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**Israel's Rural Cooperation Programs in Africa:
Retrospective and Analysis (1958-1977).**

M.A. Thesis

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Chapter One: Policies and Approaches to Israel-Africa Rural Cooperation

Programs during the "Golden Age" (1958-1973).

A. Origins.

Almost since its inception, Israel has been active in various fields of cooperation with developing countries. Many new nations in Asia and Africa emerged into independence during the same decade in which Israel established its sovereignty. In 1958 Golda Meir, then Foreign Minister, made her first visit to Africa. Meir was "deeply moved by the enormous challenges and problems facing the young states of Africa after they achieved their independence". (Amir 1974: 3). Upon her return, she made it clear to the Israeli government that "she considered it Israel's duty, as well as the duty of other nations, to participate in its capacity in efforts to close the growing gaps between developed countries and those in the process of development". (Ibid.). She voiced her firm conviction that "Israel, out of its experience, was in a particularly useful position to offer these nations meaningful assistance". (Ibid.). In the same year, the Division for International Cooperation (*Mashav*) started to operate in the Foreign Ministry, and its activities became an integral part of Israel's relations with developing nations. (Ibid.). The original impetus behind Israel's cooperation programs was both "spontaneous and altruistic". (Thirty Years of Israel's International Technical Assistance and Cooperation, 1990: 12). At its inception, Israel foreign assistance was not guided by an explicit official policy. Thus, it is hardly possible to draw adequate information on Israeli aid policy in the 1960's from a single official document or declaration of principles spelling out aims to be achieved and policies to be implemented.

The first Israeli attempt of assistance received a warm welcome in the early 1960's from newly independent states, especially in Sub-Saharan Africa, which led some observers of

Africa to define the Israeli model of development as a source of inspiration for the new states, "an alternative to both the Western and the Communist models". (Hershtag: 7).

Indeed, some of the salient socio-economic features of Israel's own development exerted a fascinating influence on many of the emerging new states.

It is worth explaining "why Israel?", why many developing countries, especially in Africa, were interested in drawing upon the Israeli experience in planning their own development:

- a. Israel was a tiny country, not aligned with any power block.
- b. Literature claimed that few Israelis had any colour prejudice, a reflection of their own history of suffering in racial discrimination, a phenomenon not alien to considerable parts of the Black continent's indigenous population. Both, the African people and the Jews have "a tragic past, one due to his color, the other due to his religion". (Ibid, p. 11).
- c. The developing countries were usually attracted by the pioneering spirit existing in Israel and its experimental approach to the solution of problems, which were in many respects similar to their own, such as the transformation of arid and swamp areas into fertile lands.
- d. Israel had acquired experience in the vocational training of new immigrants, particularly in modern agriculture. Education centres were very established, training methods were adjusted to fit people from different social backgrounds and varied cultures. A majority of immigrants were channelled into productive occupations.
- e. A large number of Israeli agrarian experts and instructors had not been fully employed as a result of the decrease in immigrants and their professional independence. All these conditions favored the "export of agricultural know-how, badly needed by the Africa countries". (Frank: 11).
- f. Israel's own endeavours in a small scale agricultural field, often provided experience

more valuable to small countries than that of large countries, with large scale operations and massive capital resources.

g. Israel's basic policy in granting technical assistance to other developing countries was "only to transfer know-how and train local staff to take after the experts have left, not to head enterprises in Africa". (Frank: 14).

As this list indicates above, Israel's uniqueness as an assisting country resulted from a combination of historic forces, altruism and expediency. In a sense, therefore, Israel's program of cooperation with Africa was a re-assertion of her sovereignty and a unilateral declaration of the country's coming of age, of its economic maturity and political independence. Basically, developing nations were interested in drawing upon the Israeli experience in programming their own development. "It was only natural, then, that when Israel and the emerging nations established mutual relations, much interest was shifted on the multifaceted problems of development" and, more specifically, Israel's "potential ability to assist other nations in their development". (Amir 1974: 11).

The special interest in Israel's agriculture and rural structure was founded on a "singular coincidence". (Ibid.). Israel had succeeded in agricultural development to a remarkable degree, in some cases on a worldwide scale. In the developing countries, in general, the need to advance agriculture was recognized as an absolute precondition to growth and progress. African nations were interested not only in receiving professional Israeli advice in development projects, but also in the Israeli experience at large. Their interest had its origin not only in similarities of challenges facing them as nations but also in the empathy they shared due to both past and present conditions and future aims and expectations.

