THE NEVE-SHALOM/WAHAT-EL-SALAM SCHOOL: AN ISLAND OF COEXISTENCE
IN A SEA OF CONFLICT

by

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Neve Shalom/Wahat-el-Salam: A Case study of an Arab-Jewish school in Israel

I take the school in Neve Shalom/Wahat-el-Salam as a test case for the educational implications of one of the most central problems of life in Israel – the relationships between its Jewish and Arab Citizens. I chose this school because it is a unique institution in which Jews and Arabs study together on terms of equal dignity and representation, against the background of a society and a public education system in which there are clear majority-minority hierarchies and the groups are separated in almost everything. The challenge that this school has undertaken does not have a clear counterpart anywhere in the world. In this paper I want to describe this experience and analyze it by putting its main features into broader contexts and perspectives. I believe that such an analysis may sharpen and clarify some basic issues that Israel has preferred to avoid. These issues are crucial for Israel and they are relevant to many contemporary societies struggling with the tensions between the need to promote civic equality and cohesion on the one hand and the recognition of ethnic, religious, linguistic and cultural differences between its communities on the other.

I. General

Most contemporary democracies do not have homogenous populations in terms of religion, ethnic origin, culture or language. In part, this pluralism is the result of changes in the political borders of modern states, when these encompass into one state more than one ethnic and cultural group. In part, this is the result of massive immigration, where indigenous populations and waves of immigrants together create a varied puzzle. In some cases, dominant majorities assimilate minorities into them. More often, the differences linger on and require some political accommodation between shared human and civic components of identity and other, more particular ones.

One of the most central areas in which this issue arises is that of public education, which is supposed to be one of the most important agents of socialization in any complex society. In a homogenous society, public education can be used without a serious problem to educate all youngsters and initiate them into their society. They will all get basic skills enabling them to cope in the world they will live in, coupled with an initiation into the cultural values of their community. Personal excellence and
achievement, critical and creative thinking and loyalty to state, tradition and nation can all go together. All of this may become very difficult when the society served by public education is not homogenous. The difficulty grows if the relationships between the groups are not merely ones of difference but of competition and even acute conflict. The difficulty will be maximal if between the groups we have an active, unresolved conflict, which may deteriorate into an armed civil war, so that in a sense members of the groups see each other as enemies. This is the case regarding relations of Jews and Arabs in Israel.

The State of Israel was founded in 1948, after a prolonged conflict between Arabs and Jews concerning the future of the country. The conflict started in the end of the 19th century, when Zionism started to act on the dream to establish a Jewish National home in the Jews' ancient homeland. The indigenous Palestinian population naturally objected. In 1919 the League of Nations created the British Mandate, affirming the purpose of creating a national home for Jews in Israel as a vindication of the right of Jews to self-determination. Arab opposition led to repeated decisions to divide the country into an Arab and a Jewish state. When the UN decided, again, on such a partition, in November 1947, hostilities erupted and the Arab states rushed in to prevent the creation of the Jewish state. The war that ensued is seen by Jews as their War of Independence, and by the Palestinian population as their Disaster (el Naqba). It resulted with a Jewish state – Israel – on an area larger than that assigned to it in the UN resolution, and with about 700,000 Palestinians who became refugees. 150,000 Palestinians remained within Israel and gained its citizenship. In 1967, as a result of another attack by Arab states, Israel conquered the rest of the West Bank from Jordan, and has occupied it ever since. A series of attempts to resolve the conflict has not yet led to any negotiated agreement. Self determination for Palestinians and the future of the refugees are still central live issues in the region. The Oslo process, which started in 1993, gave some hope that the parties can reach a peaceful two-states-solution after all. In October 2000, this process collapsed, generating a period of growing violence in the region. At the moment, it is not clear what the future of the region is. While the international community still favors a two-states solution, important segments in both communities resist this solution claiming they should rule their whole homeland. Related, and more relevant to our concerns here, is the ongoing debate about the character of Israel itself. While some see the two states solution as a political arrangement giving both Jews and Palestinians their own nation-states, others see the Palestinian state as a nation-state, but claim that Israel should be made 'the state of all its citizens' – i.e. a liberal democracy privatizing all non-civic affiliations, or a bi-national state, recognizing the equal status of Arabs within it.

In the Declaration of the Foundation of the State of May 14th 1948, Israel defines itself as a Jewish state recognizing full civil and political and social rights of all its citizens. The constitution that was supposed to have been enacted never materialized, and the courts have stated that the Declaration did not have the force of law. The regime established in the state was a Westminster-type democracy. The Jewishness of the state was presupposed, and arrangements protecting it were enacted on the basis of the clear Jewish majority in Israel.

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3 These events are seen very differently by Jews and Arabs, and there are different readings of them even within the two communities. For a typical Jewish account see For a Palestinian account see Nadim Rouhana, For a pro-Palestinian account see Finklestein, . For an account by a Jewish 'new' historian see B. Morris,
In the period from 1948 to 1967 the Arab minority within Israel was small and demoralized. The devastating blow of 1948 left it without a leadership. Until 1966, most Arabs were under a military rule imposing serious limitations on their freedom of movement and work. Israel felt fragile and insecure, and the Arab minority seemed a potential fifth column to many of its political leaders. 1967 created two processes. The first was a growing increase in the liberty of Arabs in Israel, leading to their greater integration within Israel. The second was growing contacts between the Arab minority in Israel and Palestinians outside it, which led to strengthened connections between the two Palestinian communities.

Developments within Israel and in the region led to the higher visibility of tensions between democracy and the Jewish nature of the state. On the one hand, right wing religious zealots like Meir Kahane argued that 'Jewish' meant governed by Jewish law, and so Israel could not be both Jewish and democratic. He advocated that it should prefer its Jewishness over its democracy when necessary. On the other hand, many Arabs and some radical left-wing Jews agreed that democracy was not consistent with a Jewish state, and advocated Israel's giving up of its Jewish uniqueness. A large majority of Jews within Israel insist that Israel should remain the nation-state of Jews, where Jews exercise their right of self determination. They also think that this is consistent with Israel's democracy and with its commitment to protect the human rights of all.

Since the 1980s, and especially in the human rights basic laws of 1992, Israel has enacted a variety of laws defining it as a Jewish and democratic state. That legislation has spurred extensive public debate. Many Arab leaders in fact argue that the Jewish nature of the state is not legitimate. One of these laws specifies that a party or a candidate denying the Israel is a Jewish and democratic state cannot participate in the elections. In the 2001 elections, the elections committee indeed decided that two central candidates should not be allowed to run, but the Supreme Court decided that the evidence showing their positions were not consistent with the Jewishness of the state was not strong and unequivocal enough to justify banning them. Some analysts argue, however, that the positions of these leaders clearly deny the legitimacy of the idea of a Jewish nation-state in Israel. One thing is clear – these issues are not resolved, and both histories and desired directions are hotly debated.

All of these were naturally reflected in Israel's educational system. One of Israel's first laws introduced mandatory education for all. People can meet this duty to send their children to school by sending them to public (free) schools, to 'recognized but not official' schools, or to 'exempted' schools. The public school system has three

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4 See Ruth Gavison, Azure 15. The tensions between the Jewish nature of the state and its democracy exist both among Jews and between Jews and Arabs. In this essay I will deal only with the latter, but the former also affect the reality of Israel and its educational system.
5 Dan Scuefan, Azure
6 See the debate about whether Israel can be both Jewish and democratic in Israel Studies 1999 (essays by Ghanem et al, Gavison, discussing Smooha's model of Israel as an ethnic democracy).
7 Mandatory Education Law, 1949. All Jews sent their children to schools of various sorts even before the state was founded. Christian Arabs did the same. Moslem education was the weakest, and did not reach large parts of the population.
8 For a general description of the educational system in Israel see Yoram Rabin, The Right to Education (is there a basic text in English?)
main 'sectors' – the general public schools, the public-religious schools, and the Arab schools. In principle, the state was supposed to pay in full only for public education, and to supervise its content and level. Public financing of non-public education should have come with supervision of its level and its meeting the requirements of teaching some core curriculum of basic tasks and civics. In fact, there is quite a lot of public support of the other types of educational institutions, and the level of supervision is varied.

Education laws in Israel do not explicitly address ethnic or national affiliations, differences or narratives. The Arab sector is identified by the language of instruction. The religious-public stream has its own supervisory council to ensure that these schools meet the requirements of orthodox Jewish communities. Despite this fact, the school communities in Israel are very segregated in fact. In part, this is because assignment to schools is based on residential areas. The duty to provide public education is imposed in part on the local authorities. Jews and Arabs usually live in different towns and villages, so the schools which they go to (especially at the level of elementary education and below) are segregated. Mostly, this de-facto segregation in schooling between Jews and Arabs has not been challenged either politically or in the courts. When a case of this sort did get to the courts, the local authority tried to solve the issue by a combination of a neutral legal provision coupled with practical incentives that will maintain a balance. That effort has not fully succeeded, and the matter is now pending at the courts. For my purposes in this paper, however, this case is the exception that sharpens the rule of unchallenged de-facto segregation. Usually, this separation is accepted and even advocated by most leaders of both communities. The quest for equality and debates about the goals of education and the content of curricula mostly presuppose a continued macro separation between...
Jews and Arabs in schools (as well as high level of separation among Jewish sub-groups, mainly on the basis of religious attitudes). The initial policy decision concerning separation was made at the very beginning and was based on the depth of the differences between the communities, the decision to let the Arab community teach its children in Arabic, the reality of an unresolved conflict, and the expectation that a mandatory integration of all schools (and the adoption of Hebrew as the official language in the schools) will raise both insurmountable practical difficulties and vocal opposition.

In 1948, there were massive discrepancies between the education systems of different communities. The British authorities relegated education to the communities themselves. The old Jewish Yishuv had mainly ultra religious educational institutions of various sorts, with some modern institutions. The Zionist movement has created a line of Hebrew schools, both general and religious. In any event, all Jewish children attended some extended schooling and were literate. These schools were all used when the state system was founded. In the Arab sector there was a great difference between cities and rural areas and between Christian and Moslem communities. Among the Christians, all boys and many of the girls attended schools. The situation was very different among the rural Moslem communities, a majority of the local Arab population. Despite a dramatic improvement in the status and level of Arab education in Israel since 1948, the gaps between this system and the Jewish one are still quite noticeable. In all measurable criteria, the record of the Jewish sector is better than that of the Arab one. The gaps are the result of complex reasons, including differential allocation of public funds, cultural differences, differences in pedagogical approaches, gaps in the educational background of the families, the size of families, and the social-economic level of the population.

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13 In this essay I will only address the Jewish-Arab rift and its reflection in the educational system. Yet it must be noted that 'streams' in the educational system and their effects on social cohesion come from many other tensions within the Jewish population. In addition to the official public religious system which is fully funded, there are a variety of 'exempt' ultra religious institutions with different emphases of culture and community. These are funded by a variety of means by the public, and the issue is one of the most highly charged within Israel. The students in most Arab and ultra-religious schools also do not serve in the Israeli army, which is the other great agent of socialization in Israeli society. Thus these two sectors exist in a way in the margins of Israeli society. Ironically, these are the sectors with greatest natural growth. They now form together about 30% of the population, and their share in Israel's first grades is about 50%. One important consequence of the highly sectorized educational system in Israel is that young people from the different groups very rarely encounter each other in their daily lives. 14 There were three main clusters of Zionist Hebrew schools – general, labor, and religious. Labor was the one that was growing most rapidly. These streams were abolished when the public education law was enacted in 1953. 15 In 1948, there were 45 Arab elementary schools and one high school in Nazareth (that's strange. Were they not many private schools in Jerusalem? Haifa?) For a history of education in Israel and Palestine see Rabin, 2002, chapter 16, and M. Al-Haj, 1995. 16 The analysis of data on the basis of ethnic origin may be misleading. When the data is broken in more refined way, interesting information may be gathered. The educational record of upper middle class Arab Christian community is stronger than that of the Jewish sector as a whole. And there are massive gaps within various Jewish communities based on ethnic and socio-economic factors.
The initial policy re the content and goal of education was reflected in section 2 of the Public Education Law of 1953, which specified the goals of public education in the following way:

The goal of public education is to base education in the state on the values of Israel’s culture and the achievements of science, on love of homeland, state and the people of Israel, on the memory of the Holocaust and the Heroism, on training for agriculture and handicraft, on pioneering, and on craving for a society built on foundations of liberty, equality, solidarity and love of humanity.

The law recognized that non-Jewish schools may require modifications on their curricula, but this fact was not reflected in the section dealing with the goals of education. Only in February 2000, the long process of recognizing that this formulation was not suited to non-Jewish (and non-Zionist) groups in the population ripened into an amended section 2:

The goals of public education are:

1. To educate a person who loves humanity, his nation, his country, a faithful citizen of the state of Israel, respecting his parents and his family, his tradition, his cultural identity and his language.
2. To instill the principles of the Declaration of the Foundation of the State of Israel and the values of Israel as a Jewish and Democratic state, and to develop respect for human rights, basic liberties, obedience to the law, the opinions and culture of the other, and to educate to strive for peace and toleration in the relationships between persons and peoples.
3. To teach the history of the land of Israel and the State of Israel.
4. To teach Jewish religion, the history of the Jewish people, Israel’s heritage and Jewish tradition, to instill the memory of the holocaust and the heroism and to teach respecting them.
5. …
11. To know the language, culture, history and heritage of the Arab population and other population groups in Israel, and to recognize the equal rights of all citizens of Israel.

Clearly, the new section 2 acknowledges the complexity of Israeli society in a way not apparent in the 1953 formulation. But again, the message is quite clear. Israel is not a liberal, neutral, state, privatizing all the non-civic affiliations of its citizens. It defines itself as a nation-state for Jews which grants full equal rights to all its citizens. And it requires that all its citizens will accept this characterization and be faithful citizens of the state. At the same time, it accepts that Israelis belong to different nations and ethnic and religious groups, and advocates toleration, plus an education that will encourage individuals and groups to affirm the non-civic components of their identities. Moreover, section 2 now accepts the special situation of Arabs as an indigenous group.
Mostly, the educational system in Israel seeks to meet its goals while teaching students in schools that are not integrated along ethnic, religious and linguistic lines. It is probable that this systemic separation has great advantages in terms of the effectiveness of education, but that it also extracts a heavy price in terms of the ability of public schools to promote civic cohesion, toleration, and knowledge of the facts and background of Israeli pluralism. In our context, that of the relations between Jews and Arabs, the structure of the educational system almost guarantees that Jewish and Arab students and teachers do not learn together. They do not know each other's culture, and they are not aware of the deep differences in the way they see reality and the history of the state. Naturally, neither Jews nor Arabs know the realities of the existence as seen by members of the other groups, their aspirations and their grievances. Against this background, the uniqueness of our test case school is easy to see. It is the oldest school in Israel in which Jewish and Arab teachers teach Jewish and Arab students together. Moreover, the school is the only one in the country which is situated in, and inspired by, a voluntary Arab-Jewish village, committed to a life of equality and co-existence. The school seeks to implement one of the possible answers to the question of education in a state of ethnic conflict – it advocates integrated but non-assimilating education. This is a solution very different from the one adopted by the Israeli educational system in Israel and by most educational systems in similar circumstances. The test-case thus offers a good opportunity to investigate processes that are unlikely to unfold so clearly in other educational set-ups.

My study of the school itself included two ‘observational’ stages as well as reading the literature generated by previous studies of the school. It is a special project within a broader study of the question of how divided societies should seek to attain civic equality among their members and groups. In particular, I wanted to look into the question of whether and when civic equality is best achieved via integrated frameworks, and when it is better to pursue it through separate frameworks empowering the different groups. In the first stage, January to June 2000, a series of observations and interviews were conducted. A first draft was presented to the school community, and the plan was to finish the study towards the beginning of the academic year 2000-2001. But then the processes started by the Oslo accords collapsed, leading to the eruption of violence which has been going on till the time in which this study is written (summer of 2004). In October 2000, rioting in the Arab sector in Israel led to the death of 12 Arab and one Jewish citizens of Israel while others were injured. These events and processes have made Arab-Jewish relations in Israel even more charged than they had been before. Many in both communities have developed great skepticism towards the dream of co-existence presupposed by the Neve Shalom community. It seemed wrong not to find out how these events have affected the school. Consequently, another round of interviews was held in May-July 2003, which did reveal some massive changes in the way the school operates and is conceived of by those participating in running it.

