

A Moment of Change? Transformations in Israeli Architectural Consciousness Following the 'Israeli Pavilion' Exhibition

Shelly Cohen

The Berlin Affair as a Manifestation of a Change in the Political Consciousness of the Architectural Community in Israel

The 'Israeli Pavilion' exhibition¹ was presented in the Architects' House Gallery in Jaffa, in July–August 2002. The exhibition presented Israeli proposals for two international architectural exhibitions: The Architecture Biennale in Venice, which opened in September 2002, and proposals for the International Union of Architects (UIA), which was conducted in Berlin in July 2002. The exhibition took place at a moment of change. A moment in which new directions were formed in the Israeli architecture by a new generation of architects, curators and researchers, who identify in the Israeli architecture clear trails of Israeli politics. The works in the exhibition proposed a critical reading of the local architecture.

The candidates for curators of the Israeli pavilion at the Venice Biennale were summoned by a subcommittee appointed by the Department of Art in the Culture Administration of the Israeli Ministry of Science, Culture and Sport. The candidates for curators of the Israeli pavilion at the International Union of Architects in Berlin were summoned by a steering committee appointed by the United Architects' Association in Israel. The architect Zvi Efrat and his team were chosen, and he curated the Israeli pavilion in the Venice Biennale. The architects Rafy Segal and Eyal Weizman were chosen as curators of the Israeli exhibition at the international architects' congress in Berlin. However, the committee eventually rejected Segal and Weizman's final work – a catalogue and a collection of articles that appeared under the headline 'Civilian Occupation, the Politics of Architecture' (Segal and Weizman, 2002) – due to its political position. The works of an exhibition that had already been presented in the Architects' House Gallery were finally

sent to Berlin, presenting projects that were built in Israel in recent years.² The affair raised questions regarding the extent to which Israeli architecture and the professional union representing Israeli architects are political, and regarding the freedom to express a political, harsh and extreme position in an international exhibition. The Berlin case reflected both the change of consciousness in Israeli architecture and the resistance that this change has awakened in the architectural community. At the end of the day, canceling the exhibition did not silence its political messages, awakening instead a storm within the Israeli architects' community, which developed into a dispute in the printed media³ (Zandberg, 2002, 2003). The story was also widely discussed in the international media (Ruding, 2002), following which the curators, architects Segal and Weizman, were invited to lecture and present their work in various places in the world.

In this chapter, I shall present the 'Israeli Pavilion' exhibition and the occurrences surrounding the Berlin Congress, as a test case for the coming of age of the architectural discourse in Israel. In the first sections of the article, I shall discuss the visual and textual representation of Israeli architecture, presenting the difficulties that exhibitors encounter when they are required to translate the problems of local architecture into universal language and to embrace an international agenda. Further on, I shall present the Israeli 'sense of place', as it is presented in the works of the 'Israeli Pavilion' exhibition, as a site of construction and destruction.⁴ I shall point out the relation between architecture in Israel and the politics of this state, observing the new local discourse that is replacing the regional discourse in Israeli architecture and attempt to outline the theoretical context of its transition into a political discourse. On the basis of the findings of this survey, I shall point out the gallery or the museum as a site for establishing the Israeli critical image. Finally, I shall discuss the critical possibilities that this exhibition is opening up for architectural theory and practice.

The Representation of Israeli Architecture in International Exhibitions

The proposals for the Israeli Pavilion in Venice and Berlin were required to address the subject of architecture, not politics. The subject of the eighth Venice Biennale was: NEXT. The subject of the 21st convention of the Architects' Union (the UIA) was 'Resource Architecture'. The Israeli committee even set a specific subject for the Berlin exhibition: Modernism in Israel. Just as the term 'politics' is customarily attributed in Israel to anything and everything,

1 Israel in recent years.² Which Israeli architecture architects are political, and which and extreme position affected both the change of course that this change has brought of the day, canceling the awakening instead a storm opened into a dispute in the case as also widely discussed regarding which the curators, the and present their work

lion' exhibition and the best case for the coming of the best sections of the article, 1 of Israeli architecture, when they are required universal language and to present the Israeli 'sense of the Pavilion' exhibition, as well as the relation between observing the new local Israeli architecture and transition into a political eye, I shall point out the Israeli critical image. This exhibition is opening

International Exhibitions

Berlin were required to be the object of the eighth Venice Biennale of the Architects' Association of the Israeli committee even set the example in Israel. Just as the nothing and everything,

so it is possible to attribute anything in Israeli architecture to 'modernism'. However, only few of the works that were proposed for the Berlin exhibition directly addressed modernism. Of these works, only the curator Zofia Dekel, in her work 'Israeli Modernism – Between Tel-Aviv and Jerusalem', actually referred to modernism as an architectural style. The architects Yair Avigdor, Yosy Klein and Eran Neuman, in their proposal 'Modernism under Dispute – Breaches in Israeli Architecture', referred to modernism as a central practice in the formation of Israeli nationality.

On the other hand, many of the respondents, in their attempt to formulate an architectural vision for the place in which they live, opened their proposal with a description of what is taking place outside the architectural firm, writing about what is referred to in Israel as 'the situation'. In most of the works, the political situation made its impact: the bright shades that are usually reserved for futuristic and technology-abundant architecture were stained this time by reality, in earth colors. As formulated by the culture researcher Sigal Bar-Nir and the landscape architect Yael Moria:

It is not easy at this moment to speak of the future of architecture in Israel, or of the future in general, when we are in the midst of a cycle of violence and fear. When the rate of unemployment is rising, the social gaps are wider than ever, and architecture in its essence is an inseparable part of the social and political life. It would be pure escapism to address technological or formal aspects of the future.

This quote directly calls the circumstances of the discourse to mind – the request for proposals for *international* exhibitions, in which Israeli architecture is mediated to foreign eyes, accustomed to identifying Israel with hostile confrontation situations. The circumstances of the work led the candidates to internalize the look from the outside inwards, with a twofold effect: on the one hand, they served as catalyst for a political reading of Israeli architecture. On the other hand, in some of the works they led to self-censure and moderated criticism. In the open debate conducted at the 'Israeli Pavilion' exhibition, several of the presenters confessed to having doubts about the extent to which a critical stance, contradictive to the policy of government, might be accepted by the establishment to represent the state. And in fact, the Berlin case indicates that these fears were founded in reality. One cause for the objection was the apprehension, that a radical criticism against Israel would not be understood in Europe, in which the complexity of the Israeli-Palestinian conflict is not fully comprehended. Even some of those who did support the contents of

the chosen project contended that these contents should first be opened to a preliminary discussion in Israel.

The architect Hillel Schocken, curator of the Israeli pavilion at the former Venice Biennale – the seventh Biennale – exposes how the look from outside rearranges the local architectural agenda:

... when nominated curator of the Israeli pavilion at the seventh international Architecture Exhibition in Venice I found myself facing a dilemma: What can one show that be of significance to the world of architecture and planning and is specially Israeli? ... I looked back at the second half of the 20th century, the period of the rebirth of the Jewish homeland and its consolidation into an energetic and thriving modern state. I searched for aspects of the built environment that accompanied this process which it would be meaningful to present. Should I present the heroic kibbutzim movement and its special social and environmental impact? Should I show the unique contribution of the international style ... to the Israeli urban environment? Should I show the influence of the Arab-Israeli conflict on prevailing policy of spreading the population throughout the country, and its impact on our rural settlements, development towns and big cities? I resolve to do none of the these. (Schocken, 2000, pp. 20–21)

In addition to the optimism regarding the Israeli-Palestinian conflict, which characterized the time of the Oslo agreements, this text also reveals how the task of representing Israel to the world minimizes the range of exhibition topics and excludes the contemporary issues that are crucial for the Israeli architecture.

