

## CHAPTER IV

THE CONTRIBUTION OF SELECTED ADULT EDUCATION AGENCIES  
TO NATIONAL IDENTITY - NATIONAL UNITY

To perceive and assess adult education as a strategy for the development of National Identity and National Unity requires a framework of practice to evaluate. The primary personnel in this study identified certain adult education agencies as historical models that evidence an 'identity-unity' strategy within their educational activities. This chapter will focus on seven agencies that are corporately respected by the primary personnel as major contributors to National Identity - National Unity through their adult education programs. They are:

- 1) The Ministry of Education (Department of Adult Education and the Department of Torah Culture);
- 2) Ulpanim (Hebrew language/Literacy programs);
- 3) I.D.F. (Israel Defence Forces);
- 4) Kibbutzim;
- 5) Histadrut (Trades' Union);
- 6) Community Centers and
- 7) Moshavim (Agricultural education).

A brief description will be given of the agencies historical contribution to the field of adult education, with an assessment made from comments of the primary personnel and information obtained by the researcher in a review of related literature.

The Ministry of Education (Department of Adult Education and the Department of Torah Culture)

The Ministry of Education and Culture - formed by the Knesset on March 9, 1949 - is the national government's 'umbrella' agency for

overseeing education and culture in Israel. The country is governed as a single constituency, therefore the Ministry, as a national agency, is responsible for programs, inspection, training, appointment and paying of teachers, while the local authorities look after facilities and maintenance. Encyclopedia Judaica states that the main functions of the Ministry are:

To maintain and develop the educational system, to ensure suitable educational standards, to train and guide teachers, to inspect educational establishments, to develop educational programs and curricula, to improve teaching conditions, and to organize and encourage educational and cultural activities for adults. (2)

The 1971/72 budget for the Ministry indicates that an overwhelming proportion (81.8%) was allocated for primary education (67.8); school meals (1.9); post-primary education (10.3) and supplementary education (1.8).<sup>3</sup> Two of the primary personnel noted that the adult education portion of the Ministry budget was only 1% even though the Department of Culture and Adult Education received 4.3% of the educational budget.<sup>4</sup> Within the Ministry there are two departments that relate specifically to adults. They are the Department of Adult Education and the Department of Torah Culture. To understand how these two departments contribute to NI-NU it is necessary to note the principles upon which all education among Jewish people is to be based within the Ministry:

- (1) The imparting of Jewish knowledge and values and the deepening of identification with the Jewish people in the Diaspora... and measures to foster 'Jewish consciousness' as an essential part of the curriculum and the educational aim of all the schools.
- (2) Education for citizenship based on a knowledge and love of country and a readiness to give pioneer service...Civic education is an important factor in the integration of the various elements of the population.

(3) Education in universal human values and international fraternity...through a balance between Jewish and general education. (5)

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The three primary programs of adult education through which the ministry sought to impart the above principles in the mid 1960's were:

1) the adult literacy programs, 2) Hebrew training programs for adults and 3) further education for adults. <sup>6</sup>

The Ministry of Education and Culture, primarily through its Department of Adult education has been a significant force in encouraging or coordinating numerous adult education activities in Israel. In 1949, the Ulpan program was established by the Ministry as a means of fulfilling the national goal of Hebrew becoming the language of the people. Campaigns to eradicate illiteracy were conducted by the Ministry along with programs of elementary education for all (adults) who needed it. The aim of these programs, as noted by Grabelsky, was "to further the social and cultural integration of scores of thousands of Jews...who were deprived of opportunities for education in their countries of origin." <sup>7</sup>

A number of these campaigns were coordinated with the IDF to use Girl Soldiers in the literacy programs (see later section of the IDF). Close cooperation was established between the Ministry of Education and Culture and the Histradut's Center for Culture and Education. In an address to the Eighth Convention of the Histradut in 1956, David Ben-Gurion expressed this view:

During the period of the British Mandate the Histradut fulfilled governmental functions in the consciousness of a historic function and in the absence of Jewish governmental organs. On the founding of the state, the continuation of these functions is a superfluous burden on the Histradut and a serious injury to the state ...The Histradut is not a rival or competitor of the state but its faithful helper and devoted supporter. (8)

Recognizing that the Ministry of Education and Culture would by nature of its mandate, be assuming many of the functions previously fulfilled by the Histadrut, Ben-Gurion called upon the Histadrut to fulfill a dual additional aim after the rise of the state:

(a) to mold the character of the state and make it fit to carry out to the full the mission of national and social redemption, and to strengthen and organize the workers for this purpose; and (b) to initiate pioneering activities in the educational, economic, and social spheres which cannot be carried out by compulsion, law and the government machine alone. (9)

The Israeli Government Yearbook (1971) lists the following activities as being under the control of 'the government machine' through the Ministry of Education and its related Departments. (10)

- Cultural Institutions
- Theaters
- Literature
- Music - Orchestras
- Museums and Archives
- Plastic Arts
- Scientific Institutions
- Artistic Films
- Drama
- Popular Art (11)
- Mobile Exhibitions of Paintings (12)
- Ulpanim
- Popular Education (13)
- Further Education for Adults (14)
- Folklore of Israel
- Public Libraries (15)
- Cultural Centers
- Public Council for Culture and Arts

Some Ministry activities have involved the establishment of an agency or Department within the Ministry for a specific adult education task. For example: 1) The Martin Buber Center for Adult Education on the Mt. Scopus Campus of the Hebrew University, offers programs for adult

educators to study and meet adult educators from Israel and other countries; 2) The Department of Bible Education organizes Bible study groups for the study of Jewish thought, religion, history and Jewish philosophy; 3) The Department of Art Education developed 'Culture to the People' programs, plus studies in communal folk art and music; 4) The Association of Adult Education (AAE) was established in 1958, primarily to serve as a meeting place for people who work in the field of adult education. The Secretary-General of the AAE described it for the researcher as:

A place to meet, discuss, exchange views and present information. The main goal of the AAE is to serve as a professional organization for people who work in some way in adult education. (16)

5) The Israel Corporation of Community Centers was chartered by the Ministry of Education in 1969 to fulfill a unique service to adults living in development towns and poverty neighborhoods. A special program in Social work was introduced into the curriculum of the Baewald School of Social Work at the Hebrew University to prepare workers for these centers; <sup>17</sup> 6) Vocational training projects for adults were initiated by a cooperative project of the Ministry of Labor and the Histadrut working with the Ministry of Education and Culture. <sup>18</sup>

A second Department within the Ministry of Education and Culture that relates to adults in a more specific manner is the Department of Torah Culture. The researcher met Dr. Ben-Sason, who has served as the Head of Torah Culture since 1954. He made the following observations about the role of Torah Culture as an integrational factor for adults in Israel.

Adult education is one of the requirements of a Jew as part of his religion. It is perhaps the central requirement. The study of Torah is to be valued against all other values. Therefore the area of culture that the Department is dealing with is much older than the formation of the state or the Ministry of Education and Culture. The study of Torah is not the learning of specific information but it is part of an entire value experience. Therefore learning is attached to other experiences. For example learning is connected to prayer. People would pray before learning - after learning they would sit and pray. Between the afternoon and evening prayers were times of study. The holiness of the place where one studies was attached to the place where one prays. The Jewish legal system makes the place where one learns more holy than the place where one prays. That is the 'centrality of study' to the Jewish adult. Studying Torah is considered eternal while prayer is temporal. The commandments are compared to the candle while study is the light which the candle gives - which is more effective than the candle by itself. (19)

Ben-Sason described for the researcher how the Department of Torah Culture functions within the Ministry of Education as an integrational factor in developing NI-NU. The Department (of Torah Culture) was in existence before the Ministry was formed under the Jewish National Council. Its primary goal was to increase the knowledge of Torah which was part of the ministry's goal to increase 'Jewish Consciousness' Classes for adults began first in synagogues, then expanded into schools, culture and community centers, as adults increased their interest in Torah culture. Modern methods of audio-visual materials, exhibitions and correspondence courses were added to the traditional lectures and texts. Levels of understanding were developed thereby permitting an adult to progress at his own speed through basic, intermediate and advanced levels of Torah knowledge. Ben-Sason notes,

There is a Jewish Identity, which is common to all Jews besides the land and the language. These common strands of the basics of Judaism will produce a unity, regardless of their cultural differences - or differences of religious observance. We cannot force people to follow a particular religion. We work with adults in a voluntary manner to get them to identify with Jewish ideas. (20)

The Ministry of Education - working through its Departments of Adult Education and Torah Culture has clear goals that involve helping an adult identify with the Jewish State of Israel - and become one with the Jewish people. One of the primary personnel who is the current Head of the Department of Adult Education acknowledged that the slogan 'What are we doing to make the people ONE' was overworked in the early days of the State. Becoming 'one' may not involve giving up one's cultural distinctives as much as learning how to integrate those distinctives into a unique Jewish/Israeli National Identity. The Ministry of Education and Culture is committed in its adult education activities to that goal.

#### Ulpan (Hebrew Language Programs)

For the 'People of the Book' <sup>21</sup> to communicate with one another in the 'Language of the Book' - they must have a knowledge of modern Hebrew. In 1948, some 80 percent of the Jewish community in Israel spoke Hebrew. But with the Jewish population doubling between 1949 and 1951:

There was an urgent need to discover some shorter method to impart to the masses, and particularly to members of the free professions, a familiarity with the Hebrew language as a means of communication in order to facilitate their integration into the labor market and their cultural absorption as citizens of new Israel.

It was resolved, therefore to attempt an intensive system of study, with Hebrew, basic Jewish cultural values, and an education towards good citizenship as its core. The first such institution for intensive tuition came into being in 1949; it was called 'Ulpan' (plural: 'Ulpanim') a unique school in Israel intended for adults. (23)

The word Ulpan (Plural: 'Ulpanim') is derived from the root word 'alef' (meaning to teach, instruct). One of the pioneers of the Ulpan said, "It was established to teach people who came to Israel, the Hebrew language and integrate them into the life of Israel, the history, the geography, help them find work and integrate them into the country." <sup>24</sup> The declared aim of the Ulpan was, "to impart a knowledge of the Hebrew language, disseminate Jewish cultural values, and educate towards good citizenship." <sup>25</sup> One adult educator acknowledged in a newspaper interview that "the Berlitz school is perhaps better at teaching the language exclusively but the Ulpan method prepares its pupils for the milieu outside and teaches them how to function better as citizens later on." <sup>26</sup> Preparation for 'the milieu outside' and 'functioning as citizens' are two distinctives of the Ulpan system.

