense. For example, in one image, a French doctor and nurse are treating an Arab, who is identified only in the caption, since we cannot see his face. Furthermore, the distance is a medium- to long-shot, keeping the viewer from empathizing too much with this wounded soldier, and the text suggests the Arabs are uncaring about the mission hospital of Notre Dame de France. “Here shy and devoted nuns are still ministering to the wounded, Arab and Jew alike. The church was wrecked by twenty-five pound shells fired by the Arab League” (Capa, 1948b, p. 17). Another image shows an elderly Arab man in robes,
photographed through a line of barbed wire from a long distance. Based on this shot, this man is not someone we are to know as an individual, but rather we look on him as a stereotype of the anonymous Arab “other” (see Said, 1979, 1997).

The one exception of this Arab marginalization is the case of Druse Arabs, who in the November 8, 1949 photo story are singled out for praise for siding with the Jews. On p. 32 of this story, a portrait of a Druse Arab man is placed in between the portraits of two Jews. The caption reads, “A Druse Arab, who sided with the Israelis, also fits into the motley populace of the new state.” Unlike the Arab men in the previous photographs, this group of Arabs is symbolically not the “other” due to their political choices.

Narrative 2: The Sabra, Heroic Pioneer and Soldier

Sabra is a term traditionally used for native-born Jews in Palestine/Israel, especially those born early in the history of the state. Almog (2000) suggests a Sabra is not so much a biological concept (as in someone born in Palestine/Israel) but rather a cultural one. The term was taken from the name for the prickly pear cactus, and it becomes a “metaphor for the native Israeli, whose rough, masculine manner was said to hide a delicate and sensitive soul” (Almog, 2000, p. 4). Sabras set themselves off from what is perceived to be the traditional, more passive Jewish mindset. That traditional mindset, rather than fighting back, focuses on keeping quiet to outlast the enemy. In contrast, Sabras believe, particularly after events of the Holocaust, that Jews must fight for their own survival.

The notion that Israelis see themselves as defenders of the land is central to the concept of the Sabra. Sabras were people, according to Almog, who “were educated under the mythical aura of the pioneer settler and defender” (2000, p. 4). Israel’s “hero-ideals” are manifest in the figures of pioneer, farmer, and warrior, emphasizing the traits of determination, self-reliance, and strength (Shalit, 1999).

Zionists constructed an image of a new strong Jew that they consciously contrasted with Jews living in exile. The period of exile was seen as a “long dark period of suffering and persecution” (Zerubavel, 1995a, p. 18). The Zionist view of the Jews of the Diaspora was highly disparaging and disdainful, often incorporating many anti-Semitic stereotypes (Even-Zohar, 1981). As Sternhall suggests, “No one was more disgusted with their people, more contemptuous of its weaknesses and it ways of life, than the founders [of Israel]” (1998, p. 47). Or as Zerubavel suggests, “… the Jew of exile was portrayed as uprooted, cowardly and manipulative, old and sickly, helpless and defenseless in face of persecution, interested in materialistic gains or conversely, excessively immersed in religion and spirituality” (2002, p. 116; see also Safran, 1991).

In contrast, the new Jew was carrying on the tradition of the Ancient Hebrews, who were portrayed by the Zionists as a nation intimately connected to the land and willing to fight, and even die, for their freedom (Liebman and Don-Yehiya, 1983). “In contrast, the New Hebrew, later nicknamed ‘Sabra,’ was characterized as young and robust, daring and resourceful, direct and down-to-earth, honest and loyal, ideologically committed and ready to defend his people to the bitter end” (Zerubavel, 2002, p. 116) (also see Almog, 1987; Lomsky-Feder and Rapoport, 2001).

Capa’s images also focus on the Israeli as a heroic settler/pioneer—the key to the new Jewish state. An example of the noble Jewish settler is one that appears in the book, This Is Israel (Stone et al., 1948), of a smiling Jewish machine gunner, posing by his gun, shot from below and close up. The caption states that: “This grin holds the secret of Israel’s
strength” (1948, p. 82). The message simmers with righteousness, that the Jewish settlers will succeed.\textsuperscript{11}

Capa includes a series of images in the November 8, 1949 \emph{Look} (Capa, 1949b) that are reminiscent of Lewis Hine’s images of the building of the Empire State Building. The six photographs on pp. 28 and 29 all show men working hard to (re) build the land. A full-page image (p. 29) of a shirtless welder shot from below emphasizes the physical strength and superiority of the people involved in creating Israel.

