

Introduction

In the summer of 1931, Leo Kaufmann traveled from Mandatory Palestine to Berlin as a representative of the Histadrut (General Federation of Jewish Labour in Palestine) to visit the *German Building Exhibition (Deutsche Bauausstellung)*. Kaufmann, a senior member of the Central Office for Urban Workers' Settlement (later Shikun, the Histadrut building company), visited the exhibition for three weeks and reported his impressions in two long articles, published in *Davar*, the Histadrut daily newspaper.¹

The *German Building Exhibition* displayed some of the latest architectural and building achievements of German and international exhibitors.² Eighteen European countries participated, and the small Jewish community of Eretz Israel was one of the five non-European participants. Eretz Israel was represented by the Histadrut, which exhibited five cooperative workers' residential neighborhoods.³

In his articles, Kaufmann reviewed in detail the different sections, with special emphasis on housing exhibitions: *The International Exhibition for Urban Planning and Housing (Internationale Ausstellung für Städtebau und Wohnungswesen)* and *Dwelling of Our Time (Die Wohnung unserer Zeit)*. Being a Histadrut member himself, his descriptions and explanations reflected a socialist perspective. He praised the exhibited German working-class neighborhoods and their institutions and cooperatives, comparing them to those of Eretz Israel. With pride, he declared that the houses of the cooperative neighborhoods displayed in the Eretz Israel section cost less than any other houses exhibited, awakened great interest, and elicited positive reviews in the local newspapers.⁴ A contemporary German-Jewish daily mentioned that Joseph Neufeld, an Eretz Israel architect, also visited the exhibition.⁵ All this indicates that the latest developments and ideas presented in international housing exhibitions found their way to Palestine without delay.

In Eretz Israel, lively architectural debates went on about the design of modern local residences. The intensive housing construction of the early 1930s spurred all those involved to research this issue. All the bodies engaged in planning and construction in Eretz Israel, such as the Jewish Agency, the construction companies (Shikun and RASSCO), the Association of Engineers and Architects in Eretz Israel (referred to below as the Association) and The Architects' Circle (a group of prominent modernist architects in Tel Aviv), engaged in developing housing types that would meet the needs of the new Jewish community in Eretz Israel. The discourse on residential planning typically included extensive writings by architects and engineers, including recommended ways to cope with the local climate and the use of local materials. Theoretical and concrete architectural competitions were held, and their results, as well as related articles, appeared in the Circle's journal, *Habin-*

jan Bamisrah Hakarov (*Building in the Near East*, issued between 1934 and 1938), in the journal of the Association, and in lectures and professional conferences.⁶ Among these competitions were *The Minimal House* for an ideal apartment-building flat organized by Shikun (1935), *The Growing House* organized by the Jewish Agency (1944) and the concrete competitions for new neighborhoods such as Meonot Ovdim, organized by the Histadrut, and Kiryat Meir, organized by Kupat Am Bank and Tel Aviv municipality (1935, both in Tel Aviv). As might be expected, issues of housing planning were also included in building and architectural exhibitions held in Palestine.

In the late 1920s and early 1930s, housing exhibitions were a major means of spreading new trends and promoting an innovative architecture that introduced fresh social, health and technological ideas. Housing exhibitions such as *Bauhausausstellung* in Weimar (1923), displaying the *Haus am Horn*, *Die Wohnung* in Stuttgart (1927), displaying the *Weissenhofsiedlung*, *Sonne, Luft und Haus für Alle!* in Berlin (1932), displaying *Das wachsende Haus*, and the housing section at the *Stockholm Exhibition 1930*, were a platform for architects to present their solutions for homes and neighborhoods free of direct pressures of clients or residents. Exhibitions allowed new ideas and solutions to emerge freely, and offered visitors and potential residents an opportunity to experience space and functionality.⁷

This article discusses the characteristics of five building and architectural exhibitions held in Palestine between 1934 and 1944. It explores the ways in which these exhibitions enriched the local housing discourse and their influence, if any, on the actual planning of housing projects.