"Hebrew is not a 'second language' for a Jewish citizen of Israel - it is the framework for one's Jewish Identity." <sup>27</sup> This was expressed to the researcher by one Hebrew Ulpan instructor who added that Hebrew makes you feel at home. It is the language in which you buy your bread. But it is much more. Hebrew is not an 'innocent' language. It is a blending of culture, history and religion! <sup>28</sup> Another adult educator noted: "Hebrew is the first uniting factor, because without Hebrew we cannot communicate." <sup>29</sup> Learning Hebrew is viewed by a former Director of the Adult Education Department as a front line opportunity to change



attitudes. "Adult Education in Israel, more than in other countries, means changing attitudes through what is classically called the 'teaching of Hebrew'. Hebrew is not a second language for a Jew - it is more - it is adult education." <sup>30</sup>

The Ulpan was designed to give a foundational Hebrew language of 2,000 words. <sup>31</sup> But as the Head of the Adult Department used to tell his staff, "If you teach 1,000 words, make certain you teach 100 ideas." <sup>30</sup> An adult education leader in the kibbutzim said,

The aim of Ulpan is not only language and culture, but integrating (absorption) and identification with a new society. It is a relation to past (history) and present (geography) and to a system of values which creates a national identity and a personal responsibility. (33)

The effectiveness of Hebrew in communicating this 'national (or Jewish) identity' was described by the French ambassador to Israel who studied Hebrew in an Ulpan and lived in Israel for ten years. He said, "Forget about understanding Jewish life, Jewish identity, the Bible and Jewish politics, without an understanding of Hebrew." <sup>34</sup> Professor Nir, from the Department of Hebrew Language at the Hebrew University told the 30th Anniversary celebrants of the Ulpanim Movement, "Since language is related to social behavior, the goal of Ulpan was and is to give the immigrant to Israel a tool for everyday life." <sup>35</sup> In reality, the Ulpan was to "teach as many people as much Hebrew in the shortest period of time. Along with this came the question of social integrity - to unite the people in a common culture - which raises the study of Hebrew beyond that of an academic science." <sup>36</sup> The Ulpan was first set up as a 'studio' <sup>37</sup> where a small group of people sat together and learned together. The

system had a fixed period of study (usually five to six months) with a printed textbook and syllabus designed to aid adults and bread-winners who have interrupted their normal routine for a non-compulsory course to master a foreign language. <sup>38</sup> (Fluency in Hebrew is not a requirement of citizenship).

The traditional Ulpan format was the residential dormitory type, supervised by the Ministry of Education and Culture and maintained by the Ministry of Immigrant Absorption and the Jewish Agency. <sup>39</sup> "This course normally extended over five months based on a six day, thirty hour academic week. A 'hostel ulpan' branched out into settings where the entire family learned together. This relieves the parents of the responsibility of caring for children while they concentrate on their Hebrew studies." <sup>40</sup> Some 'Daily Ulpan' exist in larger urban centers where the student may work and take morning or evening classes. Some kibbutzim offer Hebrew Ulpans where six months of 'half a day of work' is exchanged for 'half a day of language instruction'. <sup>41</sup> Summer school Ulpans permit refresher courses for adults and students. <sup>42</sup> In examining the motivation of adults to learn Hebrew, Grabelsky developed six categories. <sup>43</sup> First were those adults who wanted a job promotion or career continuation in an area of specialty. Second were those who had social motives such as economic gain or upward mobility. A third group were motivated mainly by the desire to be better informed, or 'a thirst for knowledge' in and of itself. The fourth group wanted to help their children or keep up with their children. The fifth category wanted to make use of their leisure time, and the sixth group wanted to be more integrated into the life of the country. She quotes one student who says, "I must learn Hebrew so that I shall have a common

language with all the Jews of Israel because everybody must know Hebrew, in order to work etc...I want to understand the history of the Jewish people and our culture." <sup>44</sup> Whatever the individual's motivation, the government of Israel recognizes that "the dissemination of the Hebrew language is an important element in the never ending effort to achieve social and cultural integration and national cohesion." <sup>45</sup> For motivations that were likely factor three, six and occasionally four on Grabelsky's 'scale', the researcher and his wife attended a three day a week 'Ulpanit' <sup>46</sup> at the Mitchell Building (Histadrut) in Jerusalem. It was a somewhat typical heterogeneous mixture of men, women, 'olay haddash' (new immigrants) 'tiyarim' (tourists), Jews and non Jews from approximately ten countries. The class began with a larger number of participants than we anticipated but over the six months the attendance began to decline. A number were working full time and took a 'leave' to be at the classes. Attendance was voluntary and tended to be irregular. Fees were minimal due to a subsidy by the Ministry of Education and Culture. Diverse social activities such as trips, tours, festivals, parties and social gatherings helped friendships begin to bond between class members. When questioned why she remained in Hebrew classes for over eight months, the researcher's wife replied, "The language (Hebrew) was a minimal part of it. I learned facts about the culture and the geography and the history of Israel that gave me a better understanding of the country and the people. Plus Davora (the instructor) explained in detail the significance of each Jewish Holy Day and holiday." <sup>47</sup>

The 1961 population census showed that within the Jewish community there were 156,500 illiterates <sup>48</sup> above the age of 14. This

comprised 12% of the population which then numbered 1,985,500 souls.<sup>49</sup> This led to a dramatic campaign in 1963 to teach Hebrew to the 120,000 women and 50,000 men who were classified as totally or semi-illiterate. "Professional teachers (700) who taught small groups twice a week on a salary basis (usually in development towns) were assisted by volunteer teachers (500) who gave lessons once a week without payment. Girl soldiers - conscripts who gave 20 months of national service teaching illiterates - were sent primarily to the frontier areas."<sup>50</sup> Apart from organizational problems associated with scheduling classes, providing transportation, books etc, there were many benefits in the classes, as the teachers were able to do more than teach Hebrew. They were able to "provide guidance in problems of hygiene, home economics...plus social and cultural activities...tours etc..."<sup>51</sup> Although the thrust of the girl soldiers literacy program dissipated into new programs for eradicating illiteracy in the late 1960's, the impact of mixing soldiers and civilians, young and old, urban and frontier, created a new national awareness of the variety of socio-economic cultural groups in the country. Ulpanim programs throughout Israel brought people of diverse backgrounds together to study Hebrew. In an interview with the Jerusalem POST, Kalman Yaron (of the Martin Buber Adult Education Center) said, "I believe this project (an Old City Ulpan attended by Arabs and Jews) and the meeting of the two peoples brings about a meeting of minds and of hearts...they deepen understanding and foster goodwill."<sup>52</sup>

An example of this 'goodwill' is found in "one of the most dynamic adult education institutions in the country", a residential Hebrew school called Ulpan Akiva.<sup>53</sup> The researcher was a guest at the Ulpan for three days, and came away with an overwhelming amount of data that matched

the enthusiasm and vitality of the staff and students. At the eye of the 'activity hurricane' is the founder and Director, Shulamit Katznelson. <sup>54</sup> Ulpan Akiva is a thirty year (1981) embodiment of Katznelson's "laboratory of good will, where various cultures and ideas are expressed and developed." <sup>55</sup> Since Ulpan Akiva is an independent organization which does not receive Jewish Agency funds, it can open its doors to Jewish immigrants, to Christian tourists, to Muslim Arabs from the administrated territories, to Israeli Druse who want to improve their Hebrew and to visitors on a year's sabbatical. <sup>56</sup> Using the catch phrase, 'Hebrew is your key to Israel', Ulpan Akiva has attracted over 22,000 students from 118 countries searching for that 'key'. Dr. Yeheskiel Cohen in presenting the Adult Education 'Torch Award' to Ulpan Akiva in recognition of its unique and original approach in the field of adult education and for its creative educational methods and techniques said:

Ulpan Akiva has gained a distinguished reputation both in Israel and all over the world for its special character in fostering Hebrew humanism and brotherhood among nations. (57)

One graduate described it as 'A Very Special Place'; "We have seen Arab festivities in a Yemenite village, visited the kibbutzim, had a Purim party, studied the Bible together, visited the graves of Abraham and Isaac in Hebron, the Western Wall in Jerusalem, an Arabic Ulpan in Gaza, and a Christian monastery in the Wadi Kelt, planted trees in Golan, took dancing lessons and discussed paintings with Israeli artists." <sup>58</sup> According to one Jerusalem POST article,

The immigrant at the average residential Ulpan or absorption center spends most of the time among the other immigrants. Efforts are made to bring the Israeli community to the Ulpan and to take the immigrants out into the community, but many

people at the absorption centers complain that they are more 'absorbed' in their own problems than into Israeli society. (59)

Such is not the case at Ulpan Akiva. A former Minister of Education, interviewed by the researcher, noted in an address made at Ulpan Akiva, "This Ulpan exudes a great deal of human warmth. It is not their methods of teaching, although these are important and unique - but the soul, the simplicity and the enthusiasm with which all its endeavors are permeated." 60

From conversations with the Director, the following insights emerged about the philosophy of adult education - and Schulamit Katznelson - that lies behind Ulpan Akiva. (61)

Jews are known for having a 'Messianic' element within them. Almost every Jew is in some way a messianic. Every adult educator has a sense of 'mission' but in Jews this is stronger! The potentiality in the individual and the destiny that was determined beyond us - and if you call it 'God' then in the covenant with Abraham and the land, it was decided that we shall be one.

We have a wonderful saying in the Mishnah, "It is not up to you to accomplish the work, but that does not free you from giving your share."

Many of the adult educators from the 'older generation' did not have the psychological slogans of the universities. Intuitively they did some wonderful things. Some of these people did not call themselves adult educators but they confronted the problems of the adult immigrants and carried on programs that affected thousands of adults.

Ulpan Akiva is based on a philosophy of 'give and take'. Unity between the Arab and the Jew, the religious and the nonreligious, the Oriental and the Ashkenazi will be achieved by true love and a sincere thanking of God for the differences.

I am learning that life is stronger than what we try to put in writings and keep. Jews are born individualistic and over sensitive, and over aggressive. It is a fact. But if you allow that over sensitivity, creativity, aggressiveness full existence then you will

see what can happen (to unity)...I was called a fascist for bringing Arabs here but love can overcome!

Israel is like a World International Congress on Adult Education - all from different backgrounds but one common point - their Jewishness. People can change. This place is proof.

The Israeli Ulpan system in general - and Ulpan Akiva in particular has gained a recognition for achieving identity and unity that can best be summed up by the mayor of an Arab town in the West Bank. He visited Ulpan Akiva and saw Jews and Arabs living, studying and learning together. This sight prompted him to send a cable to the Minister of Defence that said, "Come, see what is happening - a lesson in action!" 62

#### Israel Defence Forces (IDF)

From the moment of its inception under the Military Service Act (August 15, 1949), the Israel Defence Forces (IDF) have been assigned the task of security - and education. The Act stated in part:

The most vital task of our generation has been imposed on the Army, to safeguard the security of the State of Israel...But it is not the Army's only task...it is to be a pioneering, educative force: builder of the nation and redeemer of the wasteland. (63)

Prime Minister David Ben-Gurion, speaking to the General Staff and Commanding Officers of the IDF (1950) identified technical education (weapons) and personal education (physical and spiritual) as two significant facets of the educational task in Israel that is common to all the armies of the world. He then added:

The Israel Defence Army however has a special educative function which is not needed and has no place in other armies...it requires in

addition a particular education towards the historic dedication of its people, and the mission of our times.