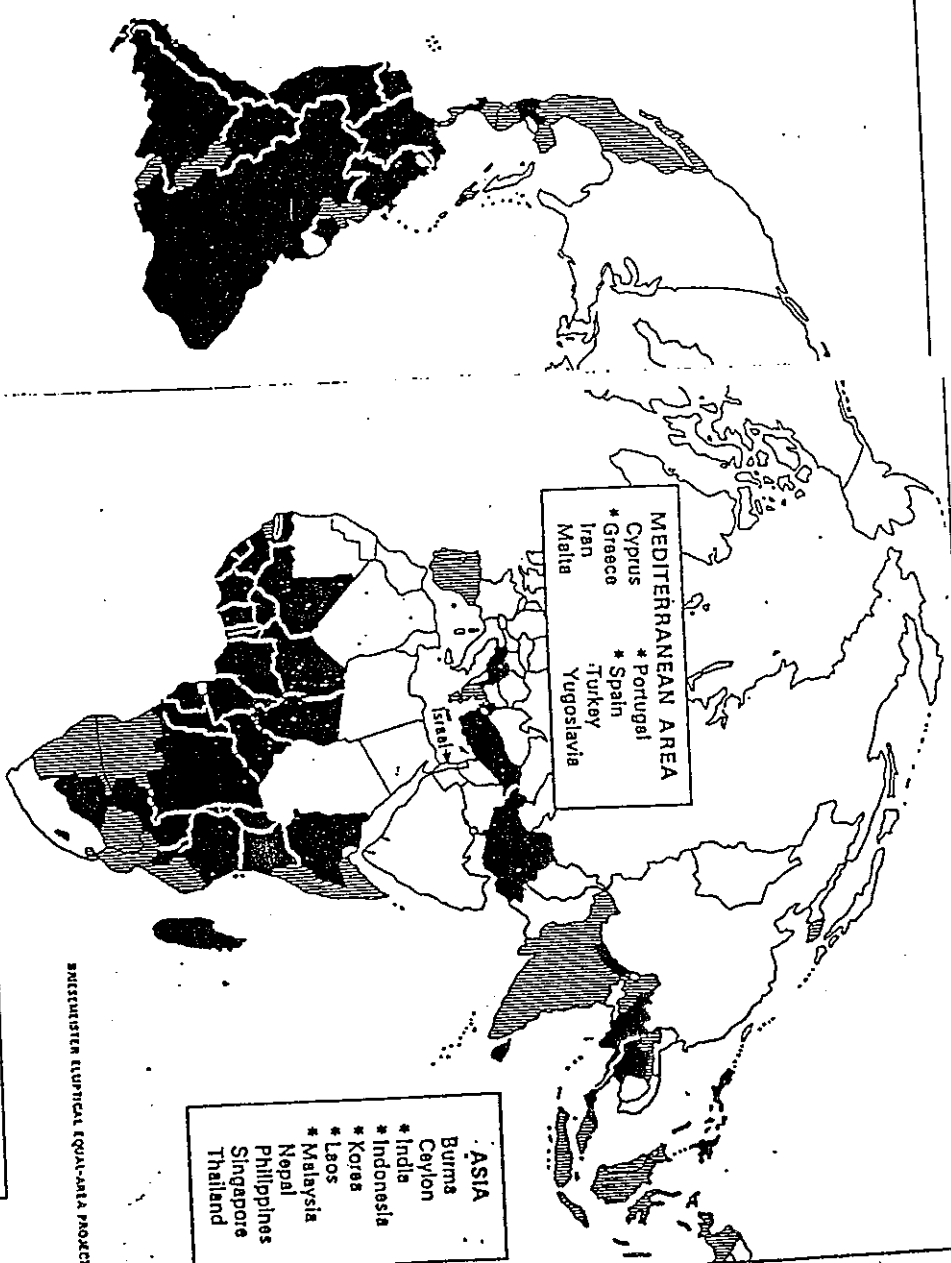
Israel, for its part, identified deeply with the developing countries because it was one of them, and it believed that its own growth and development techniques and patterns held worthwhile examples for others. (See Figure 1).

ISRAEL'S PARTNERS IN COOPERATION

FIGURE 1

1958-1965



- LATIN AMERICA**
- Argentina
 - Bolivia
 - Brazil
 - Chile
 - Colombia
 - Costa Rica
 - Dominican Republic
 - Ecuador
 - Guatemala
 - Guyana
 - Haiti
 - Honduras
 - Jamaica
 - Mexico
 - Nicaragua
 - Panama
 - Paraguay
 - Peru
 - * El Salvador
 - Surinam
 - Trinidad and Tobago
 - * Uruguay
 - Venezuela



- MEDITERRANEAN AREA**
- Cyprus
 - * Greece
 - Iran
 - Malta
 - * Portugal
 - * Spain
 - * Turkey
 - Yugoslavia

- ASIA**
- Burma
 - Ceylon
 - * India
 - * Indonesia
 - * Korea
 - * Laos
 - * Malaysia
 - Nepal
 - Philippines
 - Singapore
 - Thailand