Underlying these conflicts are the feelings of inferiority of an architecture that has embraced a universal western identity as part of the Zionist cultural project (Chinsky, 1993, p. 120; Chinsky, 2002). When it is intended for show in Europe, in Venice or in Berlin, the Israeli architecture examines itself by European standards. Reverberations of this can be found in the rare honesty of the 'Arkod Architects' team, in their proposal for the Venice Biennale:

Thus, when we attempted to relate to the Biennale curator's general subject, we were faced with many questions: What are projects of an international interest? Is it their location that determines their international interest? Is it their size? Their design? The architect who designed them? Does 'international' necessarily mean the west? Does 'international' refer to the architects' community? Why is it important for this project to be of international interest? Or perhaps an international interest is related to the project's contribution to humanity on the level of creating residence textures for poor populations, for refugees, foreign workers, immigrants ...

ould first be opened to a

eli pavilion at the former
ow the look from outside

at the seventh international
acing a dilemma: What can
hitecture and planning and
d half of the 20th century,
ad its consolidation into an
pects of the built enviorment
ningful to present. Should I
al social and environmental
he international style ... to
ffluence of the Arab-Israeli
ion throughout the country,
ent towns and big cities? I
(p. 20-21)

alestinian conflict, which
ext also reveals how the
the range of exhibition
re crucial for the Israeli

riority of an architecture
rt of the Zionist cultural
n it is intended for show
cture examines itself by
ound in the rare honesty
the Venice Biennale:

curator's general subject,
jects of an international
nternational interest? Is it
them? Does 'international'
refer to the architects'
e of international interest?
e project's contribution to
s for poor populations, for

The Image of the Israeli Place as a Site of Construction and Destruction

A look at the proposals for the Venice Biennale reveals that the place image that guides the presenters is of a place under construction, in a process of formation. In 'Closure', their proposal for the Venice Biennale, the architects Rafy Segal and Eyal Weizman speak of 'rapid processes of change in the landscape and in the built environment'. Two proposals in this exhibition (that of Arkod Architects and their team, and the proposal that I myself submitted in cooperation with the landscape architects Naama Meishar, Amy Tsruya and Zofit Tuvi), share the title 'Under Construction':

The exhibition 'Under Construction' will point at constant change as the principal characteristic of the Israeli built environment. It is based on the recognition that Israel is undergoing a continuous process of construction and reconstruction, as a direct result of the ever-urgent national effort to maintain a quantitative and spatial demographic advantage. The thesis of this exhibition relates between the historic parallelism of Zionism to the project of 'building the land of Israel', and the contemporary reality in Israel, in which a wave of patriotism in the media is currently accompanied by a momentum of building.⁵

According to the architect Zvi Efrat's proposal, the borders of Israel are blurred. The name of his work, stemming from this fact, was borrowed from the field of psychology – 'borderline disorder'. The architect and artist Biló Blich, the culture researcher Sigal Bar-Nir and the landscape architect Yael Moria find that the intensive building processes of the Israeli space are accompanied by processes of erasure and destruction. Biló Blich, in his work 'Erasures – The familiar landscape and the foreign city', presents the act of erasing as an omnipresent, intense and rapid process. Despite the desire to rebuild, this process always leaves behind traces of the past: the remnants of a terrace or a mosque, citrus wood and ornamentations. Sigal Bar-Nir and Yael Moria are opposed to the destruction, and seek 'Tikun' (correction) as an alternative to the act of destruction. This is also how they named their work. They return to the Jewish concept:

Referring to the simple act, carried out at a regular time: reading, prayer or a meal. The power of such an act is in amending the state of affairs in the world. 'Tikun', repairing, in its everyday sense, is intended to return the object to a state of functioning; from shoe repairing to the repairing, or renovating, of a building.

In the 'Israeli Pavilion' exhibition, Bar-Nir and Moria showed a presentation that was comprised of images of destruction – destruction of buildings and of a built environment, stemming from political reasons or as the result of development acts.

Is it Possible to Separate between Architecture and Politics in Israel?

Thus far, I have discussed the self-awareness of Israeli architecture and the extent to which it is political, as represented in international architecture exhibitions. Now, I wish to discuss Israeli architecture itself, and the question whether it is possible to separate it from Israeli politics. What does my use of the term 'political' refer to?

Politics is the theory and practice of government. Originally, '*polity*' meant partnership in the Ancient Greek city-state. In modern society and modern theory, this term discerns between various spheres of action. The political sphere determines the power relations and the authority boundaries in all the other spheres, maintaining the separation between the political center of power and other areas, in which the discussion is free of power relations.

This perception stems from the Habermas idea of separation between society and the state as a condition for a bourgeois public sphere. In other words, the desire to separate between the political and the non-political, as an attempt to maintain the independence of civilian and professional spheres, was not invented by the architectural discourse. However, even Habermas showed how this separation has become undermined by the competition between the various power centers. Foucault clarified that power relations are not found exclusively in the political sphere. They take place outside this sphere, too, and the political involves the representation and undermining of power relations. The political interpretation of architecture in the 'Israeli Pavilion' exhibition is not political in this wide sense of the term, according to which anything that manifests power relations is political – but rather in the narrower sense, according to which architecture in Israel is political because it is inherently related to the political sphere, and serves the policy of the state. Thus, the use of the adjective 'political' does not refer to the internal power relations between the municipal authorities, the planners and the market powers, or to the power relations within the professional community. In the 'Israeli Pavilion' exhibition, this interpretation focuses on the preoccupation with the Israeli-Palestinian conflict. Also, it occupies itself with social issues in Israel.

ia showed a presentation
uction of buildings and
asons or as the result of

id Politics in Israel?

aeli architecture and the
ernational architecture
e itself, and the question
cs. What does my use of

Originally, 'polity' meant
ern society and modern
of action. The political
rity boundaries in all the
political center of power
wer relations.

of separation between
public sphere. In other
and the non-political, as
nd professional spheres,
wever, even Habermas
ned by the competition
ied that power relations
y take place outside this
station and undermining
chitecture in the 'Israeli
se of the term, according
is political – but rather
ture in Israel is political
re, and serves the policy
al' does not refer to the
uthorities, the planners
within the professional
is interpretation focuses
onflict. Also, it occupies

The Israeli-Palestinian conflict, just like other social conflicts and various topics that Israel has to cope with – such as territory, borders and the land regime, has a significant spatial dimension. Israeli building and architecture are the result of a governmental ideology and policy, no less than they are affected by international developments and professional styles. This was well formulated by the architect and theoretician Sharon Rotbard, in the catalogue edited by the architects Rafy Segal and Eyal Weizman for the Berlin exhibition:

The most significant aspect of Israeli architecture, at once most evident yet so well concealed, is its political dimension. In Israel, just like war, architecture is a continuation of politics through other means. Every act of architecture executed by Jews in Israel is in itself an act of Zionism, whether intentional or not. The political dimension of 'building the land of Israel' is a fundamental, albeit often latent, component of every building in Israel, and the political facts it creates are often more dominant and conclusive than any stylistic, aesthetic, experimental or sensual impact they may have.

What, then, are the conditions in which an architectural act is considered political? Is any architectural act – even the choice of tiling for an apartment – considered political? The catalogue that was edited by the architects Rafy Segal and Eyal Weizman for the architects' congress in Berlin – 'A Civilian Occupation, The Politics of Israeli Architecture' – is the most direct work in the 'Israeli Pavilion' exhibition, referring to the politic nature of Israeli architecture and to the Israeli-Palestinian conflict. By focusing on the occupied territories, in which most new Israeli settlements have been built in the last decades,⁶ their work provides an indirect answer to this question. The catalogue presents landscape as a battlefield, in which a struggle is carried on for power and political control. The architect Uri Zrubavel, director of the United Architects' Association in Israel, attacked Weizman and Segal's geographical focusing.⁷

Since the establishment of the state of Israel, its population has been multiplied by ten – from 600,000 to 6,000,000 residents. The need to provide for such an accelerated increase, together with the desire to settle along the borders of the state, stemming among other reasons from security motives, led to the building of new civilian settlements as well as military settlements along the borders. In the past two decades, many settlements were built within the Israeli territory, inside and outside the 'green line', including new suburbs in existing towns and cities. Settlements such as Reut, Maccabim and Kochav Yair were

built, as well as the new city of Modi'in, and many existing settlements were reinforced, in various areas of Israel ... The [rejected – SC] exhibition ignored Israeli architecture as a whole, addressing only one aspect, i.e. the West Bank settlements and the Israeli presence there, a topic that in any case is greatly disputed among Israelis.

