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**The Israel Pavilion for the 1967 International and  
Universal Exposition in Montreal**

The launch of the Israel Pavilion at Expo '67 in Montreal coincided with a period of enormous political tension in the Middle East, when Israel faced direct threat from surrounding Arab countries, especially its immediate neighbours Egypt, Syria and Jordan. After months of great anxiety, both within the country and in Jewish diaspora communities abroad, Israel launched a surprise attack and the ensuing Six Day War resulted in a decisive victory for Israel and a major expansion of its territory.

Against this backdrop, the Israel Pavilion at Montreal's global exposition became the focus of international attention even as it did not directly address events happening in the country. Designed over the course of three years by leading Israeli architects Arie Sharon, David Resnick and Eldar Sharon, as well as several artists and designers including Jean David, Shmuel Grundman, Igaël Tumarkin, Shraga Weil, Naftali Bezem and Dan Reisinger, the pavilion was at the cutting-edge of contemporary architectural design. Its display concentrated on the history of the Jewish people and building a country in the Promised Land, despite the obstacles.

Yet while the pavilion's design did not deal with the tension between Israel and surrounding Arab countries, it did influence Israel's approach to presenting itself on the global stage. The pavilion's architecture and display were carefully thought through by government officials, architects, designers and artists who wished to portray the young nation at its best. Given that Expo '67 was Israel's last exhibition to be planned and opened prior to the Six Day War and the significant territorial and sociopolitical changes it brought in its wake, the exposition was one of the last cases in which Israel capitalized on narratives about the ancient Jewish people, life in the diaspora, annihilation in Europe and subsequent redemption in the new country. After Expo '67 and the evolution of the political situation between Israel and its neighbours, especially the Palestinians, the mode of display has been almost totally transformed.



Israel Pavilion, Expo 67.  
Arie Sharon Collection,  
Azrieli Architectural  
Archive.

This essay focuses on the history of the evolution of the Israel Pavilion for Expo '67, the emergence of its architectural design, and the actual design of the display. The discussion will reveal the discourse regarding how Israel saw itself and the ideology that underpinned this perception during its period of transformation from a developing country into a regional superpower. The development of the pavilion's architectural design and display reflects the prevailing contemporary attitude toward Israel's self-image. Situated somewhere between the naiveté of a developing country and the strength of a superpower-to-be, the pavilion was created at a crucial moment of transformation and can be seen as an emblem of these wide-ranging changes.

### **Middle-East Politics and Expo '67**

Nineteen years after its establishment in 1948, the State of Israel was eager to show the world its strength, its accomplishments, and its deep sense of national identity at Expo '67 in Montreal. Held on two islands constructed for the occasion, the 1967 International and Universal Exposition, as it was officially called, was an extremely important exhibition for Israel which was still insecure about its position in the Middle East.<sup>1</sup> At the time, Israel's leaders frequently warned its citizens about the country's precarious situation. As early as January 1967, Prime Minister Levi Eshkol informed the Knesset about Syrian military aggression along the country's northeastern border.<sup>2</sup> Citing the mobilization of Egyptian troops along the southern border, Yitzhak Rabin, then Chief of Staff of the Israel Defense Forces, warned that "Israel's existence is in serious danger."<sup>3</sup>

In those tense days, across the Atlantic in Montreal, the Israel Pavilion opened on the first day of Expo '67 on April 27, 1967. This was in the midst of what would come to be known as the Waiting Period – the months of mounting tension between Israel and its neighbours that led to the Six Day War. The Arab countries around Israel and especially Egyptian President Gamal Abdel Nasser and Syrian President Nourreddin al-Atassi were especially vocal in their public threats against Israel. Egypt, Jordan, and Syria began taking military steps against what they perceived to be the Zionist invader in the region.