The Search for New Building Materials and Methods

The first building exhibition in Palestine opened in Tel Aviv in 1934 as part of the *Levant Fair*, a series of trade exhibitions held in Palestine since 1923.⁸ The private company Mischar w'Taasia (Commerce and Industry), which organized the fairs, aimed to foster international economic and commercial ties with the Middle East, to promote local Jewish industrial production, and attract capital and entrepreneurs to Eretz Israel. Setting up building exhibitions within the *Levant Fairs* was in line with the general purpose of promoting new knowledge on construction in Palestine.

The 1934 *Levant Fair* was the first set up in the new permanent fairgrounds (Fig. 1). Its pavilions had a prominent modern look, and the building exhibition section aimed to represent and promote the idea that underlay them, i.e. modern architecture and modern technology.⁹ The exhibition displayed new building materials, both imported and locally produced, such as insulation sheets, waterproof concrete and iron structures, all designed to improve the quality of the buildings.

Before the opening of the *Levant Fair*, its chief engineer Willi Weltsch¹⁰ published a comprehensive article in which he explained the importance of building full size model homes for the development of construction methods in Palestine:

The model village to be built in the exhibition, whose houses will be each built after a different particular method, will enable getting acquainted with new building methods through actual examples, as well as learning and examining them. The interested [observer] will be able to form an opinion about these methods based on a complete house, and the barrier that until now has blocked the way to using them will really fall down.¹¹



1 The Levant Fair's grounds, 1934, Tel Aviv. The building exhibition's four small pavilions are located at the fairground's edge (on the right, next to the stadium)

Weltsch's intention to illustrate different construction methods in model houses indicates his wish to highlight the issue of residential building in Eretz Israel through the exhibition. Full-size models were quite common in contemporary housing exhibitions in Europe. In the exhibition *The Dwelling of our Time*, model houses were built, and the exhibited interior spaces – kitchens, living rooms and bedrooms – were fully equipped with furniture and appliances, offering the visitors a realistic sensation and good understanding of the home space, the building materials, and the interior finish. The winning proposals of *The Growing House* competition, which was part of the exhibition *Sun, Air, and Houses for All*, were also built in full size.

Weltsch's plan, however, did not materialize, and the model houses were never built. The small building exhibition finally consisted of a few modest pavilions built at the northern edge of the fairgrounds, each designed to introduce a different, mostly locally produced, building material. It had no prominence in the fair, and did not engage in residential planning issues.

The Association as well as prominent architects participated in the organizing committee of the next building exhibition of the *Levant Fair* in 1936, probably wishing the exhibition to be an important professional one (in fact, the only one) in Palestine. Among the committee members were also representatives of various professional construction bodies such as the Contractors' Organization, construction companies and building materials traders. Jacob Schiffman, Tel Aviv's city engineer, was the exhibition president. In the exhibition catalog, he described its importance to the development of housing in Eretz Israel: «Residential buildings make about eighty percent [!] of the overall construction in the country, and basing this activity on solid foundations is a public obligation, for the well-being of the population.»¹² Indeed, the idea of building a full size house was finally realized. The Worker's House followed the model of private homes built in 1936 by Shikun in Kiryat Avoda (now the city of Holon), then a new workers' neighborhood. The model built for the exhibition was of the type commonly built in suburban workers' neighborhoods: A one-family flat-roof house with three rooms and a kitchen, a bathroom and a toilet. It was made almost completely from building materials produced in Eretz Israel.

Although this exhibition's contents were more developed, Schiffman expressed disappointment at its failure to comprehensively resolve housing issues: «Unfortunately, several important issues that could have been included in a well-organized