A comparison between Rotbard's words and those of Zrubavel indicates that the perception of the architectural act as a political act is no less charged than the actual setting of settlement boundaries. Admittedly, the wider answer, contending that any architectural act in Israel is political, reinforces the change in the professional discourse – from the perception of architecture as a 'pure' professional practice to a sweeping political awareness, but it also neutralizes the effectiveness of architectural criticism. When any architectural act is perceived as political, the single act is seemingly exempt of responsibility. On the other hand, the narrower answer excludes crucial questions from the professional discussion, and serves as an excuse to avoid a critical approach in architecture. Thus, Segal and Weizman's focus on the occupied territories is legitimate and important, outlining a way towards architectural criticism.

The catalogue 'A Civilian Occupation, The Politics of Israeli Architecture' is comprised of a collection of articles, photographs, maps, blueprints and other effective visual materials. The map of the West Bank, as it is presented in the catalogue, exposes the gap between the built Jewish areas in the settlements (1.7 per cent of the West Bank territory) and the judgment borders and areas intended for future Jewish building (41.9 per cent), showing the actual results – fragmentation and lack of a Palestinian territorial continuity.

The catalogue, which was printed on newspaper, was intended as the principal exhibit in the rejected exhibition. The red silhouette on its cover, in the shape of the occupied territories, 'stained' the headline 'Civilian Occupation'. The catalogue's sharp design, by the graphic designer David Tartakover, was perceived by those who objected to the catalogue as a direct visual expression of the project's radical nature (see Figure 14.1).

In the article written by the geographer Professor Oren Yiftachel, which appears in this catalogue and addresses the subject of 'Settlements as a Reflex-action', the contention is that 800 settlements of various types have been built in Israel to this day – the largest number of settlements-per-person in the world. Yiftachel argues that building such a large number of settlements is damaging to the relations between Jews and Arabs and to Israel's security, and that it exacerbates the social gaps in Israel (since the settlements that are built are peripheral, with high unemployment and poverty rates, and their existence

any existing settlements were
ected – SC] exhibition ignored
one aspect, i.e. the West Bank
ic that in any case is greatly

hose of Zrubavel indicates
itical act is no less charged
mittedly, the wider answer,
itical, reinforces the change
of architecture as a 'pure'
ness, but it also neutralizes
n any architectural act is
7 exempt of responsibility.
crucial questions from the
o avoid a critical approach
on the occupied territories
rds architectural criticism.
tics of Israeli Architecture'
, maps, blueprints and other
nk, as it is presented in the
sh areas in the settlements
dgment borders and areas
, showing the actual results
al continuity.

aper, was intended as the
ilhouette on its cover, in the
line 'Civilian Occupation'.
ner David Tartakover, was
s a direct visual expression

isor Oren Yiftachel, which
of 'Settlements as a Reflex-
rious types have been built
ts-per-person in the world.
of settlements is damaging
rael's security, and that it
tlements that are built are
rates, and their existence

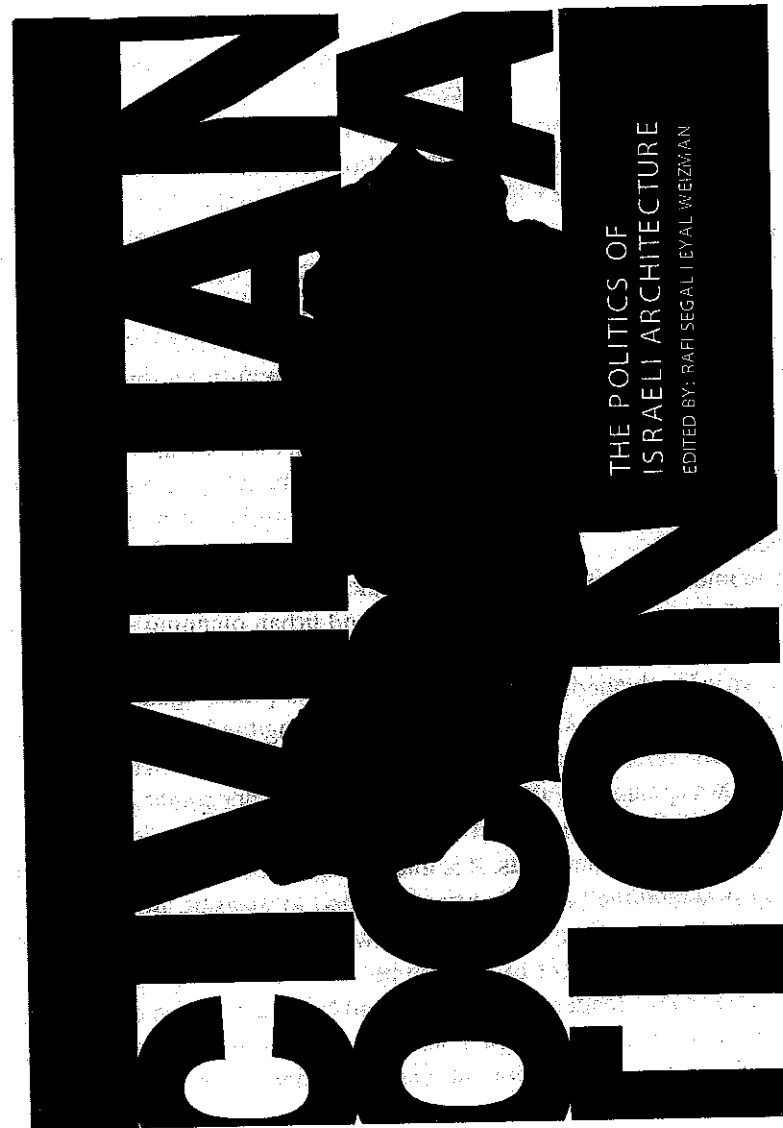


Figure 14.1 R. Segal and E. Weitzman, *A Civilian Occupation: The Politics of Israeli Architecture* (2002), cover of the catalog. Designed by Tartakover Design.

only serves to further weaken the periphery), as well as wasting public funds on decentralization that has already been recognized by national planners as a geographical and urban mistake.

'The Mountain', an article written by the editors, architects Eyal Weizman and Rafy Segal, analyses the settlement of the Gush Emunim movement in the late 1970s and early 1980s, on mountaintops in the West Bank, bringing many Jewish settlers to areas with no Jewish affinity. Israel established its ownership over the untilled lands on the mountaintops, relying on the Ottoman law. Even though, the transfer of civilian population into the occupied territories is considered a war crime by the Fourth Geneva Convention (Levi, 2002). Weizman and Segal describe the 'Community Settlement',⁸ the new type of settlements, as an adaptation of concentric morphology to radical ideology and secluded social organization, or in their words – 'the built array of claustrophobia'. They regard these settlements as optic means of gaining domination and supervisionsurveillance and control over the Arab towns and villages.

In an interview that appears in the catalogue, architect Thomas Leitersdorf speaks of the way in which architecture and urban planning served political purposes in the planning of the new West Bank town of Ma'ale Edummim. The town was planned very quickly in the first place, against international political pressure, with the intention of reinforcing the Jewish presence in the occupied territories and of enabling the domination of roads in these territories. The town was planned in an area with difficult weather conditions, at the edge of the desert between Jerusalem and Jericho, within the territory of the state according to public consensus. It is interesting to read the planner's words on the way in which the planning principles had to measure up to commercial requirements, even though the project was planned for political reasons. For instance, the principle of a dense population in Ma'ale Edummim was contradicted to the tendency to disperse small settlements on every mountain and hilltop, and enabled a higher service level and the maintaining of open spaces. This principle was commercially justified when the residence units were sold and attracted a large population to the new town.