The ongoing drama drew much attention to the Israel Pavilion, to the extent that during the Waiting Period, it became a gathering place mostly, but not exclusively, for Canadian and American Jews. Yaacov "Yan" Yannai, the manager of the Israel Pavilion at Expo '67, described it as the Western Wall for North America Jewry, associating the pavilion with Judaism's holiest site in Jerusalem.<sup>4</sup> Colette Avital, the press officer at the Israeli consulate in Montreal at the time, would later recall that the people working in the pavilion provided inside information about the situation in the Middle East – news that could not be obtained elsewhere.<sup>5</sup> When the Six Day

War ended in early June 1967, the pavilion commanded even more attention. In the afterglow of Israel's decisive victory over the armies of Egypt, Syria, Jordan, and Iraq, the small country was perceived by the global community as a kind of modern-day David that fought and defeated the giant Goliath that had threatened to destroy it.

This fueled the rising popularity of the Israel Pavilion, which attracted 5.5 million visitors, twice as many as were expected when the pavilion was planned and built. Some sources contend that the Israel Pavilion was the third most visited at the Exposition, just after those of the Soviet Union and the United States.<sup>6</sup> Other sources claim that Israel reached sixth or seventh place in terms of visitor numbers. Whatever its actual place on the list, given that the Exposition hosted 72 national pavilions and complementary pavilions, the Israel Pavilion certainly proved to be among the most popular sites at Expo '67.

### **Designing the Pavilion**

The display in the Israel Pavilion at Expo '67 was designed to engage its audience. Capitalizing on the most advanced technologies available at the time and improvising new technologies, the exhibit's artists and designers attempted to give visitors the experience of full immersion in the display.

Lead architect Arie Sharon spearheaded the operation. Sharon was born in May 1900 in Jaroslaw, Galicia, then part of Austria-Hungary, before immigrating to Palestine at the age of twenty. Moving to Germany for his studies, in 1929 he graduated from the Bauhaus, a renowned avant-garde modernist school of architecture in Dessau. After returning to Palestine in 1931, Sharon became one of the emerging country's leading architects. By the 1960s, he had already planned more than forty kibbutzim and several major medical centers, including Ichilov in Tel Aviv, Beilinson in Petah Tikva, and Soroka in Beer Sheva (for which he received the nation's highest honour, the Israel Prize for Architecture).<sup>7</sup> Sharon also completed the country's first masterplan, known as the Physical Plan for Israel or the Sharon Plan, which he worked on under the direct supervision of David Ben-Gurion, Israel's first prime minister.<sup>8</sup> In fact, Sharon is often regarded as the nation's top architect.

The pavilion's narrative started by connecting the Jewish people to the land of Israel and continued with life in the diaspora. It emphasized the return to the Promised Land in modern times, to which most of the display space was dedicated.<sup>9</sup> Upon entering the pavilion, visitors encountered an ancient scroll, the Commentary on the Book of Habakkuk, which formed part of the Dead Sea Scrolls that were discovered in caves in the Judean Desert. Initially, the organizers of the display, especially George Him, wanted to show the scroll inside a menorah, the seven-armed candelabrum that was the symbol of the ancient Jewish nation and is the emblem of the State of

Israel's coat of arms. Although they wanted to light the menorah with real flames, the Expo '67 Fire Marshal rejected the idea as it did not conform with the Exposition's safety regulations.<sup>10</sup> Eventually, Jean David and Shmuel Grundman, the artists who designed this section, proposed a case in the shape of a dome, reminiscent of the Shrine of the Book at the Israel Museum in Jerusalem, which was designed by Frederick Kiesler and Armand Bartos to house the Dead Sea Scrolls.<sup>11</sup> In this way, David and Grundman tried to associate the display in Montreal with the dome in Jerusalem.<sup>12</sup>

Displaying the priceless scroll at Expo '67 was one of the very rare occasions when an original scroll was removed from the Shrine of the Book to travel overseas. The scrolls, among the most ancient texts available in Hebrew, are extremely fragile especially when moved. The case that David and Grundman designed to fit on the flat Perspex box on which the scroll was mounted, together with the helium gas that filled the case, were deemed to be secure enough to ensure the scroll's safety. The Israeli government felt it was important to take the risk, implement the proper safety measures and insure the scroll for \$15 million, then a huge sum.<sup>13</sup> David and Grundman were determined to have the scroll travel to Expo '67 because during that period of crisis when Israel's neighbours claimed that its land did not belong to the Jewish people, the scroll provided physical evidence attesting to their connection to the Promised Land. Indeed, the ancient writings drew a lot of attention. *The Toronto Telegram*, a conservative afternoon newspaper, mentioned the exceptionality of the display of the Habakkuk scroll.<sup>14</sup> *The Montreal Star*, Canada's largest circulation newspaper at the time, was also described the scroll as the most interesting item in the entire exposition.<sup>15</sup>

