Photography's Jewish affinities: 
Unintended benefits and squandered opportunities 
for Zionism & Israel

Michael Berkowitz
University College London

Introduction

This article addresses, and attempts to interweave, two apparently separate yet related dimensions of the history of photography as pertain to the development of Zionism and the State of Israel. The first portion shall argue that the international image of the Zionist movement and the reception of early incarnations of modern Israel greatly benefitted from the fact that many of the prominent photojournalists from the late 1920s to the early 1950s, as well as photo-agency directors, magazine editors, and photo and art-editors, were Jewish (or of Jewish origins) in the United States and Britain. Without any organized or even loosely coordinated scheme, they played an immense role in establishing an overwhelmingly positive conception of Zionism, Israel, and diaspora (Jewish) activism on the world stage. The second major focus of this article details the failure of potentially path-breaking endeavors to institute photography as an arts department in Bezalel, the Hebrew University of Jerusalem, and the Israel Museum. The objectives and respective audiences in both these cases are quite different, and the nature of photography in question also is distinct—that is, one is photojournalism, which aims to inform, entertain, and help sell newspapers and magazines, as opposed to the other, photography elevated to a branch of the arts canon, to be taught in art academies or shown in museums. (We must acknowledge, though, that selected products of photojournalism may be regarded as art, and photojournalism might comprise a subject of technical and academic instruction.)

On one level, the tissue that connects these episodes is an overlap of persons. Arnold Newman features in both. On a more fundamental level, however, the stories are intertwined as a consequence of being grounded in the complicated, intensive historical relationship between Jews and photography, in a more general and international sense. The historical associations of Jews
and photography have largely been simply taken for granted and left unexplored, but is beginning to take shape as coherent field of investigation. The photographs to be reproduced and examined here, in depth, apply only to the first segment of this article, and the number is limited to six—in order to specifically contrast conventional Zionist photography with the type of work rendered by the photographers who were assumed to be operating under more generalized, if not universal frameworks.

**Establishing felicitous patterns of perception**

The Zionist movement and the emergent State of Israel accrued a vast measure of goodwill and benevolent publicity due to the historical confluence of Jews and photography, the growing eminence of photojournalism from the 1920s to the 1950s, and the increasing integration of photography into the fine arts from the 1960s through the 80s. The work of photographers such as Erich Salomon (1886-1944), Robert Capa (1913-1954), Chim (David Seymour, 1911-1956), Henri Cartier-Bresson (1908-2004), Margaret Bourke-White (1904-1971), Alfred Eisenstaedt (1898-1985), Philippe Halsman (1906-1979), and Arnold Newman (1918-2006) is rarely considered in Jewish history. A critical-historical approach to photography, and its relationship to politics and socio-economic change, as well as aesthetics, has only recently entered discussions of Zionism.

One may understandably ask: were these photographers 'naturally', because they happened to be Jews, inclined to embrace an affirmative position on Zionism and Israel, or is it because they identified with Zionists and their movement ideologically, or is there some other possibility? I shall argue that there is nothing 'natural' about it: but such sentiments were highly likely to be manifested, among this cohort, because of the looming specter and reality of fascism, which was largely hostile to Jews, and later, the specter of the Holocaust, which revealed fascism to be dedicated to the destruction of Jews as individuals and as a people. While Nazism and authoritarian regimes made temporary, if not, outright cynical accommodations with the Zionist movement, Nazi Germany was without doubt committed to the ultimate eradication of Jews in
Europe, and in the entire world they planned to eventually conquer. So the better answer is not Jewishness per se as the reason behind the empathy for Zionism on the part of these photographers, but that such a stark divide emerged in Britain, and later the United States, between fascism and its opponents, and Nazism and the rest of the world. This is not to say that there were no Jews working as photographers in the orbit of Nazism—but that their efforts were, for the most part, highly circumscribed within Nazi ghettos and bore no relation to perspectives on Zionism.13

Collective efforts of the mainly-Jewish photographers mentioned above may have had a more salutary impact on Jewish relief efforts, Zionism, and Israel than official Jewish institutional photographers—yet it is important to acknowledge Helmar Lerski’s enigmatic Palestine work from 1932 to 1948,14 Marianne Breslauer’s useful trove from her two-month tour in 1931,15 and E. M. Lilien’s endlessly appropriated image of Theodor Herzl pondering Zion while overlooking the Rhine in Basel in 1897.16 An eyebrow or two might be arched immediately: Cartier-Bresson, a co-founder of the Magnum Agency with Capa and Chim, was not Jewish, and Margaret Bourke-White, an especially close friend of Alfred Eisenstaedt among the photographers for LIFE, never publicly acknowledged that her father, whose own achievements in photographic technology were formidable (and in which she took great pride), was born a Jew.17 It is significant, nevertheless, that these leading photographers saw themselves as happily ensconced in a largely Jewish milieu,18 stood unequivocally against antisemitism, and took the well-being and self-determination of the Jewish people as a priority.

In addition to photographers per se we shall consider those who facilitated and published photography, such as art-editors, newspaper and magazine editors, photo agency heads, critics, and photo-historians. The most important trend-setter in this regard is Stefan Lorant (1901-1997), the creative force behind Lilliput, London Illustrated, and Picture Post, who is more absent than not from the bodies of historiography in which he should rightly be featured. Lorant, son of a Habsburg court photographer in Budapest, worked in film and edited movie magazines
in Central Europe before heading a stunning illustrated weekly in Munich. He was imprisoned as soon as the Nazis came to power, but found refuge in London and almost immediately gained fame in Britain by writing about his persecution under the Nazis. The publications of Edward Hulton (Picture Post), Henry R. Luce (LIFE), and the Magnum group—in which photographs by Jews were super abundant—integrated Jewish politics into visual reportage with apparently no trace of reference to Jewish difference, which had been one of the hallmarks of Christian anti-Jewish prejudice and, eventually, lethal Nazi racism. For instance, in 1938, Gerti Deutsch and Kurt Hutton, working under Lorant, presented newly arrived Jewish refugees from the Kindertransport to Britain as wholesome, handsome, and unthreatening. While expressly Zionist photographic activity bolstered Jewish politics of the early-to-mid-20th century, complicated and subtle relationships between Jews and photography elevated and valorized a visual discourse on Zionism which proved to be of immense consequence for legitimizing and popularizing the movement.