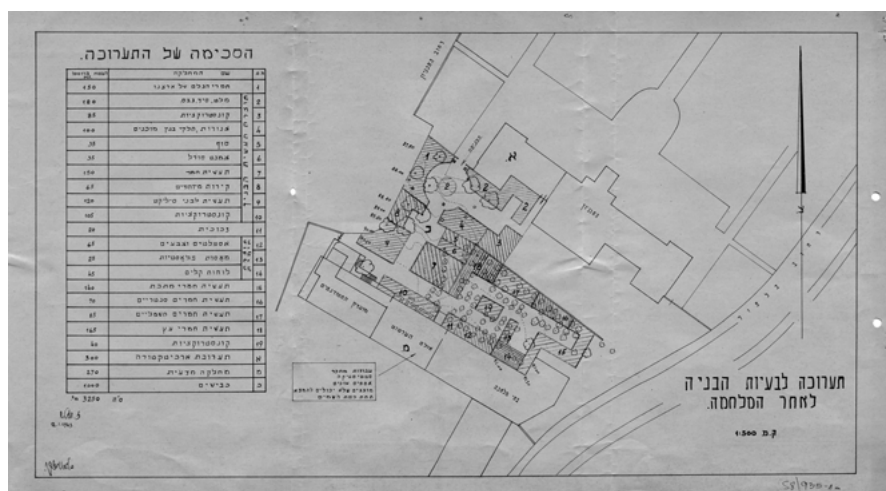
building exhibition will not find sufficient expression».¹³ Even though the Association and prominent architects took part in organizing the 1936 exhibition, its scope remained limited, and once again it was mainly dedicated to local building materials.

The Arab Revolt of 1936–1939 in Palestine and the outbreak of World War II broke off the sequence of bi-annual *Levant Fairs* and their building exhibitions. The severe wartime shortage in building materials brought construction in Eretz Israel to an almost complete halt. This afforded local engineers and architects time for research. In 1943, the Association opened the *Exhibition of Wartime and Postwar Building Issues* with the support of the British Mandate government, the Jewish Agency, Haifa Municipality, and the Hebrew Technion in Haifa, the first technical university in Eretz Israel. The purpose of the exhibition was to prepare for the post-war period, and propose solutions for the massive building that would be required to accommodate the envisaged inflow of immigrants. According to Schiffman, Tel Aviv alone was 20,000 rooms short at that time.¹⁴

Engineer Moshe Ladijensky, president of the Association, emphasized these issues in his opening speech:

We are currently suffering from a shortage of apartments, and this shortage will grow once the war is over. It is imperative that many houses be built to improve the situation [...]. The issue of construction after the war [...] will involve many complex interrelated problems – political, economic, social, administrative and planning problems. [...] Whatever our work plan will be, the question will always stand: Which building materials we should use and what building methods we should adopt.¹⁵

The exhibition covered an area of about 3,000 sqm in the Technion campus (Fig. 2). Again, the central and most innovative display was that of building materials. It presented alternatives for the building methods commonly used in Eretz Israel, which mainly used imported building materials, and showed creative experiments with local substitutes, such as reed walls, plastic made of citrus rinds, and basalt electric isolators. For the first time in Eretz Israel, fluorescent lighting was introduced, and planning instructions were given for electrical lighting in apartments, streets and



2 Willi Weltsch, *Exhibition of Wartime and Postwar Building Issues*, 1943, Fairgrounds' plan, Technion, Haifa

roads (Fig. 3).¹⁶ A call was issued to local engineers urging them to plan structural elements made of local materials, such as roofs that did not use imported iron or wood. According to Weltsch, most of the proposed elements used arches and domes that cut down the use of armed steel and were prefabricated, making redundant the use of wooden molds for concrete casting. Examples of these structural elements were displayed on a full-size scale (Fig. 4). However, despite the organizers' keen awareness of the pressing need for housing, their primary concern with specific issues such as lighting, creative building materials, or new roofing methods, prevented a broader view of the desired nature of new dwellings in Eretz Israel.

The Search for Plans

In addition to the mentioned housing competitions of the 1930s and 1940s, theoretical competitions were also held within building exhibitions. The topic of the competition *Urban Housing* held within the 1936 *Levant Fair* exhibition indicated the growing importance of the city. Despite the Zionist ideological and practical support of agricultural settlements, in 1933, for example, 60% of the new immigrants settled in Tel Aviv.¹⁷ This trend continued and in 1939, about 70% of the total



3 Main hall of the Exhibition of Wartime and Postwar Building Issues (on the left side is the electricity stand lit by fluorescent light)



