Broadcasting the Eichmann Trial: Radio and the Public Doing of Justice

Much has been written about the historical, political and legal significance of the Eichmann trial. Much less has been written about the media aspect of the trial, and even less about the role of what was then the main broadcasting medium in Israel—the radio. Historians and laypeople alike attest to the centrality of radio during the days of the trial and to the impact of broadcasts from Beit Ha'am (the People's Hall, the theatre venue chosen to hold the proceedings).[1] The task taken by Kol Yisrael (Voice of Israel) radio station to mediate the trial to Israel and the world presented an exceptional technical and professional challenge. Yet the story of radio during the trial is not simply of professional accomplishment, making it of interest only to those invested in the profession. Rather, the untold story of radio in the Eichmann trial encompasses some of the most fundamental challenges and dilemmas that accompanied this unprecedented legal event. Looking into the preparations and the transmissions before, during and after the trial reveal a rich document on the process of doing justice in public. With many studies on the trial already in print, the

perspective taken here nevertheless leads to some new, and potentially important, revelations on the process and its perception in Israel. But perhaps more importantly, this perspective captures something of the public climate surrounding the trial, a climate which seems to have been more diverse than some historical accounts tend to portray.

From the People's Hall to the People's Ears

Preparations for the trial began shortly after Prime Minister Ben Gurion's announcement at the Knesset of Eichmann's kidnap on May 23 1960. Teddy Kollek, the Prime Minister's bureau chief, was in charge of supervising all administrative aspects of the trial, including public relations.[2] From the outset, special attention was given to the press and media coverage. David Landor, the director of the Government Press Office, outlined the key points as early as two weeks after the announcement of Eichmann's capture. Among the issues raised by Landor: allocating seats for journalists, photographers and cameramen in the courtroom; setting up television transmission to an outside venue; arranging for radio transmission and recording by Kol Yisrael; and preparing on-site press rooms and press facilities. Initial suggestions also included publishing a book on the trial, initiating a production of a

documentary film, and even speculating on future collaboration with movie producers.[3]

While being the main broadcasting medium at the time, Kol Yisrael had a rather marginal role in the consultations that took place before the trial. Radio representatives were not invited to attend the meetings of an interministerial committee responsible for the publicity of the trial chaired by Landor. 'I read in the newspaper about the composition of the special committee handling the Eichmann affair', wrote Zvi Zinder, Director General of Kol Yisrael, to Landor. According to Zinder, since no arrangements had been made to appear before the committee, his memo was to specify the demands of the Israeli radio service.[4] The two main tasks as designated by Zinder were recording the trial from beginning to end and providing updates for Kol Yisrael's newscasts. These tasks were ultimately to be achieved, though not without some serious debates.

Requests to record the proceedings were initially ignored by Major General Yekutiel Keren, Israel Police commissioner who was appointed as chief administrator of the trial. Hanoch Givton, Zinder's successor as Director General of Kol Yisrael, followed his predecessor in claiming permission to record the trial, this time stressing the significance of a complete tape-recording, not merely

for the benefit of broadcasting, but mainly for 'safekeeping in the State's archive or in other national institute', adding that 'It would be an irretrievable loss if for whatever reason such voice document would not be preserved by the State and the Jewish people'.[5] These requests had remained largely unanswered, and it took Teddy Kollek's intervention to bring Keren to finally concede.[6] This was following the disconcerting realization that Capital Cities Broadcasting Corporation, a New York-based film company hired by the Israeli government, was not obliged by contract to capture the entire trial on film and therefore could not provide a complete record of the proceedings.[7] Kol Yisrael's mandate to record the Eichmann trial was thus more of a last-minute solution than forethought.

Kol Yisrael's three main tasks during the trial were: complete and continuous recording of the proceedings, daily reports and live broadcasts for the Israeli audience, and service to foreign correspondents assigned to cover the trial. These tasks presented an unprecedented technical challenge, entailing the construction of a small radio station inside Beit Ha'am, complete with specially purchased equipment. The undertaking was described in detail in Kol Yisrael's weekly magazine *Radio,* published regularly in the early 1960's. A feature article, entitled 'The Trial in the Ears of the

World', which appeared two weeks before the trial commenced, unfolds the technical operation behind it. For those involved in the operation, the aim was to allow 'everyone who wishes to be present in the trial of the Jewish people against one of its greatest deadly foes, to participate in all but physical presence in what was repeatedly described as one of the greatest trials in our generation'.[8] The article, which clearly bespeaks Kol Yisrael's agenda, offers some revealing details on the way the trial was perceived by Israeli radio executives.

For one thing, it declares that technical preparations for the trial had begun a few days after the announcement of Eichmann's capture and were carried out and completed as planned (quite an achievement given the general ineptitude demonstrated by other agencies dealing with the publicity of the trial).[9] 'It is possible that the courtroom would tend to remind us of the hall's original purpose—cinema and artistic performance', comments the reporter, 'but the eye immediately encounters the court's podium; and the staff's stern faces would instantly thwart any possible mistake by a passerby'.[10] Kol Yisrael's technical preparations further manifest the precariousness surrounding a legal procedure taking place in a theater house and exposed to worldwide press and media. By special permission of the Minister of Justice, eight

microphones were installed in the courtroom (one for each judge, prosecution, defense, witness stand, interpreter, and accused) and were wired simultaneously to the loudspeaker system, to earphones inside the hall, and to Kol Yisrael's transmission booth. Adjacent to the transmission booth and overlooking the entire hall was the control booth, from which a technician activated each speaker's microphone (Fig. 2, 3). The 'nerve center' was located on the bottom floor of the building, where five mini-studios were set to serve 32 foreign stations and networks, working continuously 24 hours a day with the capacity of relaying up to eight overseas transmissions an hour (Fig. 4). In the prose of *Radio*'s reporter, Kol Yisrael's technicians were entrusted with a mission exceeding the technical challenge: 'And here—in these tiny studios and cramped rooms they will have to mix and broadcast and cable the message of the trial to all corners of the world'.[11]

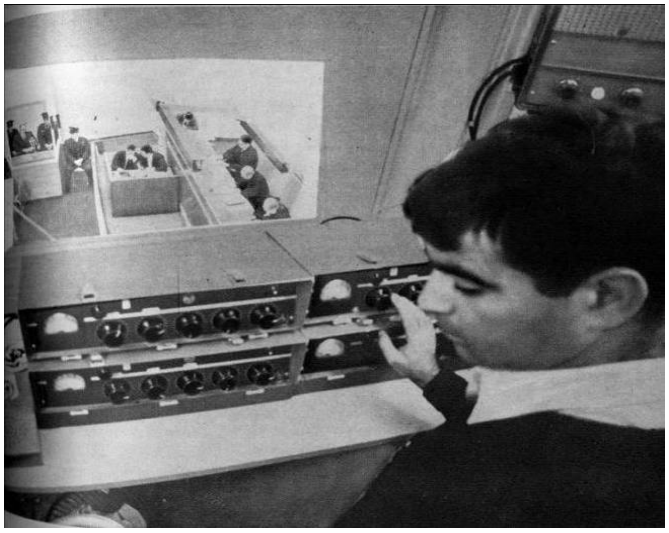

Figure 2: View of the courtroom from the control booth (courtesy of Kol Yisrael archive)