Along with Lorant, editors of pictorial newspapers and agency heads, such as Marie-Jean Eisner (Alliance Photo, Paris), Leon Daniel (Pix, New York), Muriel Segal (Black Star, New York), Charles Rado (Rapho, also Rapho-Guilluynette, Paris and New York), and Bert Garai (1890-1973, head of Keystone in London) shaped perceptions of Jews and Zionism in the context of the ongoing anti-fascist struggle, and later, the attempt to deliver justice to Hitler's victims. Many of them remained active in the European press in the immediate postwar period. Although their business interests were always paramount—as great photography was good for the magazine and newspaper business—all of them helped to popularize the work of Salomon, Capa, and Eisenstaedt that had been featured by Lorant. After Bert Garai, Horace "Tubby" Abrahams headed Keystone, and his own excellent photography—some of it Jewish-focused—has elicited little scholarly attention.

Even LIFE magazine, derived from the London Illustrated and Central European photo-magazines, evinced a pronounced pro-Jewish and pro-Zionist character, as the look and
circulation figures of the magazine were of greater concern to its publisher, Henry Luce, than his own politics. In sum, Jews in photography abetted Zionism's acceptance in the comity of nations and fostered perceptions of Jews as its equal members, both individually and communally. The spread of a self-consciously anti-racist and anti-antisemitic visual discourse occurred mainly via the most urbane of institutions—the kiosk—in mass-circulation newspapers and the pictorial press.

It is important that the portrayal of Jews and Zionism for these photographers and facilitators of photography usually was not intended for solely Zionist, or even particularly Jewish audiences—and that their efforts were not in the direct service of fundraising. They did more to advance the Zionist cause than, say, Walter Zadek, Rudi Weissenstein, or David Rubinger.

The quality of Arthur Holitscher's photography may be part of the reason why Franz Kafka took the interest he did in Zionism. While it is unknown if Kafka was personally acquainted with Holitscher, Carolin Duttlinger shows that Holitscher's photographic books inspired and shaped Kafka's imagination of the United States and his related literature. Holitscher's scenes of chaluzim, and even his Palestine landscapes were richly textured and complex compared to the typical Zionist compositions.

**Beyond photography's use to building Zionism: taking photography seriously in Israel**

This article also seeks to illuminate a paradox: while photography was crucial to many dimensions of Zionism's success—from Herzl to Golda—attempts to establish photography as a fully-fledged dimension of the arts, and the history of photography as a scholarly discipline, in Palestine and Israel, failed to gain much traction. Despite the overrepresentation of Jews among eminent photographers, and pioneering roles of Jews in photography, the Bezalel Academy, Israel Museum, and Hebrew University did not become notable centers for either the practice or academic study of photography. There were at least three moments when critical interlocutors were keen to position the yishuv and Israel on the cutting edge of the field: photographer
Szymon Zajczyk (1900-1944), known mostly for his work on the wooden synagogues of Poland, who was killed in the Holocaust, attempted to produce a spectacular and sophisticated exhibition in mandate Palestine, for which he received no cooperation. The American portraitist, Arnold Newman, attempted to lend his energy and reputation to the launch of a photography department at Bezalel, which was reciprocated in only a half-hearted manner. And Helmut Gernsheim (1913-1995), a German-Jewish refugee who settled in Britain, a leading collector and foundational historian of photography, seriously considered being a visitor to Hebrew University, with an eye to helping his Israeli colleagues establish the field as distinctive element of its intellectual scene. All of them undertook earnest attempts to develop critical and historical approaches to photography in the yishuv and Israel that were not met in kind. While not as consequential as, say, the failings of the incipient Hebrew University as discerned by Albert Einstein, these reflections on an intellectual nexus that did not materialize reveals that the expertise and strengths of Jewry in the diaspora were not consistently exploited, in the positive sense, to the fullest. Israel might have been at the avant-garde of photography, as opposed to being what it is at present—rather ordinary.

**Andy Warhol's Jewish portraits**

Although fine-art photography, portraiture, and photojournalism are typically regarded as separate genres, a fresh look at Andy Warhol's "Ten Portraits of Jews of the Twentieth Century" or "Ten Jewish Geniuses" of 1980 may be interrogated to introduce the subject of Zionism and photography. The pop-art project of the famously Roman Catholic Warhol was Jewishly-specific in form, as well as in content. In the rivers of ink and screen text that have been spilled on Warhol, there is little (if any) recognition of the extent to which his Jewish icons relied on high-quality photographic portraiture that was overwhelmingly a Jewish stronghold—with the notable exception of Armenians, particularly Yousef Karsh. Obviously Warhol did not take the photos himself: but those of, say, Freud, Kafka and Brandeis—which are quite good—were most
often the work of Jewish photographers whose preeminence in the field has gone largely unnoticed.\textsuperscript{33} That there are so many iconic portraits of Einstein and Ben-Gurion, such as by Arnold Newman, Fred Stein, and Lotte Jacobi, is a result of converging Jewish vocational and political trajectories.\textsuperscript{34} As of the late 1990s, it was not regarded as particularly important that Zionist luminaries had been captured by many of the world's most outstanding photographers, as Stephen S. Wise was, by Philippe Halsmann.\textsuperscript{35} Wise was, for most of his life, a strapping and commanding figure—but a muscle defect around one eye made it tricky to produce flattering portraits without severe retouching. \textit{[figure 1. Halsman, Stephen S. Wise, private collection]} Halsmann, master craftsman that he was, eventually with over one-hundred \textit{LIFE} magazine covers to his credit, produced a stunning portrait of Wise that was among those most frequently reproduced.

Along with Golda Meier (who is a questionable fit in the category of "genius"), Andy Warhol's minyan included at least four others strongly identified with Zionism— even though their respective positions on the spectrum of Zionism were outside of the mainstream: that is, Louis Brandeis, Albert Einstein, Franz Kafka, and Martin Buber. With five of the ten vaguely or explicitly Zionist, the composite is grossly disproportionate in supposedly representing 20th century Jewry. How did we get to the point, in 1980, where a preeminent representation of a resplendent and heroic Jewry, through photography, was dominated by Zionism?