After the scroll, visitors passed an image of Masada that alluded to the Bar Kokhba revolt against Rome in 132 BC and were directed to an ascending ramp. At the top, they arrived at an installation portraying the land of Israel as the country's earliest waves of immigrants first encountered it. In this section, Israel was portrayed as a vacant wilderness. Ascending the ramp symbolized the act of immigration, or *aliyah*, which in Hebrew means literally 'to go up.' The word *aliyah* is used to signify the influx of Jews around the world who immigrated to the land of Israel since the beginning of the Zionist movement in the late nineteenth century. The experience of walking up the ramp was intended to give visitors a sense of elevation upon reaching the section that dealt with the Promised Land. The walls on both sides of the ramp were lined with display cases holding art objects and artifacts, mainly religious in nature, which portrayed Jewish life in the diaspora. Shraga Weil and Naftali Bezem, the artists in charge of this section, were asked to create "a tunnel lead[ing] gently upward; on its walls [were supposed to be] hieratic figures of praying Jews in prayer shawls; these are interspersed with the text; [and] the walls become transparent towards the end of the ramp and, on them, are figures of the pioneers emerging into

Israel.”<sup>16</sup> The whole set-up attempted to associate *Aliyah* with the revival of the old/new land.



The ramp (*Aliyah*) at the Israel Pavilion Expo 67. Arie Sharon Collection, Azrieli Architectural Archive.

On the pavilion's upper level was an installation by the Israeli artist Igaël Tumarkin, which was composed of ready-made parts that had been used for agricultural work. A native of Germany, Tumarkin immigrated to Palestine in 1935 when he was two years old. In this installation, Tumarkin relied on his childhood memories but did not include the Arab villages scattered across Palestine<sup>17</sup>.

In 1967, especially before the Six Day War when the display was planned and installed, Tumarkin, following mainstream Zionist discourse, tended to overlook the existence of these Arab communities. The discourse on Arab villages developed years later when post-Zionist ideas entered the historiography of the creation of Israel, which was reflected in the conceptualization of the display<sup>18</sup>. “We, the people of Israel, have come back to this wasteland because it is the land of our ancestors” indicated a brief on the display from 1965.<sup>19</sup> In his installation, Tumarkin sought to convey the Jewish encounter with a vast and empty expanse, as it was then perceived, while highlighting farming as one means of developing the new promised land. To that end, his installation was located at the entrance to the second floor, while the images on the surrounding walls portrayed Israel as a wilderness needing to be cultivated and nurtured.

In his installation devoted to water, nurturing and cultivation were likewise central concepts deployed by graphic artist and stage designer Dan Reisinger addressed it by celebrating one of the young country's most important national development projects, the National Water Carrier. Stretching 130 kilometers from the Sea of Galilee in the north to Mitzpeh Ramon in the southern desert, the National Water Carrier was completed in 1964.<sup>20</sup> George Him, along with Arie Sharon, thought it timely to present the Water Carrier in the Pavilion, in the context of Syria's assault on Israel's water supply and the fact that the National Water Carrier was a project led by Mekorot, Israel's national water company, founded by Levi Eshkol before he became prime minister. The Water Carrier occupied a central place in the Pavilion, where Reisinger created a kinetic installation reflecting the spirit of its time. In the 1960s, many artists and architects were seeking ways to make art and architecture more dynamic, often using mechanical parts to represent fluidity and movement.<sup>21</sup>