Figures 3 and 4: Equipment in the control booth (left) and in the 'nerve center' (right)

While permission had been given to the setting up of a microphone system and to the complete recording of the proceedings, the Ministry of Justice stipulated that no tape-recorders were to be allowed inside the courtroom.[12] Such restriction would have undoubtedly impaired the work of many correspondents wanting to incorporate voice inserts in their reports. The problem was solved by the construction of an

elaborate system of distribution, specifically designed to facilitate recording while respecting the legal stipulation. The system featured an innovative apparatus—'recording taps'—which enabled reporters to plug-in, listen and record the procedures without interfering with the formal conduct of the trial. Fifty units of 'recording taps' were installed in a working area at the rear of the hall, from which correspondents could follow the proceedings in the translation language of their choice (Hebrew, German, English or French) while recording the original signal from the hall. The 'recording taps' system supplied a technical solution to a dilemma that accompanied the trial from the very beginning: wanting to expose the proceedings to the media and at the same time to protect the proceedings from the media. In this case, however, a technological solution was enough to resolve the contradiction between accessibility and formality.

Figure 5: Closed-circle television inside Ha'am; at the center, a "recording tap" outlet (copyright Israel State Archive).

As the title of *Radio*'s feature article suggests, the belief of radio executives was that the whole world was listening. The joint effort of technicians, producers and reporters was 'to fulfill the wish of thousands and of millions, to be something like "living conduits", virtually without mediation, to the voices and the sounds—to the facts of the trial'.[13] Accordingly, Kol Yisrael's mission was to serve not only Israeli listeners but a worldwide audience by relaying the event as authentically and faithfully as possible. Nakdimon Rogel, the head of the Operations Department in Kol Yisrael, is quoted as commenting on the role of modern media in the making of world events:

> The development of communication media has canceled notions of time and space with respect to reporting events of international importance. The summit meeting, the last Olympics in Rome, and the trial of the American pilot Francis Powers in Moscow, have reached millions of readers, radio listeners and television viewers, as if they had taken place in front of their very eyes and not thousands of kilometers away from their homes.[14]

Unlike others dealing with the publicity of the trial, Rogel seemed to have gasped its significance precisely as an event that takes place on the air as much as in a Jerusalem venue—or in other words, as a media event.[15] Consequently, the fidelity of the broadcast was not only a matter of professional prestige but also a matter of political implication. In line with the court's decision, media coverage was not deemed inappropriate but rather as serving 'important values of doing justice'.[16] From this perspective, broadcasting was not seen as invalidating the legal procedure. On the contrary—in the eyes of Kol Yisrael's executives, radio coverage served to ascertain that what was taking place in Beit Ha'am was a fair and just legal procedure, a bona fide trial. Some

critics (Hannah Arendt for one) would later invoke the exposure of the proceeding to the media in arguing that this court case was in fact a show trial. For those responsible for the broadcasting of the trial, however, such exposure meant precisely the opposite; that is, corroborating rather than jeopardizing the integrity of the proceedings.

Pre-trial Broadcasts

Weekend Special, May 28, 1960

It was through the radio that the Israeli public first heard about the capture of Eichmann. A special broadcast of Ben Gurion's announcement to the Knesset on May 23, 1960, sent hordes to the streets in search of the evening newspapers. A special hour-long program was aired on the Saturday following the dramatic announcement. The broadcast began with a replay of Ben Gurion's short statement and the turmoil that followed at the parliament. The excitement was prolonged by the announcer who then stated that "during the whole week, one could not engage in any conversation at home, in the street, in a coffee house, without the mention of Eichmann's name, or without speculating on how he was caught and on the punishment he expects." The program continued with reactions of three ordinary people interviewed on

the street. The first, stating he had lost his entire family during Holocaust in Poland, hopes that "this great tormenter who had a hand in this receives his punishment as soon as possible." Another interviewee, explaining that while not undergoing the suffering of the European Jewry himself, "but when I heard this for the first time in the radio announcer's voice, a shiver ran though me." The third interviewee, remaining unidentified (but his accent is clearly of an East-European decent, declares that he is pleased that Eichmann "would see his end coming to him by the hands of the people whose end he himself envisioned".

The program then turns to Yadid Halevi, the judge appointed to hand out the warrant for Eichmann’s arrest. Halevi confesses that when he was told that Eichmann was "in Israeli hands" he was so shaken that he had to drink a cup of coffee to calm himself down. He then instructed the accompanying police officer to inform Eichmann that he was facing a judge and that the police have an arrest warrant against him. After the police officer related this to Eichmann in German, Eichmann, says the judge, “he saluted like the Nazis used to salute clicking his shoes.”

Following the details of Eichmann's arrest, the narrative turns to Arthur (Asher) Ben Nathan, who had been involved in collecting evidence of the destruction of European Jewry for the pre-state

security services. Ben Nathan admits that despite the fact that Eichmann had been active in a number of countries, his name remained relatively unknown. He then relates the difficulties in ascertaining Eichmann's whereabouts after the war, which took a turning point following the capture of Dieter Wisliceny, which divulged important information and led to the discovery of much needed pictures of Eichmann. This was critical since, according to Ben Asher, Eichmann had avoided being photographed and had made efforts to destroy existing pictures. He also recounts a plan to kidnap Eichmann's wife and children, whose location had been known, and thereby force Eichmann to surrender himself. The plan was ultimately rejected by the Hagana authorities.

The presenter moves to an interview with Tuvia Friedman, a survivor and Ben Nathan's assistant, who devoted "the last 15 year to collecting evidences, whether in speech or writing, pertaining to Eichmann's command of the annihilation of Jews in Europe." According to Freidman Eichmann had demanded from the Hess, the commander of Auschwitz, to send 25,000 Jews a day to the death camps instead of the 15,000 they were sending, "always threatening that (if not) he would send the SS commanders to the SS military court, which meant a death punishment to them too. Day and night he insisted that only during the time of war it would

be possible to destroy this people, for after the war the humanitarian and other conditions would not allow it.”