4 Construction elements in the Exhibition of Wartime and Postwar Building Issues

Jewish community lived in cities. Three apartment categories participated in the competition: a one-family house, a row-house, and a three-floor apartment house. The jury included prominent local architects: Alexander Klein, Jacob Schiffman, Dov Karmi, Fritz Kornberg and Yohanan Ratner. Its results were announced in a detailed report published in *Habinjan Bamisrah Hakarov*, which included explanations by jury chairman Alexander Klein.¹⁸

In a competition held within the 1943 exhibition under the motto «Material, Shape, Landscape», the architects were required to plan residences to suit the different landscapes of Eretz Israel. Three planning categories were included: a semi-detached house, a two-floor four-family house, and a category of improvements and changes in city-planning laws. The architects had to plan a small apartment (50 sqm) and a large apartment (58 sqm) in each of the first two categories. In accordance with this broad theme, the participants had considerable freedom in choosing the location, the shape of the lot and the environment. Max Lev, one of the judges, expressed his frustration at the fact that the ongoing discussion of issues related to minimal apartment planning in Eretz Israel has not yielded any clear conclusions:

The opinion was expressed that the problem of planning small apartments, which was the topic of the competition, meant «treading water», and that nothing interesting and new can be made in it. The results of these competitions prove that the planning problem continues to be rehashed and we are still far from formulating a solid shape.¹⁹

With regard to the urban apartment building (the second category in the competition), Lev argued that none of the submitted proposals was convincing, and that the issue must be further researched. He stated that there are many different views about the plan of an apartment.²⁰ No first prizes were awarded in any of the categories, indicating that the results were probably not acceptable. It appears that despite the intensive debate about residential planning in Eretz Israel – the numerous competitions, articles and conferences – the architects' community had not formed one clear opinion about the plan type that would best suit life in Eretz Israel.

The Search for an Architectural Style

In addition to building exhibitions, two other architectural exhibitions were held in Palestine in the 1940s. The first, *Twenty Years of Building*, organized by the Histadrut, was opened in Tel Aviv in 1940 and was true to its title – it exhibited twenty years (1920–1940) of Histadrut building.²¹ The second, *Architecture in Palestine*, organized by the Architects' division of the Association, gave an overall picture of building in Palestine. It was opened in 1944 in the highly prestigious Habimah Theater in Tel Aviv, and all the local planning bodies participated in it: the Jewish Agency, the Mandatory Public Works Department, the Healthcare Fund (Kupat Holim), municipalities of large cities – Tel Aviv, Haifa and Jerusalem – but also those of Petah Tikva, Herzliya, and Hadera, as well as some seventy independent architects that responded to the call published in the press. The two exhibitions broadly described the state of building in Palestine using photos, architectural drawings, and even several models. Both traveled later to Jerusalem and Haifa.

The central issue explored in the exhibition *Architecture in Palestine* was that of forging a local architectural style. As the exhibition committee wrote: «We have come a long way in our efforts to attain an architectural homeland. [...] In this exhibition we wish [...] to determine our architectural path and demonstrate the

creative power of the architects [...]».²² Indeed, Dr. Haim Gamzu, the art and theater critic of the daily *Haaretz*, wrote that the exhibition might be seen as summarizing different explorations «towards what may become, in time, the architectural style of the country».²³

The exhibition catalog reveals that the Association did not give particular attention to residential aspects. Although the building companies Shikun and RASSCO exhibited apartment buildings and neighborhoods, and a section was dedicated to «housing and dwelling problems», the exhibition had no central theme. Given that housing made a major part of the overall building in Palestine, it naturally had a prominent place among the architects' exhibited projects. In spite of this, few displays dealt with actual problems of residential planning, and even those that did, dedicated to it just a few photos or drawings. For example, Dora and Yehezkel Gad were the only ones to address the important question discussed in Europe of the 1920s – planning apartments for single women – in their *Drawings for a Woman's Apartment*. The Electricity Company exhibited three types of electrical kitchens in the wake of the intensive European discourse on the rational kitchen. This was done for clear commercial considerations meant to promote the marketing of electrical appliances in Eretz Israel, and increase private power consumption.²⁴ Press coverage of housing at the exhibition dwelt on architectural style only: «One and all tell the same story, namely that there are actually two types of settlements houses, the cube, pure and simple, and the cube topped by a pyramid-shaped red roof. They always gave a «pre-fabricated» impression.»²⁵