When I say 'historic dedication' I mean the ideological and moral struggle in which our people have engaged against all their neighbors from the moment they became a nation to this day.

When I say 'mission of our times' I mean the ingathering of the exiles (a mission) which will affect our entire future, our security, our national position and our international status. (64)

In an article entitled 'Israel Defence Forces as Adult Educator', the author recognizes the dual service of the IDF as a means of defence and a framework for the education of Israeli youth. He says in part:

The IDF is a powerful force for the integration of classes and the shaping of character. It is not satisfied, however, merely with this indirect education resulting from a military service rich in national and humanistic values: it also devotes considerable efforts and resources to providing scholastic instruction aimed at widening a soldier's cultural horizons, deepening his attachment to national values and training him for civilian life in a modern, technological society. (65)

In the words of a former IDF Education Officer, "though it does not deal with economic and political affairs, the IDF is accepted as the main socializer in the educational and social field." <sup>66</sup> (researcher's emphasis). This assessment of the IDF as a recognized and respected adult education agency was echoed in numerous interviews with the primary personnel of this study. Their accolades ranged from simple words of commendation to high regards and praise. In their words:

"The army is a wonderful teacher of adult education." (67)

"The army is the school of the nation.  
The army is a significant factor for NI-NU.  
The army unites people from different countries.  
The army teaches cooperation and experiences together." (68)



"The army is one of the main integrating adult educational forces in Israel. The army is preparing people to take their place in society. The Israeli army is the best adult educator in the country.

- \* everyone goes in the army (see 69)
- \* everyone must get a basic education.
- \* everyone is together in the army.
- \* everyone must meet people they would not normally meet.
- \* everyone is given the same opportunities in the army - a chance to succeed.
- \* everyone is taught things about Israel its history, their roots, field trips.
- \* everyone who does not know how to read or write is given a change to learn in the army. (70)

"The army is a strong homogenizing factor not so much because it includes cultural activities, but by the common 'language' spoken and memories engendered by the service: "I was in the Six Day War in '67" is a very important component of your naturalization into the country." (71)

With the establishment of the State of Israel in 1948, almost 90% of the resident Jewish population was of European or 'Western' descent. As political analyst Maurice Roumani notes,

The new state received a large number of immigrants whose cultural experience and social standard were traditional and whose economic skills and educational level were much lower than those of the Jewish population already present. (73)

IDF Education Officer Col. Mordechai Bar-On explains the impact this social change had on the nation.

The State and all its institutions, its parties, its economy, its industry, its educational system and the remainder of the social and educational development is comparable to some of the highest levels in the West. On the other hand, nearly half the population (1966) still lives to a large extent in conditions of social deprivation.

These families belong in their orientation to the pattern of undeveloped societies. (74)

Being a plural society, Israel has two major divisions that affect the national building role of the IDF. The one is the division between the Ashkenazi and Oriental Jews, a demographic ratio of (45:55) and the religious versus the nonreligious Jews (30:70).<sup>75</sup> It is beyond the scope of this paper to explore the sociological ramifications of these differences. However Roumani notes that,

It is a peculiarity of the Jewish people that in spite of their diverse origins and the differences of national languages, they have maintained throughout their dispersion, a bond which kept their Jewish Identity (vertical integration) alive and which was the very reason which brought them back to their old homeland...the problem of 'horizontal identity' integration in Israel does not take the form of conflicts of 'language, locality, blood, race or religion' ... but the problem between the Western and Oriental Jews, from their first encounter, was based on their different cultural and social, experiences. (76)

The pre-State Zionist Jews tended to be from a Western culture, secular, nuclear families, educated in technological developments and the recipients of 'mass benefits'. The arriving masses of North African/Asian Jews tended to be from a religious, traditional, synagogue centered, extended family with less formal education.<sup>77</sup> There were many differences, yet unity was considered essential for the survival of the nation. Therefore "to combat the growing problems presented by the influx of these new immigrants all agencies of the state, including the army, were mobilized to integrate them within the new State."<sup>78</sup> Roumani says that "Given the length of Army service in Israel, the age of the recruits and the Army's vast resources for education, the IDF is perhaps the best-equipped agency for the task of integration."<sup>79</sup>

It should be noted that the majority of the primary personnel (key policy makers in adult education in Israel) are from an Ashkenazi background. Their perception and assessment of adult education in the army and in other agencies will undoubtedly be representative of the 'western' position. Few Oriental adult educators have risen to the level of policy maker in the field of adult education during the time period of this study. <sup>80</sup> One adult educator in the IDF told this researcher very honestly,

Every Friday we used to gather the soldiers for half an hour, to sum up the week and to play some music. It was complicated to decide what type of music to play. Most of the soldiers were Oriental (it was a literacy training Camp) and I didn't want to play Oriental tunes because at that time and even today, I insist that after all we would like to stick to the western world - not the Oriental way - or at least get a balance. (81)

Another army education officer said in a personal interview "We are a Jewish army, there is kashrut etc, but only in a declaratory way. It is there, we cherish it, but let's forget about it. Let's start to live. The real life is western, modern, progressive." <sup>82</sup> It appears that the policy of the socialistic-Zionist Western Jews, 'who were the undisputed founders of the new State and its first leaders,' <sup>83</sup> was to make the people One. For the Oriental-(and most often religious) Jew in the IDF with an Ashkenazi-(and most often nonreligious) environment, the alteration of his lifestyle was intense and long reaching.

With this awareness of the IDF's role and goal in developing NI-NU the next section will briefly examine the educational activities conducted by the IDF for military personnel.

### Hebrew Language Courses

Hebrew was necessary to prevent misunderstandings in the military operation. "Until 1956, Hebrew remained the most important and only formal subject which soldiers were required to take in addition to some instruction in Jewish History and the Study of the Land." <sup>84</sup> Until 1962 they were sent to Camp Marcus to learn Hebrew based on their initial entry ability (ie. generally illiterate, illiterate in Hebrew, or lacking proficiency in the language). Camp Marcus was appropriately named after an American Colonel who had volunteered to serve in the War of Independence (1948) but was killed by one of his own sentries for failing to respond to a warning in Hebrew, which he did not understand.

### Elementary Education

In 1962 a law was passed stipulating that no soldier be discharged from the IDF without having completed a course of Elementary education. It was first given at the beginning of the recruit's military service but later postponed to the last three months (without it being time 'added on' to his service time). <sup>86</sup> The aim of the Basic Studies was to:

- 1) Raise the cultural level of the soldier by deepening his attachment to national values, and enriching his knowledge of Jewish culture and the culture in general.
- 2) Train the soldier for a better life by supplying the rudimentary information and capacities needed for acceptance to any vocational course or for the acquisition of a trade.
- 3) Help bridge the social gap by changing the soldier's attitude to education itself. (87)

The curriculum consisted of the following subjects: Bible, Study of the Land, History and Civics. This program consisted of 500 hours of classes

plus seventy-five hours of field trips, etc. <sup>88</sup> For those who have finished elementary school education abroad, they must now complete the 'Israeli portion' of their education - "for the socialization and absorption of the new immigrant into Israeli society." <sup>89</sup>

#### Secondary Education

Secondary education is optional in the IDF, designed to assist students for the Ministry of Education matriculation examinations. Classes began in 1954 as evening classes as most officer positions require ten years of formal schooling. <sup>90</sup> Both pre-academic and pre-vocational secondary courses are available to the student. A very high percentage of those who complete the pre-academic courses enter local universities upon their discharge from the IDF. <sup>91</sup> Arie Fink, Director of the Rehabilitation Department (Ministry of Defence) is quoted in a newspaper interview as saying, "We see these courses as a function directly connected with the defence of the country - because our resources are human, and our numbers are few." <sup>92</sup>

#### Secondary School By Correspondence

"In 1965, another program was instituted by the IDF to provide secondary school education by correspondence for staff members and men who are remote from urban centers." <sup>93</sup>

#### University Preparatory Programs

"The first program is for candidates interested in pursuing academic studies in Institutes of Higher Learning...The second is to help matriculation students raise their grade to the minimum requirements, ...and the third is to help officers continue their studies a) to prevent officers from leaving the army to pursue studies, b) to raise the

standards of the professional soldiers...and c) to equip officers before their retirement with a civilian career." <sup>94</sup>

#### Vocational Training

Col. Bar-On classifies three categories of vocational training:

- 1) Short training courses given during army service to soldiers who have no knowledge of any trade.
- 2) 'Adaptation' courses for the conversion of civilian vocational training for army use.
- 3) The army's own pre-military, vocational schools. (95)

Each of the above educational activities are taught by qualified IDF instructors who have been trained to make the time together with the adult students more than an academic exercise. Roumani documents numerous IDF policy statements to show that a socialization in Zionist ideology, and the inculcation of a national-secular identification is the contribution made by the army in order to develop NI-NU. The first identity is with the State. The soldiers oath of allegiance says in part:

The IDF requires of its soldiers unlimited allegiance to the State of Israel. The soldier in the IDF recognizes the rights of the Jewish people to have its own State in the Land of Israel and is ready to participate personally in the defence and the security of the State, its sovereignty and its ability to fulfill its social and cultural missions. The soldier in the IDF loves his country and aspires to the integration of the Jewish communities and the fraternity of the Jewish people. (96)

The second identity factor is with the land, or Patriotism to the Land of Israel. The study of the land and history of the Jewish people is second only in importance to the study of the Hebrew language. <sup>97</sup> Soldiers become acquainted with their country 'through the belly' <sup>98</sup> "In the

study of the land courses, the IDF emphasizes the heroes of Israel, the location of their battles, and their place in the history of the Jewish people...soldiers are not only given detailed knowledge of their common historical roots, but also shown that they are the most recent link in the chain of history and self-sacrifice." <sup>99</sup>

The third identity factor is one of solidarity. It exists in the IDF as a result of the allegiance they share to their state and land. <sup>100</sup> The fourth identity factor is secularism. "Israel is neither a medieval theocracy, nor a secular state...The State however is clearly bent on giving Judaism national and secular relevance apart from a divine revelation of indisputable laws." <sup>101</sup> The IDF as an agency of the State, contributes in this direction. "In IDF schools the Bible is presented as a social, economic and political history of the Jews." <sup>102</sup>

In conclusion, it appears that "the army by definition is the most nationalistic element in society. They are there to protect the nation." <sup>103</sup> The people and the IDF itself, tend to view the IDF as a socializer. "It was highlighted by the fact that in 1964-65, an annual award given by the State for outstanding recognition in the field of adult education was given to the army! Where else has an army received an award of recognition as an Education Agency? <sup>104</sup> It only demonstrates that the State of Israel has a conscious pride in the educational role of the Israel Defence Forces." <sup>105</sup> To slightly rephrase Roumani's words, "For successful national integration, it is necessary not only that the individual Jewish citizen be absorbed in the economic, educational and ideological spheres, but also that he be accepted as an equal in the social and

cultural life of the country." <sup>106</sup> The power of the army to influence the minds of men should not be underestimated. <sup>107</sup> It is perhaps fitting that the final words about the role of the IDF as an adult education agency promoting NI-NU should be given by a former IDF Education Officer. "True Patriotism is the moral strength which turns the IDF into one of Israel's most important instruments for social development, national unity and progress." <sup>108</sup>

### The Kibbutzim

In May, 1948 there were 159 Kibbutzim settlements in Israel with a total of 54,208 inhabitants. <sup>109</sup> This figure represented approximately 8.4% of the estimated 1948 population of 649,600 people. By 1972 the number of Kibbutzim settlements had risen to 235, comprising 2.8% of the population. <sup>110</sup> The kibbutz (from the word 'kvutza' meaning group) is the only voluntary form of collective living in Israel. From a modest beginning of eight members at Degania at the juncture of the Jordan River and Lake Kinneret ('Sea of Galilee') in 1909, <sup>111</sup> the search began for the perfect utopian society. <sup>112</sup> Over seventy years later the development of the Kibbutzim society has led to what some might regard as the world's most respected and unique experiment in adult education.