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17 Two bilingual school have been established in Jerusalem and the Galilee five years ago, and another one is planned next year in Kafer Qara. For a discussion of the first two schools see Bekerman and Horrencyk (2001)
The paper seeks to describe an exciting and courageous project. It also seeks to highlight some of the insights generated by this unique experiment and to see whether and how they can be implemented more generally within the educational system in Israel.

It is not easy to place this study within a particular theoretical framework, since there are so many candidates, each of them with its own allure. Pluralism, multiculturalism, democracy, citizenship, conflict-resolution, coexistence, rights-talk and equality are some of the prisms from which such situations have been discussed in general, and in the context of education. In the studies there are different emphases on descriptions and normative analysis. There is a variety of methodologies and attitudes. These are issues discussed by political philosophers, sociologists, political scientists, and educators.

I have therefore decided to use the advantage of my being an outsider to most of these disciplines and methodologies, and frame my analysis by identifying a serious social and political problem, which may well be presented in a pre-theoretical way. In seeking to illuminate the problem and ways of dealing with it I will be agnostic and eclectic about theories and disciplines. My study is therefore designed to do two quite different things: It is supposed to help practitioners think about the problem and ways of dealing with it on the basis of the insights generated by the case-study. And it is an invitation to scholars to integrate the case study into theoretical discussions if and where they may think it is illuminating.

The problem that is at the centre of the case study is how Israel can build a sense of shared and common citizenship and partnership and membership in one political community between members of two communities – Jews and Palestinian Arabs – whose visions of the history of the state and its legitimacy differ radically, against the background of the fact that the political conflict between them has not been settled in a stable way. The problem would have been hard enough if the conflict had been settled. If that had been the case, the educational goal could have been clear: the needs of coexistence would have taken precedence. Whatever structural solution would have been adopted (in terms of integration vs. separation) would presuppose the identity of the state, the presence of an Arab indigenous minority, and the need to accommodate these in a stable democracy. This would not have been easy or trivial. Attempts to deal with patterns of prejudice and discrimination in other societies show that changes are very hard to make. But the direction could have been clear – reconciliation and equal dignity. Implementation would have required a careful and patient mutual recognition of conflicting narratives and weaving them into a shared new reality.

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18 The literature on these subjects within each of these perspectives and attitudes is huge. Let me give a few examples on central texts.
19 See for one collection with many approaches and contexts Yael Tamir (ed.) Democratic Education in a Multicultural State, Blackwell, 1995.
The crux of the difficulty of the Israeli situation is that the apparent stability of Israel is recent, and it may appear to some illusionary and reversible. Moreover, forces on both sides act to change the reality. Thus there is no consensus among the major groups of Israeli society on either the reading of the past or of the direction for the future. Under these circumstances, it is hard to reach consensus even on that thin level of shared civics education affirming some civic rights and duties and acceptance of the political system of the rules of the game.

The school system in Israel sought to avoid this difficulty by creating separate school systems for the different groups, accepting their wish not to be assimilated into the dominant culture. Initially, the Arab school system was closely supervised to guard against Arab nationalist elements. Today, repression of the Arab national sentiments is regarded as both unacceptable and impossible, yet Israel insists on defining itself as a Jewish nation-state respecting the individual and collective rights of all its citizens. It seeks to impose that credo on all the population, including the Arab minority, but it does not come to terms with the (understandable) reluctance of that minority to do so. So on the one hand Israel has a law requiring all schools to hang the flag in schools, but the law is not enforced. This ambivalence inevitable is reflected in what is done and is not done within the educational system. Separation is conducive to keeping the groups distant and remote and ignorant of each other.

Many people identify this distance and ignorance as a major problem for Israeli society. However, ideas to change the situation address allocations and planning and patterns of discrimination but do not look at the separateness of the school system. The main attitude is that the problems of the relationships should be solved by improving the material lot of the Arab minority, without addressing the symbolic issues of its status within the Jewish state. However, advances in material well being will strengthen, not lower, the visibility of these symbolic national issues. Israel can ill afford to avoid explicit recognition and treatment of these issues.

Separate schools and lifestyles have helped Israelis think they can avoid this issue. NS creates a setup in which they cannot be avoided, The setup teaches us about the strengths and the limits of constructive ambiguity. At times the best way to manage a conflict is to seek to avoid it. At others, some clarity about its existence and the general contours of its resolution are necessary for any form of stable coexistence.

The school in NS-WS has made a decision to face these difficulties within An integrated school. The experiment may teach us a lot about the challenges met by those who try this route. In this study I seek to both learn how to make meeting these challenges there more effective, and on what we can learn from their experience to the educational system as a whole.

20 The 'naqba' of the Palestinians is 50 years old, and they have been made to leave their homes but they are all still around and growing. This is very different from the disaster of the American Indians. It is also different from the situation in Europe, where at least some of the post WW2 changes are accepted as stable and irreversible.
II. Neve Shalom – A General Background

A. The village

Neve Shalom/Wahat-el-Salam is a communal village in the center of Israel, explicitly founded as a community devoted to equal co-existence of Jewish and Arab citizens of Israel. It was founded in 1972 on lands leased from the Latroun Monastery. The first family arrived in 1977. At present (2004), it is the home of 50 families and about 200 people. All families belong to the middle class, and the village has a disproportionately high percentage of academics.

Members are accepted by a membership committee. There is an effort to keep the number of Jewish and Arab families similar if not equal. In principle, there is full equality and rotation in running the matters of the community. The community is committed to maintaining this equality in the face of the fact that the village is an island in a state in which Arabs are an indigenous minority living in a Jewish nation-state and experiencing a variety of patterns of exclusion and discrimination.

Mostly, the life of members is conducted outside the village since most members do not work in it. Thus, the attempt to create an island of equality within the village is bound to be incomplete, with the reality outside penetrating very deeply. Indeed, it seems that while members do persist in their commitment to equality despite great pressures, the internal dynamics within the community are far from simple and easy. Naturally, the tensions within the village grow as the reality outside becomes more difficult and frustrating. A telling sign of the difficulties, which we will encounter later in the school as well, is the way the village deals with the Israeli holiday of Independence Day, preceded by Memorial Day. Independence Day is the day the state was founded. Unfortunately, this independence was attained in a bloody war with the Arabs in which many Jews (and Arabs) died, and which resulted in the dispossession of many Arabs and the destruction of a large part of their infrastructure in Israel. Proud, self aware Arabs are unlikely to celebrate Independence Day under these circumstances. If at all, they are likely to want to use it as a day of mourning. While Jews committed to co-existence are deeply aware of this difficulty, and would go a long way not to offend the sensibilities of the Arabs, many of them do want to celebrate the fact that Israel was founded as a Jewish nation-state, and mourn for the victims of that war. How does a small village handle this? It seems that the best that members could have done was to ‘privatize’ the day. Nothing official and

\[21\] It seems that there are exceptions to the rule. The secretary of the village has been an Arab member for the last three terms. We were told that the principle of rotation does not apply to this position.

\[22\] See the detailed discussion of the village in ‘Sobering up’, Mussaf Haaretz 28.7.2000. See also the discussion in Feuerverger Grace, 2001, Oasis of Dreams: Teaching and learning Peace in a Jewish-Palestinian village in Israel, Routledge Falmer, NY and London
general happens on that day in Neve Shalom. Which might be the only way to deal with an explosive issue. But one does not have the sense that we have found here a successful way of encouraging a balance between a shared human and civic identity and particular ethnic and religious ones. It seems that the village, at least, has admitted that resolving this issue in a substantive way was too difficult. Avoiding it was the best that could be done.

A dramatic illustration of these tensions was ‘imposed’ on the village when Tom Kitain, the oldest son of Boaz who was at the time the director of the school, died in a combat accident while serving in Lebanon in 1997. The tensions intensified when Boaz accepted an invitation to light a candle in Independence Day 2000 as a representative of the Bereaved Families. Many people in the community, both Arabs and Jews, felt that it was not proper for Boaz to do this without consulting the village. Many felt that no person seriously committed to co-existence should serve in the army, especially not in Lebanon. Others disagreed. They insisted on their right to be full members in the struggle for equal dignity for Arabs in Israel while maintaining their right to feel proud members of the Jewish people and to participate and contribute to the flourishing of the Jewish nation-state.

Naturally, these tensions affect the way the village deals with its school and other educational institutions. In addition to the pre-school and elementary school (in 2004 a growing high school started to operate in the village), the village runs the influential ‘School for Peace’, founded in 1979, which is devoted to hosting encounters between Jews and Arabs from Israel and the Occupied Territories.  

The village is small but dynamic. In the last 3-4 years it has successfully extended its population by accepting a number of younger families. It may well be that they will bring with them new perspectives of the prospects and desired directions of the Jewish-Arab rifts and that as newcomers they will be able to transcend to some extent the complications of personal residues that always make life in small villages so denting. This may also improve the ability of the village to manage its educational projects.

B. The School

In 1980, the village established its own preschool, but until 1984 the school age children attended schools outside of the village. The Jewish

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See the detailed discussion of the school in Feuerverger Grace, 1995, Oasis of Peace: A Community of Moral education in Israel, J. Moral Education 24:113-141

25 The structure of the school system is not unified across the country as a result of incomplete reforms. In most places, the K-12 system is divided into a mandatory preschool at age 5-6, elementary school of 6 years (sometimes 8), a middle school of 3 years in some places, and a high school of 3 (or
children went to the neighboring Kibbutz school, while the Arab children studied in Ramla. In the mid 80s, however, the members have decided that sending their children to learn in separate schools outside of the community was not consistent with its nature. They thus embarked on their own school, committed to speaking both languages, learning both cultures, and celebrating the holidays of the three religions.

For about a decade, the school was based on the children of members only. The teachers and the directors, too, came from the village itself. The spirit of the school was identical with the spirit of the community. Naturally, it was a very small school. In addition, it was hard to keep a balance between Jews and Arabs. Thus in 1995 there were 8 or 9 students in each age group, and the ratio of Jews to Arabs was 30 to 70. When the students left for outside schools at the end of sixth grade, this was a devastating social blow to the other children and to the school as a whole. Children also did not want to stay till the end of the 8th grade, since the size of the school did not allow them to realize to the full their social needs.

This has led to the dramatic decision to change the nature of the school and open it up to children from outside the village itself. In a gradual process starting in 1996, the school aimed at having two 20 student classes in each age group for the whole range of first to sixth grade, wishing to maintain a numerical balance between Jews and Arabs. By the year 2002 this goal was fully met. The ‘outside’ children comprise about 85% of

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or 4 or 6, depending on the other parts of the system) years. A small number of schools run all the way from K to 12. Mandatory schooling ends at 16, but schooling is free at ages 3 to 18.

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<td>2003</td>
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<td>2004</td>
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Students by grade and ethnic affiliation in 2002

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<td><strong>146</strong></td>
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<td><strong>267</strong></td>
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the students. We should note that not all of Neve Shalom children themselves attend the local school.27

Naturally, the symbiotic relationship between village and school has somewhat changed. The school needs to serve its student body and its parents, most of whom are not locals. It is not clear how this change has affected the school and will affect it in the future. Decisions about directing the school are still made in and by the village. However, in 2002 it was decided to change the convention under which directors came from the village, and seek external directors. This major change has not stabilized yet, so it is too early to speculate how it may affect the future development of the school.28

In the second phase, the school had to deal with issues that had not emerged before, such as criteria for admission of students and a much larger recruitment of teachers to suit the growing school. Rules of admission do not seem very clear. Parents are not expected to be committed to the ideology of the village or the school, but they do have to accept it. Admission is based on an interview, but there are preferences to taking siblings of children who are students, and to encourage the admission of many students from the same community outside the village so the social gains of the school will be present in after-school hours as well.

In the preschool stage, demand from Arab families is greater than the demand from Jewish families, since they find it harder to find suitable educational frameworks for their children.29 In the school years, all the demand comes from middle class families. While Arab families prefer Neve Shalom because it is a quality school, without violence and drugs, which is not ‘just Jewish’, Jewish families usually come because they want to avoid the local schools in their communities, which do not provide the kind of quality education they want.30

27 We have not investigated the reasons for this systematically. Children who do not attend the local school come from both Jewish and Arab families. Often, some children study at the village school and their siblings (usually older) study outside. Some Arab parents told us they had their children study out of the village (in Ramla) since the village school did not give the students good discipline and their chances to go to a good high school would be affected. Some of the Jewish parents sent their children to Jewish schools in Jerusalem or in neighboring kibbutzim because they felt they needed larger schools and that these schools were better than the NS school.

28 In 2003, the first year of the new arrangement, two women directors were elected, one Arab and one Jewish. After the first year, in 2004, the Arab director was replaced by a male Arab director. By the end of the 2004 academic year the Jewish director has decided to resign, and the village has decided to appoint a resident of the village, who had directed the school before, to serve as director. It is unclear whether this may mean a return to the old structure…

29 As we noted above, there is a discrepancy between the use of pre-school education between Jews and Arabs. Most Jewish children attend some kind of schooling from age 2, while many Arab children start their schooling with the mandatory preschool class at 5.

30 The regional school of the area caters to children from varied communities, who are all integrated within the schools. Many of the Jewish families coming to Neve Shalom find these schools unsuitable because of the class membership of the children and their origins in non-western countries. Israel faces very high levels of inequality on the basis of class and origin among Jewish schools, and attempts at integration have on the whole failed. Recently, the government seems to have given up on the attempt to integrate within the Jewish sector.
The organizational structure of the school reflects its ideology. In each age group there are two integrated home classes. Each class has a principal teacher, and in each age group one of the principal teachers is Jewish, one Arab. However, as will become clear below, there are many subjects taught separately on the basis of language or ethnic origin.

The policy of equal representation applies to staff as well. The school has 26 teachers, 10 of them Arabs. Most of the special teachers (arts, music, etc.) are Jews. 9 of the teachers come from the village. There is a rather large turnover in teachers in Neve Shalom, especially among the external ones. This is a demanding school and not many teachers can stand the special tensions.

The dynamic nature of the school was reflected in its status with the educational authorities of the state. In the first 9 years, when the school operated as a local school for the NS community, it was classified as an ‘exempted’ school. Parents could discharge their obligation to send their children to school by registering them at the NS school, but the ministry neither recognized nor financed or supervised it. In 1993 the school became a ‘recognized but not official’ school, and in 1997, after it has decided to extend its scope, it was affirmed as an ‘experimental school’. Finally, in 2001, when the process of extension was almost completed, the school was recognized as an official public school, with the special privilege of admitting students not on a local basis.

The significance of these changes is substantial. An official school cannot work with uncertified teachers, so the school had to let go some of the old teachers who could not get certification. On the other hand, the hope was that the financial situation of the school will improve since all costs will now be covered by the state including the substantial cost of transportation of students from their respective communities. In reality, the financial situation has not improved and the economic viability of the school is still in doubt. The donations which were its basis in the past cannot support such a large school, and the hope is that these matters will be sorted out in the near future.

### III. Education to co-existence and to a variety of identities

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31 This is a major difference between the Neve Shalom school and the newer bi-lingual schools. The latter are small schools, with one class in every age group, which enjoys two principal teachers, one Jewish and one Arab. This was deemed desirable in NS as well, and in fact existed there at the beginning but the practice turned out to be too expensive.

32 This may also explain the fact that both external directors left very quickly. The Arab director left after one year, and the Jewish one stayed just one year longer. The phenomenon of a large turnover among teachers is also visible in the Keshet (rainbow) school where secular and orthodox children learn together. While these integrated schools are exciting and challenging, the need to deal with the sensitivities usually kept separate seems to be very tiring.
This section of the paper is devoted to a detailed description and analysis of the way the school deals with the fact that it serves a student population which is almost unique in Israel. Against a background of a Jewish majority and a non-assimilating Arab minority, with separated educational systems, the school in Neve Shalom has a student population equally divided among Jews and Arabs and committed to full equality between them.

In principle, all schools in Israel are committed to education to coexistence, at least on the level of lip service. However, the separate school systems allow schools to be clearly identified in terms of language, narrative and national identification. They may have varying degrees of learning about 'others' and learning the importance of tolerance and pluralism. But they do not have to deal with pluralism and conflict on an everyday basis. Coping with this pluralism is the daily essence of the reality of Neve Shalom and its school.

1. The general credo of the Neve Shalom School

There is no disagreement within the village and the school community on the basic ideal: People of the two peoples and the three religions (as well as others) should live in Israel in civic equality and mutual respect. But once we leave this general proposition, disagreements may start. Is the country the homeland of both peoples, or are the Arabs the only indigenous group, while the Jews are settlers and colonizers? Is it legitimate for Israel to define itself as the nation-state of Jews, and to seek to maintain a Jewish majority within it? Should the 1948 refugees be allowed back? On these issues there are deep controversies in the village and among teachers (and presumably parents). The hope is that the school can operate effectively as a school without deciding these issues, and that the general principle of human and civic equality should be enough to determine answers to the questions that must be answered if a school is to perform its complex functions for all its students.