Issues related to housing made about one third of the exhibition *Twenty Years of Building*, and included drawings of different house types in kibbutzim, moshavim (cooperative agricultural communities) and urban workers' neighborhoods (Fig. 5, 6). As a socialist organization, the Histadrut wished to introduce its building plans to all potential users and get their feedbacks:

Many settlers and kibbutzim members ponder over [various] questions, and look for ways to improve construction, and although their opinions are highly valuable they only reach the public coincidentally. We are therefore sure that many who have not yet considered these issues will have something to say (or ask!) after they visit the building exhibition.²⁶ The comprehensive exhibition catalog included articles that dealt with the displayed topics, and has been an important source of research information to this day. The question of the appropriate architectural style for a Histadrut building was also raised in this exhibition: «Tiled roof or concrete roof? Square or broken shape for a modest house in the country?»²⁷

Thus, although the exhibitions addressed general housing topics, they were both retrospective in nature. They did not offer any solutions for burning questions, nor did they display any thinking outside the box in matters related to housing plans.

Contribution of the Exhibitions to the Housing Discourse and Planning

The *Exhibition of Wartime and Postwar Building Issues* in the Technion campus in Haifa was open for six weeks, during which 7,000 people visited it, including organized groups of professionals and experts.²⁸ The exhibition *Architecture in Palestine* attracted 4,000 visitors in Tel Aviv alone.²⁹ Many of the local exhibitions' organizers were German-born architects and engineers, or ones that had studied and worked in Germany, were familiar with German and other building exhibitions, and could lean on them for inspiration and information in their work in Eretz Israel.³⁰ As



5, 6 *Twenty Years of Building*, Display, Residential buildings in a Moshav and a Kibbutz, 1940, Tel Aviv, Photographer: Yizhak Kalter

already mentioned, information about those exhibitions was also provided by visitors from the professional community in Palestine. Nevertheless, the exhibitions held in Eretz Israel did not have the same impact as the German and other European models.

Various contemporary writings imply that the organizers' great ambitions often did not match the actual situation. For example, the houses planned to demonstrate full-size models at the 1934 *Levant Fair* building exhibition were never built. As far as is known, the architectural competition promised in the 1934 fair's advertisements and in earlier press reports did not materialize. The opening of the 1936 *Levant Fair* was put at risk by the Arab Revolt that had begun a few weeks earlier. The revolt narrowed the scope of the exhibition and impaired the judgment procedure of the announced housing competition. Evidence of this is the apology included in a report that explained the competition's results: «Due to the recent events, the jury members were unable to apply a more accurate and sophisticated method in reviewing and evaluating the plans, and had to make do with a simpler – albeit definitely sufficient – review.»³¹

A report on the exhibition *Architecture in Palestine* in Jerusalem spared no words in criticizing the inadequate organization:

The wealth of materials is almost embarrassing, but the exhibition as such could have been far better [...] arranged, especially by architects. The visitor has to grope his way through a labyrinth of cabins and cabinets [...]. It is also regrettable that an exhibition of this type, appealing as it [was] done to all sections of the population, should not have consistently captioned the exhibits in two languages.³²

Thus, despite the high expectations and good will, the exhibitions did not develop and grow. They displayed new materials and modern building methods, and hosted conferences and lectures, but their contribution to the housing discourse was apparently minor. In Eretz Israel exhibitions, a full-size house model was built only once, and more importantly, specific planning issues were not addressed. The two-dimensional displays – drawings of architectural plans and photos – limited the ability of visitors or even of the planners themselves to explore planning issues. Their scope was wide and they did not explore in depth any specific issues. For example, the exhibitions, much like the professional theoretical discourse, did not examine ideas related to the «new household» and the «rational kitchen» as part of the domestic sphere planning. While the building materials' exhibitions and the

displayed buildings methods were comprehensive and innovative, they did not focus on actual building of residential houses.