The researcher and his family were guests of Kibbutz Sasa in northern Israel for seven days during the Pesach ('Passover') holiday in March, 1980. Dr. Lawrence Kohlberg, the writer of 'Stages of Moral Development' theory, visited this kibbutz during a sabbatical in Israel. An unpublished paper by one of Dr. Kohlberg's team members was located in the kibbutz library in which were listed



six common features held by the majority of kibbutzim.<sup>113</sup> The primary philosophy upon which the kibbutzim collective society has been built is that of 'shitui veshivion' - co-operation and equality - 'from each according to his ability, to each according to his need.' This commitment to the development of the individual member of the kibbutz has made 'lifelong learning' an integral part of the kibbutz philosophy of education.

The early kibbutzim began as youth groups, some of which were formed outside the country. Yehuda Bien, author of Adult Education in Kibbutzim in Israel, (1966), state, "The members were trained with the idea of coming to Israel and realizing the ideals of a cooperative society inspired by socialist and Zionist ideas - compressed together and integrated into their life."<sup>114</sup> They had to struggle with the life problems of the members - and develop personal life programs and community life programs to build up their society and overcome these problems. Adult education became a 'fact of life' in the kibbutzim based on the philosophy that "you must consider the whole arena of life needs...by helping adults to promote their own life style, to establish a society and then promote and improve the life of that society."<sup>115</sup> This led to three specific areas of influence where the kibbutzim affected the development of adult education in Israel.<sup>116</sup> 1) The Histadrut was formed in 1920 as a country wide labor union movement. Members of the kibbutzim were founding members of the Histadrut. Programs of social and educational development pioneered by the kibbutzim were extended through the various departments of the Histadrut. This made the Histadrut more than a 'labor union'. It was a worker's education movement from its

inception. <sup>117</sup> 2) The kibbutzim united to form specific political parties to help achieve corporate political and philosophical goals. "The policies of these parties became a source of inspiration and contribution to the wider adult education movement in Israel." <sup>118</sup>

3) Regional community colleges were established to provide advanced educational training for children of kibbutz members, without extended periods of time at residential universities. Evening classes, seminars and short courses permitted adults to participate in credit/non credit courses while remaining an active member of the kibbutz community. The success of these colleges led to their affiliation with the major universities as regional extension colleges.

The above examples evidence reasons for the respect kibbutzim receive as a pioneering force in establishing new directions for adult education in Israel. Bezalel Shachar in his Ph.D. dissertation (uniquely completed after his 65th birthday) states, "the kibbutz village has been a visible symbol of adult education in Israel since the Second Aliyah (1904-1914)." <sup>119</sup> In the early days of the Kibbutzim "a special adult education program was established to educate leaders, but all of these developments were legitimized by ideologies which stressed mainly the auxillary function of adult education as a social technique of acculturation." <sup>120</sup> It is the stated policy of the Kibbutzim that, "To be a successful social, cultural and economic unit, the kibbutz has to have its own highly educated and qualified people and it has to encourage all its members in their efforts at self-improvement." <sup>121</sup> By 1972 it was estimated that 36 percent of the adult kibbutzim population was

involved in some form of educational activity.<sup>122</sup> With adult education being such a high priority for the development of the kibbutzim, there has been considerable pressure exerted on the government to provide courses for teacher training, agricultural studies and domestic science.<sup>123</sup> The establishment of agencies and programs to meet these requests (ie. the Agricultural College in Rehovot) has provided opportunities for adults throughout Israeli society and from foreign countries, to participate in these programs.

Each kibbutz offers cultural and educational activities for adult members that are designed, "to broaden horizons, to stimulate social and intellectual involvement and to clarify, examine and develop the system of values."<sup>124</sup> These activities include art festivals, libraries,<sup>125</sup> films, lectures, drama workshops, study circles, seminars, musicals and tours. This commitment to adult learning is symbolic of the kibbutzim commitment to building a 'new society'. As Bien notes:

Kibbutz society sees man as its center and faithful to the traditional Jewish emphasis on learning has translated this approach into a social system in which each person is able to express his needs and designs in numerous aspects of work and leisure...work is a 'creative activity'...the border line between labor and leisure has almost disappeared. (126)

It would appear that the identity and unity of the individual kibbutz member is first with the socialist-Zionist ideals of the founding of the Marxist pioneers, while still participating in the broader social and national struggles of the country to preserve those ideals.

### The Histadrut

The General Federation of Labor, usually known as the Histadrut, was formed in 1920. It is Israel's largest labor organization and unlike

any other labor organization in the world.<sup>127</sup> It is open to all workers including members of the kibbutzim and moshavim, and of the liberal professions who join directly as individuals. Adult membership rose from 180,000 in 1948 to 1,259,000 in 1973 (42% of the population).<sup>128</sup> The Histadrut is, after the Government, the largest owner of economic enterprises that account for 17% of the national product and employ 22% of the labor force.<sup>129</sup> The Director-General of the Histadrut's Center for Culture and Education (1972) wrote that,

Before the establishment of the State of Israel, the Histadrut was the most central factor in the organization of cultural, social and educational activities in the country. It was thus responsible for most of adult education... learning the Hebrew tongue, of creating a new way of living, of adaptation to the harsh exigencies of a new environment and so on. (130)

The workers who came to Palestine prior to 1948 were primarily from the middle class in their 'host country'. Thus a great part of the labor class in Israel was from the middle class.<sup>131</sup> With the 'Ingathering of the Exiles' and the formation of the State, came many refugees and poorer people who had to learn to become producers. The philosophy of the Histadrut was that 'you must work yourself and not profit from the work of others'.<sup>132</sup> Adult education was important to communicate that philosophy, for Israel's labor movement was not patterned after the classic Marxist belief that "the labor class does not have a means of production".<sup>133</sup> The all embracing Histadrut included physical and non-physical workers, wage earners and independent laborers, kibbutzim and moshavim laborers who have their own means of production, employees of government agencies, teachers, clerks, workers from Histadrut owned industries, professionals and self-

employed individuals. The former editor of 'Devar' (a labor newspaper) noted, "we needed some means of joining these different types of workers together, which led to cultural activities from the beginning." 134

In the Hebrew language the word 'hasbarah' is half way between the English words 'propaganda' and 'information', almost like indoctrination. The Histadrut saw a need for adult education and 'hasbarah', "that presents information to those concerned, with the entire scope of the problems, and the merits and shortcomings of the opinions proposed." 135 In this manner the Histadrut would be fulfilling its philosophy of 'faith' in the individual worker. This was referred to earlier in the Introduction to this paper, but the full text as written by Shachar says,

The Histadrut cultural and educational activities are based on 'faith'; faith in the ordinary citizen of our country whatever his origin...We believe it's possible to educate the adult human being, to bring out and strengthen the finest elements of his nature, to help him rise in stature and understanding, to equip him to contribute his gifts and capacities to the life of the community. (136)

He goes on to describe how the Histadrut will seek to fulfill these goals within their philosophical framework.

The programs of the Histadrut are guided by the ideas of Zionism and socialism. They are: agricultural pioneering; simplicity in personal life; respect for every kind of work; equality of the sexes and a readiness to treat all human beings as equals. They include an appreciation of liberty and democracy, a strong emphasis on mutual aid and mutual responsibility. And they maintain a positive relationship to Israel in its various aspects - landscapes, fauna and flora. (137)

The vividness of the above description evidences explicitly that the Histadrut is much more than a 'labor union'. It is a multi-faceted Labor

Economy, that includes mutual aid enterprises, cultural, educational and expository activities as part of the 'norm' of its operation. <sup>138</sup> One of the primary personnel said, "If you analyze the Histadrut in the Israeli arena of adult education, their contribution is unique...there is a fulfilling of culture as an educational function that was incorporated in the whole system of services for adults - not as a separate function." <sup>139</sup> Two of the major 'task-goals' of the Histadrut relate specifically to : national identity and national unity. "First, to combat illiteracy and ignorance of the Hebrew language, and secondly, to encourage the social and cultural progress of people from more backward communities." <sup>140</sup>

In Shachar's words,

We regard adult education and worker's education as practically one and the same thing. We have now adapted the view of lifelong integrated education. We consider education not as a part of life but as commensurate with life itself - a man should learn and develop all his life. (141)

The Histadrut and the Kibbutzim, as socialist Zionist organizations have as their primary goal the building of a "cooperative society". <sup>142</sup>

Prior to 1948 this led both groups to develop programs together for culture, education, higher education and vocational training. These were linked with the industrial plants and the agricultural units served by the people themselves to build up the life and the work of the people.