Inspired by these concepts, Reisinger used basic engineering techniques to create moving parts that looked like plants responding to water. The Water Carrier itself was represented by a conglomeration of what appeared to be pipes. A huge concave surface covered in mirrors enhanced the effect of flowing water. In an interview in November 2016, Reisinger recalled that the combination of gears in several sizes and the concave mirror that created reflective images worked to enhance the desired effect. Reisinger worked on both Expo '58 and Expo '67, but the latter presented him with more design possibilities since the exhibition as a whole was thought through in advance and not improvised on site, making it richer in content and modes of display.<sup>22</sup>



Dan Reisinger installation at the Israel Pavilion Expo 67. Arie Sharon Collection, Azrieli Architectural Archive.

Other parts of the Pavilion also aspired to use kinetic parts. In a section dedicated to the revival of the Hebrew language, visitors entered a circular space made up of several curved screens where footage of everyday conversations in Israel was projected. George Him wanted to highlight “the resurrection of Hebrew as a living language with the ensuing blossoming out of Hebrew culture.”<sup>23</sup> This was meant to show that Hebrew could be a fully-functioning modern language for everyday use and not only a biblical one restricted to religious or scholastic purposes. A section depicting the mass immigration that poured into Israel after 1948 featured figures of immigrants from North Africa, Yemen, and Europe who appeared to be moving toward a menorah, superimposed on stylized Israeli flags. Designers Shmuel Grundman and Paul Kor used images “blown up to over life-size and printed on a continuous band of transparent plastic material which moved in front of a luminous screen filling an entire wall.”<sup>24</sup> The effect was magnificent, as many visitors noted.

Israel’s involvement in developing countries in Africa also received special attention in the display. Sharon himself was well-aware of this involvement as he had designed the campus of the University of Ife in Ife, Nigeria, in the early 1960s.<sup>25</sup> Other architects, such as Al Mansfeld, Zalman Einav and Dov Karmi, Zvi Meltzer, and Ram Karmi, were among the Israelis who designed several projects in Africa. Golda Meir, who served as Israel’s foreign minister from the late 1950s through to the mid-1960s, strongly supported Israel’s engagements in Africa. The Expo ‘67 display emphasized the connection between Israel and emerging post-colonial African nations, stressing Israel’s contribution through direct aid and capacity building in the fields of agriculture and irrigation. Thus, the display depicts the young nation of Israel not only as a contributor to the international effort to develop Africa, but also as a regional power capable of exporting knowledge and technologies.

While the Pavilion’s entire display showcased innovative technologies, it did not rely solely on this. A little over a dozen staff called “hostesses” were stationed throughout the pavilion to provide information to visitors. This was a way to activate the display and add a more personal, human touch. From the outset of the Pavilion’s design process, the role of the hostesses was considered a central element, the plan being to position them in the forefront of the pavilion as storytellers. Aside from fluency in Hebrew, English, and French, the storytellers were required to know general history, the history of the Zionist movement, and the history of art and culture so they could narrate and discuss the display.<sup>26</sup> While expressing his gratitude for their work, Yan-nai mentioned in a personal thank-you note to the storytellers that their contribution to the Israel Pavilion’s great success deserved special recognition as they “were in direct contact with the millions that visited the pavilion.”<sup>27</sup> A visitor from New Jersey mentioned that “the warm and courteous hospitality of the Israel Pavilion hostesses, almost overshadowed the deep and varied emotions that the display evoked.”<sup>28</sup>

## The Architecture of the Expo '67 Pavilion

The Pavilion's appeal extended beyond the display to encompass its attention-grabbing architecture, which reflected a changing of the guard, a generational shift both in Sharon's office and in the architectural culture in Israel in general. Initially, only David Resnick was supposed to design the pavilion. Born in Brazil in 1924, Resnick was still a student when he was hired by the firm of Brazilian master architect Oscar Niemeyer, where he worked for four years. In 1958, a decade after he immigrated to Israel, Resnick opened his own practice where he sought ways to express poetic ideas in space.<sup>29</sup> In 1961, he won first prize in the competition for the design of the Israel Pavilion for the 1964 World's Fair in New York. Israel decided to participate in that earlier event even though it was a commercial fair, mainly so the country could showcase its evolving industries.<sup>30</sup>