\textbf{Taking Herzl's photographs for granted?}

As background to a discussion on portraiture and photojournalism, some reflections about Zionism and journalism help to provide context. In a conference commemorating the centenary of Theodor Herzl's \textit{Der Judenstaat} (1896), Edward Timms posed the question: what did it mean that Herzl was a journalist?\textsuperscript{36} In attempting to secure a charter for Zionist settlement in Palestine, Herzl used, and even compromised his position on the \textit{Neue Freie Presse} to a far greater extent than scholars realized. Timms convincingly argued that Herzl overstepped conventional bounds in his denigration of (well-founded) Armenian grievances against the Ottoman sultan.\textsuperscript{37} Herzl's
situation, more-or-less taken for granted by Timms, was the integration, if not preeminence, of Jews in Central European newspaper publishing. This facilitated Herzl's overt and covert campaign for the Zionist cause, and helps to account for his status in the *Neue Freie Presse* where he enjoyed remarkable license.\(^{38}\)

Alex Bein cleverly refers to Herzl's bosses at the paper, Eduard Bacher (1846-1908) and Moritz Benedikt (1849-1920), and most of their Jewish-journalistic cohort, as "cheerful compromisers."\(^{39}\) To be sure, the so-called liberal press in German-speaking Europe, such as the Mosse and Ullstein houses,\(^{40}\) dismissed, or were dismayed by the nascent Zionist movement, finding its Jewish separatism unnecessary, if not repugnant. It has perhaps been underappreciated by scholars, with the exception of Timms, that Herzl and his closest colleague, Max Nordau, got Zionism noticed in Europe's press due to the esteem that they themselves were accorded.\(^{41}\) Despite its rejection and limited embrace in official Jewish circles, Zionism was able to exploit its leaders' engagement with journalism, outside the realm of expressly Jewish papers, in order to situate the movement as a player on the world stage.\(^{42}\) With a nod to Yuri Slezkine,\(^{43}\) it may be said that Jews did not simply gain entrance and leadership in mass publishing—but they made it into something new and different, an entity particularly amenable to their own talents and interests. This renders the character of "the Jewish century" all the more spectacular, and not as much a story of assimilation and acculturation as is often depicted.

In a similar vein to Timms, with reference to the pictorial dimension of 'print culture,'\(^{44}\) it may be argued that the Zionist movement was able to broadcast its message rapidly, and to an extraordinarily wide public, over a period of decades, also owing to the complex Jewish involvement in things photographic. In previous works I examined the function of realistic images in early Zionist nationalization.\(^{45}\) I now see that the roles of Jews in photography, generally, aided Zionism to spark interest, arouse sympathy, and disseminate photographs embodying and complementing their politics. In my first book, *Zionist Culture and West European Jewry before the First World War*, I was unaware that Zionists were not simply using
photography—but that they themselves were pioneers in its application. They were oblivious to being path-breakers—they just did it. It is highly significant that Jews were greatly disproportionate to their number in almost all photographic-related vocations, such as studio photography, and comprised the lion's share of photojournalists and photo-editors (often called 'art-editors') in the German and English-speaking realms from the 1920s to the 1930s, and then more intensively in the English-speaking world after 1933. This had a profound impact on the magnitude, quality, and credibility of the (evolving) publicity, especially the visual discourse, surrounding Zionism. When James Joyce conjured his character of Leopold Bloom, newspaper items pertaining to Jews and Palestine were part of the mental universe assembled for a Dubliner at the fin-de-siècle. Despite Joyce's failing eyesight, he too imbibed the notion that a photographic record accompanied the articles concerning a Jewish national awakening in Palestine, including a "model farm" and the plan "[t]o purchase vast sandy tracts from Turkish government and plant eucalyptus trees. Excellent for shade, fuel, and construction. Orange groves and immense melonfields north of Jaffa." Bloom envisioned a "mirage of the lake of Kinnereth with blurred cattle cropping in silver haze . . . projected on the wall. Moses Dlugacz, ferret-eyed albino, in blue dungarees, stands up in the gallery, holding in each hand an orange citron and a pork kidney." Such a Jewish-national montage, however convoluted and trayf, was possible for Bloom, because since its inauguration under Herzl, Zionism had self-consciously exploited photography, in print-journalism and lantern-slide shows, as a vehicle of mobilization. Until the last two decades, the photographs associated with Zionism have been perceived mainly as objective documents, or in the case of the movement's opponents, negatively connoted as a tool for imposing control and obfuscation.

The context of photojournalism

Photojournalism is regarded as a loose field that grew out of the mass-market press and urbanization. What is crucial here, however, is that photojournalists were seen (usually,
derided), at least up through the early 1940s, as denizens of the gutter--lacking in respectability and morally dubious. Surrounding the birth of Fleet Street photography, according to Hannen Swaffer (1879-1962), "the press photographer was regarded as an animal almost beneath contempt. Where he had come from, nobody knew." Swaffer, noted as a journalist and drama critic, appreciated photography's enhancement of newspaper stories. He, however, learned from his own experience that those who became press photographers often "had owned a small business as a photographer somewhere in the suburbs, one he had thrown up for the high adventure of Fleet Street." Indeed, a large share of these 'small businesses' in London, especially clustered on the Finchley Road, Edgeware Road, Whitechapel High Street, and Commercial Road, were in Jewish hands—even if their proprietors were not keen to advertise their identities. Given that photojournalism itself was regarded as ephemeral, the part it played in the reception of Zionism is unlikely to have elicited much interest.

In addition to skirting the problem of respectability, the historiography of journalism, photography, and photojournalism—with the sole exception of David Shneer's work on Soviet photographers and Tim Gidals's efforts—does not confront the Jewishness of the informal Zunft. Gidal, himself a German-Jewish Zionist who settled in Palestine, a photojournalist of some renown, was one the first to write thoughtfully about the connections between Jews and photography. But fortuitously for Zionism and broader humanitarian endeavors, photojournalism—by the wake of the Second World War—came to be seen as respectable, authoritative, and even dignified. In the last twenty years, following earlier prescient analyses of Peter Pollack and Helmut Gernsheim, Erich Salomon is now regarded as perhaps the most important press photographer of the 1920s and 30s. Salomon, it is safe to say, has never been mentioned in the context of Zionism. He is hardly known to Jewish history. Salomon was, arguably, the most colossal figure in the history of photojournalism, having pioneered a candid style that came to be accepted as the norm in newspapers and pictorial magazines. He worked with his son, Peter Hunter (1913-2006), who kept his father's memory alive and work in
circulation. The photographs of Erich originally in the German-speaking press, and his role in the evolution of Fleet Street photography, and journalism generally, was immense. He is credited with "the candidness and instantaneousness that had been the aim of documentary, social, and historical-minded photographers since the invention of the camera." The legend of Salomon mainly stemmed from his 'audacity and ingeniousness' in managing to capture "behind the scenes glimpses of internationally famous political personalities at the League of Nations conferences in the late 1920s." A joke at the time ran that in order to hold an international conclave, one needed three things: "a few Foreign Secretaries, a table, and Dr. Erich Salomon." "[W]hen the Nazis destroyed the great publishing house of Ullstein with its three picture magazines, one of the casualties was . . . Salomon. Celebrated photographers like Alfred Eisenstaedt, Philip Halsman, and Fritz Goro," all of whom forged the character of Luce's LIFE, "left to become world-renowned for their talents." Tragically, Salomon was resident in the Netherlands at precisely the wrong moment; he was transported to Theresienstadt, and then murdered at Auschwitz.