The recognition of architecture's political power – or perhaps its weakness and its subjugation to the government – can be regarded as the result of the maturation of a group of individual architects, who ceased to perceive themselves as individual creators and began to observe the society in which they were working. However, the Berlin Exhibition affair indicated that the professional union itself, whose role is to elevate itself above the personal-economic interests of individual architects and to struggle for the benefit

as wasting public funds
by national planners as

architects Eyal Weizman
the Emunim movement in
the West Bank, bringing
ty. Israel established its
, relying on the Ottoman
tion into the occupied
neva Convention (Levi,
ty Settlement',⁸ the new
morphology to radical
words – 'the built array
optic means of gaining
over the Arab towns and

ect Thomas Leitersdorf
lanning served political
of Ma'ale Edummim.
e, against international
: Jewish presence in the
oads in these territories.
r conditions, at the edge
he territory of the state
the planner's words on
sure up to commercial
l for political reasons.
Ma'ale Edummim was
ents on every mountain
ie maintaining of open
en the residence units
town.

r perhaps its weakness
arded as the result of
ho ceased to perceive
e the society in which
ffair indicated that the
lf above the personal-
uggle for the benefit

of architects and society as a whole, objects to this line of thinking. In the discussions of the Berlin case that were conducted by the Israeli Association of the United Architects', the repeated argument was that the Architect's Association should maintain a non-political professional nature. The director of the United Architects' Association argued that 'use has been made in this case of the Association and its cultural and material assets in order to send across significant non-professional political messages'. This objection reflected a certain resistance to taking a stance, which is not shared by all the Association members. When the power of the state decreases, the professional organizations of the civilian society grow stronger. The question is whether these organizations duplicate the government's attitudes, or become agents of change (Shenhav, 2000, p. 6). In my opinion, in this case, the Architects' Association missed an opportunity to use its status in order to promote political change.

A New Local Discourse is Replacing the Regional Discourse in Israeli Architecture

In the professional discussion, recognition of the political nature of architecture, at least as a dominant trend, is a new recognition. To this day, the professional and cultural discourse of architecture has rarely addressed political issues. As an example of the absence of politics from the professional discussion, I shall note another, earlier exhibition that was hosted by the Israeli pavilion in the Sixth Venice Biennale of Architecture. The exhibition 'Visible and Beyond', presented Israeli architecture as accepted in the hegemonic architectural discourse. It included prominent projects and buildings, focusing on 'universal' issues of style. It reflected the *regional* discourse in Israeli architecture, in addition to some manifestations of an historical postmodern style. The architects David Guggenheim and Omry Eytan curated the exhibition. In the text for the exhibition, architect Omry Eytan characterizes such architecture as combining east and west, old and new, and manifesting a 'Mediterranean or middle-eastern' identity. He argues that such architecture reflects cultural pluralism and historical stratification, by bridging between the influences of ancient local cultures and modern technologies.

The regional discourse in Israeli architecture was, and still is, an alternative to the multifaceted Israeli modernism. The history of Israeli architecture can be read as existing between these two approaches – locality and modernism. Whilst modernism concentrated in applying advanced universal technology

and architecture, the regional architecture searched for an authentic language, suitable to climatic and particular cultural elements of the locality. In practice the dichotomy between the two paradigms is not a real one. International style has had different expressions at different countries and regions. The 'tour' proposed by Zofia Dekel in the 'Israeli Pavilion' exhibition, between Tel-Aviv and Jerusalem examines the various versions of modernism in these two cities. The appeal to the vernacular has been influenced by modernism itself. Le Corbusier, for instance, one of the founding fathers of modernism, regarded the vernacular in the Mediterranean countries as a source of inspiration.

The regional Israeli architecture has usually been influenced and mediated by Western architectural styles (such as the eclectic style in the 1920s). A late combination between regionalism and modernism in western architecture appeared in the 'critical regionalism' formulated in the 1980s by the historians of architecture Kenneth Frampton, Alexander Tzonis and Lian Lefaivre. 'Critical regionalism' proposed a criticism of modernism, a reaction against its undesirable implications – mediocrity and the abolishment of local creativity – while embracing the spirit of modern progress. Its goal was to promote a vital local culture, which combines modernity with a return to origins. It encouraged reference to the environmental context of architecture and a modern technological interpretation of local elements, calling architecture to transcend stylistic and formalistic characteristics. Thus, it distinguished itself from the vernacular – which refers to climate, culture, myths and local arts – and from regional historical precedents (Frampton, 1980; Tzonis and Lefaivre, 1996).

Visually, the regional theory was translated in the Sixth Venice Biennale of Architecture into a formal vocabulary and a limited and repetitive building material repertoire that is considered authentic – eastern arches, inner yards, means of shading, building in stone, etc. The exhibition presented mainly preservation and restoration projects in the old cities of Nazareth, Acre and Jerusalem.

In the 'Israeli Pavilion' exhibition, shutters are the sole vernacular element. Through these shutters, (named Tri'sol after a 1960s brand name of Israeli PVC product) truths about Israeli architecture were exposed and camouflaged simultaneously. But shutters, an inexpensive and efficient means of protecting against the strong Israeli sun, are not a typical characteristic of the vocabulary of forms in regional architecture. They are neither representative nor oriental. On the contrary, shutters were commonly used as a deprecated means of closing in balconies, an illegal addition to residence apartments. Through his choice of this element, Zvi Efrat marks Israeli modernism as regional and

ed for an authentic language, its of the locality. In practice real one. International style ies and regions. The 'tour' xhibition, between Tel-Aviv odernism in these two cities. ed by modernism itself. Le ers of modernism, regarded a source of inspiration.

en influenced and mediated ic style in the 1920s). A late sm in western architecture 1 the 1980s by the historians Tzonis and Lian Lefaivre. ernism, a reaction against ishment of local creativity s. Its goal was to promote y with a return to origins. ntext of architecture and a ments, calling architecture ics. Thus, it distinguished te, culture, myths and local ampton, 1980; Tzonis and

the Sixth Venice Biennale ited and repetitive building eastern arches, inner yards, xhibition presented mainly ties of Nazareth, Acre and

he sole vernacular element. 60s brand name of Israeli xposed and camouflaged ficient means of protecting acteristic of the vocabulary representative nor oriental. as a deprecated means of e apartments. Through his odernism as regional and

Israeli western architecture as no less improvising, lowly and popular than conventional regional models.

It is interesting to compare the Israeli exhibition in the Sixth Venice Biennale with the proposal for the Berlin convention, 'Architecture of Insecurity, or Brief Thoughts of an Old and Beautiful City on the Meditterenean' presented in the 'Israeli Pavilion' exhibition. The curator Eytan Hillel and the architect Yael Ben-Aroya also addressed the subject of architecture in mixed-population cities⁹ in Israel, focusing on Acre as a test case. However, their awareness of post-colonial theories enabled them to read stylistic effects as symbols of political power relations. Their work focused on the way in which the establishment is present in the public space through a series of nondescript modernist buildings, or through the use of early symbols of power such as the British police building.

Thus, a critical view of Israeli regionalism exposes the Orientalism in the regional discourse and stress the 'relationship of power, of domination, of varying degrees of a complex hegmony' (Said, 1979, p. 5), that underlies the regional attitude towards the orient. In the Sixth Venice Biennale, the depiction of the rehabilitation process of old Arabic sites, avoid any reference to the 1948 war, and to the everlasting Jewish effort to gain domination over the land of Israel. The focus on the preserved architecture presented the eastern architecture as a fixed essence, severed from its historical and political context (Said, 1979, pp. 60, 97). The architectural practice of the regional school narrows political and cultural questions down to a mere formal and stylistic preoccupation. More severely, it is possible to argue against the Mediterranean school of regionalism architecture that it possesses indigenous Palestinian forms as means of establishing Western dominance of space.

The embracing of a Mediterranean identity requires additional deconstruction: the Mediterranean identity provides Israeli architecture with a sense of belonging to a large and appreciated geographic unit, while avoiding both the threatening eastern identity and the East-European spirit of the Diaspora, from which Zionism has distinguished itself. This identity is a manifestation of the dialectics between acceptance and denial of the Israeli place. For the planning architect, 'Mediterraneanism' is a conceptual hammock in which to rest from the colonial hurling between Europeanism and Assianism, between the position of conqueror and the position of the conquered who bows to the West.