- AFRICA**
- * Angola
 - Botswana
 - formerly Bechuanaland
 - Burundi
 - Cameroun
 - Central African Republic
 - Chad
 - Congo (Brazzaville)
 - Congo (Kinshasa)
 - formerly Congo (Leopoldville)
 - Dahomey
 - Ethiopia
 - Gabon
 - Gambia
 - Ghana
 - Guinea
 - * Guinea (Portuguese)
 - Ivory Coast
 - Kenya
 - Lesotho
 - formerly Basutoland
 - Liberia
 - Malagasy
 - Malawi
 - Mali
 - Mauritius
 - * Mozambique
 - Niger
 - Nigeria
 - * Rhodesia
 - Rwanda
 - Senegal
 - Sierra Leone
 - * Somali
 - * South-West Africa
 - * Swaziland
 - Tanzania
 - Togo
 - Uganda
 - Upper Volta
 - Zambia

 Experts from Israel and trainees to Israel
 * Only trainees to Israel

During this first decade, the Israelis seemed to feel that contacts at the technical level would eventually lead to improved relations at the political level. (See Table 1.1). Their basic criteria for establishing a technical assistance program were: the forecast of its effect on the development of the recipient country, Israel's ability to supply it, and conditions in the recipient state, including its capacity to provide trainees for successful completion of the program. The Israelis preferred programs which could "reach fruition fairly quickly", required at the outset minimal investments on the beneficiary's part, and could "create the basis for further development, with little or no outside help at all".

(Laufer: 210).

Prominent members of national movements, among them future leaders of new states, visited Israel and were impressed by its rapid, spirited growth. They noted not only the physical transformation of the country in its landscape and economy, but also "the human metamorphosis, the human transformation that occurred in this tiny state". (Amir 1974: 2). Whether, it was the urbane President Felix Houphouet-Boigny of the Ivory Coast, referring to himself as a "Black Israeli", or the dedicated Jesuit priest, Pedro Martinez in Peru, declaring that "the miracle of Israel" had been brought to arid Bajo Piura, the meaning was the same - Israel had become a symbol of progress to people in the developing world. (Laufer: 213).

Kenya's first President, Jomo Kenyatta, evokes Israel's nation-building image when he affirmed:

"You (the Israelis) have build a unified Kenya composed of a multitude of tribes joined together through *Harambe* (working together)". (Ibid., p. 214).

These sentiments explain the thinking behind the identification, for most developing states give first priority to nation-building in the broad sense. To them, Israel represented the attainable "dream" - a country that was small, young, still struggling, yet by the

world's standards stable and successful. (Amir 1974: 29).

"The only people who are trusted in Africa are the people of Israel", Israel's elder statesman David Ben Gurion, said in May 1965. (Laufer: 221). Though the studies of Israel's foreign policy vis à vis the developing countries from many scholars such as M. Decter and L. Laufer, a lot has been written on the friendship and international support of the forty-odd non-Arab states of Afro-Asia as vital to Israel within the framework of her rivalry and dispute with the Arab bloc. Many contacts made possible the cooperation program, brought the developing world nearer to Israelis than ever before. And Israel, according to Ben Gurion, was eminently suited for this, for example:

" Israel's policy towards Black Africa should perhaps be seen in wider terms and should be recognized to be not just part of its defence line against the Arab world, but also of a genuine desire to be of help. Africans respond because they recognize this". (Ibid., p. 229).

There was genuine popular pride in the cooperation program, which enjoyed the support of the *Knesset*, the press and all major political factions. Israel's image in Africa during this "Golden Age" era was enhanced by the type of people it sent to carry out its programs. A number of African leaders have testified to the extraordinary contribution made by Israel's representative to their countries.

For example, Kenyan President Tom Mboya, wrote:

"Kenya has been fortunate in having the Israeli Deputy Director of Agriculture, Arie Amir, to advise us...". (Decalo in Curtis and Gitelson: 338).

On the whole, Israel carefully selected only the most highly competent economic advisers to serve their country in Africa, and their performance was favorably received by the host governments. The Israeli programs were accomplished expeditiously with a minimum of red tape. Instead, it emphasized small projects that could be carried out efficiently. The

testimony of Chief G. Akin Deko, representative of the United Nations Food and Agriculture Organization in Africa (FAO), can illustrate this aim, when he told in 1964 about his crucial visit in Israel in 1959, as the Minister of Agriculture for the Western Nigeria province:

"During my visit to Israel, I was able to make personal contact with the Israeli system of agricultural development and expansion, and saw how some of their modern methods of approach and organization could be adapted to set a new pattern for our rural industry, where there is a need to remove the present stagnation, to attract young educated persons to the field, and to substantially increase our agriculture output. I think we are on the way to finding an answer". (Decter: 51).

A series of ambitious agricultural settlements and training plans and programs were born out of that crucial visit. The plans were devised by an Israeli specialist in the *Moshav* structure and operation, and were implemented by a team under his direction in the Western Region. (Ibid.).

To cite an example, Israel had, since 1957, been offering scholarships for training Ghanaians in medicine, agriculture, farm management, communications, rural and community development and business promotion. (Asante: 80). Also, Israel provided Ghana with experts to advise in methods of improving her agriculture and horticulture, marketing, and economic planning. The Black Star Line, Ghana's National Shipping Line, was first established as a joint venture between the Government of Ghana and the Israeli Zim Shipping Line. In addition, cultural ties developed into the conclusion of cultural agreements between the two countries. "It was the desire of both countries to increase their store of knowledge and understanding of the peoples". (Ibid.).