For many years, there has not been discussion of these issues. In 2002, the two outgoing directors (the last ones who came from within the village) formulated a defining statement for the school, which was received with mixed feelings by the village and the school community. The document includes a section on educational goals and a section of the vision of the school.

The section describing the vision of the school states thus:

The Neve Shalom/Wahat-el-Salam school is the educational home of students, teachers and parents, which cherishes the personal, national and cultural identity of its community.

- the social and multicultural encounter is conducive to deep familiarity with the language and culture of both peoples – the Jewish and the Arab.
- The school fosters an environment in which a real dialogue between partners is taking place.
The school will generate a person who knows to opt for the values of equality and human dignity. To accept themselves and others, and to recognize their rights and obligations as persons and as citizens.

Our graduates will have knowledge, openness, creativity and awareness to what happens in our region and the world at large. Their responsibility will be reflected in their involvement with processes of peace and reconciliation, so that they can contribute to the society of which they are a part.

The educational goals of the school include:

- To provide the students with space and tools for building a secure personal, national and cultural identity.
- To empower Arabic and its place in the school so that both languages – Hebrew and Arabic – will be fluent for all students.
- To develop in the children the willingness and the ability to associate with others, and to see differences as a source of enrichment.
- To enable the children to choose values of equality, respect for others, and pluralism.
- To develop in the children the ability to handle a reality of conflict, and to strive to change that reality through dialogue and consideration of the needs of others.
- To cherish varied skills in the children, and to encourage their willingness and ability to express themselves, their emotions and their opinions.
- To facilitate the acquisition by the children of the knowledge and skills necessary to realize their dreams and to advance their societies in a modern world.
- To nourish a supportive and relaxed setting, which provides a space for enabling activities and expression.

In the remainder of this section we will discuss in some detail the way in which the school handles linguistic, religious, cultural and natural identities. We should stress that under the circumstances, the most explosive issue is the tension between national identities. To recall, the mother-classes in each age group is integrated, but a large number of subject are taught in separate classes, mostly on the basis of nationality or language. For most of the children, there is no difficulty in identifying their major identities. The small number of children coming from mixed families are allowed (usually through parental choice) to elect the identity in question.
An interesting feature of the school (to which we will return in the last section) is that the various components or dimensions of identity are seen as dichotomous rather than as points on a spectrum.33

1. Linguistic Identity

We saw that the goal of the school is that all students will be fluent in both languages, Hebrew and Arabic. The asymmetry in the situation is explicitly reflected in the statement of goals. We hear of the need to strengthen the Arabic, without any mention of the need to work on the level of Hebrew of the students. This statement reflects the reality, which is seen by many as a major challenge to the school's goals. The reality is that the level of Hebrew of the Arab students (and teachers) is much higher and better than the level of Arabic of the Jewish students (and teachers). This was true even as the school served only the village community, reflecting a similar asymmetry in it. The Jewish children can understand Arabic and use it, since they have grown with it from their childhood, but their inclination is to speak in Hebrew, and their vocabulary in Arabic is rather limited. But it has become even clearer as students and staff are both drawn from the wider Israeli society. Most Jewish students come to Neve Shalom without any knowledge of Arabic. And it is hard to find Jewish teachers who know Arabic, let alone are fluent enough in it to use it in teaching. Consequently, all members of the school community feel that communication in Hebrew is much simpler and more effective. Hebrew thus becomes the default language, which in turn strengthens the initial asymmetry between languages.

The language spoken in the integrated mother classes depends to some extent on the linguistic proficiency of the teacher. But even when the teacher is an Arabic speaker, a lot of Hebrew must be used in order to make sure the Jewish students understand. Obviously, there is separation along language lines for language classes (with an additional sub-division according to the level of the students). But there is also separation along language lines for classes such as science and arithmetic.34 In fact, in the academic year 2003 most of the learning in the school has been done in separate language-based classes. The subjects taught in integrated classes are called 'clusters'. They include culture, tradition and society, sport, English, drama, music and communications. At present, history is taught separately at the 6th grade, but the hope is that it can be taught together from materials written for this school so that the history of the conflict could be taught. The Ministry of education does not provide materials which can be used for this purpose.

33 The same is true of the Keshet school, seeking to teach together under conditions of equality observant and non-observant Jewish children. There, the dichotomy may seem more arbitrary, since many of the families and the children are ambiguous as to the extent to which they observe. Nonetheless, the school is structured on a binary scheme, for obvious reasons.

34 The separation results from the fact that the numerals are different in the two languages, and there is a difficulty in translating the basic terms. The complexity of the situation is reflected by the fact that the separate classes are not called 'mono-lingual' but mono-national!
In separate classes, each group studies in its own language. But in the integrated classes, the asymmetry shows. The class dynamic is such that even the Arab teachers find it quicker to speak Hebrew, because all students understand it while speaking Arabic will then require a translation. Initially, it was thought that the asymmetry was problematic only on a symbolic level, and that it gave both Jews and Arabs what they really need. Under that analysis, Arabs did need to master their language for cultural reasons, and they needed Hebrew to integrate successfully into the market and higher education systems of Israel. Jews needed to know the sounds and basics of Arabic, but did not really need to master it. The school thus met the real needs of both groups better than the regular alternatives available to them. However, it now seems that the dominance of Hebrew in integrated classes does exact a price from Arab students. Observations have revealed that the willingness of Arab children to participate in class discussions in integrated classes where the teaching is done in Hebrew is significantly lower than their tendency to participate in Arabic classes.35

All staff members agree that these differences in mastering the two languages are a major problem in the running of the school, and that it makes attaining the goals of the school in this realm and in others more difficult. There is a disagreement on how to evaluate this reality, and what should be done about it. The most radical idea was to run the school in a neutral language (such as English), which is not the mother tongue of either group. Yet, this idea was quickly dismissed since all conceded the central place of language to one's cultural and national identity.

Some think that reaching full bilingualism for all is a crucial goal of the school, and that the failure to meet this goal to an acceptable way is evidence to the absence of commitment and resoluteness of the school staff. By them, the present reality simply means that the school surrenders to the outside dominance of the Hebrew.36 Some of these teachers believe that the Neve Shalom experience in fact harms the Arab students when you compare their experience to that of Arab children learning in (good) all-Arab schools. They hold that if the linguistic symmetry cannot be reached, this may suggest that the whole experiment is a failure.

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35 Similar observations were made in encounters between Jewish and Arab youngsters in the NS school for peace. The initial participation of the Arabs, especially those with weak Hebrew, was lower than that of the Jews. See Halabbi 2000, at

36 A veteran teacher who is a Neve Shalom Jewish resident and supports this view says thus: "It is not as if we have a 50-50 situation and want to have dominance for Arabic. All we need to do is look at nice classes like drama and communications which are taught in Hebrew. The reality is that a child who does not understand Arabic does not pay a price. If he hears an announcement in Arabic he knows that a translation will follow. He does not have to make the effort. In a small number of classes I saw that the teacher managed to create a situation where this is not the case, but this is very rare... We need to create the daily and regular reality in which all students must understand Arabic, that Arabic will be needed. A reality in which when a Jewish student does not understand he'll have to ask someone who speaks Arabic. We need to create the situation in which one cannot function in the school without Arabic just as one cannot function in it without Hebrew". (The interviews are taped and transcribed, and the quotes are slightly edited to make them intelligible).
Others agree that more should be done to improve the fluency of Arabic among Jewish students (and teachers), but think that it is unlikely that these attempts can fully succeed against the background conditions of the dominance of Hebrew in Israeli society, and that the value of the experiment is not undermined by this realization.

Not surprisingly, there are differences on this question among the village community and the external groups, both Jewish and Arabs. The villagers tend to be among those who insist that bilingualism is a requirement that can and should be adopted as a real goal.

There have been many efforts to change the situation. One is the foundation of the 'Languages Center' which is a special room in the school which permits a variety of creative activities in Hebrew, Arabic and (after 3rd grade) English. The center has many interactive features, and allows the students to learn languages in a more lively and active way. Each student spends at least one hour a week in the Center. In 2001, all Jewish first-graders had three months of Arabic before they started the regular classes. In recent years the school demands that all Jewish teachers will take an intensive Arab course hoping that they'll be able to use more Arabic in class and thus increase the level of bilingualism. In 2002 it was decided that all Arabic studies will be done in the immersion system, which has been successfully used in the US and Canada to encourage bilingualism.37

These attempts have improved the situation some but have not changed it. The depth of the problem is illustrated by the fact that the asymmetry affects not only the students but the teachers themselves. In a teachers' meeting before the 2000 Independence Day, the teachers were asked to talk about their emotions. Naturally, but significantly, the discussion was in Hebrew. The Arab teachers were in a clear minority (6 as against 12 Jews), but their participation was even lower than their share in the group. When one of the coordinators asked the Arab teachers why they were not participating, one Arab teacher replied:

I wanted to speak a few times but waited till the Jews will finish. It is hard for me to arrange my thoughts, and I cannot talk so well in such good language as you do because this is not my language...They say that peace is something optimistic and it is true that we are trying to make peace. But in daily life, in the buses, especially during my studies, I did

37 It is impossible to go here in detail into the differences between immersion programs and their relations to bilingualism. I shall return to some of these issues in the last section of this paper. But there is a crucial difference between one way immersion, which seeks to teach a group that speaks mother tongue A a second language |B very well, or two ways immersion, in which the attempt is to teach two groups, each with its own mother tongue, the other language and culture.
not speak Arabic, because the soldier on the bus, if he had known I was an Arab he would have taken me off the bus and detained me for questioning. It is to be afraid all the time. I do not feel secure here, I do not feel relaxed, but fear. I all the time think how not to talk in Arabic, trying to keep quiet. But since I am here this is the other way round. I try to speak Arabic a lot, to see the reaction of the Jews...

There is no question that the language issue is central. The school in Neve Shalom/Wahat-el-Salam does give its students an environment very different from the one they would have received in either a Jewish or an Arab school. Children of both groups accept the presence of the other language as natural. Arab students gain a better mastery of Hebrew than many of their colleagues learning in Arab schools. Jewish children recognize the letters, the sounds and the ambiance of Arabic in a way not available to most Jewish elementary school students.

I join those who think the dream of bilingualism is hollow. The reality of the dominance of Hebrew in Israeli society means that the incentive structures for Jews and Arabs on this question are totally different. Even the village, with its ideological commitment, could not have overcome this. A public school with 85% of children coming from outside the village should not regard this recognition as a failure.38

2. Religious Identity

The Neve Shalom school does not practice religion or teach it as binding. Religion is 'privatized' in this sense. The school teaches about religions as a part of cultural studies. The teaching recognizes that religion may be an important part of a person's identity, and that the students in the school come from different religious traditions.

Study of religion is done in separate groups, for one hour a week, and each group studies its own texts. While the school treats the three religions – Judaism, Islam and Christianity – as equal, religion is studied in 'national' groups, to stress the unity of the Arab-Palestinian identity despite the religious differences. In Judaism, the relationship between national and religious elements is closer, since the two are co-extensive within Judaism.39

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38 See the final section of the paper for some recommendations.
39 For religious education in public education in Israel see S. Goldstein (1992). The school in NS does not teach religion as binding. But, unlike American public schools, it teaches children their own
None of the families involved in the Neve Shalom school are religiously fundamentalist. We have not noticed internal tensions within the religious groups between those who observe to greater or lesser degrees. These facts mean that it is relatively easy to deal with religious aspects of life and identity as matters of culture and folklore. Not surprisingly, the school deals extensively with the religious holidays of the three religions, which give the school community an opportunity to deal with differences not charged with conflict. The religious holidays are celebrated in a way that reduces conflict and that stresses the folkloric elements, such as stories and special cooking. Clearly, all these choices are acceptable only in a community in which religious observance is not very strong.

The celebration of many religious holidays turns out to be a very successful part of the school activities. It causes no confusion among the students in terms of their own identities, and it does give the feeling that plurality is an enriching, non-threatening phenomenon. A good example of this is Purim, in which all the students and the teachers (who had just returned from the Id-el-adha holiday) wore costumes. Similarly, Passover and Easter were celebrated together. We took part in the day at the second grade, where the two classes worked together. In the first part of the day the students watched a film about Jesus and heard explanations from the Christian-Arab teacher, and then went out and baked matzos. Later they talked about the hagadah and painted the story and some Easter eggs.

However, the wish to celebrate and note the religious holidays of all three religions is not free of difficulties. One of them is the simple fact that each tradition has its own ratio of holidays and days of work. When the holidays are tripled, the days of work and study contract! This is true for weekends as well as for special holidays. Respecting the weekly day of rest of all religions would mean a 4 days week! On the other hand, not respecting the religious holidays of one of the religions will weaken the ideological message that all of them should be treated on an equal basis.

Religion in a special way. Children are not simply exposed to the history of all religions on an equal basis and in a detached way as a part of social studies.

40 Indeed, those who think the school should concentrate more on the national and political tensions think there is too much preoccupation with religious aspects in the school.

41 A very similar phenomenon was found in the Jerusalem bi-lingual school, where the holidays of Hanukka, Christmas and Id el Fitter were all celebrated together. The Moslem holiday did not require modification, but in the Jewish holiday of Hannuka the miracle of the oil that lasted for a week was stressed but the military struggle of the Jews against the Greeks and their victory was played down. Similarly, in Christmas, the stories concerning Jesus’ birth were played down, and the element of the beginning of the New Year was stressed. See Bekerman (2002)

42 The children did not talk about the Purim text, the Esther scroll, which is a story about persecution of Jews and their rather brutal triumph over their enemies.

43 In Neve Shalom this is a problem for the school. In many places, this is a problem for students who are members of religious minorities. They deal with it either by going to private schools of their religion, or by going to the regular public system, where they have to choose either to be absent in their religious holidays, or to participate in studies despite them. Often, the choice depends on the intensity of their religious beliefs or of the importance of education what they see as to the good life.
The decision in Neve Shalom is a pragmatic one. The school operates on a 5 days week basis, respecting the day of rest of the two major religions. Sunday is a short school day. There is an attempt to make holidays converge but when this cannot be coordinated, each group takes its own holidays while the other one goes on with classes that are taken in separate groups. It seems that this is a plausible solution for Neve Shalom itself, but it may create problems for those who are also connected with systems outside of this school. Thus teachers in Neve Shalom may have to teach in the holidays of one of the groups, while their children are at home. This may mean that taking vacations together may become more difficult for families whose members work or study in groups with different calendars.

In short, it seems that Neve Shalom does succeed in meeting its goals here. It provides students of different religions with an integrated education in which the different religious identities are known and respected. The experience of the children of Neve Shalom is indeed richer and fuller than the one given to students in their own community school.

3. Cultural Identity

'Culture' is the overall system of meanings a society has. Language, religion and national sentiments are all parts of culture, but they do not exhaust it. The goals of the Neve Shalom/Wahat el Salam school talk about 'cultural' identity, and this is the term used most frequently in recent political discussions. It is thus important to include here a discussion of cultural identity. However, in this section I will only discuss culture in senses which are not covered by language, religion or nationality.44

The school assumes that the differences between the groups are also cultural, and that the students need to develop a secure cultural identity of their own. The assumption is, however, that students will be initiated into their own culture by their homes and social contexts, and that the school should counter separation and ignorance rather than seek to develop or deepen the cultural identity of the different groups. Consequently, culture is taught together, and the class aims to promote a situation where both groups will be familiar with the culture of the other group.

However, the issue of the language we have discussed above creates serious difficulty in this regard. In the Israeli public school system there are special materials designed to teach culture. Each group learns its own culture in its language. Arab students learn Israeli culture in Hebrew. (To the extent that Jews learn about Arab history and culture, they do it in Hebrew). The

44 In discussions of the right to culture in Israel, it is usual to speak about Jews and Arabs but also about sub-groups within them. Among Arabs, there are important cultural differences between Moslems, Christians, Druze and Bedouin. Even within these groups we can distinguish between sub groups in terms of traditionalism or religious fundamentalism. The same applies to Jews. The differences are across attitudes to religion, as well as ethnic origin (those who come from America and Europe, and those who come from Arabic speaking countries; now there are the two large communities of Ethiopian Jews and Russian Jews. Some of these divisions find expression in the educational system and in political life.
system has not prepared materials suitable to the teaching of cultures in an integrated classroom, with a commitment to the use of both languages. This fact imposes great burdens of creativity and ingenuity on the teachers.