Thus, through an open political debate, the 'Israeli Pavilion' exhibition formulates a new local discourse as an alternative to the regionalism discourse in Israeli architecture.¹⁰ The new discourse gives 'local' a wider interpretation,

directed at seeking for the source of architectural phenomena in the planning procedures in Israel and in political and economic issues. For instance, the work 'Area D', by architects Yehoshua Gutman and Rinat Berkowitz, binds together the implications of Israeli politics with the architecture of consumer society in Israel, characterizing several Israeli phenomena as spatial mutations that combine the Israeli aspiration to normalcy with the political state of emergency. Thus, the new local discourse can be read as meeting some of the goals of 'critical regionalism' more fully: it is neither formal nor material, and it is critical. (In the chapter that describes the critical strategy of the proposed works for the Venice Biennale, I shall employ the concept of criticism as it is used in 'critical regionalism').

The Gallery as a Site for Establishing a Critical Image for the Israeli Place

Architectural discourse in Israel did not turn into a political discourse spontaneously, by itself. This change was nurtured by various sources, by the escalation in political events and by developments in the theoretical discourse. I shall attempt to outline a primary, non-chronological sketch of the theoretical context that has broken the ground in recent years for this trend.¹¹ As follows, a number of the participants in the present exhibition paved different ways, for political interpretation of Israeli architecture.

The 'Israeli Project' exhibition,¹² curated by the architect Zvi Efrat, the curator Meira Yagid and their team, addressed the physical planning of Israel in the 1950s. The exhibition was crucial in its importance for formulating the relation between the Zionist project and the building and architectural enterprise in the first decades of the State of Israel. This exhibition also presented some of the implications of Jewish settlement for the Palestinian population of Israel. The culture researcher Sigal Bar-Nir and the landscape architect Yael Moria had written about the 'conquering of the wilderness' as one of the leading myths in landscape architecture in Israel, in an article for the 'Point of View' exhibition (Gaon and Paz, 1996). Later on, in an exhibition titled 'Shaping the Memory',¹³ Bar-Nir addressed the subject of the Israeli landscape as a site for shaping the Israeli identity. In the exhibition 'Pastoralia',¹⁴ the landscape architect Naama Meishar pointed at the political implications of the Israeli forestation policy, showing how power and domination relations are involved in shaping the seemingly innocent and natural Israeli nature. In many exhibitions throughout the years, the

phenomena in the planning
ic issues. For instance, the
and Rinat Berkowitz, binds
e architecture of consumer
omona as spatial mutations
with the political state of
ead as meeting some of the
er formal nor material, and
al strategy of the proposed
concept of criticism as it is

I Image for the Israeli

nto a political discourse
by various sources, by the
n the theoretical discourse.
cal sketch of the theoretical
for this trend.¹¹As follows,
tion paved different ways,

he architect Zvi Efrat, the
physical planning of Israel
importance for formulating
building and architectural
rael. This exhibition also
lement for the Palestinian
Bar-Nir and the landscape
uering of the wilderness'
ure in Israel, in an article
z, 1996). Later on, in an
ir addressed the subject
e Israeli identity. In the
Jaama Meishar pointed at
olicy, showing how power
; the seemingly innocent
hroughout the years, the

architect and artist Bilo Blich has examined alternative channels of observing conventional architecture. In the previous decade, Blich worked with groups of young architects, and curated exhibitions at the Ami Shteinitz Gallery and at the gallery of the Camera Obscura School.¹⁵

Influence over the local discourse can also be attributed to the international discourse in architecture, and to the title of the previous Venice Biennale – ‘Less Aesthetics, More Ethics’ (Fuksas, 2000, p. 10), which has influenced the local architectural consciousness.¹⁶ Geography, a field that is close to architecture, has preceded architecture in developing an awareness of the political power of planning. Outside the field of architecture, and within the public discourse in Israel, political criticism is published on a regular basis. Discussion of the Israeli identity and culture intensified towards the celebration of Israel’s jubilee, and continued after it. The post-Zionist discourse began in radical academic faculties,¹⁷ but continued to penetrate into the popular and journalistic writing.¹⁸ The extent of its influence over the internal architectural discourse can only be imagined.

This brief review indicates that galleries and museums can be regarded as the site that establishes a critical image for the Israeli space.¹⁹ Most of the architectural practice is submerged in the material and political world, while the exhibition space enables a pause in which a critical and moral discussion of Israeli architecture can emerges.

Architectural Criticism or Critical Architecture

Is architectural criticism possible at all, beyond the space of galleries and museums, within architectural firms? What are the relations between critical theory and architectural practice? In order to answer this question, we must clarify the meaning of the term ‘criticism’.

I wish to embrace the definition of *criticism* used by the historians of architecture Alexander Tzonis and Lian Lefaivre (1996, p. 488). According to Tzonis and Lefaivre, criticism has two components: it challenges the existing social order, and activates a reflective self-observance, through self-examination and self-assessment. They derive the later characteristic from the philosophy of Kant and from the Frankfurt School. In the ‘Israeli Pavilion’ exhibition, the arrows of criticism are aimed both outwards and inwards. Within the field of architecture, criticism challenges the architectural agenda and self-consciousness, undermining the accepted boundaries in this field and arguing, for instance, that the political, which has heretofore been considered

irrelevant for the field of architecture, is imbedded in its essence. The arrows of criticism are also directed outwards, touching on life in Israel, as social or political criticism.

In the gallery forum conducted as part of the 'Israeli Pavilion' exhibition, there were those who argued that the critical position is disconnected from the professional practice, or that it obliges the planning work to cease, and thus it is the privilege of theoreticians. This emphasized the distance between theory and practice.²⁰ Critical theory, on its part, objects to its detachment from architectural practice, not merely because it fears for its status but also because of a sense of political and moral commitment and a desire to affect reality.

Thus, the act of constructing a pavilion for an international exhibition takes place at a crossroad between the two fields in which architecture acts: as a high cultural act, it performs in a limited architectural-cultural field and in the elitist exhibition space, in this case – international architecture exhibitions. However, beyond the private case of the Biennale, as a building act, architecture as a rule takes place in the public space. It would be more correct to say that it *builds* the physical public space, and thus its success in formulating criticism through architectural means has a larger visibility potential than that of artistic objects. While artistic objects have aspired in recent decades to expand the boundaries of their influence and to 'get out' into the street, architecture *is* the street. In addition to the desire to influence, a resistance to theory and preference of the architectural object, underlying the search for criticism through architecture – for critical architecture that will replace architectural criticism. This is a manifestation of an influence of the field of art, in which there is a clear preference of the artistic object over any other object in the field (Azulay, 1999, p. 63).

How, then, can architectural practice implement architectural criticism? The larger the project, the wider the influence of criticism. Political awareness in the primary planning stages encourages a critical reading of municipal and regional building plans, which define the contours of planning. The proposal for the Venice Biennale that was submitted by the architects Perla Kaufman and Fara Goldman, called 'A Way with Land', shows the planning horizon of such awareness in relation to urban planning. In this proposal, the architects point at the Negev area as the future site of planning in Israel, in the hope that this planning will be carried out through sensitivity to social and political problems.

A social commitment was inspired in modern architecture, by international conventions (CIAM) – held in the first half of the twentieth century in Europe

l in its essence. The arrows
n life in Israel, as social or

sraeli Pavilion' exhibition,
ition is disconnected from
anning work to cease, and
sized the distance between
-objects to its detachment
fears for its status but also
nent and a desire to affect

n international exhibition
n which architecture acts:
rchitectural-cultural field
international architecture
he Biennale, as a building
: space. It would be more
pace, and thus its success
ans has a larger visibility
ic objects have aspired in
influence and to 'get out'
to the desire to influence,
ectural object, underlying
itical architecture that will
ion of an influence of the
he artistic object over any

it architectural criticism?
icism. Political awareness
reading of municipal and
of planning. The proposal
architects Perla Kaufman
s the planning horizon of
is proposal, the architects
ing in Israel, in the hope
vity to social and political

hitecture, by international
entieth century in Europe

– which encouraged the planning of minimal living conditions through the standardization and rationalization of planning. But in the Israeli economy, which has gone through privatization processes in the past few decades, there are only a small number of projects of this type, and these are usually offered in the private market, with limited social emphases. A more active approach is proposed by the 'Bimkom' (the Hebrew word for alternative), an NGO which works to reinforce the relations between human rights and planning systems in Israel. This stems from an assumption that 'spatial planning is fundamentally political' (Fenster, 2002, pp. 5–9), and from a desire to correct the political and social wrongs that are caused by planning. However, even the activity of this association pertains more to the conditions that precede the actual planning, to issues that pertain to land rights and land destination, rather than to the critical possibilities of the planning language, of the architectural design itself. Not so the proposals for the Venice Biennale that are shown in the 'Israeli Pavilion' exhibition. These proposals attempt, as described by the architect Zvi Efrat, 'to talk about architecture through architecture', and to develop a real critical architectural language.