Doudou Thiam, Senegalese former foreign minister, provided the assessment of Israel's achievement:

"By an extremely able diplomacy, by concluding agreements for cooperation and technical assistance, and by the successes of its policy of economic development, Israel has become recognized as a valuable partner for the newly independent states of Africa". (Laufer: 259).

B. The Israeli Experience.

In order to comprehend the essence of Israel's rural development programs in Africa, it is helpful to examine the principles and components of Israel's own rural development. The accumulated knowledge of Israeli rural self-development was passed to African countries and created a chain reaction, quickening the tempo of their own development.

Thus envisioned, Israel's "role" has two basic components. (Rodin: 129). The first centers around the creation in Israel a model socialist society based upon social justice, cooperation, progressive values and ideals. This was necessary not only for the sake of the modern Israel policy, but also because "...a model kind of civilization can emerge..." (Ibid.) as a result of the Israeli effort.

By creating a model of Israeli rural development such as the *Kibbutz* and the *Moshav* at home, Israel became in the field of cooperation an example to the nations evoking emulation by others. The fact that so many cadres from the developing countries have sent to Israel to study communal developmental methods was cited by Israelis as proof of international recognition of the global significance of the Israeli innovations and leadership in these spheres. Indeed, a number of scholars, European as well as Israeli, view Israel as one of the "three or four developmental models relevant to the Third World". (Decalo 1996: 5).

Israel's positive image in Africa was also enhanced not only by the qualitative manpower it sent to work in Africa, but also by the speed with which it responded to requests for

aid. The Israelis soon gained a reputation for being "modest, hard-working, informal and well-liked". (Peters: 16).

1. The four principles.

I. The concept of pioneering and Nation-Building had a high priority in Israel and was deeply rooted in the history of Zionism. By the 1920's, young Jewish pioneers had established voluntary self-defense and agricultural settlement organizations, which became the spearhead of the struggle for independence. (Amir 1974: 29).

After independence, the pioneering concept in Israel not only helped shape the social and economic character of the modern Israeli state, but also contributed to Israel's ability to inspire nation-building activities in other countries. The experience of cooperative agriculture acquired in Israel "was unique, due to self-inspiring pioneering". (Ibid., p.33). Much of Israel's prestige and influence abroad was linked to this concept. "*Tushiya, ikhpatiyuth*" (1), and the "sky is the limit" (Laufer: 101) characterized the people working in Israel's cooperation programs, according to Aryeh Eliav, who headed Israel's first, highly successful, team of planners and other experts in developing countries.

II. The **team approach** is another working principle in the Israeli perspective to cooperation.

A state requesting assistance in preparing an agricultural settlement combined with military service following the pattern of Israeli Fighting Pioneer Youth (*Nahal*), would normally be offered a team of five to ten people, led by a superior who combined agricultural with military skills, agricultural instructors with some army experience, a heavy equipment operator, an agricultural planner and an agronomist.

By 1966, teams organized along these *Nahal* lines were operating in ten African and two Latin American states. (Ibid., p. 53).

The Israelis preferred the collective approach to that of dispersing individual experts in different areas for several reasons. They found that team members reinforced each other, and thus could more easily overcome operational difficulties. They also coped better with the psychological and social problems of adjustment encountered than a lone expert and his family.

III. The **micro-cooperation** is another working principle in the Israeli perspective to cooperation.

Israel not only developed considerable flexibility in its rural aid program with respect to Africa, but also an appropriate ideological scale. This principle was based on appropriateness of small-nation help to other developing countries enabling it to avoid the pitfalls of micro-aid, or small-scale projects. This principle was called "micro-cooperation" (as opposed to current "macro-cooperation"), and it was founded on the belief that development is more easily brought about "by aiding agriculturists rather than agriculture, by changing men prior to changing their environment". (Segre in Curtis and Gitelson, 1976: 31).

Micro-cooperation guided Israeli policies and approaches in rural cooperation programs. This principle addresses the capacity of a society to develop and change, the influence aid exerts on a society, and the number of people employed in the "transculturation" process. It is "a type of coordinated effort in international help, its efforts at encouraging people to change their pattern of productive activity in order to change their environment in order to change their way of life and production". (Ibid.).

Furthermore, micro-cooperation is "a cooperation effort between States, not just an effort of self-help within a given society, based on the fact that in the field of development techniques, but the result of some societies who have accumulated more

experience than others". (Segre in Curtis and Gitelson, 1976: 31). Furthermore, micro-cooperation is, per Segre, a "special pattern" of micro-aid for two reasons: first, for it requires less initial capital investment in terms of funds and goods, and second - and this is the main point - because it is aimed essentially at influencing the individuals within their particular, established social setting, rather than influencing their environment and changing the social structure. (Ibid., p. 32).