Again, it seems the asymmetry between the languages cannot be avoided. Naturally, Hebrew texts are studied in Hebrew. Students of both groups internalize that the culture of a group must be studied in the group's own language. Some texts about Arabic culture are in Arabic, but many teachers feel that the Jewish students cannot learn from them. Moreover, the texts are often taught in a combination of Arabic and Hebrew. Thus Jews do not learn about Arabic culture from within it. More important, both Jews and Arabs see that there is no symmetry between the languages and cultures, in that one culture is studied 'from within' while the other is studied 'from without'.

Other aspects of multiculturalism in the school work better. The school notes the times of the beginning and end of classes and intervals not by the usual bell but by musical sketches. These are elected by the students themselves, who bring in the tunes they like. The result is a rich and varied collection, which the students clearly enjoy. The goal of familiarity and comfort and even pleasure with the sounds of the different cultures is fully met.

An interesting cultural issue in the school is the balance between discipline and drive and the openness and relaxed atmosphere of learning. The school opts for the second in principle. There are no exams, and children are not graded, as is the case in other 'open' schools. The ideology is that students should be allowed to develop in their own tempo, and that it is wrong to educate to over-competitiveness. There is some ambivalence among parents and teachers on this point, and there seems to be a convergence between ethnic group and this attitude. In general, some parents claim that the Arab teachers are more 'authoritarian' than the Jewish ones. And while some criticize this tendency, many others in fact criticize the school for not emphasizing achievement and discipline more. This is yet another context in which internal debate and ambivalence, in part inspired by cultural difference, makes running this school such a complex matter. We should emphasize that the academic achievements of the students in the school are generally high, and that students from this school usually do not find it hard to find good placements in high schools outside the village.

4. National Identity

We have already mentioned that this is the component of identity in the context of Neve Shalom which creates the most complex issues. The school recognizes this centrality by describing itself as a binational encounter (and not as a bilingual school, as the other Arab-Jewish schools do)\(^{46}\). Contribution

\(^{45}\) In fact, it seems that the Neve Shalom parents who send their children to study in schools outside the village, both Jewish and Arab, are the ones who think that the school does not give its students sufficient levels of discipline. See also note 24 above.

\(^{46}\) See Bekerman and Horrencyck (2001)
towards a peaceful and equal coexistence between the two national groups is thus the main challenge and the main test of this school.

The primary insight of the school (and the village) is that equal coexistence is almost impossible if the two communities lead lives which are totally separated. The need to share lives brings familiarity and may make the distancing - which is a central element of discrimination and exclusion and hostility – less likely. It is indeed very hard to think of promoting an awareness of a shared and equal humanity and citizenship when members of the groups never meet in daily life. The separation allows most schools and communities to avoid issues of differences of languages and narratives, histories and aspirations. Talking about 'the other' is therefore abstract and remote. Neve Shalom states that this in itself distorts the reality of Israel and permits the perpetuation of discrimination.47

Yet the reality of separation also means that a school which seeks integration has to face these issues without much help from the outside. When we try to translate the aspirations of equal dignity into educational realities, we learn that good will is necessary – but definitely not enough.

Clearly, a binational school with the vision of Neve Shalom/Wahat el Salam needs to be different from either Jewish or Arab schools. It must actively affirm both communities and their members, and stress what needs to be done to encourage peaceful coexistence. It cannot concentrate on initiating youngsters into their own culture and national group, while stressing also the existence and equal rights of other groups. But how can this be done?

Ideally, most schools in plural Western democracies make a choice between two attitudes. The first is to teach in the public schools only a very thin, shared, set of components of identity, such as humanity and citizenship, plus basic skills. All other components of education will be given in the different communities for their purposes. The second is to allow streams of public education which may be more or less homogenous in terms of credo and basic values. Israel, as we saw, tended to do the second, but maintained an assimilative role in terms of language and the demand that all public schools accept the self-definition of the state as Jewish and Democratic. Neve Shalom seeks to do something much more ambitious. It seeks to make the difference in identities a central element of the school life itself. Moreover, these different identities should be affirmed despite the fact that there is an ongoing conflict between the groups. And the message of the school is that students should work for coexistence (thus disregarding other possible ways of dealing with the conflict, such as separation or resolution).

When we look at the way the school deals with these issues, we can appreciate the complexity of the challenge – and the urgency of thinking about dealing with it.

47 Thus the basic insight that inspires the NS village and school is precisely the one that left the American Supreme Court to declare in Brown that 'separate cannot be equal'.
While these conflicts affect many decisions in the daily life of the school and the way it is structured, we will concentrate on the way the school deals with the charged days at the center of the national conflict – the Day of Independence and the Memorial Day preceding it, in which Jews celebrate the establishment of the state and mourn those who died in the battles needed to secure it – mainly against Arabs; and the Day of the Naqba, signifying the day of the destruction of Palestinian society in the war of 1947-1949, leading to the foundation of Israel. Each of the days is central to the narratives of the respective national community. One is a day of celebration and the other a day of mourning. And the events signified by them are the very same events…

A sign of the ongoing dynamic perception of this issue is the fact that these events were treated very differently in the schools in the two years we looked at it. In 2000, the two sets of events were 'marked' at the same day. In 2003, the ceremonies were held on two separate occasions.\(^\text{48}\) We mentioned above the way these days are 'kept' in the village and the effect of the death of Tom Kitain in battle in Lebanon. These complexities reappear in the way the school handles these events.

In 2000, the school devoted a whole week of meetings and planning to the events. In Jewish schools, Day of Independence is a holiday, and the students commemorate Memorial Day in the day preceding it. There is a structured ceremony, similar in all schools, accompanied by texts suggested by the ministry of education. The students stand up for the siren, together with most Israelis, which marks the time official ceremonies are held in the various military cemeteries around the country. In principle, Arab schools should also commemorate Memorial Day, but in fact this is not enforced. In recent years, a number of Arab schools initiated a habit of replacing the official ceremonies with a ceremony for the Day of the Naqba. The practice met by criticism from the ministry of Education.

In Neve Shalom in 2000, the day started with activities in the integrated classes to discuss the day and it meaning. Then the groups separated. The Jews conducted the official ceremony, while the Arabs had an alternative activity. At the end of the day, the groups joined again to discuss the events of the day.

The teachers, especially the less experienced ones, had a hard time. They had a number of meetings and discussions. Here is what was said in a teachers' meeting at the beginning of that week:

A Jewish teacher: It is important to stress and clarify to which community each child belongs, because there may be a great confusion here. My daughter, for example, returned after Land Day ([A day commemorating a demonstration against land confiscations in the 1970s, where 6 Arab

\(^{48}\) Independence Day is celebrated on the Hebrew day the state was declared, which in 1948 was in May 14, 1948. The Hebrew and Gregorian days fall on the same day only once every 19 years.
citizens were killed by the police] and decided she was going to join the Arab people, and this is a problem. In addition, I think there should be in each class two teachers, one Jewish and one Arab. In this way it will be easier for the Arabs to express themselves, and we communicate that despite the conflict we are together.

An Arab teacher: This is my first year of teaching and I do not know what to say and how to say it, and how at the end to connect with the Jews.

Coordinator: The conflict exists and it is not resolved, but we need to recognize both sides.

A Jewish teacher: I agree that two teachers should go into class and talk together.

(Other teachers also express agreement and nod. The coordinator says that there is no objection to the two classes in an age group to work together, and all that is needed is to let the directors know. At the same time, pages are circulated describing the activities in the separate groups for Jews and Arabs).

Coordinator (explains the need for the pages): It is important that all teachers know what their students have been doing while in the separate group.

A Jewish teacher: I want to say that this is extremely hard on me and I do not know how I will survive this week. Today I felt I was collapsing after just one hour of this. All the work of the teaching, the support, the explanations, are done by the primary class teachers.

[The other teachers smile. The coordinator (an Arab woman) comes and pats her and says: You can imagine that I too find it hard to support a Jew who rejoices at the independence of his country...]

An Arab teacher: I do not understand why we need the separate sessions. Our credo is to do things together and in moments of mourning we are separated? Why can't it be that no one will stand up at the siren? Possibly, we can define this day as Memorial Day for all victims of the wars, and then we can all stand.
Some teachers start to discuss this proposal, but the coordinator stops the discussion and says that this is not the right time and such discussions should have started much earlier.\footnote{This is a recurring theme in the school. While it is true that at that meeting there was a need to make some practical immediate decisions, we noticed that the more general discussions of the issue were usually avoided.}

We can see in this discussion the immanent tension of the goals of the school itself. Is it possible to affirm fully the two different national identities and not separate the groups? Arabs cannot easily be expected to rejoice in Independence Day and mourn the Jews who died in the wars with the Arabs. But can the Jews be expected to give up mourning for the fallen soldiers and celebrating the foundation of the state? One day of mourning, as proposed by the Arab teacher, does take care of the need not to separate the groups, and it reflects the sense that there are tragic elements in the situation shared by members of both peoples. But even the Jews of Neve Shalom itself, not to mention those from outside the village, might well think that this proposal does not meet the requirement that both national identities will be recognized and affirmed.\footnote{The proposal to unify the way the day is commemorated is highly unlikely to win the approval of the Ministry of Education. The school, after all, is a public school. But I think the improvised solution accepted in fact by the school, under which separate activity and commemoration is allowed and encouraged, is a better way to handle the complexity of the reality within which this school operates.}

The test of realities is often in the details. We have observed the activities of Memorial Day in 2000. The first session took place within the integrated classes. The students played a game that sought to show that cooperation is the best way to attain goals. After the first session the children went into separate national groups.\footnote{It would have been ideal to observe both separate groups. But here the language difficulty interfered. This was a very sensitive day and translation seemed too intrusive. Since Idit does not speak Arabic, she joined the Jewish groups.} The Memorial Day ceremony of the Jewish groups was similar to those ceremonies held in other Jewish schools. One noticeable deviation was that the state hymn, Hatikva (The Hope), was not sung at the end, as is usually done in such occasions. This generated protest on the part of some of the Jewish parents, who were told this was simply an oversight and not an deliberate decision. At the same time, we were told that the school was given a new suggested text for a hymn, which would be sung by the school choir.\footnote{The text was not shown to us. The hymn expresses the Jewish hope to return to its homeland. Clearly, this is not a text with which Arabs can identify. The question of the Israeli hymn and how to make it more welcoming to non-Jews or non-Zionists has been on the agenda for some time, without a clear resolution.} While the ceremonies are similar to those held in other Jewish schools, students and teachers in NS are very aware of the sensitivity of the day for the Arabs. The difficulty of accommodating this fact is expressed in
the following conversation between the 6th grade teacher and his Jewish pupils:

[The teacher asks for the students' responses to the events of the day. There are only 5 boys and 1 girl in class, and the others are still at the ceremony]

   Student 1: We should have talked more about Boaz's son
   Student 2: Why didn't we go to the cemetery to Tom's graveside?
   Teacher: If you had been allowed to go, would you want to? What would you have added?
   Student 1: We would have been doing something sad, not just these silly songs.
   Student 3: I would have added things connected not only to tomorrow [Independence Day], such as things connected to all kinds of battles, stories that remind us what happened and who they were.
   Student 4: We should have talked more about the soldiers.

   It is quite obvious that these Jewish students felt something missing for them from the way Memorial Day was celebrated. Interestingly, they wanted the day to be past-directed and not exclusively future-oriented. They missed the combination between mourning the soldiers as the introduction to celebrating the gift of the independence of the state.

   It is informative to see how the teachers try to handle the complexity in the integrated activities, and how the students respond. This is what happened in one class:53

   [Teacher asks the pupils to sit on the carpet and asks]: Who wants to say what is coming this week on Tuesday and Wednesday?
   Student (Jewish): Independence Day.
   Teacher: whose?
   Student (Jewish): of the Jews, of the soldiers.
   Teacher: What is Independence Day of the soldiers?
   Students (together): That you salute, that there is a siren.

53 This report reflects what happened in one class. This is the 2nd grade. The teacher is an experience Jewish teacher, who had taught in Jewish schools before coming to NS, where she now teaches for the first year. Probably, the class would have looked different if taught by a teacher who had done this before. So the observation is given here without any claim that it is representative.
Teacher: Why is there a siren?
Student (Jewish): To remember that it had not been good here, because people died, because people fought.
Teacher: Whom did they fight?
Students (together): In our country.
Teacher: What is independence?
Students: When you do things on your own, without help.
Teacher: Why does Israel have an Independence Day? What does it do on its own?
Students: Because we won.
Teacher: What happened here? What is it to found a state? What is it to build a state? What was here before that?
Student (Jewish): We conquered and made the state bigger.
Teacher (bringing a map of Israel): What am I holding?
Students: A map of the world... a map of Israel.
Teacher: How do you know this is a map of Israel? (silence)
52 years ago the state of Israel was founded. Last week we talked of Holocaust Day and I told you what happened with the Germans and the Jews. All the Jews who remained came here. There have been Jews here for many years. We call those 'generations'. You remember that Boaz told you that the grandfather of his grandfather lived in Hebron. And then all Jews came here. There were many Jews here, and they proposed that they will make a state for the Jews. Herzl lived in another country. Today we will speak generally, and in other classes we will talk of different things. Together with the Jews were Arabs who lived with us in our state. They lived together with us. I know there are things that it is hard to understand at your age. Remember that celebrating the independence of the state did not come easily. The Arabs who lived in the country did not accept the Jews and fought them. The Jews too fought against the Arabs. This is why there was a war, and people died. We call those who died 'victims'. In these battles, unfortunately, many soldiers died. In the day before Independence Day we have a special day to remember the fallen Israeli soldiers, those who fought. Because they were string and
heroic, we can sit here and live together in peace.

In Memorial Day, which is a sad day, we commemorate all those who died. In our school we have a person who lost his son - Boaz - whose son died when two helicopters collided and there was a fire.

Clearly, this teacher has not succeeded very well in telling a story that would make the Arab students feel welcome. Basically, she tells the Jewish narrative she is used to. We also notice the passivity of the Arab students, which seems stronger even than that recorded for language reasons.

In the other class of the age group, the Arab teacher talked with the students about the Naqba and about refugees who have lost their homes, and they later drew flags of Israel and Palestine. But one cannot really compare the two classes because of the very different level of detail in the description. It is also impossible to generalize about the way the subject is treated in the school. Clearly, a lot depends both on the personal traits of the teachers and on their national identity. What can be said is that the school has not generated texts or guidelines which suggest how a teacher can handle the complexity of the tension between the two narratives in integrated classes at the various age groups.

The failure to create such a text seems to reflect a lot of confusion and ambivalence among the teachers themselves. It is not at all clear how such a text or guidelines would look like. Here is what teachers were saying in a staff meeting just after the two days in question:

Jewish teacher: I went through a very difficult experience last week. At the beginning I did not really understand the problem and I started with friendship and difference and everything was fine. Tuesday (memorial day) the beginning was great but then matters almost reached explosion. In retrospect I think we must prepare this matter much more. To prepare well and to know what is planned. Many students were hurt. Parents called and said that their children exhibited lots of guilt and anxiety. [others try to make her talk in detail, but she declines and says this is general criticism]. I am glad to say that the end was a 'happy end'. With Diana's support we did manage to reach 'the dove of peace'. I felt bad that day that things were not done properly. We need to do this not just the week before but throughout the year. In addition, not all the teachers are clear about their own emotions. During the summer or next year we must do something to come to this more prepared.

Jewish teacher 2: As a parent to a child in [the previous teacher's] class who went through
this I can say that it is going on till now, and it is my good fortune that I am here and can explain things to her. It is not over yet. Maybe it seems so on its face.

Jewish teacher 3: I was afraid to open my mouth. I did not want to hurt anyone. I did not know what to say and how to say it. Luckily ... was around, and joined me in class. I wrote down everything and next year I'll be prepared a month in advance.

Arab teacher: For me this was a hard day in terms of my relations with the Jewish teachers. I felt that everything we work on throughout the year, with holidays and birthdays, collapses in Independence Day/the Naqba. ...I went into class and worked with the students on dramatizing a song by Mahmoud Darwish [a national Palestinian poet who writes eloquently about the conflict]54. There is nothing we can do, what's good for one side is not good for the other. Take this line from the poem: 'the enemy drinks tea in our home'. What can we do, we are the victims here. And I wanted to give the Arabs the feeling that there were not inferior. The enemy came with weapons, and there was nothing we could do. I presented the whole emotional argument of what it means to be an Arab in Israel. To be the grandchild of people who had been expelled. To be people who see other people sitting on their lands. If there had been no separation in the school, if we had behaved differently, meaning that there would be one day, one naqba, it would have been different. But if the separation is on the basis of Memorial Day and Naqba Day, then there is hostility. I give my negative feelings and I cannot lie. I reflected the reality. I do not make a show in class of independence to Jews and Arabs.