Resnick, inspired by Niemeyer's advocacy of the curve as a leading geometrical form for architecture, proposed a curvy pavilion with soft edges, smooth walls and flowing spaces.<sup>31</sup> The interior spaces seemed to flow into one another, allowing visitors to pass smoothly from one room to the next. The display also intended to portray the emergence of the new nation and its history. Resnick developed the Pavilion beyond initial conceptual drawings but due to budget constraints, it was never built. In 1964, a committee headed by Yannai and including Arie Sharon, decided to offer Resnick the chance to design the Israel Pavilion at Expo '67 as a sort of consolation prize for not building the pavilion in New York three years earlier.<sup>32</sup> Moreover, they wanted to avoid another round of competition to select an architect when they had already chosen one just a few years before.

Upon receiving the commission, Resnick immediately started working on a design for the Expo '67 Pavilion. Following the ideas that had guided his design for the New York World's Fair, he devised a pavilion based on curvy geometry. He did not relate to the design of an interior space and display, as recommended in the Yannai report. Rather, he mainly focused on the Pavilion's overall shape and its exterior, enhancing the quality of the interior space in relation to the design of the New York Fair pavilion. To that end, Resnick came up with a two-story structure that would be able to accommodate a larger display than the Expo '58 Pavilion, while retaining its spirit.<sup>33</sup> The Expo '67 pavilion's curvy shapes dictated the circulation, which was designed to be continuous and fluid. Resnick placed an auditorium, a feature that was missing in the Pavilion at the Brussels 1958 World's Fair, at the heart of the building. For the roof, he used inclined and circular surfaces that accentuated the sculptural nature of the Pavilion.

Resnick continued well into 1967 with the design of the curvy pavilion, even after Sharon, who had been on the advisory committee for the 1964 Pavilion, became part

of the Expo '67 design team. It is still unclear why Sharon was asked to join the team, but he brought with him his son, Eldar, who had finished his architectural studies a few years earlier at Technion – Israel Institute of Technology in Haifa and joined his father's firm in 1964. Initially, Sharon and his son accepted Resnick's design and contributed to its development. Soon enough, however, Eldar pushed Resnick aside and took charge of the project. Indeed, while documents related to the planning of the pavilion show that all three architects – Arie Sharon, David Resnick, and Eldar Sharon – were involved in the design process, it is clear that Eldar was the dominant designer of the version that was eventually built.<sup>34</sup>

Before joining his father's firm in 1964, Eldar worked with his professor at Technion, Alfred Neumann, and his classmate Zvi Hecker. Neumann was a leading proponent of morphological exploration in architecture in Israel.<sup>35</sup> The three architects – Neumann, Hecker and Eldar Sharon – designed two major buildings based on structural morphology: Dubiner House, an apartment building in Ramat Gan, and the Bat Yam City Hall, both completed in 1963.<sup>36</sup> After joining his father's firm, Eldar transformed the architectural language of Sharon's work. Before Eldar's involvement, Arie Sharon's work mainly referred to modernist architectural concepts, but given Eldar's training under Prof. Neumann, the firm's work became high modernist, reflecting ideas stemming from structuralism and morphology.



Bat Yam City Hall, Architects: Neumann, Hecker and Eldar Sharon. Arie Sharon Collection, Azrieli Architectural Archive.

It is no wonder that the Expo '67 Pavilion's design changed once Eldar joined the team. He urged the use of angulated, zigzag surfaces, based on the morphological principles he had developed with Neumann and Hecker.<sup>37</sup> The design was based on a hexagonal grid that provided organizing principles for both the pavilion's exterior and interior. This design methodology, in many ways, reflected that used in the design of the Dubiner House and the Bat Yam City Hall. Eldar believed that systemizing the geometry would make it easier to assemble the pavilion and mount the display.<sup>38</sup> Indeed, in several sketches, Eldar sought ways to design the building's exterior in such a way as to make it lightweight, easy to assemble and dismantle, while retaining its visual appeal.