Finally, micro-cooperation does not deal with agriculture development - although this may be the aim of a project - "but with the formation of agriculturists for a given project". (Segre 1975: 52). It implies that if standards of technical cooperation are usually linked with standards of development in a recipient country (the more advanced one usually being able to teach more), the ability to extend micro-cooperation does not necessarily follow this approach. Smaller or less developing countries, such as Israel, which have grown rapidly may have more to offer in the field of micro-cooperation than bigger powers.

IV. **Education** is another principle of cooperation. Israeli society has always emphasized diverse modalities of youth education. The major key to successful development anywhere is the training and preparation of suitable manpower and personnel on different levels - skilled, semi-skilled, technical, scientific, managerial, and in the broadest sense, professional. "For Israelis, aid to development was aid to education". (Laufer: 53). Israeli experts were sent to Africa to educate, as the African trainees were sent to Israel for training. For Israel's rural cooperation, from its inception, has been concentrated on training and diverse types of institutions created to meet real needs, innovations in rural society, communication action, and special programs for trainees. (See 3. Institutions).

2. The three components.

The *Kibbutz* (the first component) and *Moshav* (the second component) cooperatives movements still constituted one of the strongest pillars of Israel's economy and society during the "Golden Age". An unusual feature of Israeli *Kibbutz* and *Moshav* was their affiliation with the General Federation of Trade Unions (*Histadrut*), and it was the *Histadrut* which initiated the first three-month Seminar in Cooperation (November 1958-February 1959) for sixty participants from Asia and Africa. (Kreinin: 28). Although many Africans and Asians had already visited Israel in 1953 to observe agricultural cooperatives in connection with a resettlement plan, this international seminar formally inaugurated Israel's instructional program which was contemplated by their respective governments.

Realizing that "there can be no mechanical transplantation from one country to another" the avowed purpose of the Seminar was "to place Israel's experience in cooperative activities at the disposal of people wishing to utilize it". (Ibid.). The program consisted of an initial six weeks of classroom lectures and discussions followed by three weeks of active participation in *Moshav* and *Kibbutz* work, and finally two weeks of special study in any type of cooperative of specific interest to the individual student.

The implementation of Israel's cooperative methods to African conditions was the common feature of most courses in cooperation. One objective of this phase was to gain the trainees trust in the system of Israel's cooperative settlements and their potential contribution to the African states. The trainees determined how far it is possible to adapt any features of the cooperatives to their own countries. (Frank: 8).

During the first decade, African trainees in Israel, from Tanzania to Mali, tried to put the *Moshav* idea into practice by establishing such settlements in their own countries.

However, it is not the *Moshav* itself which enflamed their imagination, but the whole

area officers in turn gave guidance to operating agencies or officials - courses directors, team leaders, other Ministries and institutions and to Israeli diplomats abroad. They also participated in the selection and briefing of experts and training personnel, and kept⁴ abreast of all programs in their geographic and functional configuration. (Avriel in Curtis and Gitelson 1976: 72).

The *Mashav* department became the official Israeli channel for extending assistance and for receiving cooperation applications from the recipient countries. But, says Raphael Goren, Director of the Division for external Relations in *Mashav*:

"*Mashav* and its committees have not always offered a satisfactory answer to the problem of coordination between the various aid agencies. Part of the professional agencies extending non-*Moshav* aid have been private or semi-private bodies, only partially subjected to governmental control, and they have been able to secure substantial autonomy in aid policy formation. But even governmental bodies do not always fully coordinate their activities with *Mashav*. In some instances, mainly on grounds of differential emphasis of goals, this has objectively brought about unjustified frictions". (Interview with Raphael Goren).

II. Special emphasis was attached to short or long experimentation and demonstration courses culminating to a field day. This practice was widely adopted by the Israeli **Ministry of Agriculture**.

Between 1958 and 1964, about 8,500 trainees from Africa, Asia, Latin America and the Mediterranean basin attended over 100 courses in Israel for periods ranging from two to three months (seminars), to several years (academic studies). (Frank: 8). The topics covered a wide field of studies, but, in view of the paramount importance of agriculture in the economies of developing countries, the largest number of students attended courses on modern farming techniques and agro-cooperative methods. With the

increasing demand for training, the Ministry of Agriculture had become practically impossible for it to be carried out entirely in Israel or in the recipient countries by Israeli experts based there for short periods of time. It became necessary to provide "follow-up" training and services for students in their home countries as well, and to train a substantial number of people to take over the various projects once the experts had left. For this purpose, instruction had to be given on the ground, through courses from the Ministry of Agriculture, in agricultural extension methods, or in permanent training farms, where systematic dissemination of agricultural knowledge could be carried out. (Decter: 20).