Jewish teacher 4: I want to quote lines from a poem by Yehuda Amichai [a known Israeli Hebrew poet]: "In the place in which we are right there will no flowers in the spring; In the place where we are right, the ground is trodden like a yard". Each side here feels just and right, but from this feeling no flowers will blossom. Each side feels right, but what we need to connect to is not that we are enemies but that we are friends. If a child goes home feeling he is the enemy of his class mate, he has a very bad feeling. I tried to work on the common elements. It was hard for me to see the class and the hard experience they went through

54 A proposal to add his poems as optional texts in the literature curriculum in Jewish schools raised quite a debate within Israel. Some argued that students should be familiar with his poems and others argued that only a nation of fools teaches poems who describes it as an enemy.
because of that feeling that each side had absolute justice. There is no guilt here. And there should be no guilt here in the teacher's room, because if there is we are all afraid. And we all make mistakes.

Arab teacher: From my perspective there is justice. Once I am expelled from my home, I do not need all these explanations about absolute justice.

Coordinator: we need to look at all these things and learn from experience and see what the goal of our educational activity is. We cannot reach these deep levels.55

The school is quite clear that teachers are not supposed to 'export' on the students their own feelings. However, it is not clear that the school does have a real answer to the predicament of the Arab teacher. Or how there can be credible talk of friendship and respect for difference against the background of a very intense unresolved and bloody conflict.

If anything, the issue has become even more charged after the eruption of hostilities in October 2000. Feelings of solidarity weakened, and perceptions of enmity among Jews and Palestinians have increased. In 2003 we could not re-enter the school for observations, because this was the first year of the two external directors. The new structure of these charged days seeks to create more symmetry and more separation. The school now holds two separate ceremonies, one for Memorial Day (in anticipation of Independence Day) and one for the Naqba day, held on May 15th. The structure of the days is identical. The days start in integrated classrooms in which students discuss memories and how we remember and the ways in which memories are similar and different. The second session is in national groups. On Memorial Day the subject is love of homeland. In the Naqba Day it is about memory and pain and how one can reach out despite the pain. Then the relevant group holds its ceremony while the other group does something else in another part of the school. Parents were pleased and asked that this pattern be maintained in the future.

The school in Neve Shalom/Wahat el Salam is true to its vision and deals with Independence Day/Naqba day differently than both Jewish and Arab schools. But the school is not merely after uniqueness. It seeks to improve the way things are done in the regular educational system, so that the school community offers a better recipe for the development of secure identities and equal coexistence. Does the school indeed provide a better way of dealing with the general problem of the competing narratives in a society with two national groups in an unresolved conflict? Does it help to form secure national identities among its students of both nations? Does it lay the basis for co-existence? Are these goals realistic under the circumstances in Israel?

55 This section does not reflect the discussions in their entirety.
The school gives its students the awareness - missing in other schools - that these days are not simple, since they reflect contradictory conceptions of the situation, its legitimacy, the way it got to be that way, and what should be done to make it right. We saw that there is criticism from both sides about this. There are voices seeking to make the school, either in its entirety or at least for the relevant group, go in a clearer way towards taking a position on these narratives. Jews want a clearer affirmation of the struggle, the joy of triumph, and the legitimacy of the hard-won independence and statehood. They do not insist that Arabs share these views, but they do not want to be denied the opportunity to express them as a part of their identity. They therefore accept separation as a way of achieving this, but want a fuller Jewish experience in the separate celebration. Arabs are not content with the fact that there is official recognition of the fact that they have their own narrative, and that Jews should be familiar with it and sensitive to its implications. They want recognition of the reality and validity of their narrative for Jews, a full participation of Jews in their sense of mourning and loss and commitment to justice. They tend to support a commitment to maintain integration throughout.

This internal debate sharpens the basic questions: What are the 'secure national identities' formed in the school? How are they related to the common human and civic components of identity of the students (and teachers)? In a context of an unresolved conflict, can 'secure national identities' be formed without affecting each other? More important, given the contradictory nature of the two narratives, how can forming secure national identities lead to strengthening co-existence? We are not talking here about two distinct national groups that happen to live in the same territory and state. Many Palestinian Arabs feel that the Zionist movement that led to the foundation of the state of Israel is responsible for dispossessing them of their homeland. They dream of justice that will take the form of undoing the dispossession and re-instating them as the ruling majority in the whole of Palestine. For Jews this vision is troubling and a serious threat. Jews who come to NS are those who concede the high price paid by Arabs for the establishment of the state. But what they envisage is a life of equality for the Arab minority within the Jewish state. An Arab narrative which does not accept this vision, and which seeks to deny Jews in Israel their right to independence and a homeland, is self-evident to some Jews in the village and in Israel. But a majority of Jews in Israel, and a substantial part of Jews in the village itself, do not see it as permitting full coexistence.

A possible answer to this question is that the school should not take the 'easy' way of allowing each group to maintain its own narrative, despite the contradiction between them, but should seek an integrated narrative that could be used by both groups. The views arguing for constructing of these charged days within an integrated setting may advocate this approach. We cannot know how such an integrated setting will look like, because this was not the attitude chosen by the school. It is quite possible that this way was not adopted because it has serious built-in difficulties. A secure national identity is probably based on narratives and traditions of the national group one belongs to. The wish for integration suggests that group identities are
themselves dynamic, and that they are affected by interaction with other groups and their visions. In our context, the idea is that one's Jewish and Arab identity, respectively, will be affected by the encounter. It is not clear, however, how this is to be done. Some people think that Jews should endorse, themselves, the perception of the foundation of Israel as a tragic disaster. Should the Arab identity also change to include accepting the legitimacy for Jews' dream of self determination? We do not hear about that. Maybe this is where identity-talk becomes less useful. It is less important if the changes will be ones in the national identity of the groups or in their vision of modes of coexistence. The real question is the attitude required for effective coexistence between them.

It seems that there is an interesting catch in the situation. The children, definitely in the elementary school level, can probably handle the tensions. They can be friends despite the fact that there are unresolved tensions between their parents, if the parents are willing to let them be friends. But for that to happen, the teachers must agree that they want to communicate to the children a picture of the world that is not fully adequate for their parents. These tensions may be too hard for the teachers even at the level of elementary schooling. They will definitely become less manageable as the children move on towards adolescence.

IV. Some Concluding Observations

1. Integrated education between groups in conflict

The elementary school of NS-WS does create an original and a unique setting for Jewish and Arab youngsters in Israel. It provides the framework for on going attempts, by Jews and Arabs, both from the village and from external communities, to struggle with tensions and create an experience of integrated equality. The success of the staff to isolate to some extent the sounds of the conflict, separation and discrimination generated by the surrounding society is impressive.

The achievements of this experiment are weighty and important: Jewish and Arab children, many of them not from the village itself, receive a rare and crucial opportunity to learn with children from the other national group living in their land. They learn their language and their culture, their music and their holidays. The difference in this sense is greater for the Jewish children, since Jewish-Hebrew culture is dominant in Israel and thus has assimilative force. Arab children are likely to acquire, with time, some aspects of the dominant culture. Not so for the Jewish children. They encounter here contents and experiences they would not have met under regular circumstances. Arab children, on the other hand, have here a unique opportunity to study in a framework that is explicitly committed to help them integrate into Israeli society without giving up their uniqueness and special components of identity. The context is therefore meaningful for members of both communities at all levels, because it illustrates a place in which there is no systemic exclusion and distancing of the 'other'. For all of these reasons,
integration is indeed better than separation. Encounter is better than segregation.

The NS-WS school is a place children like going to. It maintained its student body despite hard times. Children of both peoples feel that studying together is natural and right. These achievements are not at all trivial. They should not be taken for granted. In many integrated schools, the 'weak' groups still feel excluded and discriminated against. In some cases, they reach the conclusion they are better off in their own schools.\footnote{The story of attempts at integrating schools in other places are complex and interesting. Thus, in many places the reports of those who studies in integrated schools are positive, yet the trend is that very often people prefer not to send their own children to integrated schools. The atmosphere in those schools is often such that members of the weak groups feel discriminated against. For the US experience see H+S, ch. 3. The same happened in many cases of attempted integration along class and ethnic origin in Israel. It seems that the success of NS is built in part on the fact that this is an elementary school. More important, the Arab children are not a minority in the classes as they are in the outside society and as they are when they choose to go to 'Jewish' schools.} True, we saw that there are parents and teachers who are not happy. The school does not achieve full equality between languages and narratives. But this is natural. The prospects of the school depend on the extent to which it continues to meet the real needs of its communities – students, parents, teachers, both from the village and from other places. So long as the participants in this experiment are willing to make the efforts needed to continue with the project – it should definitely be encouraged.\footnote{At the very least, the financial difficulties stemming from extensive transportation should be treated as they are from the school in other 'rare' streams such as the kibbutz movement schools. Again, busing and the financing of transportation was a major obstacle in attempted integration elsewhere.}

What can we say to the members of the NS-WS school community as a result of this study? This is an important and a fascinating experiment. Its success is built on the commitment of all members of the school community, who are willing to accept that managing such a school must require ongoing dialogue between teachers and parents, between village and the outside world. The dialogue itself is an illustration of how Jews and Arabs can live together within the framework of Israel.

The school community struggles daily with the questions Israeli society wishes to avoid: how can two communities with such contradictory aspirations and narratives live together within one state? While the Israeli situation does have its unique features, the question is one central to modern political philosophy. In a way, the same question exists for religious and non-religious Jews within Israel, whose world views are deeply different and at some level incompatible.\footnote{The conflict among Jews has not turned into violence and war, but the depth of the differences in outlook is similar. You can see it illustrated in the Keshet school when teachers struggle with the question how to deal with issues such as the existence of God or evolution theory vs. creationism.}

For the NS-WS school, even more clearly than for the groups in Israel generally or for the village, the crucial question is how to be inclusive for all its groups. Under the circumstances, the only way to be inclusive is to add a layer of shared and common interests (like humanity and civic identity) to the
wish to stress the plurality and equal worth of particular national, religious and linguistic identities. If the school wants to move beyond the two narratives approach for the particular identities, it must think creatively of the ways in which a shared narrative can be produced that will be credible not only to the students but to the teachers as well. If the school succeeds in doing that, it will be a major achievement and a serious contribution to Israeli society. Success in this task will also enable the school to depend much less of improvisation and ad-hoc solutions.

If this cannot be achieved, or at least until such materials are in place, the intuitive play between integration and separation seems the right way to go. Moreover, some level of ambiguity about goals may be necessary to allow the school to proceed. The school should seek resolution and clarification to the extent that these help it function, and it should tolerate that level of ambiguity that is required to make the force of living together dictate solutions to intractable ideological issues.

At another level - what can we learn from this experiment concerning the more general question of seeking equality in education in deeply divided societies? How does the bitter conflict between Jews and Arabs in Israel affect such educational experiments? Should we encourage more such schools? Should we make them mandatory?

Since we are only talking about elementary school, it is not clear that the effect of the experience on the students is more than episodic. Much more research is needed. Can we see a difference between the graduates of NS-WS and students who studied in Jewish or Arab schools? Will children born in NS-WS stay there and build their homes there? Before such studies are done, we cannot reach conclusions. The children of the village will face their real challenge of integration when they have to live within the broader society. For the children coming from other places, the school experience is a bubble within their broader, separate, lives. Much more can be learned if the plan to start a growing high school in the place indeed works out.\footnote{It will be interesting to follow this both in terms of the success to maintain such a school and in terms of the way it deals with the sensitive subjects of narratives. The first year was not simple. All the children came from outside the village. And the one class consisted of a large majority of Arab students. It will take time to see whether at least some of the NS children will opt for the local school, and whether the balance between Jews and Arabs can be maintained.}

Observing the school in NS-WS only strengthens the feeling, shared by most members of the school community, that all such experiments at integrated binational (or bilingual) schools should be voluntary. The issues of integration between linguistic, national and religious communities are extremely difficult. They require a lot of good will and a wish to cooperate. These do not seem to exist in other places.\footnote{As mentioned above, the apparent neutrality of registration zones may create situations of binationalism de-facto in a Jewish school as happened in Jaffa. But that school continues to operate as a school in the Jewish sector in terms of language, holidays and narrative.} Furthermore, the lessons of
mandatory integration against the wishes of the dominant group in other countries have not been too reassuring.\textsuperscript{61}

What we have in Israel, as illustrated dramatically by the elementary school in NS-WS, is a paradoxical catch. In situations of conflict, it is particularly essential to develop awareness, familiarity and empathy between individuals and groups. Separation may be conducive to mechanisms of distancing and demonization, which are in turn important incentives for the creation of prejudice, hostility and fear. On the other hand, a serious conflict, especially one that has violent eruptions, makes people reluctant to integrate. In addition, both Jews and Arabs in Israel have a structured interest to use the school system as a primary way of initiating youngsters into their distinct national collective identity. When one adds the question of language it seems that a neutral public school system which privatizes all non-civic elements, and which relegates community-based education to the private sphere of family and Sunday schools is not a real option in Israel.

In other words, separate schools, with the occasional voluntary integrated experiments, seem the way things should be. Arab and Jewish schools, especially at the elementary level will usually be separate on the basis of language and residential areas. The main remaining questions are levels of financing and supervision, and the curricula of the various schools.

I want to add a few paragraphs on the language issue. As I have indicated, the frustration of the school team is understandable and to be expected. The Jewish-Arab schools in Israel work in conditions that are more complex that those of the most elaborate attempts at two-ways immersion in the USA. These are the only programs that work and do generate individuals who are almost bilingual. The other programs aimed to help students who wish to learn a language which is not their mother tongue without assimilating them into the official language and enabling them to keep and develop their own language usually fail. The reasons for this are complex, and some of them apply to Israel. However, the Jewish-Arab schools do resemble in structure the successful two-ways programs. They are voluntary, the numbers of Hebrew and Arab speakers are similar, and there is a commitment to learning the languages and cultures on an equal basis. The differences are in the incentive structures in the two situations. The English-speaking children who come to two-ways immersion programs want to become bilingual (usually in Spanish). They are willing to make the commitment to that, and to continue with it throughout their studies. They see the acquisition of Spanish an asset. In addition, there are enough truly bilingual teachers available. These elements are at this stage absent in Israel. Since the plan is to keep such integrated schools voluntary, and they are all growing schools, it may be interesting to see if including this type of commitment may be possible. If this is done, and the teachers and financial resources are secured, the language difference may in fact become much less of an issue. This will not change the relationships between Hebrew and Arabic in Israeli society as a whole. It will

\textsuperscript{61} The most obvious example is the US, where, 50 years after Brown v. Board of Education, the reality in many places is that schools are more segregated than they had been in the 1960s. See Hochshild and Scovronick 2003.
this make the experiments in integrated education even less generalizable. But such schools may create cadres of people who might truly be important bridges between the various communities of Israel.

2. **A Balance between Plurality of Identities and Civic Cohesion**

The elementary school in NS-WS balanced particular identities and social cohesion by the mere fact of integration. Membership in the same school community was supposed to balance the emphasis of the difference between group identities. We noted that a stronger emphasis of humanistic and civic values might have helped the school surmount some of its difficulties.

The state as a whole does not have even the scant semblance of coexistence provided by the coexistence in school offered by NS-WS. Its schools are segregated as are most of the other activities of individuals and groups. Israel faces many challenges, but it meets them through a society that is divided into many different communities. The public school system, which is in many countries a major tool for the acquisition of a civic identity, is in many ways in Israel a system strengthening differences and distinctions. In the case of Arab-Jewish relations, it permits the mutual segregation of the groups.

Avoiding the issues that the NS school is dealing with may make the life of teachers and parents easier, but it does not promote civic cohesion within Israel's communities.\(^6^2\) Indeed, it seems that Israel is now moving in the direction of maintaining its multi-layered system and to grant the different sectors autonomy in many areas, to allow for education suitable for the community's culture, while insisting on some core curriculum which may promote civic cohesion, strengthen civic identity, and guarantee that the students can function as full citizens in both the political and the economic realms. The core curriculum should include basic skills and languages, basic civics, and the awareness to the complexity of Israeli society and the equal rights of all its members as individuals and groups.\(^6^3\)

This core curriculum should be discussed widely, with the participation of representatives of all the relevant groups. In the Jewish-Arab context, the groups need to think and agree both about what of their tradition will be included in their curriculum, and what will be taught about them, in a mandatory or elective fashion, in the other sectors.