After researching the available technologies, the three architects concluded that all the panels forming the Pavilion's exterior should be fabricated from reinforced polystyrene, with joints designed to allow for rapid assembly.<sup>39</sup> Several engineering companies assisted the architects in developing the Pavilion's structural plan. The Company *Schechter, Bravzki and Forte* was in charge of the structural engineering and the Ottawa-based *Ron Engineering Company*, headed by Zeev Vered, was in charge of developing the structure.<sup>40</sup> Both companies were responsible for executing the building; they came up with several solutions to simplify the structure and cut construction costs. Faced with a limited budget and the complexity of the Pavilion's shape, the engineers' solutions were the key to making the building realizable. The panels were manufactured in Israel and the pavilion was partly assembled in a test run at the Tel Aviv fairground. The display itself was fully assembled at the fairground, dismantled, then shipped to Montreal. Yannai, who thought the display must be devised before the Pavilion's structure, wanted to make sure it indeed worked as intended.

The exquisite morphology of the Pavilion's exterior did more than simply provide a solution for the structural and practical challenges. The three architects made the design especially intricate so as to enhance the Pavilion's visual impact. It was located on two adjoining lots, one that had initially been allocated to the Israeli Pavilion and an adjacent plot that had been intended for the Greek Pavilion. A skilled negotiator, Arie Sharon, convinced the Expo '67 organizing committee that Israel needed more space, and the organizers moved the Greek Pavilion to another lot.<sup>41</sup> Now, the northern side of the Israel Pavilion was surrounded by the St. Lawrence River, while the monorail that ran through the entire exposition allowed passengers to view the pavilion from almost all angles, and best from above.



The Israel Pavilion, Expo 67, and the monorail. Arie Sharon Collection, Azrieli Architectural Archive.

The architects, who were well-aware of this fact and had already speculated about the role of the roof in Resnick's initial design proposal, invested much thought in the design of the roof to make its plasticity more apparent. Consequently, in contrast to the glass-clad pavilion at Expo '58 that fully exposed its interiority in the modernist tradition, the 1967 Pavilion was opaque and its interior remained hidden. The high modernist design of its exterior exemplified the crystal-influenced architecture of the time. It sought justification for the design not in the functional rationality of modernist architecture, but in the rational systems that science provides us for the creation of architecture. Crystals and gems, on the one hand, and beehives and ant tunnels, on the other, were among the scientific references that architects used to devise their designs in this period.<sup>42</sup> Thus, similar to other pavilions at Expo '67 (arguably, the most significant of these was the American Pavilion designed by Buckminster Fuller as a tetrahedron-based biosphere), the reference to science was an attempt to combine science, art, and culture – namely, architecture. The history of the Jewish people was now being recounted under a scientific umbrella.

Arie Sharon, David Resnick and Eldar Sharon believed their design was state-of-the-art architecture. Indeed, in comparison to the ideas then prevalent in the global architectural discourse, their design of the pavilion was unique. It drew upon a structuralist approach to architectural creation based on systems that would dictate the organizing principles of a building's formal appearance, sometimes even at the expense of its functionality. Many professional architectural journals commended the Pavilion. Forrest Wilson, writing in *Progressive Architecture*, praised its innovative use of geometry and the French journal *L'Architecture d'Aujourd'hui* applauded the pavilion for its ingenuity.<sup>43</sup>

Today, half a century after it was built, the Israel Pavilion at Expo '67 reflects a nation that tried to advance two narratives which, on the surface, might seem contradic-

tory. One was the historical narrative of the Jewish people and their centuries-old connection to the land of Israel; the other was a thoroughly modern narrative of innovation and ingenuity, as expressed by the Pavilion's architecture.



Speculating about the pavilion's roof, architects: Arie Sharon, David Resnick and Eldar Sharon. Arie Sharon Collection, Azrieli Architectural Archive.