III. The Africans were also fascinated by such Israeli institutions as *Gadna* or *Nahal*, connected to the **Defense Ministry**. The *Gadna* is a voluntary organization inside the Defense Ministry, for teenagers drawn from secondary schools, youth groups, and immigrant villages. It primarily trains youngsters for pioneering and defense, and it fosters the study of specialized military and technical grades. Its volunteers have built roads, aided immigrants, and fortified frontier villages. (Ojo:88). *Nahal*, on the other hand, is an integral part of the army. It was formed after the establishment of the State of Israel for *Gadna* graduates who intended to join old settlements or establish new ones. At the time, defense and land reclamation were the country's priorities, and *Nahal* was formed to allow young people to fulfill the terms of their military service while training in modern agriculture and settling new communal settlements.

These institutions attracted the attention of African leaders who were faced with the difficult task of combining vocational training with rural development and containing the influx of school dropouts to the towns, as well as instilling the value of manual and agrarian labor in young people.

IV. Local courses were offered by other agencies as well, such as the Afro-Institute sponsored by the *Histadrut* which emphasized comparative studies with visits to cooperative enterprises, and the Centre for Labour and Cooperative Studies. (Decter: 22).

Because of certain unique features, Israel's *Histadrut* has long attracted the attention of labor leaders throughout the trade union movements of Asian, African, and Latin American countries. Like their own labor movements prior to independence, the *Histadrut* was a bastion of resistance against colonial rule. But it differs from them in its structure, orientation, and breadth of activity. The *Histadrut* started as a constructive tool of economic and social progress. For example, according to a visiting Ghanaian delegation in Israel in 1961, "On such basic questions as wages, the *Histadrut* can take into account not only the immediate interest of the workers but the need of the national economy and the interest of all labor". (Kreinin: 121).

The *Histadrut* evolved a structure and activities to meet the economic challenges of its time and locale. To the recipients countries, the *Histadrut* offered adult vocational training programs to help alleviate unemployment which highest among the unskilled, and has launched a productivity drive to make the students more competitive in their countries. The far-flung cooperative movement, paramount in agriculture and transport but prominent also in certain industrial and service branches, was affiliated with it. In addition, it owned a large number of industrial, construction, and service enterprises through its holding company "Solel Boneh". (Ibid.). "Solel Boneh" enables the *Histadrut* to play an important role in the development of Israel at home, and in the developing countries. As a rule such enterprises began, on a very small scale as ad hoc solutions to immediate problems. (2).

Tom Mboya and N. Kazimoto, leaders of the Kenyan and Tanganyikan trade unions,

concluded agreements for technical cooperation with the *Histadrut* in 1962, which also advised the Malagasy labor movement. (Kreinin: 129).

C. Conclusions.

In numerous cases, guests teachers were former trainees of these institutions, such as the Ministry of Agriculture and the *Mashav*. They enjoyed a striking success precisely because "they could directly translate their own studies and experiences gathered in Israel to the realities of their own countries". (Decter: 35). Training institutions established closer ties with former trainees by supplying information on innovations in their field of training.

Israel's combination of a strong private and public economy, a well-developed cooperative sector including a collective economy with various levles of cooperation, and a powerful trade union appealed to both African leaders and intellectuals. Many of them saw in Israeli insitutions such as the *Kibbutz*, the *Moshav*, and the cooperatives the right model for their own development. Israel was seen as an exemplary but small country that could not impose any neocolonial domination on the African states.

Moreover, the attitudes of the first generation of Israeli aid workers in Africa were very impressive. They were "sensitive to African feelings, always willing to improvise and, unlike most Europeans with whom African have had contacts, the Israelis were always willing to engage in manual labor, and to work and live in rural areas". (Ojo: 15).

Many characteristics of Israel's policies and approaches to rural cooperation with Africa had their origin in Israel itself as a developing nation. Exporting know-how was along similar patterns of gradual phasing out as in joint ventures. On the whole, exporting know-how was considered a "fruitful and original instrument of mutual relations in the history of Israel's rural cooperation abroad". (Amir 1974: 84).

Perhaps the fact that in the majority of cases, Israelis were involved in concrete field projects made them more accurately aware of the realistic difficulties of implementation. The "Golden Age" was described by N. Chazan as "a mutual encouragement and link on behalf of both sides interested in working together". ("Israel-Africa, 50 Years" Conference, June 1998, Jerusalem). These were the most beneficial years of cooperation because the relations between the African states and Israel were like a "honey-moon before a marriage". (Ibid.). The Israelis - officials, *Kibbutz* or *Moshav* members, agriculturists, experts, teachers, etc. - involved in rural cooperation with African countries likened donors and recipients". Above all, the human expression of this cooperation was essential one: "*laavod be yah'ad*" (to work together). (Ibid.).

Furthermore, Israel attained self-respect and self-confidence, counter-acted some of the anti-Israeli accusations aimed at straining its reputation and laid the ground for friendly international relations with Africa, "it has opened the world for Israel". (Laufer: 35).

The simply Israelis exported to Africa its national *savoir faire* and "transcultured" it to the African countries.

But the Six Day War (1967) and the Yom Kippur War (1973) put an end to the "Golden Age", led to Israeli international isolation, and isolated Israel from Africa.