Reclaiming the significance of Erich Salomon and Alfred Eisenstaedt

Although most accounts (but not all) of Salomon note his death in the Holocaust, there is no suggestion by scholars or critics of any Jewish sensitivity in his approach. In reviewing his archive, fascists and antisemites have their masks stripped away and Jews are sympathetically treated. Notably, Chaim Weizmann is presented as a dignified, dynamic, reputable world leader. {figure 2. Erich Salomon (Peter Hunter?), Chaim Weizmann and L.S. Amery, in Erich Salomon, Fotos (Photos) 1933-1940/Peter Hunter, Foto's (Photos 1935-1940): Erich Salomon: emigrant in Holland. Peter Hunter: emigrant in London (Amsterdam: Focus, 1996), 153.} What started as a motif in the Zionist press, the normalization of their leadership, was taken up above all by Salomon. Occasionally Salomon is considered an outsider who surreptitiously infiltrated the upper echelons of society and governments. He made a point of being attired appropriately for whatever occasion he was filming in order to blend in. Yet he also
established good, often warm relations with politicians and royals. In this way he was building on the earlier tradition of Jewish 'court' photographers--a phenomenon dating to the 1840s. Salmon's photographs and career served as the principle model for Alfred Eisenstaedt, born into a wealthy family in Dirschau, West Prussia, in 1898. Eisenstaedt, who enjoyed photography as a teen-age hobby, was seriously injured in the First World War, and his family lost nearly everything in the subsequent economic crisis. He not only appreciated and imitated Salomon; he was with him, "side by side." Although Eisenstaedt became one of the greatest photographers of all time, there are elements of his story--the war experience, a precipitous decline in family fortunes, turning a hobby into a vocation, and the persistence of Jewish photographic-connections from Central Europe--that characterized the experience of dozens, if not some hundreds of Jews in photography.

In the early 1930s Eisenstaedt had become one the better known press photographers in Europe and covered the Ethiopian War for the Associated Press in 1935. "His pictures of the Queen of Sheba's descendants fighting the airplanes and tanks of Mussolini's Fascists, enhanced Eisenstaedt's reputation internationally." Arriving in the United States, December 1935, he "was immediately hired by the new publication LIFE magazine," garnering thousands of assignments and over a hundred covers in the next decades. As much as this was fortuitous, it was far from accidental. Henry Luce had visited Stefan Lorant when he was editor of the London Illustrated News, with the purpose to using Lorant's magazine as a model for a similar publication in the United States. Eisenstaedt was a frequent contributor to Lorant's publications. Luce even asked to take a set of the magazine back to the United States. Kurt Korff, who became one of Luce's LIFE editors, was the editor of a leading German women's magazine, Die Dame, published by Ullstein. Eisenstaedt himself had been published in the London Illustrated News, and Luce allowed the first issues of LIFE to be executed as an experiment--giving the émigrés nearly a free hand--and then kept their model as his template. As much as Eisenstaedt was revered for his mastery of his craft, becoming one of the first photojournalists to be exhibited in major
museums, he also was praised for his objectivity. His biases, including sympathy for Jews, Israel, Democrats, refugees, and the downtrodden—such as they were, were incredibly subtle.

Robert Capa & co.

Neither Robert Capa nor his partner, Gerda Taro, and Chim, Capa's best friend, enjoyed the longevity of Eisenstaedt. All three of them were killed, relatively young, on assignment in war zones: Taro in Spain, Capa in Indochina, and Chim in Egypt. Chim was born in Poland in 1911, the son of an established publisher of Yiddish. He is immortalized as "Lep" in Martha Gellhorn's thinly-veiled fiction, "Till Death Do Us Part"—which was accurate in affirming that Robert Capa valued Chim's insight about photography above all others. Working as a photojournalist beginning in 1933, after 1936 Chim, like Capa and Taro, "covered the Spanish Civil War and many important political events. During World War II he served as photo-interpreter with the United States Air Force. After the war he returned to Europe, where his family had been killed, and produced a moving series of photographs of the physically and spiritually maimed children who survived." He had several assignments to Palestine and the young State of Israel. "The cultural heritage of Greece, Rome, and the Vatican held great interest for him. He participated in many exhibitions, was active as president of Magnum Photos, Inc. (of which he was a co-founder), wrote many articles and three books. He was killed four days after the Suez armistice by an Egyptian machine-gunner while driving to photograph an exchange of prisoners." Publishing in LIFE, Daily Express, Picture Post, National Geographic, Panorama, Weekly Illustrated, Time, Sphere, Paris Soir, Match, Images de Jour, Revue Fiat, Neerlandia, Prins, Zuercher Illustrierte, Ringier, Het Volk, Het Leven means that Chim's work graced kiosks all over the English, German, French, and Dutch-speaking world, outside of Nazi Germany. And in addition to his US Air Force service, he engaged in explicit government work before, during, and after the Second World War. In this context he shot compelling and humane images of the Jewish Displaced Persons in Europe such as his portrait of a "Young Girl in a Sanitorium for
Jewish Children, Otwock, Poland" (1948), and of the first generation in the State of Israel: "Boy lighting Candles at a Children's Reception, Israel" (1954). In 1950 he produced photographs for the United States' Economic Cooperation Administration, one of the components of the Marshall Plan, as well as for UNESCO and UNICEF. While on assignment for Fortune magazine in 1952, he happily collaborated with the Israeli government. Walter Eytan—who would later be the head of Mossad—was his main contact. The fact that Chim was killed in violation of the Suez cease-fire also bolstered his status as a friend and champion of Israel. By 1957 it was possible to speak of highly professional, dignified, idealized photographers as being passionate about the State of Israel. In the case of Chim, this is all the more striking as it elicited a burst of sympathy for Israel in a time, the wake of the Suez War, when it might have been even more harshly questioned.