The architectural scholar Inderbir Singh Riar posited in his illuminating research on Expo '67 that the exposition was a ground, or even a battleground, upon which multiple narratives played.<sup>44</sup> Ultimately, the exposition advanced narratives about humanism. Its main theme was Man and his World and the various pavilions attempted to elaborate on this relationship. The exhibition also promoted ideas about structural innovation and habitation as shown in Moshe Safdie's Habitat '67.<sup>45</sup> In this groundbreaking project, Safdie examined the use of prefabrication and assemblage of architectural parts to create homes. Technological salvation was tested in the Biosphere, the geodesic dome that Buckminster Fuller engineered for the U.S. Pavilion.<sup>46</sup> Fuller believed that the dome could offer solutions for environmental challenges by regulating the relationship between interior and exterior spaces. Expo '67 also dealt with global citizenship, various aspects of which were examined in almost all the national pavilions. They expressed the desire to create a peaceful and unified world in the aftermath of World War II. For Riar, each of these themes reflected the optimism of late modernity in the postwar years.

In 1967, just short of its 20<sup>th</sup> birthday, the rapidly developing state of Israel contributed to the exposition yet another narrative, one that could also be attributed to the optimism of late modernity. This narrative dealt with the concept that originality cannot be achieved without addressing and acknowledging one's origins, as an individual and a nation. In a moment when Israel faced various geopolitical threats, the Pavilion attempted to weave together the past and present of the Jewish people, through a design that was the product of cutting-edge architectural technology. It was a synthesis of the ancient and the modern.

In the wake of the Six Day War and Israel's takeover of territories in the West Bank, the Sinai Peninsula, and the Golan Heights, Israelis' attitude toward the land changed. After Expo '67, subsequent Israel Pavilions at various international fairs were transformed. While the narrative of the return of the Jewish people to the Promised Land did prevail at Expo '70 in Osaka, Japan, Expo '92 in Spain, Expo '98 in Portugal and Expo 2000 in Germany, this narrative diminished over the years. Today, given the complexity of the Israeli-Palestinian conflict, Israel no longer addresses the topic of land and nationhood at international expositions. Narratives about technology and innovation have completely taken over instead. Israel's position in the world of high-tech and its global identity as the "Startup Nation" now form the centerpiece of the country's international displays and the pavilions that accommodate them.<sup>47</sup> This was the case at Expo 2010 in Shanghai and again at Expo 2015 in Milan.

Designed by Israeli architect Haim Dotan, the Israel Pavilion for Expo 2010 related to the Chinese concept of Yin and Yang.<sup>48</sup> The building was composed of two parts: an opaque section made of bricks and a transparent one made of glass. The two parts seemed to complete one another, creating a yin-and-yang symbol. The display within did not dwell on national or territorial issues, but instead celebrated Israel's prowess in the technology of minimization. The cherry tomato and the USB flash drive, both Israeli inventions, were at the center of the display, highlighting the ingenuity of Israeli technology. The portrayed concept was thus: Israel, a small country, minimizes things while China, a very large country, makes them bigger. In 2015, the Israel Pavilion in Milan celebrated sustainability, agriculture and nutrition. Designed by Israeli architect David Kanfo, the Pavilion featured a vertical field made of fully recyclable materials. The display inside dealt with the same issues as its exteriority.<sup>49</sup>

Expo '67 was a turning-point for Israel. It took place when Israel began the process of transforming from a small and developing country into a regional superpower. The '67 Israel Pavilion – unique and dear to everyone involved in its creation – was launched at a pivotal moment in the nation's history, underscoring the realities of a fledgling nation before it would be transformed for good. In 1967, Israel could still dwell on the connection of the Jewish people to the land, the creation of new cities and development of new industries. In the context of the country's enduring territorial and geopolitical conflicts in the Middle East, the Israel Pavilions now tell a different story.

**1**

In a ceremony held on 23 May 1967 at the Israel Pavilion at Expo '67, the President of Israel, Zalman Shazar, mentioned the importance of Israel's participation in the exposition as a means of displaying the achievements of your nations. Oral recording available from [https://archive.org/details/ybc-fbr-668\\_4667/01-668.wav](https://archive.org/details/ybc-fbr-668_4667/01-668.wav).