Israelis involved in the "Golden Age" felt betrayed. The diplomatic "marriage" evoked by N. Chazan never was consumed and the "honey moon" came to an abrupt end.

During this period Israel focused its energy to elaborate a theoretic model of rural aid to development.

TABLE 4.5: ISRAEL'S EXPORTS TO AFRICA (US\$ million)

	1973	1974	1975	1976	1977
Africa	42.7	69.7	73.5	69.8	81.0
South Africa	12.0	28.7	34.7	26.7	23.9
Black Africa	30.7	41.0	38.8	43.1	57.1
C.A.R.	-	-	-	-	-
Ethiopia	4.0	5.5	4.4	7.6	9.9
Gabon	0.3	0.6	1.2	0.6	2.0
Ghana	2.4	5.5	2.0	1.8	1.7
Ivory Coast	4.9	0.8	4.2	1.9	3.4
Kenya	3.0	5.8	3.8	6.8	6.6
Liberia	1.5	0.3	2.6	3.7	0.2
Nigeria	5.6	7.3	13.4	13.7	18.6
Tanzania	1.3	2.6	1.9	3.5	4.1
Zambia	3.5	5.7	4.2	1.9	2.8
Other Countries	3.8	6.9	1.1	1.4	7.8

Source: Compiled from *Foreign Trade Statistics*, Central Bureau of Statistics, Israel.

complex of social and economic regional planning of which the *Moshav* is the smallest unit. (Frank: 18).

One of the important outcomes of the implementation of Israel's cooperative methods to African conditions was the development of a special type of expert: the *Madrich* - guide - (the third component), who "had to be a teacher, a protector, a leader, a boss and a confidant". (Amir 1974: 122). The *Madrich* hired in the framework of Israel's technical assistance programs was in many ways another version of the *Madrich* prominent in Israel's movements and youth programs.

I. The *Kibbutz* is a form of collective land settlement in Israel. "It is a society whose general objectives are to organize and promote the economic and social conditions of its members in accordance with cooperative principles". (Frank: 18). It is a voluntary society based on communal property, production and labour and on communal consumption in nearly all domains. Therefore, the *Kibbutz* is not a conventional cooperative phenomenon, for it is far more comprehensive in character than cooperatives such associations of persons which have joined together to satisfy common economic needs.

There were various types of *Kibbutz* farms, which differed from each other by location, historicity, or the number of skilled members, etc. "But there is one feature common to all the *Kibbutzim* (plural of *Kibbutz*): their size". (Ibid.). In the 1940s the optimum size of a *Kibbutz* was estimated to be a unit of 300-400 settlers included in the active labour force. In 1968, the statistical average per settlement was below this level, the average population in a *Kibbutz* being about 360 persons. In fact, the *Kibbutzim* showed a few large veteran settlements with populations of 1,000-2,500, the younger ones having only a few score members and the majority numbering about 600-700 persons (adults,

children and auxiliary youth groups). (Frank: 21). The object of the *Kibbutz* was to have a large population in order to exploit possibilities of economic expansion in agriculture and other fields. The large size of the *Kibbutz* - as an integrated unit - is a dominant characteristic of this type of collective settlement in comparison to the cooperative settlement or to private small-scale farming.

To cite an example of the implementation of the *Kibbutz* model in Africa, the Mwanza project which began in 1962-63 in Tanzania aimed at changing the structure of the country's agricultural patterns by resettling farmers in newly established village settlements and at improving the production capacity of the region. (Sankari: 271). The government of Tanzania and the backbone of the technical organization for the project was made up of Israeli experts. Some of the patterns of the *Kibbutz* were followed such as the economic and social organizations and structures. Three co-operative farms in Mwanza were set up and were managed separately, but the equipment was jointly owned and need determined its allocation. The Israelis introduced modern methods of agriculture crops such as groundnuts, onions and maize. (Ibid.).

II. "The *Moshav* is a land settlement based on cooperative and collective principles of varying degrees of severity. The social and economic basis of the *Moshav* is the family as a production and consumption unit". (Frank: 24). In contrast to the *Kibbutz*, each member in the *Moshav* works on his own farm, which he cultivates as he sees fit, and he can do whatever he wishes with the output. The house and inventory are his own, and he may enlarge them according to his means and at his discretion. But the means of production remain collective by in large.

This tenancy system is practised in *Moshavim* (plural of *Moshav*) all over the country, although the size and quality of of the land allotted to a family any differ from one

Moshav to another because of the village's geographical location or of other factors, such as the amount of water available for irrigation, the type of farming, etc.

The ideological approach rejecting the principle of hired labour is analogous to that in the *Kibbutz*: a *Moshav* member is expected to work his land with the help of his family (wife and children) only.