When not emphasizing the individual, Capa’s story includes pioneers engaged in teamwork (1949b, pp. 27, 28) and group activity (p. 30). Evidence of Jews eating and dancing together (p. 30) proves that life in Israel is not always difficult. One of Capa’s captions reads: “Occasional gayety offers relief from the hard life. This is a get-together of the Talmud Society in Jerusalem’s Jewish areas” (p. 30). The other says: “In a middle-class home in Tel Aviv, young people dance at a Saturday evening party. The group includes an actress, army officers” (p. 30). These pictures reinforce the view that the Jews of the Yishuv and Israel are not the meek, passive and dour Jews of Eastern Europe.

\textit{Narrative 3: Reclaiming the Land}

Israel’s creation is based on the concept of the land itself and of the pioneers reclaiming it. “The idea which I have developed in this pamphlet is a very old one: it is the restoration of the Jewish State,” states Herzl (cited in Shalit, 1999, p. 21). Various political groups in Israel at the time of independence agreed on some basic principles, among them the attachment of the Jewish people to the land. In her analysis of political placards and pamphlets, Gertz (2000) found frequent use of terms like “build,” “plant” and “create” (see also Oren, 1995).

According to Finkelstein (1995), “... the mainstream Zionist movement never doubted its ‘historical right’ to impose a Jewish state through the ‘Right of Return’ on the indigenous Arab population of Palestine” (p. 13). The Jewish claim to the land superseded Arab residence on the land (see also El-Haj, 2002; Lomsky-Feder and Rapoport, 2001; Sternhall, 1998). Even non-Jews argued for a Jewish return to the “Holy Land.” This was often tied to evangelical movements, such as occurred in 19th-century England. As Sachar argues, “Theological concern was directed as well toward the Jews, who were regarded now less as deicides than as sacred exiles from sacred soil, a living witness to God’s truth in an unredeemed world” (1993, p. 21).

Part of the return to Palestine was a reconnection with agriculture in order to establish a psychic “bond between man and nature and the redemption of the nation and its homeland, which found their most forceful symbolization in \textit{working the land}” (Liebman and Don-Yehiya, 1983, p. 32). The concept of an ideal landscape in Palestine was established before World War I (Bar-Gal, 2003) and circulated in JNF photographs and films.

Capa captures and magnifies these themes through his photos and text. As Capa writes in the text of his November 8, 1949 story, “Yet the descendents of the Jews who left its shores 2,000 years ago are flocking \textit{back} to the country from all over the world” (1949b, p. 25, emphasis added). Jewish religious symbols and Biblical references are included in Capa’s photo stories, showing the historical linkage between the people and the land, and making the argument that this is about reclaiming something that is rightly theirs. A 1951 \textit{Life} magazine story opens with a large photograph of three young men wearing
yarmulkes and studying with a Talmudic scholar at a yeshiva in Jerusalem. The story ends with a very large Hanukah Menorah, standing alone in the desert (Capa, 1951a). This photograph also is included with Capa’s coverage published in the Illustrated (London) article on June 2, 1951 (Capa, 1951b). The Menorah, a “symbol of an ancient victory,” is casting its shadows across the Negev desert, depicting its strength (Capa, 1951a, p. 126). Again, the text anchors the reading of the photographs. The caption makes reference to the story of Hanukah, when the Syrians were driven out of Jerusalem, emphasizing again that the enemy has been driven out and the land reclaimed.

Capa’s attitude also is evident in the noble portraits and candid shots of hard-working immigrants. The story often focuses on individuals, usually photographed at close range and from below to show that they are working hard to reclaim the land. The opening pages of Capa’s November 8, 1949 story depict exiles of all ages returning to the land of promise—couples, young women, old men, and children. We learn that “Life is tough, but many thousands are flocking there” (1949b, p. 25), while looking at a muscular young man carrying two large suitcases. A young woman accompanies him, carrying a bulging satchel and helping him with another bag. The angle is low, again showing the settlers as noble and heroic. On the following page, a beaming Tunisian Jewish immigrant looks directly at the camera as she strides down the gangway (p. 26).

Capa’s sympathies are also clear in the captions on these first few pages: “An old, lonely man is assisted ashore. He’s one of many old people who come to die in the Promised Land their ancestors left over 2,000 years ago.” Or, “Immigrants get their papers as soon as they step off the boat. Most of them have had no country for many years. Now they’re solid citizens of Israel.” Or, “A father and his two sons carry the family’s only possessions. They face a tough life ahead in their new land. But they’ve known many worse times.” Or, “Off to new homes, a family climbs into a truck for the trip. They’ll be settled in an abandoned Arab village where they must first rebuild the houses” (all on p. 27).

Paired with the images of arriving immigrants, Capa’s pictures reveal the beauty of the land through an image of rolling hills. “These are the hills of Canaan. They await the toil of modern Jews to convert them into the land of milk and honey promised in the Bible” (p. 32). He also includes images of new roads, new factories and homes/apartment buildings in the process of being built, irrigation pipes being laid to turn the desert into lush farmland, and new crops being planted and harvested. Capa builds a clear connection between the Jewish people, the land, and progress, as manifested through agricultural and urban development.