**2**

Speech by Levi Eshikol to the Knesset, 17 January 1967, available from [https://www.knesset.gov.il/review/data/heb/plenum/kns6\\_170167.pdf](https://www.knesset.gov.il/review/data/heb/plenum/kns6_170167.pdf).

**3**

Eli Ashkenazi, "When Rabin Warned: Israel's Existence Might Be in Danger". *Walla-News*, 4 June, 2015. Available from <http://news.walla.co.il/item/2860663>.

**4**

Speech by Yaacov Yannai, "Israel at Expo '67 – Concluding remarks", Azrieli Architectural Archive: Arie Sharon Collection (965000000532\_09\_33\_009), page 2.

**5**

Collette Avital in an interview conducted on November 2016.

**6**

Speech by Yaacov Yannai, "Israel at Expo '67 – Concluding remarks", Azrieli Architectural Archive: Arie Sharon Collection (965000000532\_09\_33\_009), page 3.

**7**

See Arie Sharon's *Kibbutz+Bauhaus: Arie Sharon, the Way of an Architect* (Tel Aviv: Mifalim Universitaim, 1978), and *Hospitals in Israel and the Developing Countries*. (Jerusalem: Weidenfeld and Nicolson, 1972).

**8**

Arie Sharon, "Planning in Israel", *Town Planning Review*, Issue no.23.1 (1952): 66.

**9**

Description (of the display) by George Him, Israel State Archive, 10915/13 C (gimmel), pages 1-9.

**10**

George Him, *The Genesis of the Pavilion*, Azrieli Architectural Archive: Arie Sharon Collection (965000000532\_09\_33\_007), page 5.

**11**

Adolfo Roitman, *The history, architecture, and symbolism of the Shrine of the Book* (Tel Aviv: Israel Museum, 1997).

**12**

Ibid.

**13**

"*Dead Sea Scroll Leaves Israel for Montreal Fair; Heavily Insured*", 4 April 1967, *Jewish Telegraphic Agency*.

**14**

*The Israel Pavilion in the American, Canadian, and British Newspapers*, Azrieli Architectural Archive: Arie Sharon Collection (965000000532\_09\_33\_011), page 2.

**15**

Ibid.

**16**

George Him, *The Genesis of the Pavilion*, Azrieli Architectural Archive: Arie Sharon Collection (965000000532\_09\_33\_007) page 1.

**17**

Avigdor Posèq, *Igaël Tumarkin: A Study of His Imagery* (Jerusalem: Hebrew University of Jerusalem, 2010).

**18**

Haim Yacobi, "Architecture, orientalism, and identity: the politics of the Israeli-Built environment", *Israel Studies* Issue no. 13.1 (2008): 94-118.

**19**

Yaacov Yannai, "Israel at Expo '67", page 1.

**20**

Shmuel Kantor, former chief engineer of Mekorot, Israel's national water company, describes the history of the Israel National Water Carrier in <http://research.haifa.ac.il/~eshkol/kantorb.html>.

**21**

Frank Malina, *Kinetic art: theory and practice: Selections from the journal Leonardo* (Dover Publications, 1974).

**22**

Dan Reisinger in an interview conducted in November 2016.

**23**

George Him, "Themes for Montreal: Repost on Exploratory Meeting", 4 November 1964, Azrieli Architectural Archive: Arie Sharon Collection, (96500000532\_09\_33\_006), page 1.

**24**

George Him, *The Genesis of the Pavilion*, Azrieli Architectural Archive: Arie Sharon Collection (96500000532\_09\_33\_007), page 7.

**25**

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See images of Resnick's initial proposal in Azrieli Architectural Archive, Arie Sharon Collection: 96500000532\_09\_001\_032 and 96500000532\_09\_002\_032.

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Resnick constantly complained that he was left out of the discussion regarding the design of the pavilion and its display in public circumstances. For example, in a letter sent to Yaacov Yannai on 11 January 1966, he complained that he was not invited to all meetings related to the pavilion design, Israel State Archive, 10918/08 C (gimmel), page 1.

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