Next, a presentation by Shaul Asch, a Holocaust historian at the Hebrew University introducing a text written by Rudolf Höss, commander of Auschwitz, in which he (Höss) states that he had first learned from Eichmann, who visited Auschwitz in 1941, about the plans to exterminate the Jews About the actual idea, notes Ash, he heard from Himler, but it was Eichmann who unfolded to him, only by word of mouth, who were to arrive in Auschwitz, first from nearby, from Galicia, then from Germany, Czechoslovakia, and from Western Europe. Following this disclosure, Ash continues, both men walked into the area assigned to be for the extermination camp and it was Eichmann, says Ash, who gave the instructions where to locate the "small buildings," i.e., the gas chambers, their precise measurements and their intended capacity. Höss notes in his text that he had many talks with Eichmann about what they called “the final solution of the Jewish problem”. During their talks, notes Ash, Höss served wine hoping to learn about Eichmann’s inner thoughts. Eichmann always “remained with the same absolute conviction, always arguing for the complete elimination of the Jews, which had to be carried out

mercilessly and, something that he repeatedly stressed, that their extermination had to be carried out as quickly as possible."

The presenter then introduces another interviewee, Ehud Avriel, at present a Mapay party official, who had met Eichmann in 1938 in his capacity as the head of the Aliya organization in Europe. Avriel recalls the first meeting in Eichmann's office at the Rothschild palace in Vienna. Upon entering the office, Avriel heard the man shouting: "'Don't come near me, Jewish pig'. That was the welcoming and the beginning of my discussion with the person in charge of the immigration of Jews." As I approached a few steps, Avriel continues, "I realized that the man was holding a whip, which he waved in the air, probably to frighten me. He then ordered me to report about the immigration actions, which I did as much as I could, but was almost unable to get opportunity to speak, being interrupted every time by screaming and the waving of the whip…"

Concluding the interview, the presenter's asks Avriel to sum up his impressions of Eichmann: "he made the impression of a hysterical, unbalanced person, who vacillated between screaming and sweet talk, perhaps trying to imitate his leader who was known for that. But he did not strike me as someone who carried out his job just to be done with it. Rather, from the thankfully few

meetings I had with him, he eagerly, passionately, horribly, demanded the blood of the Jews". Another detail revealed by Avriel is that in one of their talks, Eichmann elaborated on the predicament of Germany faced in allowing Jews to immigrate to Palestine, thereby jeopardizing the relations with a Nazi alley, the grand Moufti of Jerusalem.

Following Avriel, the presenter introduces Hanzi Brand, who met with Eichmann to plead for the release of Hungarian children. She describes a heated moment where she told Eichmann that “it was perhaps the time that his own children would be under the same danger as ours.” "I said it," she explains, "because I had nothing to lose. One dies only once." Concluding the series of interviews with people who had met Eichmann in Europe is the testimony of Beno Cohen, who was one of the leaders of the Jewish community in Germany. Cohen recalls a gathering to mark the departure of a young rabbi during which Eichmann received a kick to the stomach by one participant who was eager to get it. Eichmann summoned Cohen and threatened to send him to a concentration camp should this happen again.

Moving to report on the reactions around the world following Eichmann’s capture, the presenter turns to the former assistant French prosecutor at the Nuremberg trials Paul Coste-Floret, who

“congratulated Israel on Eichmann's capture,” recalling the frequent mention of his name at the Nuremberg trials. Next is Lord Russell of Liverpool, author of *The Scourge of the Swastika* and former Deputy Judge Advocate General in Germany, whose war-crime unit had caught many Nazi officials but failed to trace Eichmann’s whereabouts after the war.

The special program ends with a commentary by a senior Kol Yisrael correspondent dedicated to those who took part in bringing Eichmann to trial in Israel: “the nation’s gratitude is given to the men who, due to understandable reasons, must remain in their gray anonymity even in their greatest moments.” The senior correspondent reports that in an off-the-record meeting between newspaper editors and security officers (what was called the “editors’ committee,” a common practice in those days for meetings where government officials would give background information to members of the press) one editor said that the achievement of those people would be remembered for a hundred years. “If we have one reservation to that statement,” adds the correspondent, “it would have to do with the number: what was achieved by the Security Service’s officers will undoubtedly be remembered in Jewish history as long as it will be written.” The circumstances demanded that these individuals deal with this man

“almost like nannies.” Their sever sense of obligation was somewhat burdened by fate of a family unknown to them, possibly also adversarial, which might be affected by their deeds. “Such is,” concludes the correspondent, “the Jewish and moral character of the members of the Israeli Security Services”.

Special Broadcast, April 9, 1961

Whereas the first special broadcast was dedicated to Eichmann the person and to the circumstances of his kidnap, the second pre-trial program, broadcast two days before the opening of the trial, on April 9, 1961, was devoted to the possible impact of the trial as well as what the impact should be. The first part of the program featured street interviews with ordinary people; the second, longer part featured a round table debate with intellectuals and experts discussing the possible impact of the trial in Israel and beyond. It is noteworthy that Kol Yisrael took upon itself the task of gauging the public sentiment about the upcoming trial and then, of course, making it public. The degree of public involvement was therefore considered crucial for the trial to have an impact on Israeli society. As it happened, the timing was particularly suitable for finding ordinary people in the street as the trial was scheduled

immediately following Passover week *(Hol HaMo'ed*), traditionally the week devoted to visiting Mount of Zion and Jerusalem.

The first respondent on the program is a 17 years old Yeshiva student, whose answer to whether he had heard about the Holocaust is “yes, what we had with the Germans, with Hitler and Eichmann and all those who exterminated 6 million people.” Asked whether he finds interest in what happened there he answers “absolutely, many of our people were killed there.” Next is a 16 year old girl who had emigrated from Turkey. While she heard about Eichmann, her reply to the interviewer’s question, "does it interest you at all?" is "don't know, don't care." After the interviewer insists "not at all?" she answers "of course not… what do I care? …it interests the Polls, not me." The presenter then continues to describe the scene up on the mountain where “a Yemenite stands; he’s already 12 years in the country.” “Do you know anything about Eichmann?” asks the interviewer, “I heard about him a couple of months ago,” he replies. To the question “Why is he facing trial?” he answers “I don’t exactly know … maybe for killing Jews.” To the question “Are you at all interested in this?” he answers “it interests everybody else, not me." A 21 year old young woman—a music teacher, studying law— is then asked when she first heard about the Holocaust—“when I reached

the age when you hear about holocausts, in elementary school," she answers. She admits that her "reaction to the Holocaust was like to any other disaster, only this one happened to be on a much larger scale," immediately adding that "since I wasn't involved and fortunately neither was my family, it was from a distance. On the other hand, smaller things, like the pogroms in Russia were more relevant to me since my parents are from Russia." Then a policeman, standing on guard near Beit Ha'am, the hall assigned to hold the trial: he first heard about Eichmann only upon his capture a year prior; evidently from a Sephardic origin, he finds great interest in the trial primarily "as a Jew," affirming that "I think this trial will make history."