The demand to implement criticism through planning leads to a question regarding the ability of architecture – which is by nature physical, material, formal and nonverbal – to express critical contents, objection, and to declare a social or political agenda. Can a built wall, a dome or the design of a building's doorways possess moral contents of themselves? After all, architectural shapes, building elements and materials can serve both moral and non-moral goals to the same extent. What is the meaningful unit in architecture? This is not the place in which to fully investigate these important questions.

Critical Architecture in the Proposals for the Venice Biennale

The fact that the Israeli pavilion in the Venice Exhibition Grounds (the 'Gardinni') is undergoing renovation enabled some of the proposals for the Biennale, to design alternative exhibition conditions, outside the building, through the use of critical architectural language, in addition to and in combination with their curator thesis. In doing so, they created a sub-group of works within the 'Israeli Pavilion' exhibition, enveloping the building with a 'second skin' – a screen wall that is a common and trendy architectural element in international architecture. It delimited a narrow pathway that was also intended to serve as a semi-closed exhibition path, attached to the external wall of the renovated Israeli pavilion.

The architect Zvi Efrat built a multidisciplinary installation 'Borderline Disorder' at the Biennale – which combined the work of architects and artists. An enlarged cartographic image of the Israeli-Palestinian terrain, was printed on the shutters, in such a way that brings to mind a military camouflage net. Behind the shutters, a horizontal panoramic photograph of the horizon of the Israeli architecture was presented, along with a computer animation that depicted the the historical expansion processes of the Israeli space and a video that depicted a fragment of a demonstration (see Figure 14.2). Sounds from a sound installation, depicting and manipulating the Israeli daily audio experience, accompanied the path to the pavilion.

Arkod Architects, in their proposal, proposed to wrap the pavilion in three-dimensional scaffolding, as in a building site, and to turn it into a space for exhibiting installations. The proposal I myself submitted, in collaboration with the landscape Architects Naama Meishar, Ami Tsruya and Zofit Tuvi, also proposed to wrap the building in a semi-opaque 'scaffolding of images' that would hide the renovation process in the Israeli pavilion and present images and texts that document the current building process in Israel (see Figure 14.3). The architects Rafi Segal and Eyal Weizman, in their proposal

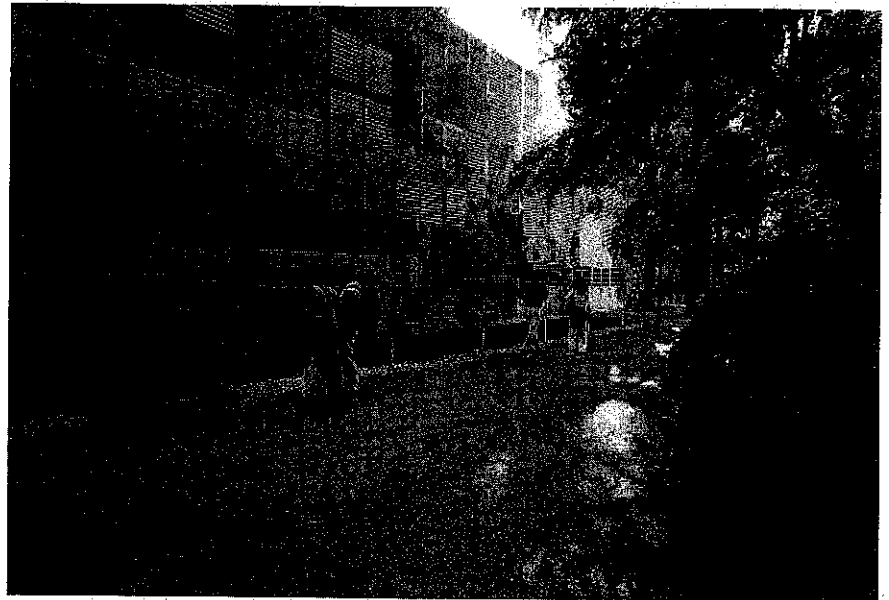


Figure 14.2 Z. Efrat, 'Borderline Disorder' (2002), detail of the Israeli installation at the 8th Architecture Biennale

installation 'Borderline of architects and artists nian terrain, was printed military camouflage net. graph of the horizon of omputer animation that the Israeli space and a æ Figure 14.2). Sounds g the Israeli daily audio

rap the pavilion in three- turn it into a space for nitted, in collaboration Tsruya and Zofit Tuvi, 'scaffolding of images' li pavilion and present g process in Israel (see zman, in their proposal

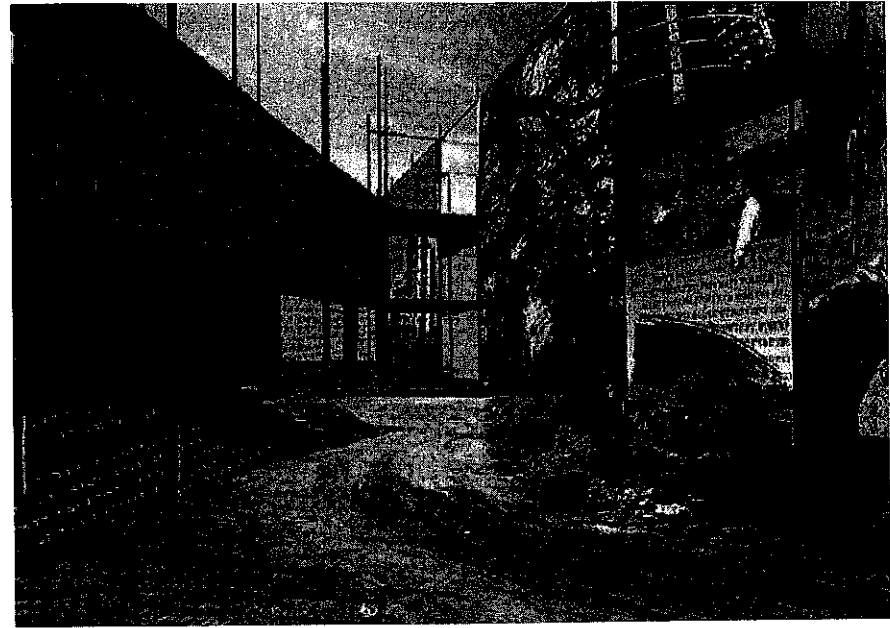
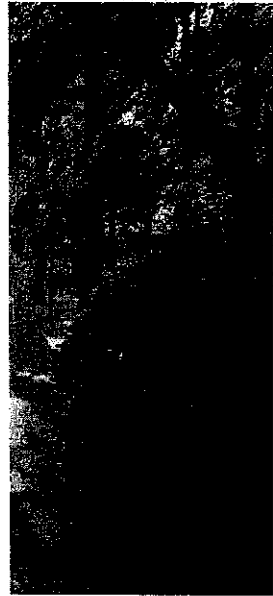