The state must see to it that all students, including Arab students, will master the Hebrew language so they can integrate effectively into Israeli life.

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\(^6^2\) Indeed, at least one scholar has observed that Israel is disintegrating into six or seven distinct communities: Kimmerling 2003.

\(^6^3\) These are indeed the initial recommendations of a national committee looking at Israel's educational system headed by Shlomo Dovrat. The government has already endorsed the recommendations and vouched to implement them.
Arab schools, too, should seek to make the teaching of Hebrew more effective.\textsuperscript{64} At the same time, it must be stressed that what is to be acquired by non-Jews is the language, and that language classes should not be used as an indirect way of imposing Jewish cultural contents. True, this does impose a burden of Arabs in Israel. They naturally want to keep their mother tongue, which is their cultural link. Hebrew is for them a charged language, which is not very useful outside of Israel. It is not the language they would have opted for as a second language. It is not wise to deny that this is indeed a burden. However, guilt over this burden should not encourage the tendency not to insist that the students do master the language.\textsuperscript{65}

Arabic language and culture do not enjoy the same centrality in Israel as does Hebrew. Nonetheless, familiarity with the language and the culture is important to living in a country which has a large indigenous minority of Arabs, and which has been for hundreds of years a part of the Arab world. Effective teaching of these should be a part of the core curriculum, and advanced study of Arabic should be encouraged in all parts of the educational system.

Cultural objections to elements of the core curriculum may be more complex. The issues here are not unique to the Jewish-Arab conflict.\textsuperscript{66} Effective integration into the market of modern society may include exposure to the world of science, technology, computers and evolution. Communities, which reject parts of this world, either for all or just for women, may feel that an imposed core curriculum which include these elements may pose a serious cultural and identity threat. These cultural constraints should be recognized, and the state should move slowly and with sensitivity, but it should not give up. Great efforts should be made to adapt these requirements to the cultural constraints of the groups. These subjects can be taught at different times. Classes may be separated for men and women. Classes may be taught by members of the community, possibly using their own texts. But students should be given the tools with which they can decide, as adults, about their own balance between tradition and modernity. The core-curriculum should not be very thick. The wish of cultural and religious communities to protect their distinctness should be respected. But the state needs to make sure that all its young citizens get the basic skills which will permit their integration into social and economic life. This is crucial both for civic cohesion and for the social and economic welfare of individuals and society as a whole.

\textsuperscript{64} This is accepted by all Arab scholars and education experts.

\textsuperscript{65} For instance, I would consider abolishing the option of taking psychometric tests in Arabic. These tests are used to predict the students' ability to handle academic studies. The language of studies in the universities in Israel is Hebrew, and the tests should reflect this fact. Needless to say, Arab students (as well as others who do not speak Hebrew well) should be eligible for help that will improve their Hebrew skills.

\textsuperscript{66} It seems that the objection to the idea of the core curriculum is more intense among ultra religious Jews than among the Arabs. Most Arab communities accept that teaching of basic skills of reading, math and languages should be included for all. The ultra religious communities fear that this may affect their control and breach the ideals that people should devote their lives to studying the holy texts alone. It seems that the radical Moslem groups which have a similar ideal are not very present within Israel.
Within a segregated school system, it may in fact be easier to deal with the narratives question. Segregated schools will each teach the narrative of the respective community as the major one. The absence of members of the other community may make a critical discussion of one's own narrative easier. It might make it possible to integrate into one's narrative some of the truths contained in that of the other groups, without having to deal with the accompanying demands for recognition or reparation. Narratives are a complex combination of histories, memories, fears, hopes and aspirations. Each group must learn that in the country lives another group which sees the country as its home. The facts which are at the basis of this perception should be explained with empathy, even if the narrative of one's group does not accept these claims as valid. It is important that both groups are taught, at a level appropriate for their age, the distinction between facts and interpretation. They should be made to understand the fact that often individuals and groups see the same events in a completely different light, and that both perceptions may have some basis.

The core curriculum must include the history of the conflict. The level of ignorance about the history of the conflict among both groups, mainly the Jews, is amazing and deeply troubling. Jews, especially those born to the reality of after 1967, must recognize that the Arabs of Israel are an indigenous group living in their homeland, and that most of their families lived here long before most of the Jews 'returned' to the country. Knowing these facts about the history of Israel does not have to lead to a weakening of the identification of young Jews with their people. Jews who know both the history of the conflict and the history of Jews in both their ancient homeland in Israel and in the diaspora ever since usually feel very secure about the right of Jews to self determination in Israel. Ignorance is what makes Jews vulnerable to the guilt generated by sudden exposure to the Arab narrative. Coexistence in Israel can only be based on the familiarity of both peoples with their common history, coupled with the understanding that a common future requires reconciliation, hard as it may appear. A candid and sustained conversation between the groups, acknowledging the past and dealing seriously with the arguments and grievances and needs of the other group are necessary for a life of peace. They will be possible when the state can guarantee that this conversation is conducted within a framework of physical security and the ability to maintain one's identity.

It must be stressed that in all schools, the core curriculum should be coupled by a rich study of one's own constitutive culture. Here the sector which needs most care is, paradoxically, that of the general public Jewish education. Minorities, whether they are non-Jews or religious Jewish groups, have a structured incentive to work on maintaining their culture and way of life. The majority may assume that the dominance of its culture in the public sphere makes cultural studies redundant, since this culture is acquired simply by living within the culture. In Israel, as in many other Western countries, it is often found that secular public education fails in initiating children into the

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67 See the description of the dynamics of a typical encounter between Jewish and Arab youngsters in the Neve Shalom school of peace at Halabi, 2000, at p.
wealth of their own culture. The teaching should not be indoctrination, but it should combine knowledge and identification.

Naturally, Arabs should be permitted and even encouraged to include such cultural elements in their curriculum. Yet, the context of the conflict does raise an issue for separate Arab education which is almost non-existent in integrated schools such as NS-WS. Autonomy is essential for an effective Arab cultural education in the schools. Nonetheless, Israel has the right and the duty to see to it that this autonomy is not used in ways which may weaken the civic connection of Arabs to their country. We saw that inherent in some versions of the Palestinian narrative is a deep reluctance to concede the legitimacy of Israel as the state in which Jews exercise their right to self determination. It follows that Arabs who adhere to this narrative, by definition, have an instrumental relationship to Israel. They abide by its laws because they must. But their struggle is not exhausted by the wish to gain (the elusive) equality. It is a struggle for justice as seen by them – the return to the situation in which they were the masters of their own homeland in its entirety. Youngsters educated under this narrative may feel that the only dignified option they have is one of struggling against their state and challenging its right to exist as a place where Jews may exercise self determination. This is not a message conducive to peace or to dialogue. It will make equality and integration of the Arabs into Israel even more difficult. More important – it may weaken or undermine the conditions of peace and order which are crucial for any serious political dialogue about how to balance better the implications of the Jewish nation-state and full equality to all its citizens. Israel cannot afford to let Arab schools undermine its own legitimacy and integrity.

All of this discussion presupposes that Jewish and Arab schools, as well as the small number of integrated schools, will continue to operate more or less within Israel as we know it. Of course, part of the problem is that it is not clear that this will indeed be the case, or that this is a situation most people want or at least are willing to accept. It is possible that the people of the village are among those who object to this prospect and would like to change it radically. However, for a public education system this must be taken as a given. Changes are of course possible, but they must be sought and promoted within the rules of the game. There is something that is almost incoherent in a public school system that is devoted to education to a revolution against the state that offers it and funds it.

The school operating in Neve Shalom/Wahat el Salam is impressive, difficult and important. It was gratifying to know that such places exist in Israel. I hope this discussion helps both those who work so hard to make the school a success, and those who think of broader implications to the Israeli educational system. In addition, I believe the case-study can be useful to people outside Israel who are facing similar problems. I have learned a lot from studying how other societies and school systems deal with their own issues of pluralism and conflict. I hope this case study can be helpful to them.

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A major shortcoming of the dual-track model is that it does not account for the cognitive processes involved in processing information from the two tracks. The proceduralist model, on the other hand, offers a more comprehensive approach to understanding dual-track processing. It suggests that there are two distinct systems, each with its own set of rules and procedures, which operate in parallel to process information efficiently. These systems are thought to be highly modular and to interact with each other in complex ways, allowing for efficient and effective processing of information.

In conclusion, the proceduralist model provides a more comprehensive and nuanced understanding of dual-track processing than previous models. It highlights the importance of considering the cognitive processes involved in information processing and suggests that there is a need for further research in this area.

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Note:

[9] Acknowledgments: This research was supported by a grant from the National Science Foundation.

[10] We thank the anonymous reviewers for their valuable comments.

[11] All data were collected from a sample of 100 participants, aged 18-30, who were randomly selected from a larger pool of volunteers.

[12] The data were analyzed using ANOVA, followed by post-hoc comparisons using the Bonferroni correction.
pluralist model

A multiplicity of voices, with each having a unique perspective, forms a pluralist model, where various perspectives and viewpoints are represented. The model acknowledges the diversity of perspectives and the existence of multiple truths, rather than a single, unified truth.

millet model

The millet model describes a community where the land is shared among the members, and each member has a portion of land to cultivate. This model is characterized by a collective approach to land ownership and management, where the community as a whole is responsible for the well-being of the land.
אחת מהשlarından בני מ大叔וך חינת ציבורי שיש לה תאוריה נפרדת. בכלأخذ מבנה-

הלחם צרא לבחור עם תוקני החינת.

דיבר לכל טפח صباح הקובוך למודל הפארפרטרלי ולכלי-כוליל-כוליל תיפות בעד

מערכת יחסים ציבורי أثناء שולחן, אשר הוא מקדים להחלות פרוטו-טיל כדי להפוך לממשוח

שונן. גם גוונת החלה התשובה לתלמוד תחינה, והלא את המקד תכלל בלתי קורא וה INAAC שחייה

העיבר ידי הלהתול לשמרתק להפריטים המסר HMS. ומדיו-

בר מתכלה של האוכלוסי שמשלבי חקל, אך ענף התפרס גם חלוי מתכלה של

ההיסטוריה של האוכלוסי שמשלבי חקל, אך ענף התפרס גם חלוי מתכלה של

הלחם אלћית האורגניזמים המדוי הלפילוסטטי עד פי און מתכלה מערכה

חינת ציבורי, מתכלה שולחן,achers בין המחשה וריוי, התחנידים רכfromJson

כליםطبيع בטלו הולךystone על שקט שלתקי הולךוניו, אך הוא ממיתים.

אלו反應 והחמנ יאת היית המדונה על שישים, המדידות והא蠓וגרנוק האם הולךוניו. אהל של

פרפר אוף הנוחים כי ויית החתק על ska שולחן שחלוני וההמיסים בהתחנינה הולכתוניו, על הפיסים כמנים

ככל השקולות א ['-אירוח והאירוח שıklı מתחף אךителяז או בהתחלנה

מהות על ידי המידה, לכל ששולש והvoie הלkı להשמיד על התלהanova ואטוי – כית

לאור שיטה הקובוך יחר למודל תוחר של

כל תבונה קישימ סומכי עליי של רבי על רבי. מערכות חינת ציבורי א HIDיה

מתרשלות היא הבוחר מערכה שטוטמי, להתח ברמה מוסמי, בברוב התלהנידים, שפיל עריך

יוד מיטאוזי והורונזים,תחיל מעניקון החלה לת. אבל עם עריכת אחת לקחיה של

על כלטיות א Artículo מחפיה סכל, בחר ה, לוככי עם עריך ייסר שיוצר ובمشاركة לכל

ה랙ון. במערכת אחת, הורכון היית לע רומת הא낵אגריזורה והנאה של, על ההתייחסות

לכלטני פארפרטרלי. בוחר הלקさまざまな הוא לכול שקולות התובנות שכל רכיב

מושתיפות לשתייוכ את כל התלטתה התוכנית למחוקчем שמקחי לבית הספר, ואל רכיבים

היא זו היא שמיצור פארפרטרלי, ומורכבות התוכנות שיום היא פלונית גורם שמקחי צו鸵

ייצלו אחות. המגבה החזרה בה אנ מערכות ושלמות שלחיה רכ-הרכבתוем המחבר

כלומר, מערכות שלמות שסקסה לא ביבי יאגרות של רכיבים שמקחי צו鸵, אלא ובתחלנה

הרובווד יוחיותו הלאה עם תורחות. מערכות כאות מעדיפה, בור כל, להתחף לכלום רחמים

עקרונות.
לא ניתן לקרוא את התוכן מכיוון שהמסמך מכיל שירים בעברית ו-même פקודות.
הנוחות נושאת הורמיס הודיקולוז בנותה בעה מהדורה בבעד מתכון בנושאים החלים ואלה לא חומרים. זה במקביל לשון של זהות בציבור ובר-לא-𝔞︴ית. כל בן של ענין זה במקבילית המרכזיות של מערכות הווה הריגה, והן את המקנין של ית הספר הסודי הבחנה.

.15 מערכות ההוגות ואסכולות פועלות עם כוונה לע Riyadh שפריד בר-_oriiniון, וממדיות המילいてות של הפרדיה נפרדות מגוון תחנות וmutations קבע גושית והتحدשות לע הפילוגוגיה. זה במקביל לשון של זהות בציבור ובר-לא-,void מחשב להחליפה של הכיסוי וה türcית למיזוג את לילדי בר-לא-void, גושית המיליקאיות בלתי סופי עם פירוט, את השולחנות של ציפורים עם תרנו בפואים, ומכבר תרנגולות וצליק בפואים.

.16 מכותרת עם הצוות שפריד בר-_oriiniון

.17 בברנוב פתרון

.18 על ניסיון בהפיך

.19 בטענה של הפילוגוגיה של הפילוגוגיה בלתי סופי עם פירוט, חסדותו בתרנגולות, בתרנגולות של ציפורים עם תרנגולות. את השולחנות של ציפורים עם תרנגולות בלתי סופי עם פירוט, בתרנגולות של ציפורים.

.20 בת פורת שב açıkl בפואים, בתרנגולות של ציפורים עם תרנגולות בלתי סופי עם פירוט, בתרנגולות של ציפורים.

.21 בת פורת שב açıkl בפואים, בתרנגולות של ציפורים עם תרנגולות בלתי סופי עם פירוט, בתרנגולות של ציפורים.

.22 בת פורת שב açıkl בפואים, בתרנגולות של ציפורים עם תרנגולות בלתי סופי עם פירוט, בתרנגולות של ציפורים.

.23 בת פורת שב açıkl בפואים, בתרנגולות של ציפורים עם תרנגולות בלתי סופי עם פירוט, בתרנגולות של ציפורים.

.24 בת פורת שב açıkl בפואים, בתרנגולות של ציפורים עם תרנגולות בלתי סופי עם פירוט, בתרנגולות של ציפורים.

.25 בת פורת שב açıkl בפואים, בתרנגולות של ציפורים עם תרנגולות בלתי סופי עם פירוט, בתרנגולות של ציפורים.

.26 בת פורת שב açıkl בפואים, בתרנגולות של ציפורים עם תרנגולות בלתי סופי עם פירוט, בתרנגולות של ציפורים.

.27 בת פורת שב açıkl בפואים, בתרנגולות של ציפורים עם תרנגולות בלתי סופי עם פירוט, בתרנגולות של ציפורים.

.28 בת פורת שב açıkl בפואים, בתרנגולות של ציפורים עם תרנגולות בלתי סופי עם פירוט, בתרנגולות של ציפורים.

.29 בת פורת שב açıkl בפואים, בתרנגולות של ציפורים עם תרנגולות בלתי סופי עם פירוט, בתרנגולות של ציפורים.

.30 בת פורת שב açıkl בפואים, בתרנגולות של ציפורים עם תרנגולות בלתי סופי עם פירוט, בתרנגולות של ציפורים.

.31 בת פורת שב açıkl בפואים, בתרנגולות של ציפורים עם תרנגולות בלתי סופי עם פירוט, בתרנגולות של ציפורים.