Moving to a series of interviews on the streets of Tel Aviv, a driver who states he had lost his family in the Holocaust speaks about the importance of the trial in educating the young generation and the world at large about what had taken place there, "it will awaken history for them, making them see what a big people we once were." A 13 year old girl, on vacation from school, replies to the same question "Eichmann? Eichmann is tormentor of Jews. He is the man who killed 6 million Jews." To the interview's questions she answers she's never heard about the Holocaust at school and neither at home; what she knows comes from reading

newspapers. A waiter in a Tel Aviv restaurant opines that it is important to trial Eichmann in Israel, also in order "to get information from him about other who cooperated with him during the war." Finally, turning to young attorney, a native Israeli whose wife's family was murdered during the war, who states that he knows everything about the Holocaust, concluding that "even if Eichmann meets a most extreme punishment, it seems it would only be a small and symbolic compensation."

Listening to the interviews half a century later, it is quite surprising to discover the divergence of opinions with respect to the trial in "main street Israel." As would be expected, in order to get a sample that represents different groups in the society, the interviewers chose people from a variety of backgrounds. Particularly striking is the fact that most respondents who showed interest in the trial were those who had been directly affected by the Holocaust and were almost exclusively of Ashkenazi origin (as is patently clear from their accents). Those who showed little interest were of Sephardic origin, and respondents of the younger generation, born and raised in Israel after the Holocaust, were altogether somewhat ambivalent. It is safe to assume that were the same interviews to take place after the trial, the responses would have been markedly different and certainly more

homogenous. This is arguably another confirmation to the role of the Eichmann trial in making the Holocaust a collectively shared trauma in Israel.[17]

In the second part of the program, four panelists were invited to comment on the street interviews and discuss more generally on whether the trial would contribute to a greater awareness of the *Shoah*. Constituting the bulk of the broadcast, this part of the program is carried out as a "round table" discussion, a prevalent radio genre in those days, which in this case was designed to contrast and complement the laymen responses heard shortly beforehand.[18] The discussion was led by Kol Yisrael's senior correspondent and historian, Shmuel Almog, who was joined by journalist Shlomo Ginosar, historians Moshe Prager and Shaul Asch, and Eliyahu Jonas, head of the Jewish Partisans Organization in Israel (and director of Kol Yisrael's Russian Department).

Anchor Almog opens the discussion by reiterating the term “historic trial” as the official term given to the trial by the Israeli authorities. To him, the term “historic” resonates with two meanings: First, that the trial would unfold the history of the destruction; second, that it would shape history for generations to come. Dr. Asch is more cautious, preferring not speculate before

the fact but nevertheless believes that the trial would leave its mark on historical consciousness. Unlike Asch, who speaks as a professional historian, the next speaker Eliyahu Jonas is a survivor and a witness. For him, the trial carries the essential undertaking of changing the attitudes of Israelis towards the survivors. “The most painful thing for someone like me,” he says,” “is the fact that even in Israel I haven’t found the right approach, the warmth or the understanding, needed for what I have gone through, neither by the schoolteacher, nor by the Hebrew press and other public organizations.” He then states that the history of the *Shoah* should be taught in schools at least as much as other topics in ancient history. This statement is a clear indication to the widespread repression of the Holocaust in the years before the trail.

Expressing his disconcert with some of the replies given by interviews on the street, the anchor asks the panelists what kind of public reaction the trial should raise, whether pity for the victims or maybe the lesson of never be weak again. Jonas’s answer is certainly not pity but a thorough understanding of the conditions that gave rise to Nazism, adding that “only then there would be a relation to the survivors. There must be understanding in order for it to be a relation." Historian Asch agrees and adds that what is presently known is mostly a-historical knowledge, the “end points,

the extermination on the one hand, and the rebellion on the other, but not about the lives of Jews during the Holocaust." Hoping the trial would make a difference, Asch nevertheless expresses his worry that what would be at the center of the trial is the murderous policies of the Nazis and the story of the extermination, stressing the need to put forward against all that the everyday lives of Jews, their struggle to survive and thereby "subvert, to the extent it was possible, the Nazi plans."

Unlike the other panelists, Shlomo Ginosar does not believe that the trial would be of great historical significance. To his mind, the details that might be reveled though the proceedings would not alter the "picture we already have"; moreover, he states, "I do not believe that the court is the appropriate place for sociological and historical analysis." He is also skeptical whether the trial would supply any lesson to be learned—and it even if there would be one, "this generation is likely to forget it, just like the previous generation forgot his." According to him, the only historical significance of the trial is that it takes place in Israel, referring to the fact that four hundred reporters from Europe and the US have arrived in Israel to cover this historic drama, which is instinctively felt by audiences across the world. It attracts such attention because it is seen to complete what had erupted with "the final

solution" and now ends with a process of historic justice: "There is something that is a matter of emotion more than reason... as if an immense power brings all the participants in the game —without their knowledge, in spite of their knowledge—to this result." "Only the historian, decades later", concludes Ginossar "may evaluate what people are trying to reflect on today".

Commenting on the street interviews, Moshe Prager, another historian of the Holocaust, puts the blame for the lack of knowledge on the part of educators, researchers, writers and journalists. “We have yet to give the public the right key, so people would not only see the depression, suffocation and suffering but rather the historical meaning of the Holocaust, the drama of the clash between Nazism and Judaism.” His expectation is that the trial wound not only be concerned with “how many were killed and how they were killed, but also raise the question of why were the Jews exterminated, that Nazism went after Judaism because for them it embodied morality."

Anchor Almog suggests that the younger generation lacks the recognition that “the war against Judaism was not due to its weakness but rather because it expressed some kind of force that Nazism wanted to reject and annual.” The failure to learn this lesson is yet again, according to Prager, the fault of educators.

Ginossar adds that the most interesting question, which the trial cannot answer, is whether such a thing can repeat itself, in Germany or in any other country." The fact is, says Ginosar, that there were Nazi officers that were against the prosecution of Jews since they believed it was not beneficial to Germany. It is impossible to determine, he argues, whether this outcome is specific to Germany, and there were other fascist regimes that were not anti-Semitic in the same way. Ginosar concludes that it is doubtful whether this trial “with the lawyer and the prosecutor and these judges would give a historical verdict in this sense." Concluding the discussion, Almog suggests that the trial might have a lesson to anyone who finds interest in it. For a Jew, however, the lesson might be that there should never exit a regime based on genocide; on the other hand, “A Jew could learn a completely different lesson, that the people of Israel should be strong so this will never happen to them again.”