Of all the bodies involved in construction, the Histadrut should be applauded for its pioneering activity in the field of building exhibitions: It was the only Eretz Israel organization to participate in the building exhibition in Berlin as well as in all the local exhibitions, and to organize a large exhibition of its own. In his report of the building exhibition in Berlin, Kaufmann expressed his disappointment at the lack of interest in participating in the exhibition on the part of Zionist departments and planning bodies:

The Eretz Israel section was very small. This is to be regretted, since Eretz Israel undoubtedly had something to show for in an international building exhibition. [...] However, the bodies (the Jewish Agency management, municipal technical departments, the Engineers and Architects Association, the executive committee of the Histadrut, etc.), whose task it was to organize the Eretz Israel pavilion properly, did not show sufficient enthusiasm, and the Eretz Israel section was reduced to mainly displaying the urban workers' neighborhood of the Histadrut.³³

The lack of interest of Zionist institutions and planning bodies in organizing local exhibitions was presumably the outcome of several reasons: absence of a central exhibition authority and lack of collaboration between the different planning bodies, nonexistent building-exhibition tradition in the architectural culture in Palestine, and financing problems. It is quite possible that advancing immediate housing solutions was a pressing priority that dictated speedy low-cost building. In contrast, organizing exhibitions was perceived as far from indispensable – although favorable – in times of crisis. Evidence of the minor importance attributed to exhibitions is their very scant documentation. The archives contain but few exhibition photos and plans, as against the broad and extensive visual documentation of the local architecture of the time.³⁴

Despite the relatively large number of building exhibitions held in Eretz Israel between 1934 and 1944, and even though most of them included residential building, they had a minor impact on promoting residential planning for the Jewish community. In spite of the developed theoretical discourse, the need to come up with immediate, practical, and above all inexpensive solutions became a priority that took center stage. Together with the geo-political circumstances, this prevented the exhibitions from making a significant contribution to developing comprehensive housing solutions.

Notes

1 Leo Kaufmann, The International Building Exhibition in Berlin, in: *Davar*, 21 January 1932, p. 2; 25 January 1932, p. 2-3 (in Hebrew).

2 Matilda McQuaid, *Lilly Reich. Designer and Architect*, exh. cat., The Museum of Modern Art New York, 1996, p. 26-34.

3 Five cooperative neighborhoods were exhibited with plans and photos: A workers' neighborhood in Haifa; Borochov neighborhood, east of Tel Aviv (the first urban workers' neighborhood in Eretz Israel, 1922); the urban commune Ramat Rachel in Jerusalem (1921); Alef