Among their contemporaries, the Jewishness and affinity for Zionism of Capa and Chim was simply taken for granted. Robert Capa, born a Hungarian Jew, was defined largely by the fact that he was—like so many others who would play an outsized role in photojournalism—forced to flee Nazi Europe. Biographies of Capa, while acknowledging his Jewish background, are more likely to dwell on his "Hungarian-ness" rather than his Jewishness. This is perplexing, because Capa's autobiography, Slightly Out of Focus, however evasive, is unequivocal about his Jewishness, and it is treated unselfconsciously. This book, I would argue, merits greater consideration than it has received if one wishes to better understand and more fully reconstruct the social world and proclivities of photography in the 1940s and early 50s. In the bureaucratic wrangling in order to go overseas in early 1944, Capa responded to a questionnaire in this way:

I wrote that my name was Robert Capa; that I was born in Budapest; that Admiral von Horthy and the Hungarian government had never liked me, and that I had never liked them; that the Hungarian Consulate, since Hitler's annexation of Hungary, refused to say that I was not a Hungarian, nor would they say that I was; that, so long as Hitler was in charge of Hungary, I definitely refused to say that I was; that I was born deeply covered by Jewish
grandparents on every side; and that I hated the Nazis and felt that my pictures may be useful and propaganda against them. 77

Despite the recent controversy over Capa's D-Day photos, it is clear that these remain some of the greatest records of warfare, which deserve to be regarded as fine art.

Born André Friedman, and his mother a Berkowitz, Capa's Jewish descent was inescapable. Robert Capa was famous, or infamous as the case may be, for enjoying the company of all varieties of women, as long as he found them attractive. But the two woman who were most crucial for setting and steering his vocation as a photographer were strong Jewish woman with whom he had significant relationships: Eva Besnyő and Gerda Taro. Besnyő turned him into a professional photographer, and Taro helped fashion him, out of Andre Friedman, into "Robert Capa." For the most part Capa leaves his earlier life out of Slightly Out of Focus in order to concentrate on the Second World War and its aftermath. At the very center of his narrative is an analogy between the myth of the Exodus to the Jews, and the reality of D-Day to the French and the rest of the free world. It also is peppered with vignettes of Jews, such as "the Jewish medic" who was infinitely braver than himself upon the landing at "Easy Red" beach, and a Lieutenant Colonel Abrams, who "looked like a cigar-smoking Jewish king." Interestingly, Capa chose not to take pictures of the remains and survivors of Nazi death factories. At this point in his career Capa was able to call many of his own shots. "The concentration camps were swarming with photographers," he wrote, "and every new picture of horror served only to diminish the total effect. Now for a short day, everyone will see what happened to those poor devils in those camps; tomorrow, very few will care what happens to them in the future."

Perhaps the fate of the European Jews was simply too raw, and Capa knew that the world from which he had sprung was destroyed forever. To the extent that there was some element of choice in his assignments, he devoted substantial effort to capturing the new Jewish life as it was struggling to materialize in Palestine and the State of Israel. His mother, Julia, known as "Mother
Goose, considered her sons' cohort an extension of her family, her own boy and girls, and both Eisenstaedt and Halsman wrote personal notes to Julia upon the death of her son. Robert Capa also had been fervently dedicated to assisting the family members and friends who had survived the Holocaust, some of whom aspired to make their livelihoods in photography. Julia generously bestowed the last Leica camera Robert owned to the photographer Lisl Steiner, a gift that made a profound difference in Steiner's life.

Despite his hatred of all war, Robert Capa's sensitivity toward those who fought what would later be termed Israel's War for Independence was palpable. Capa and Irwin Shaw's Report on Israel contained scores of photographs that had appeared in newspapers and magazines worldwide, and several were republished in Capa's other books. Its text may have been written mainly by Irwin Shaw, but the prose could have been that of Capa as well. The caption accompanying one of the most powerful images in the book reads:

These men are on the road to Jerusalem. None of them ever got there. Many of them died on the other side of the ridge. Some are natives of the land on which they are fighting, but the majority were born in Budapest and Vienna and other cities and villages of Central Europe. A few days before the picture was taken, they were hustled off the immigrant boats at Haifa harbor, sketchily armed and trained, packed into the buses of Tel Aviv, and sent to lift the siege of Jerusalem. This they never did. They were stopped at Latrun by the Arab Legion in the bloodiest engagement of the war. But to meet their attacks, the Legion had to pull away many of their troops from Jerusalem, and the defenders there, with the pressure against them lessened, managed to save half the city.

This story is a fair resume of the condition of the state of Israel. The improvised means, the unready men, the sacrifice not quite altogether in vain, the half-won city, the plans that did not quite work out, the result not what was hoped for but not disastrous, history going in a slightly different direction from what had been expected—all this combines to produce a
state which the early Zionists never imagined but in which a million Jews have found sanctuary from their enemies and can wrestle with their own destiny.\textsuperscript{66} \{figure 3: Robert Capa, Road to Jerusalem, in Robert Capa, Images of War (London: Paul Hamlyn, 1964, 156-7).\}

The photographs in Report on Israel have a raw and unsettled quality, as opposed to the typically sharp, glossy images of buildings, farms, and bronzed chaluzim from Zionist publications. \{figure 4: Yaakov Benor-Kalter, "Joy in Work (Kvutzah Schiller)" in Photographs of the New Working Palestine (Haifa: S. Adler, no date)\} Capa's chaluzim, in comparison, look pensive, occasionally unkept, sweaty and dirty.\textsuperscript{87} \{figure 5. Robert Capa, untitled worker, in Robert Capa, Images of War (London: Paul Hamlyn, 1964), 165.\} Capa's portrait of a frail, blind Chaim Weizmann \{figure 6: Weizmann from Robert Cap and Irwin Shaw, This is Israel; also in Cap, Images of War (London: Paragraphic Books, pp. 162-63)\} also may be compared with the stock image of Weizmann from numerous Zionist publications. \{figure 7: Weizmann portrait, 1923\} Along with the Jews who sought refuge in yishuv and Israel, Capa also lent sympathy, realism, and dignity to the Jews who remained in Europe.\textsuperscript{88}

At a moment when Zionism needed all the support it could muster, and for the decades before and after, a number of currents of professional photography coalesced and assisted in the imagination of a complex visual narrative toward the cause of Jewish nationalization. But photography, say, in contrast to Hebrew literature, did not emerge as a cultural strong suit of modern Israel. There is at least one notable gallery dedicated to photography, Jerusalem's Vision Gallery, founded by Noah (Nils) Folberg, a former pupil of Ansel Adams.\textsuperscript{89} Photography might have become remarkable in Israel had the initiatives of Szymon Zajczyk, Arnold Newman, and Helmut Gernsheim been acted upon and followed through.