This special program, broadcast two days before the opening of the trial, captures a sense of inconclusiveness with respect to the trial, a variety of opinions and speculations as to the meaning and significance of the event that was about to commence shortly thereafter. It seems that the diversity captured by the broadcast, collecting voices both of the enthusiast and the skeptical, of the

intellectuals a well as of the layperson, already encapsulates much of the substance of future debates about the trial. While there is a definite sense of the hegemonic voice in the words of many of the speakers, there is still a considerable measure of variation, both in terms of what might be at stake as well as what is already under debate with respect to the imminent trial. The public atmosphere at the eve of the trial was more multifarious than what might be expected by reading many of the ex-post facto studies of the trial.

Broadcasting during the Trial

Historians and critics have often mentioned Israeli radio as having a predominant role in making the Eichmann trial a formative event in Israeli history. Indeed, it was through the radio that most Israelis had encountered personal testimonies of Holocaust survivors for the first time.[19] As Tom Segev notes, 'much of the trial was carried live on the radio; everywhere, people listened—in houses and offices, in cafés and stores and buses and factories'.[20] Shoshana Felman adds that 'Broadcast live over the radio and passionately listened to, the trial was becoming the central event in the country's life'.[21] Idith Zertal states that: 'The trial, the full sessions of which were broadcast live on national radio, changed the face of Israel, psychologically binding the pastless young Israelis with their

recent history and revolutionizing their self-perception'.[22] And according to Anita Shapira, 'The Eichmann Trial was *the* most important media event in Israel prior to the Six Day War... The transistor radio became consumer item number one across the country. Young and old could be seen radio in hand everywhere—in constant earshot of the broadcast from Beit Ha'am'.[23] What these and other accounts emphasize is that the trial was broadcast and listened to *live*, and that this 'liveness' somehow contributed to its turning into a national event. The experience of listening to the trial in real time has since pervaded the Israeli collective memory, becoming almost inseparable from the memory of the trial itself. However, further examination reveals that this common perception is largely unfounded. While several court sessions were indeed transmitted live on the radio—including some of the most moving and unsettling testimonies heard by the court—the bulk of trial was not broadcast live. In fact, such occasions were relatively rare.

In the early 1960's, Kol Yisrael's entire programming schedule was broadcast on a single radio channel, called Tochnit Aleph (Program A). It featured a wide variety of radio programs, ranging from radio drama to Hebrew lessons, newscasts and sportscasts. There was also a newly instituted channel called Ha'gal Ha'kal (Easy Listening), which featured light and popular

music for four hours on each evening of the week. Clearly, the limited broadcasting resources required a considerable reorganization in radio's daily operations in order to accommodate coverage of the trial. Kol Yisrael's work-plan is specified in a special memo, entitled 'Operation Trial', issued two months before proceedings commenced.[24] First is the production of a 30-minute daily diary, *Yoman Ha'mishpat* ('Trial Diary'), scheduled for broadcast Monday through Thursday at 7:15 p.m.[25] The daily diaries were to be aired following the evening news, featuring a narrated summary of the day's proceedings combined with recordings from the courtroom, occasionally followed by commentaries of leading reporters. The next project specified in the memo is live broadcasts during the first days of the trial. It was later decided that additional sessions would be broadcast, in consultation with the Ministry of Justice. Interestingly, the memo stipulates that radio presenters should refrain from adding narration and allow any lapses or pauses that might occur during live transmission. [26] In other words, what presenters were instructed to do was to make themselves mute—that is, to suspend their professional practices—in order to sustain a greater sense of authenticity.

The Daily Diaries – Yoman Ha'mishpat

Whereas the issue of live broadcasts remained under deliberation well into trial, the production of the daily diary *Yoman Ha'mishpat* was underway weeks before the target day. An in-house production, it was Kol Yisraels' pride and emblem, introducing a leading news team of producers, reporters and commentators. No resources were spared in supporting the production and execution of the broadcast, including the reassignment of senior reporters from their regular tasks in the news desk to work exclusively on the trial. As described in *Radio* magazine progress report, 'By the beginning of the trial preparation and organization will be completed. The operation will now be carried out by the news and reportage desk … The producers of *Yoman Ha'mishpat* … will embark on a daily, arduous work of editing and mixing in two specially equipped studious'.[27] In addition to personnel, programming schedule was also changed to include the Trial Diary. This meant that the main radio station operating in Israel at the time had to cancel programs which were among its standard broadcasts, such as: *You and the Law*, *Parents and Children*, *The Citizen Wants to Know* and *Gentlemen of the Press*.[28]

Yoman Ha'mishpat was launched with two special broadcasts on April 9 and 10, which were to set the tone for the

opening court sessions on the following days. The first program featured a street survey conducted in Jerusalem and Tel Aviv on the 'meaning of the trial and the Holocaust for people of various social ranks', followed by a studio discussion with a historian, a philosopher and a Holocaust survivor. The second program was devoted to the legal procedures involved in the trial, featuring a discussion with legal experts, and concluding with interviews with Lord Bertrand Russell and other international intellectuals. [29] The day following the broadcast, Teddy Kollek, Ben Gurion's bureau chief, wrote to Kol Yisrael's Director General: 'Yesterday I listened to the first *Yoman Ha'mishpat* during my trip to Tel Aviv. In my opinion it was rather weak and lengthy—too bad. Please consider cutting it down by 15 minutes'.[30] As the Prime Minister's bureau chief (whose responsibilities included overseeing Kol Yisrael's operations), Kollek was well within his capacity to express his discomfort with what he reckoned as inadequate, perhaps even excessive, coverage. Evidently, this was not serious enough a reservation since broadcasting of the Trial Diary proceeded as planned.

But a month later Kollek would present a different view. His initial reservation gave way to proactive involvement, aiming at harnessing the growing public interest in the trial to current political

goals. Speaking at a conference on the publicity of the trial organized by the Information Center at the Prime Minister's Office, he stated: 'About two weeks ago we met and the idea arose: shouldn't we take advantage of this trial, of the waves and echoes it creates, in order to instill some historic ideas deeper than what is done by the daily press and by Kol Yisrael, which is undertaking a tremendous task every day through news reportage, *Yoman Ha'mishpat* and the *Weekly News*'. [31] At the same occasion, head of the Information Center commented: 'Like you, I was surprised by the excitement taking hold of the people'. He was addressing an audience of 400 lecturers hired by the Information Center to give talks around the county on the significance of the trial. Their mission was 'to bring the Holocaust, the Ghetto uprisings, and the trial itself, to those who are not of European origin and have not lost family in the Holocaust, and maybe … to bring the Eichmann trial to Oriental communities and to those who are removed from it'.[32] The task was to be achieved by interpersonal communication, in lectures and in meetings, taking advantage of the massive public interest that had been generated by radio broadcasts. And yet, this reshuffling cannot hide the fact that Israeli officials were genuinely surprised by the overwhelming effect of radio broadcasts on the Israeli public.