'Making a living' was viewed in tandem with cultural and spiritual enrichment. After 1948 many of the Histadrut's primary adult education functions were united in cooperation with other adult education agencies. <sup>143</sup> One of the primary personnel acknowledged, "More and more since 1948, adult education in the Histadrut has been identified only with the cultural aspect. It has been the goal of the Histadrut and the Kibbutzim

and to a certain extent the Moshavim, to view the fulfilling of culture as an educational function that is not a separate function of the establishment but incorporated into the whole system of services for human beings." 144

The following list shows adult education activities that remained under the leadership of the Histadrut:

- \* Labor Studies College to train adults in economics, social science administration and legislation.
- \* An Afro-Asian Institute, 'Ohalo' meaning 'His Tabernacle' - a school for teaching the social and spiritual values of Moshavim and Kibbutzim.
- \* Lectures, Discussions and Excursions, Study Days, Films, and Publications.
- \* Language Studies and Correspondence Schools.
- \* Radio University of the Air (1962)
- \* Absalom Institute - tours for geographical and topographical studies.
- \* Development of programs in the Sciences, the Arts, Music, Folk Dances, Drama.
- \* Culture Centers (250 in 1968) plus Libraries (145 in cities and 260 in moshavim kibbutzim and development towns).
- \* Voluntary social and cultural activity ie. vacations, rests, and studies.
- \* Medical programs, Higher Education, Vocational Training and Senior Citizens Homes.
- \* Reserve Training in "NAHAL" (Hebrew abbreviation for 'Combattant Pioneer Youth') a separate formation of the IDF for members of the Kibbutz and Moshav oriented Youth Movements.
- \* Department to give guidance for religious needs.
- \* Education for Worker's Children, research and study grants.
- \* Arab Department in charge of cultural and educational activities (see footnote 145).
- \* Publications, 'Am Oved' (1942) 'The Working Peoples' Publishing House.
- \* Ha-Sadeh ('The Field') Agricultural Monthly since 1920.

- \* Urim ('Lights') and Urim le-Horim ('Lights for Parents') Educational Monthlies.
- \* Midot ('Dimensions') Technical bulletin.
- \* 'Al-Yaun' ('Today') Histadruts Daily Arabic Paper in the Arabic language (since 1948).
- \* Labor Archives and Daily Newspapers (Devar).
- \* Monthly publications for women and children.
- \* Kibbutzim Publications.
- \* Training Programs for Education Workers.
- \* Joint projects with other public institutions in Higher Education, UNESCO, cultural cooperation and research. (146)

Shachar stated (1970) that, "In Israel we are returning to an old Jewish concept namely to study all our lives." <sup>147</sup> This could be interpreted as how he 'perceived' adult education. In his doctoral dissertation (1974) he acknowledged that,

Despite its obvious success in various fields (particularly in the field of imparting the knowledge of the Hebrew language) adult education as an organized activity is still operating within the context of a minority. (148)

His 'assessment' as interpreted by this researcher is that organized formal adult education activities (ie. the institutionalized activities) are many and varied, but they need to be "converted into a complex of normative patterns of life and behavior." <sup>149</sup> Shachar saw life as a 'total learning process'. He wanted adult education to be regarded as 'normal' to adults as watching television, reading a newspaper or listening to the news on 'Kol Yisrael' ('The Voice of Israel'). As he suggested, "There is a historical precedent for this (challenge) grounded in the Jewish tradition - 'noblesse oblige'." <sup>150</sup>

### Community Centers

The Israel Corporation of Community Centers was established by the Ministry of Education and Culture as an autonomous body in 1969. <sup>151</sup>



From its entry into the field of adult education in Israel, the Corporation has experienced rapid growth. In 1970 there was one center, in 1973 (the limit of this study) there were 26 centers, and in 1979-80 the year of this research project, there were 103 centers. <sup>152</sup> Mr. Haim Zippori, Director-General of the Corporation, and Esther Alon, Director of Planning and Evaluation, shared their perceptions and assessment of the contribution of Community Centers (CC) to NI-NU in Israel, with the researcher in separate personal interviews. Zippori recalled that in 1969,

Zalman Aran, who was the Minister of Education wanted to develop something similar to the Russian model of the 'School of the Laborers' (pioneered in Kiev in the early 1900's). It was an opportunity for adult workers during the early days of the Russian revolution to try to help people raise their standard of education and living - a form of Second Chance Education. (153)

The first CC were patterned after the Regional Colleges begun by the Kibbutzim based on observations of American Community Centers and Community Colleges. They were called 'Mishlalah' (meaning 'college') and later name 'Merkazim Kehilatiim' ('Community Center'). From their inception they were seen as a place for community 'learning'. Aran's plan, was put into operation by Dr. Yael Pozner and Haim Zippori in Development towns and among the disadvantaged adults in lower socio-economic levels of society in urban centers. It was the intention of the Ministry of Education and Culture that the independent agency once established, would meet the needs of the community directly - according to the needs of each community.

Specific goals and objectives were to be established by the Local Community Center as determined by the local Board of Directors.

The following guidelines established by the Corporation show the philosophy of the CC as an adult education agency. 154

1) The programs are to be derived from the needs of the people within the local community. Not all the needs can be met, but the CC is to work with the 'norm' of the community. Some of the needs were immense. As one CC brochure states:

With the establishment of the Jewish State enormous waves of immigrants poured into Israel from camps in Europe, Cyprus and the Muslim countries. The difficult task of trying to integrate people from over a hundred different lands was intensified by the fact that many of these newcomers had undergone great suffering, many were ill or disabled, and still others had no occupational skills and little education. Those who settled in the cities often felt separated from the veteran population; and those who were settled in development towns suffered a feeling of being isolated from the rest of the country. (155)

Many of the large families in a given community lived in small apartments with no where to go and little to do in the evenings. It was a characteristic of the CC in the early stages that it was primarily involved in leisure-time activities. 156 As the needs and problems of the community were examined, the programs of the CC began to expand into programs for all ages.

First formed for informal activities in adult education and culture the CC has now grown to include sports, cultural events, recreational and social activities, organized celebrations of national and religious holidays, welfare programs, day care, programs for handicapped, aged, and health services. (157)

Individuals in the community are encouraged to make the CC meet the needs of their community.

- 2) The CC is to be 'universal' to the community. The needs of one group are not to take priority over other groups. Religious, non-religious, rich, poor, are all made to feel welcome in the CC. The motto of 'A Place for Everyone' is a philosophical concept that affects adult education policy and programming.
- 3) The services of the CC embrace all areas of life within the community. The CC is designed to serve not only individuals but also families, groups, and the community itself. "Some of the CC have taken on the responsibility for the information, education, recreation, culture and social activities for a whole town, others work primarily in a neighborhood." 158
- 4) The CC is to interact and coordinate activities with other adult and educational agencies in the community. Dr. Pozner states, "We have not come to replace or supplant other institutions which came before us and initiated activities, nor to do the work of other bodies." 159
- 5) The CC must involve the citizens of the community in planning services and activating them. The challenge for the Board of Directors in each community is to get full participation by the adults in directing and participating in programs for their community.
- 6) The CC must be flexible in the use of their resources. Manpower and resources must be easily moved from one target area to another. Needs must be met by moving resources into programs designed to meet those needs.
- 7) The CC must utilize the resources economically. A CC is more than 'just a building'. It can move its programs to wherever the people are located. The CC has the potential to be adaptable and resourceful to the

changing needs of the community.

8) The CC must have local autonomy. Although the CC are part of the Israel Association of Community Centers, each CC has its own Board of Directors. This board may include representatives of the Association, local authorities, local membership, and the Jewish Agency.

These eight guidelines offer the local CC a great deal of autonomy in establishing programs to meet the needs of the local community. In the words of the Director,

The CC is the 'mainstream of adult education in a local community. In the educational and social activities, the local CC deals with whatever they want to deal with. They have a choice and a freedom and a variety in their programming. I believe this is the only way to do adult education.  
(160)

Zippori also indicates that "most CC are becoming the common local agent for departments and agencies dealing with adult education in that community." <sup>161</sup> The Open University <sup>162</sup> which has to meet once every two weeks to give professors an opportunity to meet students, often meet at a CC and share the books. As Zippori notes, "The Open University which began in 1973, has introduced a whole new era of adult education in Israel. Adult education has moved from campaigns to fight illiteracy (until the late 60's) into education at a higher level through Regional Colleges, Open Universities and Community Colleges." <sup>163</sup> The CC is a model of local initiative and local involvement in adult education, to accelerate the social and cultural activities of the community in far off places and in poorer sections of the cities. "The whole approach of the CC is the family approach. We try to deal with the adult in the community as a person, as a parent and as a worker." <sup>164</sup> This emphasis

on the individual and the family pushes the goal of the CC beyond 'integration' per se. Alon expressed in the interview,

In this country we are beginning to be afraid of the idea of 'integration'. There are two attitudes we must work on. First we must get the various segments of the population to meet. This is a challenge. Higher socio-economic groups do not want to meet lower groups. Some believe that if they are just 'together' and have common experiences this will build unity. But it is not just meeting that brings integration. Others believe that you must strengthen the self-image of the individual in the lower socio-economic areas. (165)

She stated that the goals of the CC included strengthening the self-image of the adults and providing common experiences for the people. But with regard to 'integration' and phrases such as 'National Identity' and 'National Unity' she added:

Many adult agencies are 'doing it' without necessarily being conscious of what they are doing! They conduct their programs and their activities but rarely stop to say, 'Now we are integrating' or 'Now we are causing people to identify with one another and with the country! (166)

Zippori and Pozner's philosophy of adult education in the CC, has contributed significantly to it being "one of the most innovative developments in Israeli communal life."<sup>167</sup> In some ways the CC is to the families in poverty neighborhoods and development towns what the 'common meeting/dining room' is for the families of the kibbutzim - a focal point for living and learning. The communities surrounding a CC may not have visible fences but there are boundaries to every community. The Community Center in its own unique way allows members 'within' the community, to become part of those 'without'. Former Minister of

Education, Aharon Yadin, expressed his view of the contribution of the Community Centers to the people of Israel, when he said:

In my opinion, if our public institutions are to succeed, they must learn to reach out to people and involve them in the activities of their community. In this respect, one of the most vital institutions we have created - and this is a success story in itself - are the community centers which are a shining example of how community and individual needs should be met. They are at once a social and educational focus serving all strata of the population. In a very real sense, they represent a movement rather than an institution. (168)

#### Moshavim

Encyclopedia Judaica (1973) states that before 1948 most of the immigrants who were of European origin intended from the first to be farmers - primarily in the Kibbutzim movement. By May, 1948 there were 159 kibbutzim established with over 54,000 inhabitants.<sup>169</sup> During this same period a second form of 'cooperative agricultural settlement' was established called Moshav, (plural: 'moshavim').<sup>170</sup> By 1948 there were 99 Moshavim with a total membership of over 30,000. After 1948 through to 1972 the settlement patterns began to change. During this period the moshavim developed 325 new settlements while the kibbutzim established 140 new settlements. The following explanation is given for the shift in settlement patterns.

The later arrivals, over half of whom came from Asia and Africa, were placed on the land without any prior practical or ideological preparation. The collective structure, making as it does much greater ideological demands on the individual, hardly suited their social background. They preferred the moshavim, which are closer to the ordinary village. (171)

A former Minister of Education, himself an active member of an established kibbutz, told the researcher that the extended family, traditional religious position of the 'Oriental' Jew, made it difficult for them to accept the socialist/Marxist ideology of the kibbutzim, (ie. children sleeping in separate children's homes, a secular/atheistic philosophy of life etc.) thereby finding the moshavim more suited for their cultural/lifestyle expectations. <sup>172</sup> Whatever the philosophical reasons one chooses for living on a moshav (or an urban area) the reality remains: people must have food! This fact prompted one adult educator to comment that "agricultural development is most important in the development of a nation." <sup>173</sup>

The magnitude of skills required to train and equip the first immigrants to prepare land, grow crops and manage farms was beyond any similar experience in the Diaspora. In many countries the right to own land had been denied to Jewish 'citizens'. In 1950, Prime Minister Ben-Burion described the situation.