\textbf{Szymon Zajczyk, photography, and the history of architecture}
In 1937 Zajczyk, who is now recognized in Poland as an exceptional photographer and historian of architecture, attempted to arrange an exhibition in Jerusalem, Tel Aviv, and Haifa, to accompany plans underway for a show in Egypt, which was to be financed by the Polish government. The funding even included a catalogue to be produced in both Hebrew and English. Zajczyk had already assembled some two hundred photographs, mainly of wooden synagogues in Poland, with detailed descriptions. Part of the objective was to show relationships between developments in graphics, architecture, and architectural photography, with the underlying intent to demonstrate how Jews had worked, highly creatively, in the vernacular of which they were and are a part. As one of the greatest signs of the potential of the project to appeal to a broader audience, Zajczyk noted, the Victoria and Albert Museum in London staged a very successful exhibition on Polish graphic design, which is considered quite advanced. Writing to an acquaintance teaching at the Bezalel Academy (first name Aaron), Zajczyk wryly commented that he had written earlier to Professor (Mordechai) Narkiss, twice, and received no answer. Although it is impossible to predict the response, had the exhibitions in Palestine been held, it is fair to assume that such a major show would have had some resonance. We will never know.

**Arnold Newman's initiatives**

Beginning in the late 1950s, and certainly by the early 1960s, famed American photographer Arnold Newman made a number of concerted efforts to establish photography in Israeli institutions that seemed the most appropriate for nurturing the field. As a follow-up to a meeting with Newman and his wife, Gus (Gussie, Augusta) in 1961, under the auspices of the American-Israel Foundation, Karl Katz—apparently at the suggestion of the Newmans—summarized their specific recommendations: "1. Collect a modest sized retrospective group of photographs tracing the history of photography[:]; 2. Assemble a small, fine group of photographs by contemporary master photographers[:]; 3. Lay stress on the aesthetic aspects of the new art form[:]; 4. Bring together a group of photographs of artists which would serve as archives of portraits of the artists
by master photographers." In addition to these thoughtful and constructive tasks, Newman volunteered to coordinate the entire effort "in cooperation with many other photographers in this country and abroad. Hopefully, many of the photographers and archives would cooperate," that is, provide photos and services free of charge, "so that this project would not cost a great deal. "The photographs should be mounted, an exhibition set up and the Archives established in the Bezalel National Museum, Jerusalem, Israel." Katz apologized for omitting "lots of details" that the Newmans had voiced, while assuring them "I really am delighted that you had this idea and will really try hard to get it done. You have my enthusiastic support and the museum's gratitude." Despite the fact Newman had occasion to visit Israel in the next four months, on assignment for *Holiday* magazine, his plan, and Katz's promise, did not move forward with any deliberate speed.

It is possible to argue that Newman's initiative was stalled because this was precisely the transition period between the demise of the rather chaotic museum in the premises of the Bezalel Academy and incipient Israel Museum. Yet one may counter that there was no better moment to inaugurate photography as a paramount component of Israeli's public culture.

In 1968 Newman was invited to address the American-Israeli Cultural Foundation on the subject of "The Influence of the Jew on Creative Photography." Newman agreed to participate, but he was adamant, in remarks to historian of photography Beaumont Newhall, that he was "rather distressed that I got involved." He was looking to Newhall for advice, and also for slides to borrow for the presentation. "I do not feel," Newman asserted, "that any artist should be mentioned for his religious or any other affiliation." Each of the photographers he had selected was "on the basis of his creative work and it becomes apparent that his religious affiliation had little or nothing to do with his work." Photographs dedicated to Jewish themes, such as by Roman Vishniac and Leonard Freed, were the exceptions. Although there is no indication that Newhall had challenged him about it, Newman defended his decision to do the lecture because the products of the men in question were of good quality—in other words, that they did not just
happen to be Jewish. Moreover, Newman stressed that he went ahead with the talk because he hoped that it would lead to "added support for the Photographic Department in the Israel Museum, Jerusalem." Karl Katz, formerly of the Bezalel National Museum, was now director of the Israel Museum. But what had transpired in the intervening seven years is unclear, even though Newman identified himself as an "Art Curator and Adviser to the Jewish Museum in Jerusalem."

The notes for a lecture that Newman gave at the Bezalel Academy some ten years later repeats many of his points from his earlier talk on Jews and photography. In 1978, he indicates that Israel had not progressed very far in things photographic. Although Newman was no iconoclast, he damned, with faint praise, David Rubinger's classic image of the Israeli soldiers at the Wailing Wall from 1967—in comparison to Joe Rosenthal's "famous shot of the flag-raising at Iwo Jima" during the Second World War, and the work of "others like myself" who "seek to build more deliberate images with ideas, abstractions, and collages." His views on what was happening, institutionally, regarding photography in Israel were mixed, if not contradictory. Newman recalled that in the late 1950s, "I could find only two photographers, photojournalists, of any stature in Israel." He was asked in 1965 "to assist in creating a department of photography in the Israel Museum." Newman did not mention that he himself had initiated such a process, predating the Israel Museum, with Karl Katz. He praised Katz, the "new director" of the Israel Museum and its chief curator, under whom its "department of photography became a reality," with the "beginnings of a truly fine collection and library." But despite having been feted himself at Bezalel, on at least two occasions, Newman lamented: "of all the arts photography is the neglected one at the Bezalel. It is but an adjunct to other disciplines. There is no department, no full time course for a young Israeli to take. I have seen talented students frustrated with no further options to help them. I understand with no place to study here that literally hundreds have left or are leaving to study abroad and hence the standards are too low for those who have real talent to return to." In some respects this was remarkably, brutally honest. The Bezalel
Academy and Israel Museum, he felt, had the potential for creating a high quality, fully-fledged photography departments. He did not, however, say that he have given them the very blueprint, and the tools, which had been squandered. Newman visited again in 1982, and was thanked profusely for "the great support which you have been extending to the Photography Unit". It was, however, only then on its way to being a "fully recognized Department."97

Helmut Gernsheim steps in

Helmut Gernsheim, in response to an impulse similar to that of Arnold Newman, also sought to put Israel on the map—with regard to a historical-critical approach to photography—to be attained through the study of photography becoming one of the core academic subjects and research strengths of the Hebrew University of Jerusalem. Also similar to Newman, Gernsheim tried to make sense of the Jews' historical connection to, and obvious overrepresentation in photography. Gernsheim himself never published or lectured on the subject, but he discussed it in depth with Tim Gidal, and some of Gernsheim's ideas may have been articulated in Gidal's seminal article on Jews and photography that appeared in the Leo Baeck Institute Year Book of 1987.98