**Conclusion**

Capa’s published work helped to legitimize the creation of Israel for Western audiences. Through his images, Capa created visual evidence that supported and reinforced the nation’s founding myths. His choices of subject matter and composition gave life and history to these abstract concepts. The denotative aspect of images, the fact that they were of a “real” entity, naturalized the symbolic or connotative meaning, making the photographer and his choices, the “artifice” in the manufacture of photographs, invisible (Barthes, 1977). This is the rhetoric of the image to which Barthes refers. “The discontinuous connotators are connected, actualized, ‘spoken’ through the syntagm of the
denotation, the discontinuous world of symbols plunges into the story of the denoted scene as though into a lustral bath of innocence” (Barthes, 1977, p. 51). Viewers do not argue with the “reality” of the symbolic message before them, because the elements of the image “existed.” Seeing settlers establishing the kibbutzim and observing the battles from the side of the Israelis, both photographed with heroic composition, allowed the viewer a limited perspective on Israel’s founding. Most likely, Capa’s images lead logically to one reading—the founding of Israel was meant to happen and was the right thing to happen.

Israel resonated with Capa, and his work represents a larger phenomenon of media coverage. He was not the only one to photograph in this way, but his work, published in a variety of outlets with thematic consistency, is an extreme case of what others were (and are) doing. Covering Israel was not Capa’s interest alone, however. Several of Capa’s colleagues at Magnum Photos were similarly preoccupied, according to Englishman George Rodger. Rodger had difficulty getting a story on the Palestinians published anywhere except in a German magazine. As one of Magnum’s co-founders, he expressed irritation:

Sometimes the ideology of Magnum went a little too far. The whole world knew that the Israelis had annexed Palestine in 1947 and driven out the Arabs. Nevertheless, Capa, Chim and other photographers insisted on photographing the Promised Land and distributing the pictures all round the world. They earned a lot of money. I was on the other side, insofar as I was an Arabist working with the Palestinian refugees. I knew that their houses had been destroyed. My version of these facts was never published because the editors of American magazines were nearly all Jewish. (Miller, 1999, p. 166)

Ironically, Capa criticized Rodger for not being objective in his coverage of Israel. According to Naggar: “Rodger had taken sides—something that according to Capa a journalist must never do directly” (2003, p. 221). It is interesting to note that this also complicates Capa’s own view that in war, photojournalists must take sides. Clearly, beliefs about objectivity or bias are in the eye of the beholder.

This research contributes to our knowledge of Robert Capa’s photography. As stated earlier, most previous examinations of Capa’s work focus on his coverage of the Spanish Civil War and World War II. His work on Israel reveals his passion for the new State. Capa’s documentation of the birth of Israel was not typical of the images that made him a famous war correspondent, and this may explain why they are less well known. Although his overall coverage of Israel includes battles, for this story Capa tends to concentrate on the uplifting tales of survival and hard-working settlers. These upbeat feature stories were not typical of Capa’s best-known work.

Capa’s images of the birth and early years of the state of Israel offer the viewer a very specific viewpoint on this international news event. His images argue in favor of the new state, creating and promoting the same dominant cultural myths that were circulating among the state’s founders: Jews were the civilized defenders of the land against the Arab attackers; Jews were successful in Israel, unlike the Arabs who lived there before; Jews and the land of Israel were one, with the State of Israel representing the reclamation of that land. Capa’s published imagery, in addition, argues for the viewer to focus on the strength and nobility of the Jewish settlers. The photographs reveal what Jews considered to be the rightness/naturality of the Jewish state, creating it ex nihilo by turning a desolate, unpopulated strip of land into both an urban and agricultural oasis.
Perhaps his portrayal of the birth of Israel “teaches” Western journalists and the public how to see the ongoing conflict in Israel by creating a visual vocabulary of the conflict. Recently, the research of Zelizer et al. (2002) on coverage of the second Intifada in the New York Times, Washington Post and the Chicago Tribune found that while there is no definitive paper of record among these three, there are patterns of similarities in coverage. Most often the researchers found that the New York Times portrayed an Israeli perspective on events, while the Post and Tribune were often more balanced in their portrayal of culpability. Still, the default position seemed to be reporting and photographing from the Israeli perspective.

This study further informs our understanding of the practice of photojournalism, namely that it confirms the relative nature of photojournalistic information, rather than some objective truth (Newton, 2001). The notion of objectivity must be seen as more problematic. As Hall argues, “The ideological concepts embodied in photos and texts in a newspaper, then, do not produce new knowledge about the world. They reproduce recognitions of the world as we have already learned to appropriate it . . . “ (1973, p. 186). Photographers such as Capa were sought after because of their point of view. This places their work closer to the documentary/propagandistic work of Lewis Hine and the Farm Security Administration photographers, who used photography not just for description or explanation, but for rhetorical purposes as well.