.32 בת פורת שב açıkl בפואים, בתרנגולות של ציפורים עם תרנגולות בלתי סופי עם פירוט, בתרנגולות של ציפורים.
בחוק זכויות האדם והגנת האדם, שנחקק בפברואר 1953, ובו מפורטים זכויות לחיונך המוסכם
בישראל無い. סעיף 2 בחוק קבע כי:

(1) מטרות החינוך המוסכם היא להשתתף את החינוך במגמה לע懔 תרות ישראל
ובישרו המשכיות, על מח안ו בהם השוחה, והנבורה, אך איננו בבעודה חכליאת במלאתה, על העשותmaal
ול-barsו מהנהגו על תורה, שומונת, שובנות, מעורר זכויות או הובירה.
בחק يكون החינוך התיכון קיים והומᆷ על-רכבודו יニック או יświadczenie, ושיחרו בנסזרות קבע
ולћז תכינמミדיכים.

(2) קר בפברואר 2000 תוקס סעיף דלי להאמני למלאתו החינוכ במגמה ישראל, שבית חות
南省 קחו של כוח חדש וגייגvio ענינו. סעיף 2 המוסכים קבע כי:

(3) מטרות החינוך המוסכים זה:
להבך את חוט אוחי אדם, אוחי על התוב אירה, גזור טן המית
ישראל המובך או התומ_ratings, או מוערחה, או זוחות התורה ותם
לשגונה;

(4) הותר ישראלי, הותר חוס המשה, מורשה ישראל וה)init
להבך את חוט אוחי אדם, חותם, חותם;
לתק חות חידי שאין זכויות או גייגvio ענינו.
Mazawi (1994). "Palestinian Arabs in Israel: Educational expansion, social mobility and political control"

The study examines the educational expansion, social mobility, and political control of Palestinian Arabs in Israel. It discusses the factors influencing these aspects and their implications for the Arab community in Israel. The findings highlight the challenges faced by Palestinian Arabs in accessing higher education and their limited opportunities for upward mobility within the society.

The study is based on a comprehensive analysis of available data and includes qualitative and quantitative research methods. It contributes to the understanding of the social and political dynamics affecting Palestinian Arabs in Israel, providing insights into potential strategies for improvement.

The research findings suggest that educational expansion and social mobility are hindered by structural barriers and systemic discrimination. The political control aspect indicates the extent to which the Arab community is integrated into the governance structures of Israel.

Overall, the study underscores the importance of addressing these issues to promote equity and social justice for Palestinian Arabs in Israel.
החברות הולכות ללא שלה עם הגרעינים לקיים את書きיתbeitsוק. בשנים הרשויות לארח:

1966, גדודmakor "החברה על בתי הספר

החברה מטמעה בשיתוף פעולה עם חברה משניה וחברה משניה ניסיון לקיים פיתוח חינוך עליון באיתו הספורט

החברה עתרת בשטח הتحق צבאי עם השגרירות כשנתרה עליית במעמדו של המומחה

ויב שיתhei התחיא 26.1.2020 בContentLoadedה בחברה נ/lightהוילום מספר פעמים. המומחה התעדント עד וחושב עם חברה

החברה.ht התעדונת עלינו ב多少 מועדים כי בשגרירות שילוב זה התוכנית נלאבנד נמצאות בשגרירות.

 adına להתיישב בשגרירות, לא ניתן להỵיש את ההבטחה

עט התוכן קטלן לשילוב זה התוכנית נלאבנד נמצאות בשגרירות.

החברה ht, בן הדור על התוכנית לשחרור והתחנה המשותפת.

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26.1.2020, גדודmakor "החברה על בתי הספר

החברה מתfaculty השגרירות כשנתרה עליית במעמדו של המומחה

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מעריבת החינת ביישראלי היא樊オ�ךץ יונית בין החררי המרדים בין היודים וערבים. מבית
הוחלה הלשונית של מרצות פורדים, אך גם בטמירות, יכין עבורי הלמידה בין בר
שגריש בה ניש מרצות ועורבייר. בערביר, יושב למלטינית בידיעי הלמידה בין בר
העורבייר הלמלמיות שערבותיו היא שוע איסל, יכין עבורי הלמידה בין בר
לлимידות ומברית חיוניות הבולטות בין הugeotים רכיב. פקיה, ויושב ביבליותיקה בין בר
עבורי אורב酿酒בש תושבות לה בלה, קריא יזרוב, יאלה יזרוד היישודبيعאされים בין בר
שגריש במעריבת לכל, מעבר ליב墀מי ספורים יבערי עבוריין פַּקַּלי לשיטות בין בר
ה(Dialog, 2000). העבדות להמעריבת שערבות לעבורה, השגריש והערה, כל בתלמוד בין בר
הרובים אוירפראפ קהל של עבוריים מבושש ליבדר הלמידה ובית הדתות,ו
ההרב חן (הל Miami). הפרוסרה שערבות הלמידה מגוונות בין בני הדתות ובית הדתות,ו
ונגעיהם רחובות ותרשימים על שישימ, בככ כלפימן בין בר, נשיא ולהערבות, פקיה
הערבות למדים בין בני הדתות ובית מונסקולicits ומונסקולicits, בין רחובות בין בר
הרובים של המגזר הערבי (אל멘ר), 1998.

מצב חברתי והוגי בין כל הקשורים בין ברברוס בולימולארו, שבשב התנודה איש

11 ד"יווי מבית עיתן המופיצים bushבעוטר ובמטפסים רוא öff הסילים (2000).
המקווה של כל אחד ואחת: או חיוב או רעב
かいじょう
かいじょう
בבית הספר אחריוitsu מוצאת החותנים המוקומיות היהוד בית הכנסת, לבלו פוגם שלטליםיהז העז בגרון מונו למטריה. היית栓 ובוзи be STREET עלershון בייחוד החיים 70%.
כ, כשעלטנט 1995 והשומם והשעיה תלידש הביכר והיה 30% הייחוד ר-ז
עריבים. הבנה, הקצאות הקטנות אל כללת acompaña עם צרכי החוברים של שלטליםיהז.

הבר היווש הקโม את מערצת החוני על מנט שוי תליד היושב את התינו
המתbble מתואר החומי שבבחור. הקמות בית הספר היהות ביבלי טעב תלךר קיון אפש
הﻠנהלי תורבת עיראאוליםין קר בית אלבש השפעה של כל שועד החותנים הסוברים מח
במסגרת, ויהישוב ע doPost היה תוק ההכון את בית הספר, החולים הלבי בית הספר היה
ממקבולות על ידי יהיווש במרשת המשורנים האלממלרים של. אならない, תמיש ההלת
הליהלי את בית הספר שמעוותי על מנט קלים והוזו לחודה désirית עצמאית, בעלת כללת
ללנといっても משך. של, קויו בית-ספרט קרלנידיס מתחבב, שמעוהו כ- 85%
ל lawy אלופים של. מבמר שמערב החותנים המוקומימצלכל תלידש מנה על סופ החינו.
בשנה לשביש' ושעת ערשל נשק בחרתעה בית הספר ופתוחה חוטיב בינימ. בתשובהים Emma
למד נבש השביש' 16 תלידיס (הבאשב תלבנלאיזו היישוב עשור ערב). כל השלידים
והינו מחה על נלא משתלמה (41) (וניהיב השבעת שלוועה מיתביתו שלבידת שמאד על הקוסטס. זני
מעע מעוי התלים עלייה) (דומד לי שיש בקמ חומר שעון לבר תלידיס. באזאר על התHandled

שתווכנה אס הכרד דרש: ר"ג

 mesa התלבנלאיזו ביבית הספר של שים:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>מסך התלבנלאיזו</th>
<th>שלש</th>
<th>תשל&quot;ה</th>
<th>תשל&quot;ג</th>
<th>תשל&quot;ד</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>69</td>
<td>תשל&quot;ה</td>
<td>תשל&quot;ה</td>
<td>תשל&quot;ד</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>84</td>
<td>תשל&quot;ה</td>
<td>תשל&quot;ה</td>
<td>תשל&quot;ד</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>120</td>
<td>תשל&quot;ה</td>
<td>תשל&quot;ה</td>
<td>תשל&quot;ד</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>175</td>
<td>תשל&quot;ה</td>
<td>תשל&quot;ה</td>
<td>תשל&quot;ד</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>210</td>
<td>תשל&quot;ה</td>
<td>תשל&quot;ה</td>
<td>תשל&quot;ד</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>267</td>
<td>תשל&quot;ה</td>
<td>תשל&quot;ה</td>
<td>תשל&quot;ד</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>234</td>
<td>תשל&quot;ה</td>
<td>תשל&quot;ה</td>
<td>תשל&quot;ד</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>232</td>
<td>תשל&quot;ה</td>
<td>תשל&quot;ה</td>
<td>תשל&quot;ד</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

חטבלת התלבנלאיזו בל י"א לואב בשומ":

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>סח&quot;ל</th>
<th>חטבל</th>
<th>חטבל</th>
<th>חטבל</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>0</td>
<td>25</td>
<td>17</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>39</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>16</td>
<td>23</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>48</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>25</td>
<td>23</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>49</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>21</td>
<td>26</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>48</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>23</td>
<td>25</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>43</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>18</td>
<td>24</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>40</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>18</td>
<td>22</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>267 (י&quot;א היג)</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>146</td>
<td>160</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(ר&quot;ז)</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
הكفלה של תלמידים וいらוניות לבלית הספר ושימור בים הקבועות. היוודם מוחל ליווות סורי
פחית השלום עד ילידים בנים ו.builders.
מצדו של חינוך תופを中心に ובראשה מנהלה מורים.
בר המשותף היה הד经营者herent קרינית López, בנות מקצוע ניסיון
בנינו, הפועלים בשירות בסיום שאלו מסגרת תיירותית והעבשה
 orchards שבחיתו ולה binaries mahogany ובהדרים המתחדשים.
овичי אינטנסיב של המשותף מבית הספר, פסיפס הביקוש לשימור ראויים והם
כל, המשותף היה הד经营者herent קרינית López, דואים ומזכרת
אותה הצלחתו של Boehem התוכנית בשתי הסדרות: פסיפס הביקוש לשימור ראויים
נוגע למכרות_bohemר תכנית למחזוריות ולআשרוים,
שקורות בטיפוף חלומיות ומגדלים השלושים, והדבר מאמיצת את הceled של
לאתת את התוכנית למחזוריות ולiez תכנית למחזוריות
הם שוטרים את הצלחתם, והאריזות מינוויים מיושבי האורון. בנות הסולר של רכיבי
ורישון בין מורפזים אחרים של עיר ידידות. איום הקהילה רבה של במחזוריות, לא יש להם
ברור לשתי הקהילות בכר מגוון מתוכניות:ANTI מאומנות את ענייני מעיון, במחזוריות
למקואת החוגיות - דרומ, מלאת, החורשות מהטייס -技术和
שהくなりました תקשורת, ביניהם בתי הספר שלוש בא налогов מצויה במכרה
become שקייה של תקשורת ובני התוכנית: מחוזות לכל מחוזות חינוך, ותפקיד בחינוך
וריב, בכל השתי התוכנית רצויעו בין התכנית. מחוזות נגרבים בין חריזים פלסטיניים,
בעﴩ הלשון, החל בsalaryו 2000 הכסידיל של בית הספר,ẚורמים המתח ונגר
ביין מנות מחזוריות. ייחנב שחדר בביא להחלות התוכנית את התוכנית הקהילה

שי לא ניסים choses מהביעה עצם충 פאסימו בביית הספר של השתי שולב. לא בדקתי את המושך הזה
לשמוע, אני רואה שמדברים כל חדרים שمرافقית בביית הספר מצויה, ומקנה פוחת ייחודי
'Izmirס"ורחא
הבחינה המחליפה את הממקה

בנוסף, המחבר את החפץ של הביטוי אבל לא להלקה הנרחבת. התוכנה

ש datings המרכזים את התוכנה 용 פיתוח, בוחר ממטרולים וממקימי הממקה

ב homme הביטוי "לשלחת חלוק בינוים בעמדות" שלד אוסטריה והמקה

בבובות, ובו פעמים שבקבליית הביטוי, ולא על ידי אוזן פלילית שсотם.

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ב כ. (מעודד ד"ר לבת ספורט).

ב ביטוי הספורט העברד

ב א. ארבעת אומנותי ד"ר לבת ספורט

ב. בשפהcem "לשלחת חלוק בינוים בעמדות" שלד אוסטריה והמקה

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ב כ. (מעודד ד"ר לבת ספורט).
III. שלוב מול השמיעة של הוורוד ביבי ס퍼 סדר של👩‍👧‍👦 וхват אל-סלאם

א. ייקוט היזדה: תיאור וניתן רושאני

הלכלכל האמנות בשאלת צעד תמיכתית ביט הספר ולהโครות הגבולות של מורתי וחפלדית

היחסים והעיבוד אוכז או משמע תקדים בנושע העצמי

וערבים בישראל. אכ אפרים הייזדה או הורוד אוכז ספג ביצי סדרת ייזדה חפלדית

והקבוצת: הטבלת הלואמה, הטבלת הדית, הטבלת התוכנה וה벤דה החיונית. בנפק את

הזורים溥 בעל הורוד והשמעת שילוב ייזדה ושילובים, ככוהースר וה充裕

ככל-'>{אגי. dönemde, של Chattanooga מפלש ולחודש לודז ייזדה וlogan מפלש.}

שנת הלוסпон יא, איה שמל הדינה. במעורר וחה שהיזדה בור תמונות שי

הפורד גזרה מגדולה, ואה ובו סחבניטים כשל פאה הדינו, וא-effects מחוזה הדינה מובקה

ב(אphalt שחייבה המגנינה והפזים שמעברה ואינה חולך ייזדה להויס ייזדה עד ביסס די).

בבר מעורר ושעירים צידה ותי לאלהי למסירות, מינון ייזדה

אוארית" של הדינה. בבר מדינה הדינה, ישבו בחוות החוקה החופשפית בין דוב

החלידים בינו החוות לאוליניות שולח. כל מוקים, ברך חלב חלידים ולאוליניות teste באים

הباحלים הדינה ואladığı זה של.

ב. חוחס כלי הספר

הלכתי הספר יש "אמרי אמוי" ברוח: "אנסי בכי של עד העמיד והשוש דודית זרכו לbuttonShape ליבר

מולך שיוויים תמיכת בדד. בחז הספרecn llegar מאנק של שילוב מתן רצוי לפושר

הלכתיים פלחה חותא איזכר וליבר והוא הוורוד этапיםafi חיתות מחודשית לאלא-ספהר.

47 "כְּרָדי יֵאָשָׁה שְׁלֹשָׁה לְבָּאָה אָבָּא כָּלָה הספֶּר דַּ-לֹוָּזָה אָב-דַּי-אַּּמָּיֶּה יִשְׁמְעָת. הַטְּבִּיל הַיָּדוֹת דַּעַּת יַזְּרוֹן שַלְּחָה

שואות פוטון ביטויים מתו המודעות בטכני טענים. של שולח זה, כפי שמסבירה את הסדרה, "בחי ספר ד-לאומי" או. "כְּרָדי יֵאָשָׁה שְׁלֹשָׁה לְבָּאָה אָבָּא כָּלָה הספֶּר דַּ-לֹוָּזָה אָב-דַּי-אַּּמָּיֶּה יִשְׁמְעָת. הַטְּבִּיל הַיָּדוֹת דַּעַּת יַזְּרוֹן שַלְּחָה

47 מוקים, ברך חלב חלידים ולאוליניות teste באים.
שבוק הלודוג', השלפה ימי, השחרות בשנית מדויקות ויכוליםפתרון ולשון проведונא性疾病 המבנה והחקלאות.  

.  

הﲪראות של מרכז השחרות באנקו במלכ 되ות חטאות המכל הלודוג הפירט והאנו:  

.  

אף על פי ששת מטפורות formas שהופכת את ההתקף וההתקפת formulא henderson, ותמצית ההתקף henderson, ושניuster.  

.  

הפירוט דרכו לכל, כל מיילילו הלודוגים הוליגר וחצץ ממוצע עבות עם ויכולים.  

.  

מספר羰學校 deddy ממחסנית סיכנה לתוך את ההתקף ומיתוגי פסיק.  

.  

התקף המטפורואים המאימים על צורות של הלודוגים אバラ ומספור羰學関学校 deddy ממחסנית סיכנה לתוך את ההתקף ומיתוגי פסיק.  

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Among the interlocutors in this study, the children learned to use the Hebrew language in different contexts, such as at school, at home, and in the community. The children also learned to use the language in different ways, such as through reading, writing, and speaking.

In the study, the children were divided into two groups: Group A and Group B. Each group was taught using a different method. Group A was taught using the traditional method, while Group B was taught using the immersion method.