The Live Broadcasts

While permission had been given to Kol Yisrael to record the proceedings, neither the court nor the Ministry of Justice had ever given any official permission for live transmission from the courtroom. The initiative, so it seems, came largely from within Kol Yisrael. Following the live broadcast of the opening session on April 11, it was announced that additional live broadcasts of sessions 'of special significance' were forthcoming.[33] The initial decision was to transmit live sessions dealing with the Warsaw Ghetto, the concentration and extermination camps, and Hungarian Jewry.[34] In most cases, however, arrangements for live broadcasts had been finalized shortly before sessions took place, usually without any formal discussions being conducted in Kol Yisrael. This was mainly because radio producers depended on the Ministry of Justice for information on what was to be presented in each session as well as on the trial's line-up as a whole. Unofficially, information was also supplied to Kol Yisrael's Director General Hanoch Givton by his longtime friend and university classmate chief prosecutor Hausner, who had pointed out sessions of particular public interest.[35] It should be noted that at no point was there any thought of using the other channel

available to Kol Yisrael—Ha'gal Ha'kal, which featured music in the early evening but was completely vacant during the days—for live coverage of the trial.[36] Broadcasting in real time was carried out exclusively on Kol Yisrael main channel, which meant the disruption of an already packed programming schedule.

Whereas the daily diary *Yoman Ha'mishpat* was the product of careful preparation and deliberation, the live broadcasts were largely carried out spontaneously and haphazardly, sometimes to the extent of professional incompetence.[37] Ironically, it was these live transmissions that have become the insignia of Kol Yisrael's achievement during the Eichmann trial. A listening survey, conducted by the Central Bureau of Statistics immediately after the opening-day of the trial, confirms the popularity of the live broadcasts.[38] About 60 percent of the Jewish population over the age of 14 listened to the morning or afternoon sessions of the opening-day, that is, more than 700,000 people. Survey also shows that native Israelis were the largest group listening with 81.5 percent; listeners born in America or Europe measured at 73.4 percent; and the share of Asia and Africa-born listeners was estimated at 43.9 percent. While the latter group is markedly lower than the overall average, it should be remembered that many were newcomers who had little knowledge of the Holocaust, most had

probably never heard Eichmann's name before learning of his capture by the Israeli security service. As noted above, involving those who were untouched by the Holocaust—especially newcomers from middle-eastern countries—was one of the main tasks of the Information Center in the Prime Minister's Office. Inasmuch as listening to the radio on the opening-day indicates involvement in the trial, this was achieved with remarkable success.

Radio broadcast of the opening-day session made the headlines in Israeli newspapers of the following day: 'Israel from Dan to Eilat Listened to the Trial' (*Haboker)*; 'Masses Eagerly Follow the Broadcast' (*Al Ha'mishmar*); 'People Nationwide Follow the Trial—Thousands Glued to Radio Receivers' (*Davar*); 'Cabinet Meeting Opened and Closed by Listening to Minister of Justice's Transistor Radio' (*Maariv*).[39] Top stories reported on empty streets throughout the country, on people gathering around the radio in restaurants, cafés and stores, and on school classes listening together to the broadcast from Beit Ha'am. *Haaretz* featured an item on a Tel Aviv doctor swamped by patients asking for a one-day sick leave; the cause of the sudden epidemic was soon revealed—they wanted to have a free day to listen to the trial on the radio.[40] Another item reads:

> Our correspondent from the Galilee reports that Arab residents of Acre also listened to the radio broadcast in offices and coffee houses. In schools, children were seen operating radio sets during the break. Jewish farmers carried radio receivers to their work on the field. Exceptional interest was reported among newcomers from North Africa in the town of Maalot. Amongst Holocaust survivors there was much anxiety. In a few cases, sedatives were administered.[41]

As the trial was progressing, newspapers tended to focus more on the legal procedure and less on the public's reactions; likewise, headlines on nationwide radio hype would quickly fade away, never to repeat the excitement of the first days.

But the impact of the first days was not forgotten by the audience. The popularity of the live broadcasts is evident in many letters sent by listeners to Kol Yisrael. 'I would like to know why you discontinued broadcasting of the Eichmann Trial', asks a women from Even Yehuda, 'I find that we have every right to hear how this criminal is being sentenced'.[42] Another listener writes: 'I wonder why you *stopped broadcasting the trial on Kol Yisrael*,

since I think thousands will be drawn to it every day ... What will all those who are not fortunate enough to attend the trial do? At least we could listen to it on the radio'.[43] And a woman from Jerusalem writes:

> Allow me to express my deepest appreciation for your excellent broadcast of the Eichmann trial … Yet I must also express my regret that broadcasting did not continue to the next day … In our country, where television is nonexistent and radio is the primary means for conveying what is going on—and which citizens trust—I believe that your organization has the sacred duty of bringing the process of the trial in full.[44]

Dozens of such letters demanding additional live coverage had been sent to Kol Yisrael during the first months of the trial.[45] Most were answered by spokesperson Hedva Rotem, whose replies were usually standard, stating that since court sessions took place during the working hours of most people, radio service saw no justification for continual live broadcasts. This explanation is in line with Kol Yisrael's initial decision that live broadcasts were not to be carried out regularly but only when court events

demanded live coverage. Moreover, bearing in mind that Kol Yisrael was the main broadcasting station in Israel at the time, undertaking continual broadcasts would have entailed abolishing a significant part of daily programming for a period of months. The many letters sent to Kol Yisrael are nevertheless a clear indication of the want of live coverage and of listeners' desire to hear more of the trial in real time on radio. Given this gap between supply and demand, it remains to be determined how many live broadcasts were actually aired.

In her reply to a listener sent on August 8 1961, Rotem reveals a crucial detail: 'I would like to draw your attention to the fact that Kol Yisrael has broadcast until today 11 sessions live from the courthouse sentencing Eichmann'.[46] This number accounts for almost the entire duration of the trial—from the first court session on April 11 until almost the end of the trial on August 14. Since court usually held two sessions a day, morning and afternoon, it is possible that Rotem's count includes broadcasts of two sessions on the same day. Taking into account 4-5 additional live broadcasts that took place in the following months when verdict, sentencing and appeal were announced—the total number of broadcasts, at the highest estimate, would add up to no more than 16 broadcasts during a period of 13 months.[47] This fact stands in

stark contrast to common perception—which is often reiterated by historians and commentators—that live broadcasts were an almost daily occurrence and that many court sessions were brought and listened to in real time on the radio.