Two major undertakings are required to absorb the thousands of immigrants coming to Israel. They are: land settlement and education. The great majority of the immigrants have nothing. They have no capital or property; all was taken from them. They have been cheated of education and deprived of culture. They are forced to come without means, without trade, without learning, without training, without a language and without knowledge of this country or the values of their nation. (174)

The 'old timers' of the Moshavim had to now become agricultural advisors, to integrate new moshavim families into the 'movement', and make them part of the nation. "Members of veteran moshavim would go to new settlements and teach the people agricultural techniques, how to till the ground, one step at a time. 'Today you do this, tomorrow you do

that..."<sup>175</sup> Up to 1952, the Movement of Moshavim received assistance from agricultural workers supplied by the Histadrut. One of the primary personnel (a member of a moshav for 46 years) joined the Histadrut cultural development department in 1952. He notes,

In 1952 the Moshavim joined forces with the Histadrut to upgrade the education and the culture of the moshav people and help them adapt to the realities of life in Israel. Until 52 there was little emphasis on the cultural level. After 1952, local moshav leaders were selected to work on developing the economic and cultural areas. Choirs and orchestras and artists were brought to the Moshavim while tours and outings were organized for Moshavim members. (176)

Life in Israel had many adjustments for newcomers to the Moshavim that choirs and 'culture' did not always overcome. In a number of the North African communities, the rabbi was consulted, to gain his approval of community actions. On the moshavim authority was vested in a central committee. This altered the traditional rabbi/family head authority over many affairs related to family and community. It also created a resistance to learning among the adult members. It was discovered that "attempts to work through elected leaders rather than recognized leaders of these non-egalitarian societies were failures."<sup>177</sup> It was found that moshavim leaders participation behaviour was similar to that of younger people. This was explained by their more rapid self-identification with the surrounding Israeli society and by their greater accessibility to outside sources of communication.<sup>178</sup> In reflecting on the contribution of adult education within the Moshavim to NI-NU, one adult leader of cultural development for adult members of Moshavim, stated:



We have many failures to look back on in the things we have tried...but there is one achievement that is significant. The youngsters of the moshavim families have become very attached to the land. They are not planning to leave. They want to be absorbed. So in effect we took 'uprooted people' who did not have any identity with the land or the people and 'planted' them on the land. They are now part of the country. Thousands of them now identify with the land. (179)

The 'Movement of Moshavim' is relatively small in membership with 4 percent of the population in 1972.<sup>180</sup> Yet the contribution of adult educators within the movement has aided NI-NU among the members, while bringing agricultural development to the nation.

## CHAPTER IV: FOOTNOTES

Ministry of Education

1. Education and Science, (from: Encyclopedia Judaica) (1973), p. 19.
2. Ibid, p. 22.
3. Ibid, p. 26.  

"The budget of the Ministry of Education and Culture for 1971/72 was 6.5% of the total national budget, second only to the allocation for defence. (Money for school buildings was apart from the 6.5%)" pp. 23-24.
4. Yeheskiel Cohen, personal interview -- (66.1)  
 Sammy Smooha, personal interview ---- (66.3)
5. Education and Science, op. cit., pp. 26-27.
6. Randolph Braham, Israel: A Modern Education System, (1966), p. 85.
7. Ora Grabelsky, 'Trends in Adult Education in Israel' from: Life-Long Education in Israel, (ed) Kalman Yaron, (1972), p. 38.
8. Society, (from: Encyclopedia Judaica) (1973), p. 122.
9. Ibid, p. 122.
10. Government Year Book, 1971, (1971), pp. 136 - 137.
11. Popular Art is a joint concern of the Ministry of Education and Culture, the America-Israel Cultural Foundation and the Histadrut. In 1971-72 it arranged nearly 700 performances (theatrical, musicals, ballets) in development towns, villages and border farmstead. Over 190,000 enthusiasts observed. Performances are for outpost communities and border villages and is part of their 'social integration' for all new arrivals. (Ibid, p. 136.)
12. These paintings were viewed by over 90,000 people in over 32 locations throughout Israel, (Ibid, p. 136.)

13. Popular Education is a means to dispel illiteracy and instill basic schooling - in town and village, in class and at home, embracing over 10,000 'pupils'. It involves 425 civilian part time teachers and 160 service women who are trained for the task. (Ibid, p. 137.)
14. These are regional post secondary schools and colleges for adult students. Fourteen hours a week with 56,000 students in 450 locations. (Ibid, p. 137.)
15. There are 80 public libraries in Israel with over 90,000 readers, plus courses for librarians. (Ibid, p. 137) - (by 1980 it had risen to 750 libraries with 21% the Jewish population registered as a member of a library. From: Facts About Israel, (1980), p. 155.).
16. Ofra Meiri, personal interview, (54.2)  
  
The Association defines adult education as "everything that can help an adult develop as an adult - including proper education, training illiterates, professional education, cultural education etc." (Ibid, 54.2)
17. Life-Long Education in Israel, (1972), p. 43.
18. Richard Mikton, Israel: Training of Vocational Instructors, Supervisors, and Technicians, (1967).

"Education and training is viewed in Israel as an indispensable instrument for welding the native-born, the earlier immigrants and the recently arrived into a united nation. Vocational training is an important part of the country's educational establishment since a continuous flow of skilled workers into industry is essential to Israel's economic prosperity." p. 22.

In a booklet entitled, Manpower Training and Development Bureau. (1978), a description is given of the various vocational training activities within the Ministry of Labor.

"The Department for Adult Training includes units dealing with the following areas: Adult Training, On-the-Job Training, Training of Women, Retraining of University graduates. Vocational Training for the handicapped population, Guidance for pensioners and The Arab sector."

Researcher's Note:

The Ministry of Labor is a significant adult education agency in Israel (especially in the area of vocational training programs). Many of the Ministry's programs are oriented to the direct application of a skill learned. This could account for why this Ministry was rated lower than the selected seven agencies as an adult education agency that is making a primary contribution to NI-NU. Some within this Ministry might question the validity of the perception and assessment of the primary personnel. However with the limitations of the study, the researcher would ask Dr. Daniel Millin (whom he interviewed) Director of Manpower Training and Development Bureau, to accept this possible explanation.

19. Yonah Ben-Sason, personal interview, (114. 1-6; 116.1; 75.2)  
 20. Ibid, (5.15)

Ulpanim (Hebrew Language Programs)

21. "In traditional Jewish society" means that society which 'regards its existence as based upon a common body of knowledge and values handed down from the past.' From the historical point of view this is 'the whole of world Jewry, at least from the talmudic era (200 C.E.) up to the age of European Emancipation' - from: Jacob Katz, Tradition and Crisis, Jewish Society at the End of the Middle Ages. (1961), p. 3). The Book refers of course, to the Holy Scriptures and the body of rabbinic literature that was built upon them throughout the ages. The Jews came to be called the 'People of the Book; by virtue of living according to the rules of THE Book with which they were so preoccupied."  
 from: 'Functions of the Book for Society and Self, A Study in Secular Transformation', Elihu Katz and Hannah Adoni, Life-Long Education in Israel, (1972), p. 50.

"The people of the Book" is one of the few national characteristics which finds a place both in the self-image of the religious public and of the secular public." Ibid, p. 54.

In a 1970 Reader's Digest 'Survey of Europe Today' it was found that three quarters (77%) of the Israeli population read one book in the past year. A book was defined as a non-periodical printed publication of at least 49 pages, exclusive of the cover pages. The number of 'active readers' (8 or more books a year) was 42% of the entire population. Both figures outranked ten Western European countries. Ibid, p. 55.

22. Facts About Israel, (1980), p. 145.

The decision to make Hebrew the national language of Israel materialized through the efforts of pioneers such as Eliezer Ben-Yehuda, who arrived in Jerusalem in 1881 and became famous as the creator of the first Hebrew dictionary. In 1892, the Jewish teachers of the country resolved to adopt Hebrew as the language of instruction: the first high schools were opened in Jaffa (1906) and Jerusalem (1908)... In 1922 Hebrew, Arabic and English were recognized as official languages. (from p. 145.)

23. School Comes to Adults, (1965), p. 32.

24. Shlomo Kodesh - personal interview - (11.10).

Ora Grabelsky added in a personal interview:

"Those who were educated were sent to Ulpanim in the early 50's to learn the language. Doctors or engineers were given help in special classes to learn the language. Those who were not educated were not sent to Ulpanim, because their problem was not language. Their problem was a lack of a basic education." (16.4)

This supports the government document which states: "Originally, the ulpan was intended for people with a higher education and members of the free professions only. Today (1965) however, it opens its doors to graduates of elementary schools as well... non-Jews who have come with the view to learning the language quickly, be they scholars of Hebrew, the Bible, or Semitics, clerics or diplomats." (School Comes to Adults, op. cit., pp. 33-34.

25. School Comes to Adults, op. cit., p. 32.

26. Yaacov Ardon, "Adult Education as a Community Tool", Jerusalem Post, 26 February, 1976 (quoting Dr. Eitan Israeli, Chairman of the Adult Education Association of Israel, northern branch.)

27. Haim Hutner - personal interview - (11.14)

28. Ibid, (11.16)

29. Shlomo Kodesh, op. cit., (11.1)

30. Ibid, (11.3; 11-5)

31. Ibid, (11.6)
32. Ibid, (16.3)
33. Yehuda Bien, Adult Educators in Face of Societies Distresses, (1976), p. 135.  
(translated into English for the researcher by Israel Pekin).  
  
The researcher asked one adult educator, 'Is there a hidden agenda in Ulpan? The response was "It better not be hidden' (27.2). "When we teach Hebrew to new comers, it is not just language as a practical means of communication. Hebrew is a channel to understand culture, philosophy, the ideals and the history of the people throughout the generations."  
(Avraham Tzivion - personal interview - 27.3).
34. Haim Hutner, op. cit., (11.18)
35. Personal notes from the 30th Anniversary of Ulpan Meeting in Tel-Aviv, December 19, 1979.
36. Ofra Maheri - personal interview - (16.4)
37. The word 'ulpan' can mean 'studio' in Hebrew. ie. On Kol Yisrael, 'The Voice of Israel' radio station they will say (transliterated) 'Now back to the ulpan.'
38. Shlomo Kodesh, 'The Diffusion of Hebrew', in Life-Long Education in Israel, (1972), p. 89.
39. Ibid, p. 90.
40. Ibid, p. 90
41. School Comes to Adults, op. cit., p. 34.
42. Ibid, p. 34
43. Ora Grabelsky, From Illiteracy to Literacy, (1970), pp. 58-64.
44. Ibid, p. 64.
45. School Comes to Adults, op, cit., p. 4.
46. Ulpanit (plural: 'Ulpaniyot') is a non-residential language class for adults, which meets two or three times a week. They mostly convene in the evenings or during the morning hours.