While writing his own preparations for teaching a course about the history of photography at the Bezalel School of Art in Jerusalem, which he intimated was also being offered for the Hebrew University, Gidal proposed that Gernsheim be brought in to teach such a course. After all, Gidal had published in the field, but his stature and accomplishments paled in comparison to Gernsheim. This would not be just any visiting appointment. Having Gernsheim teach the history of photography in Jerusalem would mean "die Lehre geht aus von Jerusalem." Overall the situation in Israel was turbulent, but Gidal boasted that it was "the most beautiful, most exciting country in the world, and Jerusalem is her crown, pardon the monarchistic chauvinistic expression[ion], no leftypinky listening right now."99
Gidal's comment, "die Lehre geht aus von Jerusalem" literally translates as "From Jerusalem will go forth the teaching (or "instruction," or "the law")." This is a slight misquote of the biblical expression: "From Zion will go forth Torah" or "For instruction shall come forth from Zion." Gidal was secularizing the prophecy of Isaiah 2:1-4 which is closely repeated in Micah 4:1-3. It was applied in many ways by Jews throughout history, but probably most prominently for those of Gidal's generation as a foundational ideal of the Hebrew University of Jerusalem. It inferred that sage-like wisdom would issue from a restored national Jewish home. The main point here is that Gidal thought it appropriate that the greatest font of knowledge about the history of photography, Helmut Gernsheim, have a platform serving to unite Jerusalem's Bezalel Academy and Hebrew University.

From then on, until about 1990, Gernsheim would engage in a number of Jewish and Israeli-centered matters. While in the throes of work on his family history, Gernsheim warmed to the idea of an appointment in Jerusalem, although he knew it would be difficult to accommodate. Yet he remained hopeful, assuming that it would be a better experience than the positions he said he declined at the University of Texas and the German university of Essen, as well as one he had regretfully taken up for an American junior college in Lugano, Switzerland—where he found the students lazy and mediocre. The Hebrew University, he surmised, would be an entirely "different proposition." He feared, though, that the academic calendar might not suit him, and that that the university, which seemed to be in a continual funding crisis, would not even allow for his basic subsistence. Had Israeli institutions, though, taken the chance, they might have jump-started interest in the history of photography, which would take some twenty years to develop (except for photography of the Holy Land.) At least one colleague, Yeshayahu Nir, sensed that Israel had missed out on a truly unique opportunity by not finding a place for Gernsheim. Gernsheim was, however, invited to deliver a keynote for a conference on the history of photography at the Israel Museum, including faculty from the Hebrew University, 26 July 1988, "Focus East," which coincided with an exhibition "The Travelling Photographer and the Orient."
That experience was greatly enjoyable to Gernsheim and seemed to be a precursor to a major academic initiative. A return visit and follow-up events were discussed almost immediately. But within two years the project, to gather a group concerned with issues related to Jews and photography, was moribund—at least as far as Gernsheim was concerned. Speaking for himself and his (second) wife, Gernsheim wrote that "Irene and I have decided against any participation in the 25th anniversary celebration of the Israel Museum." By then, the bulk of his photographs were housed at the Ransom Center of the University of Texas, and remainder at the Reiss-Engelhorn Museum in Mannheim. He felt pressured by the Israelis to donate photos from his collection, and to offer some for sale "to benefit a fund to promote the study of photography." Gernsheim was not happy. "When Nissan (Perez) suggested two years ago to the invited photography experts that we should all meet again this autumn for the opening of a photography department," he wrote, "we thought it a splendid idea, for this small group had meanwhile become a family of friends with Nissan a wonderful host." This was not, however, how the imagined role for him was emerging. "Hobnobbing with money society is, however, not to our taste. This celebration will, we are sure, create many new supporters of your splendid museum. And you will not miss us in the crowd. We are full of admiration for what Israel has achieved and we will no doubt enrich your collections one day with small gifts." Although Gernsheim would not have that much longer to live, Israel squandered a chance help establish the serious study and presentation of the history of photography in the country. But it is unclear to what extent there was, in fact, much concern for photography's history in Israel, as conceived by Gernsheim. Most experts in the country were focused on how the field developed in Palestine and Israel—and little else.

Photographs of Jews and the Zionist project that helped account for the hopeful imagination of, and support for the movement and the State of Israel, certainly derived from Zionist efforts. But some the most effective photojournalism and photographs were products of larger historical currents having little to do with Zionism or Israel per se. Salomon, Chim, Capa, and Eisenstaedt
had a greater impact on concretizing the idea that Zionism ultimately was on the side of good, with Jews and Israel integrated into a sea of greater humanity, than has been noticed or appreciated. The Jewish immersion in, and abiding concern for the significance of photography is not a matter of Jewish "contributions" but a product of the fact that the marginal situation of Jews in much of European society was different from that of non-Jews. Photography greatly helped Zionism and Israel. But despite providing such a substantial fillip for the cause, photography was not accorded a particularly special place in Israel.

This article is dedicated to memory of my friend and colleague, Professor Robert Liberles (z"l) of Ben Gurion University of the Negev. I especially wish to thank the anonymous readers of this article for the journal for their astute and helpful comments. Research support was provided by the Remarque Institute of New York University, the Mandel Center for Advanced Holocaust Studies of the United States Holocaust Memorial Museum, Yad Vashem, the Harry Ransom Center of the University of Texas, and the Center for Creative Photography at the University of Arizona.

A striking example of this turn is the "Exile Photography Workshop", held under the auspices of Daat Hamakom: Center for the Study of Cultures of Place in the Modern Jewish World, the DAAD Walter Benjamin Chair, Department for German Russian and East European Studies, Division of German Language and Literature, and the Koebner Center of the Hebrew University, June 19-20, 2016, directed by Ofer Ashkeanzi. Some of the work relevant to this endeavor is Rebekka Grossmann. "Negotiating Presences: Palestine and the Weimar German Gaze." *Jewish Social Studies* 23, no. 2 (2018): 137-72; http://www.jstor.org/stable/10.2979/jewisocistud.23.2.05; Ofer Askenazi, "The symphony of a great Heimat: Zionism as a cure for Weimar's crisis in Lerski's *Avodah,*" in *Three-Way street: Germans, Jews, and the transnational*, eds. Jay Howard Geller and Leslie Morris (Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Press, 2016), 91-121; Amos Morris-Reich, *Race and photography: racial photography as scientific evidence, 1876-1980* (Chicago:


8 Susan Goldman Rubin, Margaret Bourke-White: her pictures were her life ((New York: Abrams, 1999); Power and paper: Margaret Bourke-White, modernity, and the documentary mode, exhibition and catalogue by John R. Stromberg; introduction by Kim Sichel (Seattle: University of Washington Press, 1998); Vicki Goldberg, Margaret Bourke-White: a biography (Reading, MA: Addison-Wesley, 1987).