Capa’s photographs of Israel cannot be understood without taking into account his social locations and the perspectives these locations enable. The social-level myths influence how the photographer sees the world, and it is only by examining the role of the “human” that we can understand the mechanical. Rather than a conscious choice of one subject over another, the photographer may see only the chosen option. Just as viewers of photographs see the symbolic meaning naturalized through the denotative meaning, so too does the photographer see the symbolic in the actual subjects in the “real world.”

NOTES

1. An earlier draft of this paper was one of the top three faculty papers presented to the Visual Communication Division, Association for Education in Journalism and Mass Communication, annual convention, Miami Beach, FL, USA, August 2002.

2. Magnum is the photographic cooperative founded by photojournalists Capa, David Seymour, Henri Cartier-Bresson, George Rodger and William Vandivert.

3. Though, as Schudson suggests, “the further a reporter is from the home office, the greater that reporter’s freedom to violate objectivity norms. Foreign correspondents are treated more as independent experts, free to make judgments, less as dependent and subservient employees” (2001, p. 163).

4. Certainly a published set of photographs reveal not just the choices of the photographer, but could also reflect the choices made by the editors (Rosenblum, 1978). As Trachtenberg suggests, “They [the editors] can order them [pictures] in certain ways, perhaps accompanied by a written text, to express a particular meaning” (1989, p. xv). Still, if we can see consistency in Capa’s images of Israel as published in different publications, we can be more confident of our readings of the photographs.

5. Our review in March 2001 of this body of negatives and contact sheets took place at the archives of the International Center for Photography, New York City. Since the unpublished work was not our primary focus, a more cursory review of every frame
was used as a reliability check. The unpublished work did not differ significantly from the published work.

6. Capa wrote some of the text that accompanies his photography.

7. *Illustrated* (London) ended up publishing six of Capa’s stories about Israel; three of the six pieces consisted of both Capa’s words and pictures (see Capa, 1948a, 1948d, 1949a).

8. Capa was shot in the upper thigh while covering the shelling of the *Altalena*, a ship bringing in weapons supporting Menachem Begin’s Irgun faction (Whelan, 1985).

9. There were calls to restore ancient homeland prior to 1897 (see Laqueur, 1972 for a thorough history), including among non-Jews (e.g., George Elliot’s novel *Daniel Deronda*, 1876). Meyer (1993) argues that *Daniel Deronda* reflected a desire by English gentiles with the idea of Jewish return to Palestine; “... *Daniel Deronda* was both a manifestation of and a contributing force to fascination of English gentiles with the idea of the Jewish return” (Meyer, 1993, p. 749).

10. He focused on the Jewish army (see also Capa, 1948a). In the text, Capa comments that the Jewish men in the army remind him of the Republican Army in Spain.

11. Stone et al.’s text echoes this reading: “The rebirth of Israel followed the greatest moment of despair in the history of the Jews; after the terrible degradation of the Hitler period, this occurred, as if by miraculous dispensation. But the miracle lay in what men could accomplish who would not lose heart ... A few such had made it possible for this tiny Statelett to defend itself against the whole Arab world, supported by powerful allies in London and Washington. The unbreakable spirit of these self-chosen few—this is Israel” (1948, pp. 127–8).

12. Jews also are the sole focus of Capa’s June 17, 1950, *Illustrated* (London) piece (Capa, 1950b).

13. Also see Capa (1949a).

14. Evensen (1992) analyzed news media coverage of the months leading up to Israeli independence and did not find a clear position on statehood being presented. In fact, he demonstrates the *New York Times* often editorialized against statehood. His sample did not include *Life, Look* or *Illustrated*.

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Appendix A

Pages from Capa (1949b)
Israel faces grave problems, but it welcomes Jews from all over the world.

New settlers are busy on farms in public works.
Cities are crowded and rural settlers keep guns handy, but the people can have fun.

Israel continued

houses of the abandoned old city. But today, the entire area is taken over by the Jewish National Fund to create a new district of Tel Aviv. The old city is now the separation zone between the Arab and Jewish quarters.

Armenians. The Armenians, who are mostly settled in the western part of the city, are a minority group that has been in the area since the 1940s. The Armenians are predominantly Christian and speak Armenian.

Modern buildings in Tel Aviv are still in the style of the city's early years, but the city is expanding. Most new developments are on the outskirts of the city, where land is cheaper and there is more room for expansion.

A young couple walks in a park in Tel Aviv. The woman is wearing a pink dress and the man is wearing a blue shirt.

A woman holds a baby in a park in Tel Aviv.

A woman holds a baby in a park in Tel Aviv.
The government deals with a crisis as grave as when it had to fight the Arabs.