In 1965 the number of Hebrew Language adult pupils was distributed as follows:

	No. of Institutions	No. of Classes	No. of Teachers	No. of Pupils
1. Ulpaniyot	215	659	460	10,500
2. Residential Ulpanim	10	98	107	4,900
3. Popular Ulpanim	15	67	67	1,450
4. Youth Centers	10	20	20	700
5. Kibbutz Ulpanim	69	120	120	3,800
Total	310	964	774	21,350

from: School Comes to Adults, op. cit. pp. 36-37.

47. The researcher's Ulpanit experience lasted three months. The pace of the class was such that those with a Jewish background, and the high motivation of making 'aliyah' (immigration to Israel) were able to 'keep up'. Non Jews, and the Jews who were visitors to Israel found the course required one to 'break ones teeth' to maintain the pace.

From an article in The American Jewish World, September 28, 1962, entitled: "To Ulpan Akiva They Come from Everywhere", Bess Frisch describes the 'shock method' of teaching Hebrew.

"...words and phrases are literally flung at students. No time to do otherwise than catch and absorb. If one did not know the alphabet, one had to learn it on one's own time. From the beginning there was dictation from the teacher which the student transliterated in his own language into a notebook...then into Hebrew...there was singing...and skits with two or three people dialoging in front of the class..." (p. 22.)

48. The word 'illiterate' means "anybody who can not read and write at all in any language." from: Ora Grabelsky, op. cit., p. 9.

Grabelsky refers to a five-stage scale of Literacy developed by A. H. Robinson in Basic Education for the Disadvantaged Adult: Theory and Practice, Boston: 1966, (Lanning F. W. and Manny, W. A. (eds.), p. 300.

1. Complete Illiteracy - unable to read at all.
2. Low-Level Literacy - able to read at a grade 1-4 level.
3. Partial Literacy - able to read at a grade 5-6 level.  
(essential)
4. Variable Literacy - able to read many kinds of materials at a variety of levels.
5. Complete Literacy - able to read effectively suiting reading rate and approach to purposes and difficulty of material.

49. School Comes to Adults, op. cit., p. 4.
50. Ibid, p. 13.
51. Ibid, p. 14.
52. Kalman Yaron, 'Seeing Israel - From an Old City Ulpan' article in Jerusalem Post, Friday, June 28, 1968, p. 11.
53. Ulpan Akiva takes its name from Rabbi Akiva.

"What are Rabbi Akiva's beginnings? He had reached the age of 40 and had not learned anything. Once he happened to be standing near a well in Lod, he asked who made the groove in this stone? They said to him: Akiva, know thee not the verse 'The water wears the stone' (Job 14:19). The water had made the grooves in the stone by falling continuously, day after day. Whereupon Rabbi Akiva said, 'Is then my heart harder than a stone?'" - Midrash (Compendium of Jewish Legend)

"Rabbi Akiva's awakening resulted from his realization that one cannot possibly know which drop of water makes grooves in a stone." - Talmudic tradition.

from: 'The Ulpan and Its Students', Life-Long Education in Israel, op. cit., p. 93.

54. Newspaper clippings in the Ulpan Akiva archives refer to Schulamit Katznelson as, 'a fanatic', a 'tiny dynamo', a woman of compact and abrupt energy', 'a rebel', 'a non conformist',

The researcher identifies with the description offered by Mr. Aharon Yadlin...(see footnote 60) "...she knows how to demand; how to encourage; how to propogate ideas; how to constantly take new initiatives." (p. 1.)

55. Bess Frish, The American Jewish World, op. cit., p. 22.
56. 'Hebrew Without Tears', Jerusalem Post, September 7, 1973. page unknown.
57. 'Hebrew is Your Key to Israel', Information Brochure prepared by Ulpan Akiva, POB 256, Natanya, 42100, Israel.
58. 'Its a Very Special Place', Jewish Voice, Friday, May 11, 1973 p. 3.
59. 'Hebrew Without Tears', op, cit. page unknown
60. from an address by Mr. Aharon Yadlin at the Opening Ceremony



of the Course for the Study of Arabic at Ulpan Akiva, April 16, 1978. Copy on file in Ulpan Akiva Archives. p. 1.

61. Schulamit Katznelson - from personal interviews, see transcribed pages of interview, pp. 5-11.
62. Ibid, p. 11.

Israel Defence Forces (IDF)

63. Government Year Book, 5711 (1950), p. 36.
64. Ibid, p. 7.
65. 'Israel Defence Forces as Adult Educator', from: Life-Long Education in Israel, (1972), p. 98.
66. Col. Mordechai Bar-On, Education Processes in the Israel Defence Forces, (1966), p. 9.

Col. Bar-On was the Chief Education Officer in the IDF when this book was written. He acknowledges that most of the activities in which the IDF engage are similar to other armies of the world (ie. schools, study circles, institutes for leadership training, publications, lectures, theater groups, choirs, etc.) The paper is based on the assumption that in the IDF there occur educational processes which are of great significance for the country and its citizens. (from Preliminary Remarks, pp. 3-6.)

67. Shlomo Kodesh - personal interview - (19.1)
68. Kalman Yaron - Personal Interview - (19.2)
69. "all citizens from their 18th year - men serving three years and unmarried women for two."  
Facts About Israel, (1980), p. 125.

"There are a number of people who are not recruited. 8-10% of the men do not qualify (physically handicapped, lack of education, low intelligence standards, lack of knowledge of Hebrew, criminal record etc) (from personal interview with Col. Bar-On 119.1)  
See also Bar-On (1966) pp. 22-23.  
Roumani quotes a source (Ha-Aretz Supplement, March 31, 1972, p. 8.) which puts the 'exception' rate for men at only 3.5%. See Roumani (1978), p. 38.

"Less than fifty percent of women who reach the age of eighteen actually enlist in the IDF. Military service law exempts married women. Girls who marry during military service are discharged...girls are exempted for religious reasons (most Oriental women regard military service as an intolerable departure from their sacred vows)...Girls are exempt for health handicaps which would be insufficient to release men."

In a personal interview Bar-On added:

"The army is not a blessing to a very crucial part of society - the 50% of the mothers of the future generation." (119.2) "They were deprived of receiving the positive aims of the army." (119.6)

- 70. Ora Grabelsky - personal interview - (19.5)
- 71. Col. Mordechai Bar-On - personal interview - (121.7)
- 72. Maurice Roumani, From Immigrant to Citizen, (1978), p. 5.

Born in Benghazi, Libya, Dr. Roumani is a political scientist Lecturer at Ben-Gurion University of the Negev. The researcher visited him and his family at their home in Omer, near Beersheba. Roumani is one of a growing number of articulate and well educated Oriental Jews, who are beginning to question the feasibility of a program of national integration aimed at cultural homogeneity in a democratic society where the goal in their estimation ought to be pluralism.

- 73. Ibid, p. 5.
- 74. Bar-On, op, cit., p. 9.
- 75. Sammy Smooha, Israel: Pluralism and Conflict, (1978), p. 3.
- 76. Roumani, op. cit., p. 26.
- 77. Ibid, Chapter 1, 'Israeli Society', pp. 13-23.
- 78. Ibid, p. 5

Professor of History, Henry Huttenbach (The City College of the City University of New York) in writing the Preface to Maurice Roumani's book, From Immigrant to Citizen states: (p. 5.)

Every state confronted by a diverse population, multi-ethnic and multi-cultural, strives towards social homogeneity according to pre-conceived

criteria reflecting the values and needs of the ruling elite. Modernization and assimilation of the masses are the twin goals and ideals of all contemporary nation states: the former assures optimum competitive power with rival states; and the latter guarantees the broadest popular support for government policy.

79. Ibid, p. 33
80. One notable exception among the Primary Personnel (listed in Appendix A) is President Yhitzak Navon. Sociologist Sammy Smooha (born in Iraq) has written much about this cultural division between Askenazi and Oriental Jews in his book Israel: Pluralism and Conflict. (1978).
81. Avraham Tzivion - personal interview (59.8)
82. Col. Mordechai Bar-On - personal interview - (32.31)
83. Roumani, op, cit., p. 19.
84. Ibid, p. 52.
85. Ibid, p. 52.
86. Ibid, p. 54
87. Ibid, p. 54. (see also, Life-Long Education in Israel, Yaron, op. cit., p. 100.)
88. Ibid, p. 55
89. Ibid, p. 54 and 55.
90. Ibid, p. 56. (see Yaron, op. cit., p. 101.)
91. Lea Levavi, 'Second Chance at the Center' Jerusalem POST Newspaper, December 10, 1971.
92. Ibid, (same article, page unknown).
93. Roumani, op. cit., p. 59. (see Yaron, op. cit., p. 101.)
94. Ibid, pp. 60-61.
95. Bar-On, op. cit., p. 54. (see Roumani, op. cit., pp. 62-63.)
96. Roumani, op. cit., p. 95.
97. Ibid, p. 98.

98. Bar-On, op. cit., p. 75.
99. Roumani, op. cit., p. 101.
100. Ibid, p. 104
101. Ibid, p. 105.
102. Ibid, p. 105
103. Col. Mordechai Bar-On - personal interview - (121.5)
104. An award presented each year to the individual or agency recognized by the Israel Adult Education Association for making a significant contribution to adult education in Israel.
105. Ibid, (121.4)
106. Roumani, op. cit., p. 129.
107. Ibid, p. 129.
108. Bar-On, op. cit., (1966), p. 78.

#### The Kibbutzim

109. Immigration and Settlement, (1973), p. 96.

For a detailed account of Kibbutzim see Society, (1974), pp. 75-94.

110. Aspects of Israel, (1974), p. 18.

"The Kibbutz movements were at the center of the ideals that led to the rebirth of Israel. They saw the return to Zion as much more than establishing a national homeland; they saw it mainly as a means of building a Socialist society based on the principle of a 'return to the soil'." (p. 18.)

111. The Kibbutz, Rosenfeld, Hanegbi and Segal, (1973), p. vii.
112. Alexander Barzel (a member of Kibbutz Kfar Hahores and a senior lecturer at the University of Haifa) states in an article entitled 'Judaism and the Kibbutz' Forum, Spring, 1980, No. 37. pp/ 37-52 the following:

"The kibbutz is not a random collection of people whose way of life, principles and goals are formed in the course of its

existence in a changing reality, but a social entity constituted on the basis of principles and directed toward a goal." (p. 37.)