The question of how a series of sporadic events has been registered in both history and memory of the trial as a daily practice deserves a separate discussion, which we undertake elsewhere.[48] To give a taste of one possible explanation, which obviously has to do with the complex mechanism of collective memory, we propose that the false memory of liveness might nevertheless bear a hidden truth: the involvement enlisted by the event, the sense of momentousness it evoked for those who listed to it on the radio. Rather than a strict sense of temporality, liveness in this case signals the overwhelming effect of the (broadcast) event, looming over the everyday and compelling everyone. Thus while live broadcasts were sporadic, public perception was of an ongoing event, of a continuously unfolding reality, and this perception may have inflated the status of live broadcasts in Israeli collective memory. Thus the assumption in retrospect is that an event of such magnitude must have been broadcast live on a daily basis, which might also explain the consensus among historians on the role of radio during the trial.

Epilogue: The Verdict of History

Shortly after the judges passed their verdict, Kol Yisrael broadcast a special program in the roundtable format to discuss the historic meaning of the trial and the verdict. The four participants included the host, Eliezer Livneh, a journalist and a member of the Mapay party, Professor Shmuel Hugo Bergman, philosopher at the Hebrew University in Jerusalem, journalist Shlomo Ginosar, and law professor Avigdor Levontine. Livneh opens the discussion by raising the question whether the verdict could be seen, especially outside Israel, as some kind of absolution with respect to German people as well as with respect to indifference of the world during the Holocaust. His view is that the verdict is justifiable and would not have any influence on the guilt or remorse felt in Germany. He substantiates his skepticism by citing a study according to which history schoolbooks in Germany are vague about the mass destruction while the blame was put solely on the Nazi regime and its agents. His conclusion from this is that the trial would not make any difference since knowledge is already lacking in Germany. On the more universal level, Livneh relates to political climate in Germany between 1943 and 1945, when many Germans felt that the threat to their country necessitated and legitimized the use of all possible means, including the killing of some millions of evil

people. These together with putting the country in the hands of one man with almost infinite power were the main reasons for the catastrophe. This means that under similar conditions, says Livneh, “this could happen anywhere else. We are not racists, we are not saying that the German people from its race is capable of such acts … I highly doubt if humanity, and I am not excluding us as well, have learned the lesson.”

Professor Bergman begins by forewarning that what he has to say be unpleasant to his fellow panelists and the audience, adding: “I assure you that what hurts you hurts me, in my heart, but I have to say the truth.” Bergman says he not concerned with Germany but with the effect of the trial and its verdict on the people in Israel:

> There are two forces that for centuries have been fighting each other within the people of Israel, the first might be called as hatred to Amalek, and the second might be called “love thy neighbor” and all that comes with it. Israel was called to make a great decision … the decision was for the former… this is for me the meaning, that this stream in Judaism, the stream of revenge, the stream of Amalek, had the upper hand with us…

Bergman later signed a petition, together with eminent figures such as Martin Buber, Gershom Scholem and 17 academics and artists, calling the president of Israel to commute Eichmann's death sentence. Their argument was that death sentence was the way of the Nazi and should not be made that of the Jew. By executing Eichmann, Bergman argues, we would become a state that is not different from all the other states; moreover, he Bergman, "we would create a new myth for the Israel's haters, we created a center for the hatred of Israel to around the world. Eichmann the living was nothing of nothings; Eichmann the dead is in my eyes is something terrible."

The other panelists, Ginosar and Levontine, sharply disagree with Bergman's prophet-like view. Ginosar does not believe does not believe that the trial would have any historical long term importance. Relating to Bergman's view, Ginosar argues that Israel should not be different from any other nation and such views can be held only by a small minority. "I believe that Jews in Israel would be just like all states," he concludes, "hopefully like the best of them, the most interesting, progressive, but not exceptional." Expressing his impression from Bergman's words, Levontine says than more than what he said "I was shaken by the look of his face

… I saw this reckoning going down to the very core of his personality. I felt I was facing exposed nerves and any touch could cause a great pain." Levontine then declares that he would prefer to talk formally, not subjectively. In answer to the question of the historic meaning of the trial, he claims that there is never any agreement on the meaning of specific events, even generations after the event. Let alone that it is too early to discuss its historic meaning: "We are now trying to tear the curtain that hides the future. The future meaning, however, would not depend on the effect itself but on the question of how it would be presented in the future." According to him, if the emphasis would be on the rebellion in the Ghettos, it would strengthen the "national pride of the young generation and the Zionist morale as well as its moral spirit." But if the emphasis would be on the helplessness in the Shoah, it may bring about a negative attitude towards the Diaspora, which might indirectly also reinforce the Zionism and the stats of Israel through the "negation of the Diaspora and what it done to the Jews.

Recorded when the first waves of the trial were already felt, this program demonstrates yet again the public forum supplied by Kol Yisrael for a variety of opinions to be heard. The only radio station in Israel at the time—which was also a branch of the Prime

Minister's Office—performed the kind of public service that arguably more recent non-aligned broadcasters rarely perform. In giving voice to the conservative opinion as well as to the heretical, Kol Yisrael took a more neutral position in the debate over Eichmann's execution than the position taken by most newspapers, which were almost unanimously supportive of the verdict.[49] Bergman's views were eventually brought directly to Ben Gurion by Martin Buber after it was left to the government to advise the minister of justice how to proceed with the execution. Ben Gurion was not convinced but called the government to vote on the matter. All but two ministers supported carrying out the verdict to the full.

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[1] See Amit Pinchevski and Tamar Liebes, "Severed Voices: Radio and the Mediation of Trauma in the Eichmann Trial" *Public Culture* 22(2): 265-291.

[2] Segev, *The Seventh Million: The Israelis and the Holocaust*, p. 343

[3] Landor to Kollek, 2 June 1960, ISA, Prime Minister's Office, G/6384 I/3657

[4] Zinder to Landor, 15 June 1960, ISA, Prime Minister's Office, G/6384 I/3657. This is following an earlier memo sent by Zinder to Minister of Justice Pinchas Rosen on 25 May, asking to permit Kol Yisrael to record the entire trial for the benefit of 'commemorating the trial on tapes that will be kept for generations to come'.