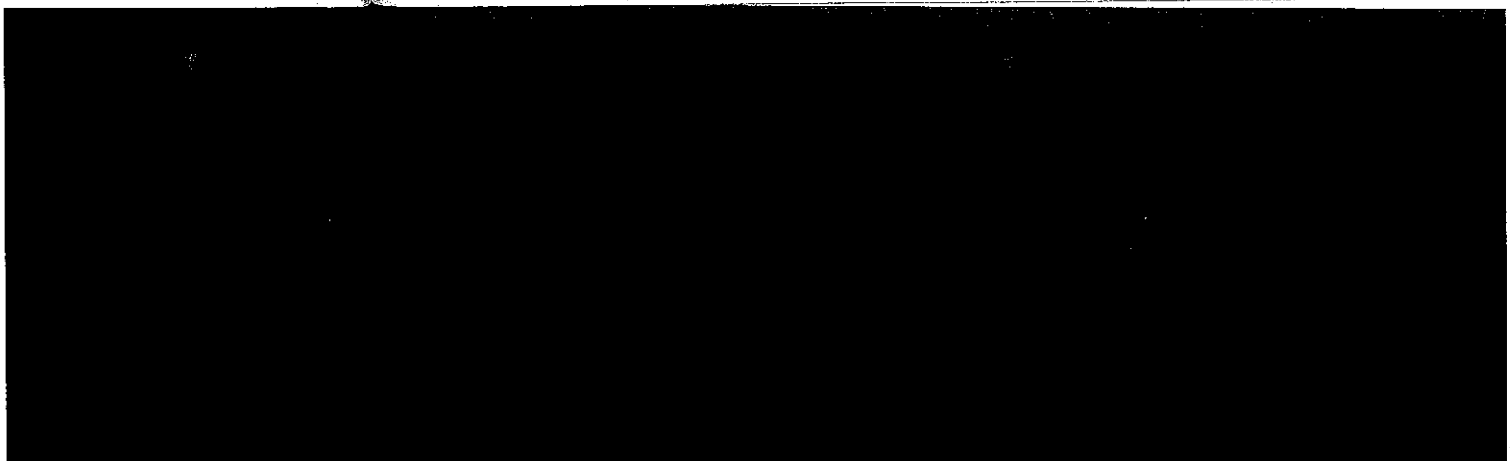
Figure 14.3 S. Cohen, Z. Tuvi, A. Tsruya and N. Meishar, 'Under Construction' (2002), detail of the Israeli installation at the 8th Architecture Biennale

'Closure', sought to provide the Israeli pavilion with an image of 'architecture under siege'. They proposed to surround the Israeli pavilion with two soil and stone dikes, climbing gradually up to a height of approximately three meters and creating a kind of fortification or blockage array, which would protect the building but would also close it off and prevent free approach.

Most of these works used a combined strategy: they turned the architectural addition into a reflective component, formulating criticism of Israeli architecture. More specifically, they made use of the double wall, as a metaphor for the exposure and concealment of moral truths. The building materials for this wall were taken from a world that is not architectural or representative – soil dikes, scaffolding or window shutters – and thus they are charged with military meanings, meanings taken from the world of advertising and art, or from the early stages of building. Alexander Tzonis and Lian Lefaivre had written about the displacement of architectural components and their change of context as a poetic mean, that turns the familiar into something foreign, which distorts the immediate and natural automatic-perception of the building. Unconventional



, detail of the Israeli Biennale



and 'low' building materials has a similar critical role. It suspends the purposeful use of the building and paves the way for the creation of a critical space. Then, the visitor to the building is invited to decode the meanings that this architecture imports from other fields, such as photography or geography – fields that can be interpreted and made to speak, from which it is possible to extract sayings about architectural. Use and context are enlisted together for the purpose of reconstructing the Israel sense of place in the Venice Biennale.

The exhibition context, in which architecture seeks to become surprising and thought-provoking, allowed the critical message of the work built in the Venice Biennale to be accepted. Buildings are not accompanied by written explanations, but exhibitions are not mute. The attempts made by the proposals for the Venice Biennale, to formulate criticism through architectural means, were not based exclusively on architecture. They were accompanied by clear and strong texts, from which I have quoted here. In the Architects' House Gallery, the formal and contextual similarity between the various proposals, which I have noted here, caused the different works to echo each other and to reinforce their critical content.

Notes

- 1 As curator of the Architects' House Gallery, as submitter of one of the proposals for the Venice Biennale, and as participant in meetings of the steering committee appointed by the United Architects' Association for the Berlin exhibition, I appealed to the heads of the committees that chose the candidates, and through them to the various candidates, in a request to present their proposals in a combined exhibition. Seven out of the nine candidates for the Venice Biennale, and five out of the six candidates for the Berlin exhibition, consented to exhibit their work, which was then presented in the 'Israeli Pavilion' exhibition. The works that were presented in the exhibition were usually faithful to the primary idea that had been presented to the choosing committees.
- 2 The works that were sent were taken from the exhibition 'Space 2001 – The Israeli Architecture Biennale', which was presented in January 2002 in the Architects' House Gallery, and curated by the Exhibition Committee of the United Architects' Association in Israel.
- 3 Esther Zandberg, architecture critic of the *Haaretz* newspaper, brought this affair to the knowledge of the general public. Zandberg criticized the decision that was made by the United Architects' Association in Israel, to reject Segal and Weizman's work.
- 4 The complete list of works and presenters in the exhibition (the names of the team leaders are emphasized in heavy print. In the text itself I shall refer only to their names):
Proposals for the Israeli Pavilion at the Venice Biennale
 A. 'Borderline Disorder' – Curator: Zvi Efrat, Production: Michael Gov, Arad Turgeman, Installation Design: Efrat-kowalsky Architects, Zvi Efrat, Meira Kowalsky, Keren Avni, Engineers: Leonid Berzon, Ya'akov Achbert, Cartographic

It suspends the purposeful of a critical space. Then, things that this architecture geography – fields that can possibly to extract sayings either for the purpose of Biennale.

It seeks to become surprising of the work built in the accompanied by written texts made by the proposals through architectural means, accompanied by clear in the Architects' House in the various proposals, to echo each other and

One of the proposals for the steering committee appointed by me, I appealed to the heads of motion to the various candidates, motion. Seven out of the nine candidates for the Berlin exhibition presented in the 'Israeli exhibition were usually faithful committees.

'Space 2001 – The Israeli 2002 in the Architects' House United Architects' Association

He, brought this affair to the decision that was made by the Weizman's work.

(The names of the team leaders only to their names):

Participants: Michael Gov, Arad Architects, Zvi Efrat, Meira Markovitch, Achbert, Cartographic

image: Eyal Weizman, Panorama: Daniel Bower, Sound work: Yossi Mar-Haim, Video: Avi Mugrabi, Graphic Design: Yotam Bezalel, Computer Animation: Yehoshua Gutman, Donny Valer, Racheli Rotem, Matan Sapir, Malkit Shoshan, Vitala Tauz, Rinat Berkovitch, Helena Gibel, Yulia Umaneski, Tehila Megiar, Ronit Markovitch, Tamar Ziv, Tamar Makover, and a production team.

- B. 'Tikun' – Sigal Bar-Nir, Yael Moria, Asaf Galay, Ido Nissenbaum, Rebecca Sternberg.
- C. 'Erasures – The familiar landscape and the foreign city' – Bilo Blich.
- D. 'Under Construction' – Shelly Cohen, Naama Meishar, Kav Landscape architecture – Zofit Tuvi and Ami Tsruya, Raffy Tsruya.
- E. 'Closure' – Rafi Segal, Eyal Weizman.
- F. 'Under Construction' – Orit Siman-Tov Pinchas, Doron Pinchas, Arkod Architects, Najud Mazrib, Anat Frenkel, Jonathan Shaked, Stephen Mati, Arie Rotenberg, MeirGal, Orit Shershevski Mor.
- G. 'A Way with Land' – Perla Kaufman, Fara Goldman, Pazit Shauli, Peach Visual System Design Ltd.