"The kibbutz does not see itself as an isolated cloister of 'noble souls'. It is a social movement grounded in reality, utilizing the tools furnished by the civilization within which it exists and the achievements of progress in order to bring about a better world." (p. 45.)

"The kibbutz is a manifest Jewish Utopia, a summons to rebellion against evil and a struggle to improve man's world." (p. 49.) (with the author's footnote: "In the words of Buber, the kibbutz is a 'topia' and not a U-topia; it takes place in the here-and-now and not in some realm beyond time. See: Paths in Utopia, Buber, Beacon, 1958, p. 52.)

113. Although the kibbutz we visited stressed a Marxist ideology, (Kibbutz Artzi shel Hashomer Hatzair') Kohlberg suggests six common features held by the majority of the kibbutzim. They are:

1. Common Value Assumption. The principle of 'shitui veshivion' - co-operation and equality. Every Kibbutz member is expected to co-operate fully in the maintenance of the social and economic life of the kibbutz. "From each according to his ability, to each according to his need". No member of the kibbutz receives a salary, or any form of direct monetary reward for his labor. All the property used and produced by the kibbutz is owned collectively by members of the kibbutz. Private property is kept to a minimum. The house in which the member lives, the food he eats, the equipment he uses and the crops he grows are owned by the kibbutz. Another common value assumption is the "moral primacy of the group", meaning that a member's personal feelings are kept in balance with or subjection to the goals of the group. Great stress is placed on the value of physical labor and 'avoda atzmit' - self labor.

2. Collective Economic Organization. All members are employed on a year-round basis in an economically organized manner to make maximum efficient use of the labor and the capital available. Both productive (income generating tasks) and service tasks are rotated among members for their 6:30 a.m. to 3:30 p.m. 'average day'.

3. Communal Living Arrangements. A communal dining room for meals, meetings, mail and memos is the focal point of the kibbutz. Nearby are communal service facilities (laundry, etc.) and members' apartments (living room and bedroom). Most kibbutzim children sleep in children's houses with others the same age. On the perimeter are garages, agricultural facilities, possibly a school or light industry depending on the size of the kibbutz - all surrounded by barbed wire fences for security.

4. Democratic Rule. Members have a weekly 'sicha kallalit' or general meeting. Various committees run all aspects of kibbutz life while the general membership has the final authority.

5. Collective Education. Classes are held for children of the kibbutz or a group from nearby kibbutzim.

6. Cultural Celebrations. Major Jewish-Israeli holidays are celebrated as well as marriages and funerals but most remain secular in tone.

Shabbat, from sundown Friday to Saturday, serves as a day of rest. ;

Researcher's notes taken from an unpublished paper written by a member of Dr. Kohlberg's team. Located in the library of Kibbutz Sasa, March 1980.

114. Yehuda Bien - personal interview (69.2)
115. Ibid, (90.1)
116. Ibid, (69.3)
117. Ibid, (69.4)
118. Ibid, (69.4)
119. Shachar, "Social Changes in Adult Education in Israel" Thesis submitted for the degree, Doctor of Philosophy, Hebrew University, October, 1974. From Summary in English, p. 1.
- Shachar defines adult education in his paper as:
- "activities undertaken in an organized way, with the intention to add to the adult person, knowledge, competence and the capabilities of understanding and appreciation." (p. 1.)
120. Ibid, p. 1
121. Yehuda Bien, "The Kibbutz - A Working and Learning Society" from Lifelong Education in Israel, (ed) Kalman Yaron, (1972), pp. 129-135. (p. 134.)
122. Ibid, p. 135.
123. Ibid, p. 135.
124. Ibid, p. 132.
125. Ibid, p. 132.

126. Ibid, p. 133.

see also: Yehuda Bien, Adult Education in Kibbutzim in Israel, Kibbutz Movement, Authority for Education and Research, 1966.

### The Histadrut

127. Aspects of Israel. (1974), p. 39.

The other labor organizations in Israel are, Histadrut Ha-Ovdim Ha-Leumit (founded in 1934 by the Revisionist Zionists) and Hapoel Hamizrachi and Poalei Agudat Israel (both religious organizations). In 1973 their total membership was 135,000. They are engaged in trade union activities, absorption of immigrants, housing, employment, co-operation, education, social work and settlement on the land.

(see also Facts About Israel, (1980), p. 178.)

For a more detailed account of the history of the Histadrut, see Society (from Encyclopedia Judaica) Jerusalem: Keter Publishing House, 1974, pp. 102-141.

128. Ibid, p. 39

129. Ibid, p. 39.

130. Bezalel Shachar, 'Workers' Education' from Lifelong Education In Israel, (ed) Kalman Yaron, (1972), pp. 125-128.

"From an early period, the labor movement was aided in their task by the extra-mural department of the Hebrew University in Jerusalem (established in 1918). This partnership was sometimes called an alliance between the mountain (the university) and the valley (the village, with particular reference to the cooperative settlements in the Valley of Jezreel where famous men of science would come and lecture.)"

131. Yehuda Gothelf - personal interview (68.6. p. 1.)

132. Ibid, (68.7.p.1.)

133. Ibid, (68.8.p.2.)

134. Ibid, (68.9.p.2.)

135. Ibid, (68.10.p.2.)

136. Bezalel Shachar, Culture and Education in the Histadrut, (1965), p. 5.

137. Ibid, p. 5.
138. Ibid, p. 8.
139. Yehuda Bien - personal interview - (68.5.p.5.)
140. Shachar, op. cit., (1965), p. 15.
141. Bezalel Shachar, 'Aspects of Education in Israel' The Role of The Histadrut, (1970) p. 44.
142. Bien, op. cit., (68.1.p.2.)
143. Shachar, op. cit., (1970), p. 45.

"In Israel we have a broad common denominator for work, cooperation and harmony among the various (adult education) agencies: The Government (Ministry of Education and Culture); The Israel Defence Force; Municipal authorities; and the Universities."

144. Bien, op. cit., (68.4.p.2.)
145. Shachar, op. cit., (1970), p. 74.

An activity of the Histadrut's Arab Department is "the effort to foster Israeli-mindedness among the Arab inhabitants, ie. the best way to crystallize in them an awareness of themselves as Arabs who are Israelis and Israelis who are Arabs."

The researcher asked one Histadrut primary personnel "If Zionism and socialism are the goals of the Histadrut, are there conflicts with these goals if we include the 400,000 plus Israeli Arabs? (1973)" The answer was 'No'..."What we demand from the Arab is that he be loyal to the State. Because if we reach our larger goal, then Israel will be part of a large corporation, we will be the majority in Israel, but they (the Arabs) will be the majority in the Arab-socialist camp." (68.11)

146. Shachar, op. cit., (1970), p. 23. (researcher's summary)
147. Ibid, p. 47.
148. Bezalel Shachar, 'Social Changes in Adult Education in Israel, (1974), p. 1. (Summary in English)
149. Ibid, p. 1.
150. Ibid, p. 1.



Community Centers

151. Israel Corporation of Community Centers: Summaries and Objectives, 1969-1979, (eds) Michal Cohen and Elisheva May, (1979).

This Decenary Convention booklet has numerous articles related to the historical growth of the Community Centers - and future directions being considered. (ie. para-professionals, day-nurseries).

152. Haim Zippori - personal interview - (55.12)

There are over 800 Jewish Community Centers worldwide with over 2 million members. Of the 103 (1980) Community Centers in Israel 8 are in Arab communities, (pre-67 borders). The Israel Community Centers are dependent on financial contributions primarily from Jews in the United States, and as such 'are obligated to work with the people the finances support' (ie the Israeli-Jewish communities).

153. Ibid, (55.10)

154. Esther Alon - personal interview - (78.1)

155. Karen Hoffman, Community Centers in Israel, (1976), p. 2.

156. Haim Zippori, 'Trends of Development for the Coming Decade', from: ICCC: Summaries and Objectives, op. cit., p. 11.

157. Hoffman, op. cit., p. 5.

158. Ibid, p. 4.

159. Zvi Lavi, 'A Venture by a Twosome', from: ICCC: Summaries and Objectives, op. cit., p. 8.

160. Haim Zippori, personal interview, (55.14)

161. Ibid, (55.14)

162. The Open University for Adults began to function in 1976. It does not have academic requirements for admission.

163. Haim Zippori, op. cit., (17.1)

164. Ibid, (55.14)

165. Esther Alon, personal interview, (55.5)

166. Ibid, (55.9)
167. Hoffman, op. cit., p.2.
168. Ibid, p. 16.

Hoffman identifies five ways the Community Centers in Israel can be distinguished from Jewish Community Centers in North America.

- 1) In Israel the community center serves the total population of the town or neighbourhood, not just part of it.
- 2) In Israel the community center focuses mainly on the disadvantaged population with less emphasis on serving the middle and upper class.
- 3) In Israel the community center activities are supported primarily by public funds, and not chiefly by membership fees or Jewish federation subsidies.
- 4) In Israel the community center primarily provides basic education, welfare and social services, with understandably, less programs to enhance Jewish identification.
- 5) In Israel the community center in many ways is similar to the settlement houses of the 1890's and the multi-service Centers of the poverty program of the 1960's. (p. 13.)

#### Moshavim

169. Immigration and Settlement, (1973), p. 98.

Table 9, p. 96., and Table 10, p. 97. detailed figures for each year 1900-1972.

170. The Moshav is a co-operative village where each family maintains its own household and works its own plot of land. Marketing and supply are handled co-operatively, and to a varying degree, capital and means of production are jointly owned. The average moshav has a population of 60-100 families. (from: Aspects of Israel, (1974), p. 19.)
171. Immigration and Settlement, op. cit., p. 98.

The 1980 Handbook, Facts About Israel, op. cit., p. 100. adds:

"Attempts were made at the beginning - in the spirit of the Ingathering of the Exiles - to install new comers from very different backgrounds - such as Romanian and Moroccan Jews (Ashkenazi and Oriental) on the same moshav, but community resistance was strong. Since then the policy has been to settle only a single group or a number of similar ones, on each moshav.

There are signs that the merging of the different cultures is easier with the second generation of moshav members."

172. Aharon Yadlin - personal interview, (98.10)
173. Ora Grabelsky - personal interview, (95.3)
174. Government Year Book: (1950), p. 34.
  
175. Ora Grabelsky, op. cit., (95.1)
176. Gershon Gilad - personal interview, (98.1)
177. Yehiel Admoni, 'Extension Methods in Agriculture', Life-Long Education in Israel, (1972), p. 141.
  
178. Ibid, p. 142.

A study of the efficiency of various extension methods showed that the settlers give highest evaluation to individual instruction methods through the local advisor. (p. 142) This evidenced that "the most efficient channel of communication in traditional societies is by way of the recognized leaders. Even if the process takes longer, because it is really a double process - from advisor to leader, and from leader to settler - it is still more efficient." (p. 141)

179. Gershon Gilad, op. cit., (98.9)
180. Aspects of Israel, op. cit., p. 19.