[5] Givton to Keren, 8 November 1960, ISA, Broadcasting Authority, Eichmann File 405

[6] 'Though I fail to see the benefit that will come from this recording, I agree to your request', Keren to Kollek, 13 February 1961, ISA, Prime Minister's Office, G/6384 I/3657. This was probably linked to a bureaucratic tug-of-war between Keren and Givton: the former had requested that the latter release two of his employees, Gad Levi and Rafi Sidor, for conducting simultaneous translation of the proceedings; the latter had refused for lack of manpower (Keren to Shapira, 2 November 1960; Keren to Kollek, 10 November, ISA, Prime

Minister's Office, G/6384 I/3657). Following Keren's consent, Levi and Sidor were allowed to participate in the trial.

[7] This fact is revealed in a letter sent by Kollek to Keren, 10 February 1961, Prime Minister's Office, G/6384 I/3657

[8] *Radio* 22, 31 March 1961, p. 7

[9] On a more anecdotal note, it is indicated that 1000 magnetic tapes were purchased for the documentation of the trial, 5600 metes of tape were to be used every day, and 13,000 UD Dollars was the price of the equipment ordered especially for trial broadcasting.

[10] Ibid., p. 8.

[11] Ibid., p. 9.

[12] Kol Yisrael memorandum 'Facilities for Sound-Radio Correspondents', (no date indicated), ISA, Broadcasting Service, File 405.

[13] *Radio*, p. 7.

[14] Ibid., p. 9.

[15] Media Events, according to Daniel Dayan and Elihu Katz, are historic occasions that are televised as they take place and transfix a nation or the world—the Olympic Games, Anwar el-Sadat's journey to Jerusalem, the funeral of J.F. Kennedy, the landing on the moon, the royal wedding of Charles and Diana, to name a few examples. Media events are usually about contest (sports and politics), conquest (moon landing), or coronation (a royal wedding). See *Media Events: The Live Broadcasting of History* (Cambridge, 1992). While media events often relate to television, it is possible to view the Eichmann trial as a radiocast event, which may be typified as a contest, as it involved a court battle, but may also be considered as a conquest, for displaying a groundbreaking achievement.

[16] *Radio*, p. 10.

[17] Pinchevski and Liebes, 2010

[18]

[19] See, Idith Zertal, *Israel's Holocaust and the Politics of Nationhood*, p. 111.

[20] Tom Segev, *The Seventh Million: The Israelis and the Holocaust*, p. 350.

[21] Shoshana Felman, *The Judicial Unconscious: Trials and Traumas in the Twentieth Century*, p. 127.

[22] Idith Zertal, *Israel's Holocaust and the Politics of Nationhood*, p. 92

[23] Anita Shapira, 'The Eichmann Trial: Changing Perspectives', p. 20.

[24] Israel Broadcasting Service, 'Operation Trial: Memo no. 1', 12 February 1961, ISA, Ministry of Education GL/6863/7.

[25] The decision not to hold sessions on Sunday (which is a normal weekday in Israel) was probably taken to accommodate non-Jewish personnel involved in the trial. The result was a

court schedule that was somewhat foreign to the local custom but conducive to visitors and overseas observers, including worldwide media.

[26] Minutes of Kol Yisrael meeting, 'Eichmann Trial', 5 April 1961, ISA, Israel Broadcasting Service, File 405.

[27] *Radio*, p. 9. Ari Avner, former Kol Yisrael correspondent to the U.N, was the executive producer of courtroom broadcasts. Producers of *Yoman Ha'mishpat* were Yoram Ronen and Hagay Pinsker.

[28] 'Eichmann Trial—Changes in Program Schedule', 5 February 1961, ISA, Israel Broadcasting Service, File 405.

[29] Minutes of Kol Yisrael meeting: 'Eichmann Trial', 5 April 1961. ISA, Israel Broadcasting Service, File 405.

[30] Kollek to Givton, April 10 1961, ISA, Israel Broadcasting Service, File 405.

[31] Transcript of Lecturers Conference, 18 May 1961, ISA, Ministry of Education, GL/1638/907/3. Other participants included Director General of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs Haim Yachil, chief superintended Avraham Zelinger (head of Bureau 06, the police unit that investigated Eichmann) and chief prosecutor Gideon Hausner. Since the latter was appearing in courts, participants were firmly instructed not to quote his address in their talks.

[32] Ibid., p. 1.

[33] Kol Yisrael press communiqué, 10 April 1961, ISA, Israel Broadcasting Service, File 405.

[34] Eichmann Trial Staff Meeting, 30 April 1961, ISA, Israel Broadcasting Service, File 405.

[35] Personal communication, Nakdimon Rogel, 25 March 2003.

[36] ISA holds many letters from listeners complaining about the broadcasting of music immediately following live transmissions, denouncing such incidents as shameful. It is possible that such criticism ruled out any intention to utilize Ha'gal Ha'kal for live broadcasts.

[37] In a letter to Kol Yisrael's Director General, Nakdimon Rogel reproves the lack of professionalism exhibited by some presenters who, according to him, failed to read updates, arrange music transitions and adequately monitor the transmission. Still worse was that reporters ignored broadcasting protocol by taking the liberty of adding their narration during court recesses. Rogel indicates that such misconduct was not sporadic (Rogel to Givton, 30 May 1961, ISA GL/6863/9).

[38] Central Bureau of Statistics, 'Listening Survey to the First Two Sessions of the Eichmann Trial', 25 April 1961, ISA, Israel Broadcasting Service, File 405/0423.

[39] All headlines are from the aforementioned newspapers, 12 April 1961.

[40] *Haaretz* 12 April 1961.

[41] Ibid.

[42] Listener Shifra Halstoch to Kol Yisrael, 27 April 1961, ISA, Israel Broadcasting Service, File 4051.

[43] Listener Eliyahu Ferbstein to Hausner, 30 April 1961, ISA, Israel Broadcasting Service, File 4051. Emphasis in the original.

[44] Listener Devora Bushinski to Kol Yisrael, 14 April 1961, ISA, Israel Broadcasting Service, File 4051.

[45] ISA files hold 139 letters, 83 of which are from Israelis and the rest from listeners abroad.

[46] From Hedva Rotem to Ruth Krumer, 8 August 1961, ISA, Israel Broadcasting Service, File 4051. The same number is repeated in another letter, sent August 1 1961 to listener Shoshana Merd. Despite extensive search in ISA files, no transmission logs were found, nor any evidence of the existence of such logs.

[47] Estimate includes the live broadcast of August 9, which is indicated in Hedva Rotem's letter of the previous day; as well as the broadcasting of at least one session on May 29 1962, the day Eichmann's appeal was rejected by the High Court of Justice, as indicated in Rogel to Givton, 30 May 1961, ISA GL/6863/9.

[48] Amit Pinchevski and Tamar Liebes, “Severed Voices: Radio and the Mediation of Trauma in the Eichmann Trial” *Public Culture* 22(2): 265-291.

[49] Segev, *The Seventh Million*, p. 365.