See Anna Messner’s contribution in this volume


Nancy Newhall, (private) journals, beginning Sept. 3, 1952, “Paris-October 1952.” (no pagination); Beaumont and Nancy Newhall papers, box 243, file 2, Getty Research Institute, Los


22 Bert Garai, *The Man from Keystone: Behind the scenes of a great picture agency, by the man who scooped the world* (London: Frederick Muller, 1965).


26 Joachim Schlör has initiated research on photographers in Palestine; see, in his rich body of work, Schlör, *Tel Aviv: from dream to city* (London: Reaktion, 1999); cf. Ori Dvir, *Rudi Weissenstein: Israel Early Photographs* (Ben Shemen, Israel: Modan, 2008); David Rubinger


29


Ibid.


Ibid., 72.


Christoph Schulte, Psychopathologie des Fin de siècle. Der Kulturkritiker, Arzt und Zionist Max Nordau (Frankfurt am Main: Fischer, 1997), 265-96.


I owe this insight to Grant B. Romer.

Michael Berkowitz, "Jews and Photography."

This notion has been challenged by Gernsheim, but it is nevertheless repeated; see Helmut Gernsheim, *Creative Photography: Aesthetic Trends 1839 to Modern Times* (New York: Bonanza, 1967), 102-114, 208-29.

There is hardly any attention to photojournalism in the seminal anthology *Classic Essays on Photography*, ed. Alan Trachtenberg, Notes by Amy Weinstein Meyers (New Haven: Leete’s Island Books, 1980).


See, for example, the interviews in the "Refugee Voices" collection of the Wiener Library, London; Inge Ader, no. 25, 17-9; Dorothy Bohm, no. 82, 22-3; Ernst Flesch, no. 137, 17-18.


"Dr. Erich Salomon", draft of article for *Encyclopaedia Judaica*, Peter Pollack papers, box 6, file 5, GRI.

Ibid.

Ibid.

Ibid.

Weizmann is pictured next to President Warren Harding in *Palästina-Bilder-Korrespondenz* (May 1929): 3; this magazine, which included numbers on pictures, facilitated the use of its photographs in other Jewish and Zionist periodicals.

61 Gidal, "Jews in Photography."

62 Ibid.

63 Peter Pollack, draft of article for the *Encyclopaedia Judaica*, "EISENSTAEDT, ALFRED (1898--), Peter Pollack papers, box 6, file 2, GRI.


65 Ibid.


69 [Cornell Capa], "THE CONCERNED PHOTOGRAPHER October 1, 1967-January 7, 1968", Riverside Museum, 310 Riverside Drive at 103rd St., N.Y.C. 10025, p. 3, Peter Pollack papers, box 6, file 5, GRI.

70 D. Seymour, 1932-1939, Working papers (agencies that employed him), ICP.

71 D. Seymour, 1932-1939, Working papers (agencies that employed him), ICP.

72 Tom Beck, *David Seymour (Chim)*, 20, 44.

73 Bernard Drzewieski, Head, Reconstruction and Rehabilitation Section (Unesco) [to Chim], undated; Patricia Palmer [Public Information Officer, Unicef] to Mr. Seymour, 21st February 1949, D. Seymour, 1932-1939, Working papers (agencies that employed him), ICP.
74 TELEGRAM FROM MONTREAL[.] INSTRUCTIONS FOR ISRAELI ASSIGNMENT

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76 Richard Whelan; Alex Kershaw, Blood and Champagne: The Life and Times of Robert Capa (London: Pan, 2002).

77 Ibid., p. 5.


80 Robert Capa, Slightly Out of Focus, 140-1.

81 Ibid., 148.

82 Ibid., 210.

83 Ibid., 235.

84 Robert Capa, letter to Mother, apparently about two months after D-Day (June 6, 1944), Robert Capa, "1944" file, ICP.

85 Letter from Philippe Halsman, May 27th 1954, Capa Condolence album, ICP.


87 Robert Capa and Irwin Shaw, This is Israel; also in Robert Capa, Images of War, 160; cf. Yaakov Benor-Kalter, "Joy in Work (Kvutzah Schiller)" and "The Levant Fair, Tel Aviv," in Photographs of the New Working Palestine (Haifa: S. Adler, no date), no pagination.
88 Capa, *Images of War*, 150.

89 Personal communication to the author from Moshe Caine, 2 May 2016.

90 Szymon Zajczyk, letter to a friend in Israel, 25 February; Item ID: 3539859; Record Group: 0.75-Letters and Postcards Collection. File number 129, Archival signature: 5531, Yad Vashem archives, Jerusalem.


92 Copy of a letter from Henry W. Levy to Miss Rachel Hubner, America-Israel Cultural Foundation, 32 Allenby Road, Tel Aviv, July 12, 1961, Box 33, Arnold Newman Collection, HRC.


95 Arnold Newman's lecture notes for the "Jews in Photography" address, folder marked "Am-Israel Culture Foundation," Box 33, Arnold Newman Collection, HRC.

96 Arnold Newman's lecture notes for address at Bezalel, May 1979, file marked "Bezalel," Box 3, Arnold Newman Collection, HRC.

97 Letter from Prof. Ran Schchori, Director of the [Bezalel] Academy, June 8, 1982, to Arnold Newman, file marked "Bezalel," Box 3, Arnold Newman Collection, HRC.

98 Helmut Gernsheim to Tim Gidal, 2 January 1976, Riess-Engelhorn Museum, Mannheim, German (RE).

99 Tim Gidal to Helmut Gernsheim, February 2, 1976, RE.


101 Helmut Gernsheim to Meir Meyer, 21 June 1990, RE.
102 Helmut Gernsheim to Tim Gidal, 25 February 1976, RE.

103 Y. Nir to Helmut Gernsheim, March 29, 1988, RE.

104 "Focus East" and related material for Jerusalem trip, RE.

105 Helmut Gernsheim to Meir Meyer, 21 June 1990, RE.

106 Meir Meyer to Helmut Gernsheim, undated [1990], RE.

107 Helmut Gernsheim to Meir Meyer, 21 June 1990, RE.

From Robert Capa and Irwin Shaw, *This is Israel*; also in Robert Capa, *Images of War* (1964), pp. 156-7.

**Figure 3.**
From Robert Capa and Irwin Shaw, *This is Israel*; also in Robert Capa, *Images of War* (1964), p. 165.
FIGURE 7.