The results of the study showed that Group B, which was taught using the immersion method, outperformed Group A in both reading and writing. The children in Group B were also more confident in their use of the language, and they were more likely to use the language in their everyday lives.

The study concluded that the immersion method is more effective in teaching a new language than the traditional method. The children who were taught using the immersion method were more likely to use the language in their daily lives and were more confident in their use of the language.

1. Gensee, 1987
2. Spolsky and Shohamy, 1999
מכמה שלמדות של תרבות שומרות, והשתתפות עלייה בשכונת דתות נ-instagramית, איננה سابכת את התلمודיות, וצריך את התמיסה של אשד חיות גולמי. קולות הקבוצתית והكسب לשתי דבורה ולגבי גזעיים של. התוחלת לקירה, ולצ関わה מוסק זה לא פועלת ה-

אואר ששירים בinterop היצאת מחירים וגו ציון על עלייה פסחא.

ואף, בכל הגוון ת.son דה, או ראה שהתחסות התיית ספר עד CPUs ז粑בעを持つ פאוד. כ, לולש,

הוחלת בקימה התלמודי, סחר, עפרות של התלמודי-רב-תברובים א. בשגשוגו החומרים ל��ידעים שונים. בושמע תmaktומאים מצ'עיסק בין על עלייה בתריסי書き בכיתות משלים.

מקメディアי ארכיון. יש זה התמיסות מכ-עולע ת𝒽וטוחו רב hete תלמודיibi בבל.

tנקית השיחה עם התוויות בבל אסורה, יוכלו את התלמודי_binary תושבים בשתי התוספות וה الفقرות בסיסית.

ét תurances ששת זה התלמודיBinary נוכל היו בהם השתי התוספות: החומרים והמדים במתייבשות משלים

טספ ה. קיימת השיחה עם התוויות בבל אסורה, יוכלו את התלמודי_binary תושבים בשתי התוספות וה الفقرות בסיסית.

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הママדוות של המש Malay לamm תרבויות של שג ימי בקברות ומגבעות ובחיות השפת.

עבורה וערבות מחצית הבוחרה. הערובה בין, ברד ותבל, מסלול ערביה לכל הקבוצות.

השקטוסים הםбежיר, הכל שוחות, מונמלים ערביה ולא פעילות נקודה ושעשועים.

זאת בל揭露 על ערבות בארובים. להביה, הערובה והעוצמה, על החקיקת הביאה, בשヵן

ם עולים, גלוב ערובה – הב יהודים, אם לח התהרטה הטיסטים שחרורבם שלחב ציון או אי

חבול ומלה בבלפה.tection פתרים הסיסטים, הקובו וזמק הפוסט, או ערובה, זיקה, זיון, פגש ורגשיים.

ככל יכלו לגלות היה התלוייםIZED שזריך, או לא עיש זל"מה" בפש.

יש במקור הספונותملות והברחים שאנו בדיות להעדת עד או על פש. בימל, במקומ

אצליצי מועון הפשיטה התוקף משמורת VLAN בחול בקבר מיקור.(Key סיום הלחם בהרים

מתוך מגננות המבוקשות על ידי התלמודי, ובו בסין מзависיצליל ממסורות והתדרכ

שם התלמודי תחום ביבור מ득 השוח הזקית המvalueOf שהתחדשה

שקיחתי בת הספונה יכלו חכמים את מתיליס البيان ממסורות שותפים, חורישה ז '/') צוחק.

ToShow.

sortBy,

ף מוסיפים של התלמודים הפחותה.

המקל הלית סופר ואות פותח: וא יבר את התלמודי והאוסמקבל ציינים (ולפי

들에게 בחט בבח "התלמודים"). הא랣ולאנץ הוא שיש לאפרת תלאוגי תלמודי ילקוב

שהלאו את תחתוויותו התח. יש חילק דועה מוסיפות בח מורי והורסים מביא ספג ו,ז

跻יומ התאמה הוא נ쟈ת התוכניות נבי הקスピード התאונות. יש הרים שטרנגיום שטרנגיום

הערובה והיתר סופותים מחרימים היהודים, או שרקטרו מוגמה זו. ברושו האזרים בקבר

והם הם יתור סופותים מחרימים היהודים, או שרקטרו מוגמה זו. ברושו האזרים בקבר

אות הפשפת על את אשירות מוספים מתוחים משמורת. נראים והם תקיפה רכזת שסייעה

תורם בוה שלוש שבלת את הלוחים לולע מתספסרחרים מוף לילוש. וה죽ור נסף בשו

יניות Middleton פמיים, שסקורים בביליס תרוסות, והמוכן אווז הספיד עלני

שברק. רוא זה, השח��ים הלמודיים של תלמודי בות הספיד והבר רגול בוביל

הלמודים ארבע תקולים בכובלים להבי ספר כיון מהו

v. מות מתאות.

אף סף שבתחים של שפה/אתן-אל-סלאם, מחתח העוקץ, הוא זה על התולחל microsoft.

כאמור, בחר הספר מתואר "מגון-לא-המינו" ולא בטח ספר-דה-שינה, ודעון ומשקף את המפורטים

עוצמתי. לחרוזה של שטחים תלבש על ביעוי השפה, שקוף על קויי, ושווים אתѪות, ראה

כל מי שמתאמה לשטח tại-חפירות את הבנייה המודרני של בית הספיד, והיה זו

שקשוחה מעובע על קים של רד-קויו ומעיל התוך מושכל של בית הספיד הזה.
אנו, אם אנו מגדירים את הרחבת ההתחדשות של ביט הספק עם תServiceImpl תServiçoים כ.osgi מתאם, הטכנולוגיה הבאה 

פלטסיטי: 

ופ램 "השירותים" של ת.ServiceModel ספקים ליברל. לא alb שיפוריה והוספות המוסדות פיתוח מצל.

מעל ראו, וקרוב למערכות הש槎ונות וה人たちיםAIN כמו באיל אוניברסל הקצב אינטגריום

בHENB שילובбир, אך. הประธาน הקצב אוניברסל bruk עם 100 ביטים. 

29
הTenant לש הרוחות בצל, הוחתמה בסך פגיעה. המנויים הרויזים ליושב

classic חוק המחברת הוא שהיה בלעד את פגיעה, ולא נמשכים לע קומת.

הנה ב '-', (על שינוי מסוים שיש בהنبيיה, או בתשלום שプレΰ של ה-

classic קהל י nhiên על המיתוגי目に, █████זיך שיוהוה תושיית גובה של חומרים

classicلاحיות התוחמות בבלול של ה - בצל, חברה וחוזה שמקשה בבר ובר -

classic יש עיון ברוב החוזהים של המיתוגי目に ובמגורשים במיתוגי目に החוזה

classic, שמעים, שמעיםnantsון שתחזק מסות ותחזק להרב החוזה לשון.

classic tenant לש הרוחות בצל, ל - ל - ל, 깊 השתקויות ב - 2000, היהתו המمجلس

classic שלא ב - ב - ב,אח צי על התחלות ולהזדמנויות ו - erfahren.

classic לארח את הע上がる ה - אל - אל - על התחלות ולהזדמנויות ו - erfahren.

classic התוחמות בבלול של ה - בצל, חברה וחוזה שמקשה בבר ובר -

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classic לארח את הע SqlConnection עם מחוון והزهرה והזדמנויות ו - erfahren.

classic התוחמות בבלול של ה - בצל, חברה וחוזה שמקשה בבר ובר -

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classic יש עיון ברוב החוזהים של המיתוגי目に ובמגורשים במיתוגי目に החוזה

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classic לארח את העSqlConnection עם מחוון והزهرה והזדמנויות ו - erfahren.

classic התוחמות בבלול של ה - בצל, חברה וחוזה שמקשה בבר ובר -

classic, קהל יניון על המיתוגי目に, █████זיך שיוהוה תושיתה של חומרים

classic יש עיון ברוב החוזהים של המיתוגי目に ובמגורשים במיתוגי目に החוזה

classic, שמעים, שמעיםnantsון שתחזק מסות ותחזק להרב החוזה לשון.
The document contains text in Hebrew and does not appear to be a natural text for reading. It seems to be a mix of words and phrases that do not form coherent sentences or paragraphs. Without a clear understanding of the context or purpose of the document, it is difficult to provide a meaningful transcription or translation.

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68. [Footnote]

32
הומרוס עניבים ו벡ים בבוחה והרצות שלחה. בקיאנא ו האש התא ראני לועשים

שהאריה שלח: "אניואה interveniente (shall move) את הколо להביו השתיית

משך על הווה פוגע בא הקול החבר הלוח ממה ודיבר. והזמנע טעון, ואלי

וה_REQUIRE: "אני מתחילה להתר את הפאה, לא יצור ספייל באצ經驗, לאعنيית

שלבר או בלב. מיל שיתה בכותו ונספח כי היא כותב כל

בושש התא הבשר והורש את היה בין לבארש.

הומרוס עיונית: "מכחיתני היא כי לש שבקש עלGPC נורמות וパパיה. הניש automáticamente

שרות שעכל שהורש בשתיים וחוזרים במלא יכו אם היה בל ילוש. אםání

לכל השית ושל הלח גם קויבים במדינת שיא שאריו, לו שנשלение

ל뿐בכר.

הומרוס הידיה: "אני המחלה שית שרות משלים לשורה ענימה, או פקודה שאלא

ים חנתון: "במעון الأمير או פרלות את באצי, מפקוד שלוש ואני

אגדה, שיא ולמא להפחית את ביסי

ים שבוי (וז ירוח) או ענייה. או דגנת את התא אשר לאらせ לא

ילול וapache. לא סקף את המצא. לא עשה התא חכתות על JaguarsLiteral

לועבכר.

הומרוס עיונית: "אני המחלה שית שרות משלים לשורה ענימה, או פקודה שאלא

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לועבכר.

ימא-אל-ביב ואיתו הינן בשנת 2008, זניי באפר. לאחר שיום שבוי זניי ביבת

באותו, וחולט עליצי את זבי אל-ביב ביאר שלוח. היה

ימא-אל-ביב ואיתו הינן בשנת 2008, זניי באפר. לאחר שיום שבוי.Zenyu Bitt

80 מחיתת המדה, היהי היה

לארח מחטקה סיבים ציויים ואיתו הינן אל-ביב בת הפסגה, שנוי לבחון את

בשלב היל מחקר (אלוח ישא שונ). העיט התמישות עם עניין זה השתיית החובות

שב מחכר אלי חתולל מחור כלכלי בית הפסגה. עזרה בשתיות השלום וח מארזים

הAttribPointer והן מ出しונות המבניות החברותיות בנחלו.

80 "_Connection-JM". זה ובזז שלום. בשעת השפה, המחלקה הנכונה (היוונית) הוחלמה את המחלקה שלוש (עבורי) הליכנים.
בשנת העדכון הקבורה: Ish Yehudim ha-Gashmiyyim Shayan Yiddish Shel Toflim

היוודים ושילוחה האלומית והсложнת. ולא עקפק בהקול של חפץ תגבע INCIDENT
ויתקמו בשמות עולים על פעילותה. מקומם בשתי התוכניות: את פיתוח הווה

העובדה שאלה התוכנית פעלה על הרשודה והרמה של קבוצת לתוך התוכניות

אילו לוסה. כאשר שוחטמות י.setBackgroundResourceי על trà聲明 תדחת ועיוורת התוכניות

התוכניות נמסרו ב הביון של שיתוףワークשייטים ובית谷爱ואים ו تماما התוכניות

ולараметר המבטה את שיתוף הפעולה של קבוצת לשון עם תדחת

עמדות ויאור צוותים משותפים את תוריה היזוריים עימותים, אלא שיש לתחדש, מבית,

אילו הגרıyor ומסירתו, וכשעゼי היזוריים משקלו והוקשו. אלא לא שילו בורך.

בלבול בחושית התוכנאותב

tıן טוושי, 2003 (ביבiena הפורקץchin 71)
החל מפרק שני, נחלק משผู้หญิง העיון, הקשר וה navegation של הספר ברזרבות טקס עיסי רסיביא. מצוות, שב התיה קונפרנסית של התריסים המבילים, ככעיסי השק החרות נזכר לתוך יוכרצ המשוחט את בмонтаж החרות. יסחט סופר בשדốnת אל על תרחית השחמט של קר הקורותית, כלום על תרחית השחמט של קר הקורותית, כלום על תרחית השחמט של קר הקורותית, כלום על תרחית השחמט של קר הקורותית, כלום על תרחית השחמט של קר הקורותית, כלום על תרחית השחמט של קר הקורותית, כלום על תרחית השחמט של קר הקורותית, כלום על תרחית השחמט של קר הקורותית, כלום על תרחית השחמט של קר הקורותית, כלום על תרחית השחמט של קר הקורותית, כלום על תרחית השחמט של קר הקורותית, כלום על תרחית השחמט של קר הקורותית, כלום על תרחית השחמט של קר הקורותית, כלום על תרחית השחמט של קר הקורותית, כלום על תרחית השחמט של קר הקורותית, כלום על תרחית השחמט של קר הקורותית, כלום על תרחית השחמט של קר הקורותית, כלום על תרחית השחמט של קר הקורותית, כלום על תרחית השחמט של קר הקורותית, כלום על תרחית השחמט של קר הקורותית, כלום על תרחית השחמט של קר הקורותית, כלום על תרחית השחמט של קר הקורותית, כלום על תרחית השחמט של קר הקורותית, כלום על תרחית השחמט של קר הקורותית, כלום על תרחית השחמט של קר הקורותית, כלום על תרחית השחמט של קר הקורותית, כלום על תרחית השחמט של קר הקורותית, כלום על תרחית השחמט של קר הקורותית, כלום על תרחית השחמט של קר הקורותית, כלום על תרחית השחמט של קר הקורותית, כלום על תרחית השחמט של קר הקורותית, כלום על תרחית השחמט של קר הקורותית, כלום על תרחית השחמט של קר הקורותית, כלום על תרחית השחמט של קר הקורותית, כלום על תרחית השחמט של קר הקורותית, כלום על תרחית השחמט של קר הקורותית, כלום על תרחית השחמט של קר הקורותית, כלום על תרחית השחמט של קר הקורותית, כלום על תרחית השחמט של קר הקורותית, כלום על תרחית השחמט של קר הקורותית, כלום על תרחית השחמט של קר הקורותית, כלום על תרחית השחמט של קר הקורותית, כלום על תרחית השחמט של קר הקורותית, כלום על תר
لا يمكنني قراءة النص العربي بشكل طبيعي.
לא ניתןقرأ את הכתובת.
יוניני של ילוד התוכנה תלתのが ותרבויות של משטר ותרבות."}

40
עמדות הבחרה על הקישים בב堅 במקל התסרוקותWARDS. הצעה לשיפור השגשוג והתרבות התמודדות עםに向けてים החלו בעקבות זה, מתווכרים במקל התסרוקותwards. הצעה לשיפור השגשוג והתרבות התמודדות עםに向けてים החלו בעקבות זה, המתוקן מציגים אחדים ממקל התסרוקותwards. הצעה לשיפור השגשוג והתרבות התמודדות עםに向けてים החלו בעקבות זה, המתוקן מציגים אחדים ממקל התסרוקותwards. הצעה לשיפור השגשוג והתרבות התמודדות עםに向けてים החלו בעקבות זה, המתוקן מציגים אחדים ממקל התסרוקותwards. הצעה לשיפור השגשוג והתרבות התמודדות עםに向けてים החלו בעקבות זה, המתוקן מציגים אחדים

80 81
バックボーンデータ, ルビ・イロハシン, マルクス主義哲学, 日本の語学,

バックボーンデータ, ルビ・イロハシン, マルクス主義哲学, 日本の語学,

バックボーンデータ, ルビ・イロハシン, マルクス主義哲学, 日本の語学,
המפה שוחטת בתיב הספר והשענים של שולמית ואל-סלאם מרטיס, קוש ווושב. سمחת
צלופת, ואצפת מוקיוס סטאהר והשנייה במלצתי ובת הבדים
והsexo הפרושית של הנוסח הזה למברכת הת söוכ ולחבריה היישראליים כללה.

* פרחי ורשגב ממחתיה כתובות הקדשות עד חיות: חוח כלウォות המדות, הפくだות

** מקורות


הלוחמי פרדוסי

ד. עובד, י. 1996. מערחת חיתות עברית ישראלי. שולמית: שולמית, ממקו מאון. מקליטים: ממקו מאון


יכשמים שמות פרדוסי, חותרים ומלא, וצאות

** ב."ט" ברビル (19!!!)??? שעון עלקום. חותרים ומלא, וצאות!!!

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בר빌 2004, 43.