As an example of the implementation of the Israeli *Moshav* in Africa, the Kafulafuta and Kafubu Farmer's Cooperative Settlement Schemes, in the Copperfield Province of Zambia, have been considered outstanding achievements in Zambia's rural development program in 1969. Each consisted of three cooperative villages based on family farming, with a rural union center providing economic, social, and cultural services for the surrounding villages.

The Kafulafuta and Kafubu Farmer's Cooperative was an adaptation of the Israeli *Moshav*. An Israeli team of experts worked with the development of the *Moshav* type organization from various perspectives: physical planning, economic planning, experimentation with crops, animal husbandry, accounting, organization and marketing. Courses were held to provide knowledge on more complex economic and agricultural issues. (Decter: 48).

III. It was in these development areas - cooperative agricultural communities such as the *Kibbutz* and the *Moshav* - that the new generation of *Madrichim* (plural of *Madrich*) discovered the fallacies inherent in a single-solution, technical approach to development. The *Madrich* had to develop at the same time a deep psychological insight, and a quick understanding of a continuously changing situation. He not only represented "the stable authoritative link between the newcomer and his strange new surroundings, but he also was the main translator of the new environment, the key channel through which the

environment influences and changes the attitude of the newcomer". (Amir 1974: 122). The concept of the *Madrich*, his place in the group, his techniques, his attitudes and the special charisma attached to him were not a new creation. It represented the earlier evolution of a concept through four decades, in which the Socialist-Zionist youth movements stood in the forefront of the pioneering process in mandatory Palestine and later on in Israel. (Frank: 8).

The *Madrich* undoubtedly had a prominent place in the trainee's experience in Israel. By implementing the concept of youth leadership to Israeli based training programs, the Israelis made an important contribution to the technics of training for development. A number of instructors, sent for a period of a few years to assisted in the establishment of agricultural pioneer youth movements - modeled on the *Gadna* and *Nahal*. (Ibid., p. 10). The *Gadna* (Youth Corps) is a mixed organization for boys and girls of 14-18 years old, trained along Scout lines, with an emphasis on pioneering, agriculture and pre-military preparation, while the *Nahal* (Pioneering Fighting Youth) combines soldiering with agriculture. (Ibid., p. 11).

The *Gadna* and the *Nahal* were being established in Ghana ("The Builders Brigades"), in the Central African Republic ("Jeunesse Pionniere Nationale"), the Ivory Coast, Cameroon, Senegal, Tanzania and other African countries, under the supervision and the organization of Israeli *Madrichim*.

In other words, these *Madrichim* were not experts in a specific branch of activity but had experience in development in the broader human sense, combined with a personal experience in physical labor. The social ideology of the *Kibbutz* made them honest workers, their membership in a collective movement perceived in their own society as a collective aristocracy, gave them a background of "self-assurance and inborn authority". (Segre 1975: 10).

Segre notes about the *Madrichim* 's work in Africa: "...It was only when Israel began going out to the new countries of African and looking for the right men to send there that it realized the value of *Madrichim* for technical cooperation and made them one of its resources in the field of assistance to development". (Segre in Curtis and Gitelson, 1976: 14).

3. The Institutions.

A considerable number of Israeli organizations dealt, either directly or indirectly, with aid to developing countries. Most of them supplied aid on a non-profit basis and were motivated by humanitarian considerations. Four main bodies were active in the Israeli aid to development activities: the Foreign Ministry, the Ministry of Agriculture, the Defense Ministry (later became essential), and the Israel's Federation of Trade Unions - the *Histadrut*. (Amir in Curtis and Gitelson, 1976: 40).

I. Israel's cooperation activities were initially carried out as part of the regular work of the **Foreign Ministry**. From 1958, most of the programs fell under the authority of a special Department for International Cooperation (known by its hebrew acronym *Mashav*), within the Foreign Ministry. (Ojo: 120). The Foreign Ministry supervised the professional aspect of its cooperation activities to other ministries, institutions and organizations.

Mashav was semi-autonomous in administration and operations until 1965. However, at the beginning of 1966, in an attempt to tighten and streamline operations, *Mashav*'s semi autonomous status within the Foreign Ministry, was abolished. (Laufer: 38). Functional and area officers operated along parallel lines under the overall direction of the *Mashav* manager. They received routine policy guidance from Foreign Ministry officials, but general policy directions were centralized through *Mashav*'s Director. The functional and

TABLE 1.1: Cooperation Agreements Between Israel and African States

State		Date of Agreement
Mali	24	November 1960
Upper Volta	11	June 1961
Madagascar	27	August 1961
Dahomey	28	September 1961
Ivory Coast	2	June 1962
Gabon	15	May 1962
Ghana	25	May 1962
Central African Republic	13	June 1962
Liberia	25	June 1962
Rwanda	20	October 1962
Cameroon	24	October 1962
Gambia	16	December 1962
Burundi	20	December 1962
Niger	11	January 1963
Tanzania	29	January 1963
Uganda	4	February 1963
Togo	12	April 1964
Chad	7	October 1964
Sierra Leone	22	August 1965
Kenya	25	February 1966
Malawi	31	May 1968