Proposals for the International Architects' Union Convention in Berlin

- I. 'Modernism in Dispute – Breaches in Israeli Architecture' – Yair Avigdor, Yossi Klein, Eran Neuman.
 - II. 'Area D.' – Yehoshua Gutman, Rinat Berkowitz.
 - III. 'Israeli Modernism between Tel-Aviv and Jerusalem' – Zofiya Dekel, Lilach Dekel, Nizan Ram.
 - IV. 'Architecture of Insecurity or Brief Thoughts of an Old and Beautiful City on the Mediterranean' – Eytan Hillel, Yael Ben Aroya.
 - V. 'Civilian Occupation – The Politics of Israeli Architecture' – Rafi Segal, Eyal Weizman, Zvi Efrat, Daniel Bower, Meiron Binvenishti, Geoge Dufin, Nadav Harel, Oren Yiftachel, Miloten Labudovitch, Gideon Levi, Ilan Postach, Micky Keratsman, Sharon Rotbard, Efrat Shvili, Eran Tamir-Tawil, Pavel Wolberg.
- 5 From the proposal I myself submitted in collaboration with the landscape architects Naama Meishar, Ami Tsruya and Zofit Tuvi.
 - 6 Some of the articles in the catalogue address the history of Israeli building from its very beginning and before the occupation of the territories at the 1967 war.
 - 7 In the 'Israeli Pavilion' exhibition, alongside the competing works, the original version of the proposal for Berlin was presented. This version was different from the final catalogue (more moderate, according to the heads of the exhibition's steering committee), and was accompanied by the response of the head of the Architects' Association, from which I quote here, and by the response of the steering committee head.
 - 8 The community Settlement is a new and urban form of settlement, which began in the 1980s and 1990s in West Bank settlements and in suburbs close to and beyond the Green Line. Legally, community Settlements are collaborative associations, and this enables them to be selective in accepting new members.
 - 9 Mixed cities are cities in which Palestinian refugees continued to live, within the borders of Israel, after the 1948 war.
 - 10 The series of exhibitions that I have been curating in the Architects' House Gallery received the name 'Local', after this new local discourse.
 - 11 The social discussion of Israeli architecture have many more precedents than the political one. I shall note here only the preoccupation with social polarization in Israel, which has focused on the topic of public housing in Israel.

- 12 The exhibition 'The Israeli Project – Construction and Architecture 1948–1973' was presented in October 2000, at the Helena Rubinstein Pavilion, Tel-Aviv Museum.
- 13 The exhibition was presented at the 'Askola' school gallery in 2000.
- 14 The exhibition 'Pastoralia', part of the 'Local' series, was presented at the Architects' House Gallery in May–June 2001.
- 15 The exhibition 'Evacuation-Construction' was presented in the Camera Obscura Gallery in March 2001.
- 16 See for example the annual convention of the United Architects' Association that was held in Ma'alot-Tarshicha and addressed the subject of involving the public in planning.
- 17 The journal *Theory and Criticism* (The Van Leer Jerusalem Institute and Hakibbutz Hameuchad Publishing House, Tel Aviv), led the preoccupation with critical aspects of the Israeli culture.
- 18 For example, the series of books *The Israelis*, edited by Gideon Samet and published by Keter Press.
- 19 The exhibition space is the natural existence space for critical architecture, but of-course not every architecture that is presented in it is necessarily critical, as I have demonstrated in relation to previous Israeli exhibitions presented in the Venice Biennale.
- 20 Azulay argues that the critical position embraces an external appearance in order to enable criticism, even though it is positioned within the artistic field. (Azulay, 1996, p. 66).

References

- Azulay, A., *Training for the Art Critique of Museal Economy* (Tel-Aviv: Hakibbutz Hameuchad, 1999).
- Chinski, S., 'Silence of the Fish, The Local versus the Universal in the Israeli culture', *Theory and Criticism – An Israeli Forum*, 4 (Autumn) (1993), pp. 57–86.
- Chinski, S., 'Eyes Wide Shut: The Acquired Albino Syndrome of the Israeli Art Field', *Theory and Criticism – An Israeli Forum*, 20 (Spring) (2002), pp. 105–22.
- Efrat, Z., 'Foreword', in Z. Efrat (ed.), *Borderline Disorder: The Israeli Pavilion The 8th International Architecture Exhibition* (La Biennale di Venezia, 2002), pp. 24–5.
- Efrat, Z., 'Borderline Disorder', in Z. Efrat (ed.), *Borderline Disorder: The Israeli Pavilion The 8th International Architecture Exhibition* (La Biennale di Venezia, 2002), p. 31.
- Fenster, T., 'Opening Words', *Planning Rights in Israel: The Relations between Community and Establishment Relations* (Jerusalem, 2002).
- Frampton, K., *Modern Architecture: A Critical History* (London: Thames and Hudson, 1980), pp. 313–27.
- Fukasas, M., 'Less Aesthetics, More Ethics', in M. Fukasas (ed.), *Less Aesthetics, More Ethics, 7th International Architecture Exhibition* (Marseille: La Biennale di Venezia, 2000).
- Gaon, G. and Paz, A. (eds), *Point of View: Four Approaches to Landscape architecture in Israel* (Tel-Aviv: The Genia Shreiber University Gallery of Art, 1996).
- Guggenheim, D. and Eytan, O., in H. Hollien (ed.), *Sensing the Future, 6th International Architecture Exhibition* (Electa: La Biennale di Venezia, 1996), pp. 392–5.
- Levy, G., 'The Lowest Point in Israel', in R. Segal and E. Weizman (eds), *A Civilian Occupation: The Politics of Israeli Architecture* (London and New York: Verso, 2002), pp. 81–2.
- Rotbard, S., 'Homa Umigdal', in R. Segal and E. Weizman (eds), *A Civil Occupation: The Politics of Israeli Architecture* (London and New York: Verso, 2002).

rchitecture 1948–1973' was
on, Tel-Aviv Museum.
' in 2000.

presented at the Architects'

the Camera Obscura Gallery

sts' Association that was held
g the public in planning.

em Institute and Hakibbutz
ation with critical aspects of

eon Samet and published by

al architecture, but of-course
tical, as I have demonstrated
enice Biennale.

appearance in order to enable
1. (Azulay, 1996, p. 66).

aviv: Hakibbutz Hameuchad,

1 the Israeli culture', *Theory*
–86 .

he Israeli Art Field', *Theory*
5–22.

he Israeli Pavilion The 8th
1, 2002), pp. 24–5.

ler: *The Israeli Pavilion The*
ezia, 2002), p. 31.

lations between Community

Thames and Hudson, 1980),

ess *Aesthetics, More Ethics,*
niale di Venezia, 2000).

andscape architecture in Israel
6).

e Future, 6th International
) , pp. 392–5.

eds), *A Civilian Occupation:*
erso, 2002), pp. 81–2.

), *A Civil Occupation: The*
, 2002).

Ruding, A., 'Are Politics built into Architecture?', *New York Times*, 10 August 2002.

Said, E.D., *Orientalism* (New York: Vintage Books, 1978).

Schocken, H., *Intimate Anonymity: The Israeli Pavilion. The 7th International Architecture Exhibition* (La Biennale di Venezia, 2000).

Segal, R. and Weizman, E., 'The Mountain', in R. Segal and E. Weizman (eds), *A Civilian Occupation: The Politics of Israeli Architecture* (London and New York: Verso, 2002), pp. 42–6.

Shenhav, Y., 'Space, Land, Home: On the Normalization of a "New Discourse"', *Theory and Criticism – An Israeli Forum*, 16 (Spring) (2000), pp. 3–13.

Tamir-Tawil, E., 'To Start a City From Scratch', in R. Segal and E. Weizman (eds), *A Civilian Occupation: The Politics of Israeli Architecture* (London and New York: Verso, 2002), pp. 81–2.

Tzonis, A. and Lefaivre, L., 'Why Critical Regionalism Today?', in K. Nesbit (ed.), *Theorising a New Agenda for Architecture* (New York: Princeton Architectural Press, 1996), pp. 484–92.

Zandberg, A., 'The Urge to Create a New World', *Haaretz*, Gallery Section, 1 May 2002.

Zandberg, A., 'The Drawing Table as a Battlefield', *Haaretz*, Gallery Section, 19 July 2002.

Zandberg, A., 'There is No Such Thing as Architecture Neto', *Haaretz*, Gallery Section, 25 July 2002.

Zandberg, A., 'Blurred Boundaries Through the Window Shutters', *Haaretz*, Gallery Section, 4 September 2002.

Zandberg, A., 'Israel is Not Just the Army', *Haaretz*, Gallery Section, 3 October 2002.

Zandberg, A., 'Civilian Occupation', *Haaretz*, Gallery Section, 23 January 2003.

Zandberg, E., 'The Exhibition that was Canceled', *Hagar: International Social Science Review* (Beer Sheva: Ben-gurion University, forthcoming).