- workers' neighborhood in north Tel Aviv (1929); a workers' housing cooperative in Tel Aviv (the first Meonot Ovdim, 1931).
- 4 Kaufmann 1932, p. 3 (as Note 1). See also Leo Kaufmann, Letter to the executive committee of the Histadrut, 30 December 1931, Tel Aviv, Lavon Institute for Labour Movement Research, IV-208-1-284A.
 - 5 Berliner Kalender in: *Juedische Rundschau*, 26 Juni 1931, No. 49/50, p. 308.
 - 6 *Habinjan Bamisrah Hakarov*, issue dedicated to apartment houses in Eretz Israel, 1936, no. 9/10, November; *Habinjan*, issue dedicated to private houses, 1937, no. 2, November. Another example gives the conference *Problems of Organized Housing*, organized by the Histadrut Union of Engineers, Architects and Surveyors in Eretz Israel, 27–29 April 1944, Tel Aviv.
 - 7 Frederique van Andel, Housing in times of crises, in: *Housing Exhibition. DASH (Delft Architectural Studies on Housing)*, 2013, no. 9, ed. by Dick van Gameren, Frederique van Andel, Noud de Vreeze, Sandra Wagner-Conzelmann, Lucy Creagh, p. 4-17.
 - 8 These trade expositions were initially known as *Exhibitions for the Promotion of Goods Made in Eretz Israel (Totzeret Ha'aretz)* and were renamed *The Levant Fair (Yerid Hamizrach)* in 1932.
 - 9 Sigal Davidi, The 'New Architecture' of the 1934 Levant Fair: Constructing Identity for Jewish Society in Mandatory Palestine, in: *The Transfer of Modernity: Architectural Modernism in Palestine 1923–1948*, ed. by Jörg Stabenow a. Ronny Schüler, Berlin 2018, p. 151-164.
 - 10 Roland Jaeger a. Sigal Davidi, Der Bauingenieur Willy Weltsch: Von Hamburg nach Haifa, in: *Architektur in Hamburg, Jahrbuch 2019/20*, ed. by Hamburgische Architektenkammer, p. 219-229.
 - 11 Willi Weltsch, Technical options to make construction cheaper, in: *Ha'aretz*, 24 January 1934, p. 6 (in Hebrew).
 - 12 Jacob Schiffman, The Building Exhibition, in: *The 1936 Levant Fair Catalog*, exh. cat., Tel Aviv 1936 (in Hebrew).
 - 13 Ibid.
 - 14 The Building Exhibition Ended, in *HaMashkif*, 16 July 1943, p. 6 (in Hebrew). In 1946, the shortage amounted to at least 57,000 rooms throughout the urban Jewish population concentrations; Ya'akov Ben Sira (Schiffman), Construction and housing, in: *The Journalists Yearbook*, 1946, Journalists association in Tel Aviv, p. 203-208 (in Hebrew).
 - 15 Moshe Ladjenski, Exhibition of Wartime and Postwar Building Issues, in: *Journal of the Association of Engineers and Architects in Eretz Israel*, 1943, Vol. 4, no. 4, p. 1 (in Hebrew).
 - 16 Willi Weltsch, While touring the exhibition, in: *ibid.*, p. 2-4 (in Hebrew). Weltsch was one of the exhibition's initiators.
 - 17 Yisrael Rokach, Minutes: Making arrangements for German immigrants, 8 September 1933, Tel Aviv Municipal Archive, AB/1/32.
 - 18 Competition for processing model building plans for apartment houses in the city, in conjunction with the 1936 Levant Fair, Alexander Klein explanations, in: *Habinjan Bamisrah Hakarov*, 1936, no. 8, p. 6-8 (in Hebrew).
 - 19 Max Lev (Loeb), The Architectural Competitions, in: *Journal* 1943 (as Note 15), p. 11 (in Hebrew).
 - 20 Ibid.
 - 21 *Twenty Years of Buildings. Workers' Settlements, Housing and Public Institutions*, ed. by General Federation of Jewish Labour in Palestine, Engineers' Architects and Surveyors' Union, exh. cat., Tel Aviv 1940 (in Hebrew and English).
 - 22 Exhibition Committee, Introduction, in: *Architecture in Palestine*, exh. cat., Tel Aviv 1944, p. 1.
 - 23 Haim Gamzu, Architectural Exhibition in the Country, in: *Ha'aretz*, 20 September 1944, p. 2 (in Hebrew).
 - 24 In the 1934 Levant Fair, the women's organization WIZO (Women's International Zionist Organization) was the only one to display a rational kitchen in its pavilion. WIZO promoted modernization in the home to make easier the women's home chores. No such display was included in the fair's building exhibition.
 - 25 Theodor F. Meysels, Architecture in Palestine, in: *The Palestine Post*, 5 December 1944, p. 4.
 - 26 E. Polsky, Twenty Years of Histadrut Building, in: *Twenty Years 1940* (as Note 21), p. 6.
 - 27 David Remez, – And we learned to build, in: *ibid.*, p. 4.
 - 28 The building exhibition ended, in: *HaMashkif*, 16 July 1943, p. 6 (in Hebrew).
 - 29 The number of people who visited the building exhibitions within the Levant Fairs is unknown, as the entry tickets were for the fairgrounds in general.
 - 30 Among them were Alexander Klein, Leo Adler, Elsa Gidoni Mandelstamm and Willi Weltsch in the 1936 exhibition, and Otto Hoffmann, Arie Sharon, Heinz Rau, and Yosef (Ossip) Klarwein in the 1944 exhibition.
 - 31 Competition 1936 (as note 18), p. 6.
 - 32 Meysels 1944 (as Note 25).
 - 33 Kaufmann 1932 (as Note 1), p. 3.
 - 34 Central Zionist Archives, Tel Aviv Museum of Art, Lavon Institute for Labour Movement Research, Nessyahu Technion Historical Archive, Avie and Sarah Arenson Built Heritage Research Center, Technion.