

Multi-Country Agencies in Jewish Education

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In examining the role of multi-country agencies active in the field of formal Jewish education, it is useful to distinguish between two types of such organizations:

- those directly engaged in maintaining educational facilities across national boundaries; and
- those groups indirectly involved – through planning, promoting, financing educational programs, or furnishing supporting services to educational institutions maintained by others.

It becomes apparent that the direct activity – maintenance of schools, enrollment of pupils, hiring of teachers, etc. – has remained essentially a field for local initiative and control. This is true especially in the developed countries of the West, where the necessary resources can be mobilized locally. The high cost of modern schooling is financed by tuition payments, and by community and public bodies. All of these are normally linked to a specific locale, and are not easily available ‘for export’ elsewhere. Agencies which are engaged in direct activity on a multi-country basis have traditionally been active in areas devoid of such local initiative and resources; their programs fit into the rubric of mutual assistance – intervention by the stronger on behalf of the weaker communities. *Kol Yisrael ‘arevim ze ba-ze* is a motto which has been applied in the area of education as it has in other fields.

The prototypical agency in this category is the Alliance Israélite Universelle (*Kol Yisrael Haverim* in the Hebrew translation) which as early as the 1860s undertook the task of sponsoring Jewish instruction on a then modern basis in the Oriental communities which were then under Ottoman rule.

A second major body in this category is the American-based *Otzar HaTorah*, which was founded shortly after World War II to set up Jewish

schools in countries where burgeoning Islamic nationalism was giving new impetus to sectarian religious schooling.

A third network is that of the Lubavitch Movement, also founded after World War II. In concentrating mainly on kindergartens and instruction in the lower grades, the Lubavitcher made up in religious fervor what they were lacking in structure and methodology.

A fourth organization directly engaged in education on a multi-country basis is ORT (Organization for Rehabilitation through Training). Although ORT operates by far the most widely ramified network among these groups, its main purpose is to impart occupational skills, and instruction in Jewish subject matter occupies a minor place in the curriculum.¹

While the reasons for the absence of any truly multi-country operational network of schools are quite obvious, the paucity of organizations functioning across borders on the indirect level is more difficult to explain. There is at present no structure which embodies either educational institutions or personnel the world over, with a program designed to serve the common interests of its membership. This is the case even though the principles underlying Jewish education are universal, the subject matter taught is nearly identical and the goals the same everywhere.

Attempts at a global approach were undertaken as far back as 1947, when a first postwar conference on worldwide Jewish education was convened to face the fact that the war had "destroyed the entire Jewish educational apparatus and the educational resources, human and material, built up during many centuries." Another attempt was made in August 1962, when a second World Conference was called in Jerusalem under the auspices of COJO (Conference of Jewish Organizations). In the introduction to the report submitted to that Conference, *Jewish Education in the Diaspora*, the late Uriah Z. Engelman declared

Notwithstanding the important differences among Jewish communities in social setting and outlook, in organizational forms and programs, in communal institutions and needs, there are sufficient common elements and common problems to warrant thinking and working together in regard to the education of their children (Engelman, 1962, p. 1).

Consequently, the gathering envisaged the establishment of a permanent World Council on Jewish Education, with a secretariat which would work through existing institutions and serve as a clearing house for educational materials; it would assist in devising curricula, maintain a central library and be a source of information on and for Jewish schools worldwide.

But in spite of a wide consensus on the need for such an agency, intensive efforts to set it up proved abortive. This is not the place to analyze the reasons for the failure of this initiative. But the long drawn-out negotiations pro-

vide an object lesson in the almost general disinclination to subordinate parochial interests to larger considerations and in the difficulties of securing financing for purposes that do not entail a clear cost-benefit advantage to the disbursing body. In this instance, there also surfaced the latent anxiety of the Diaspora groups over disproportionate Israeli influence in the structure to be established, and in the process it was to initiate. This expressed itself in the form of opposition to having the seat of the new worldwide body located in Jerusalem. Although the Diaspora (read, American) group eventually conceded this point, the elan for setting up the new body seemed to have spent itself by that time. While the preeminence of Israel as a source of inspiration for Jewish education was readily acknowledged, the translation of this hierarchy into structural terms was doggedly resisted.

As formulated by Rabbi Alexander Schindler, representing the Reform Movement, the objection of the North American group to establishing the new body's offices in Jerusalem was the fear "that the concerns of Israel would completely swallow up the valid concerns of Diaspora Jewry" (World Conference of Jewish Organizations, 1970, p. 125).

In light of the abortive efforts to set up a new worldwide forum, the World Zionist Organization remains the major multi-country body operating on the indirect level in the field of formal Jewish education in the Diaspora, mainly through its Departments of Education and Culture in the Diaspora and Torah Education in the Diaspora. The other important agency in this category is the American Jewish Joint Distribution Committee (JDC).

In the absence of an all-encompassing organism, this article will examine the programs and structures of the existing organizations active on the world Jewish educational scene. They will be discussed in alphabetical order, as follows:

- Alliance Israélite Universelle
- American Jewish Joint Distribution Committee
- European Council of Jewish Community Services
- Lubavitch Movement
- ORT
- *Otzar HaTorah*
- Universities in Israel
- World Zionist Organization (including the Pincus Fund).

Alliance Israélite Universelle

The Alliance Israélite Universelle was not originally founded with education as its primary aim; nor is the organization as it functions today concerned exclusively with education. The impetus for the establishment of this first Jewish 'defense organization' came from the anti-Jewish developments

in Syria in the mid-1860s. Its first priority was to defend Jews who were being persecuted in Europe (including the Balkans and Czarist Russia) as well as in the Orient, and its second was to raise the level of the down-trodden Jewish population in the Muslim world. It was to this end that the Alliance entered the field of education; from the beginning, its program called for modern schools to replace the heders, which were the prevalent mode of education for the Jews of the *mellahs* on the southern and eastern shores of the Mediterranean. But the means to bring the Jews of these backward areas into the modern world was not Jewish education primarily, but education in the modern idiom in general. Thus, the Alliance network became an effective instrument for Westernization among the Jewish communities of the Levant, and the specific Western cultural orbit into which its pupils were drawn was French culture. The language of instruction in the Alliance schools was French; the curriculum was strongly influenced by the policies of the French Ministry of Education; and much of the teaching staff was French-trained and educated. In the period before World War I, the Alliance's role was greatly facilitated by the prestige enjoyed by French civilization: most parents were pleased to have their children brought up in a French-language environment (Israel, 1960). The Alliance Israélite Universelle curriculum has always included a generous portion of Jewish lore and tradition, but the Alliance schools have never been identified with Orthodoxy. To this day, the schools include far more secular studies in their curriculum than those of *Otzar HaTorah* or the Lubavitch movement.² In certain communities, the emphasis on French culture triggered opposition which viewed its propagation as a threat to the traditional framework of Jewish life.

In its heyday in the 19th century, the Alliance network expanded rapidly with the help of Baron Maurice de Hirsch, who donated the munificent sum of ten million gold francs "to improve the position of the Jews in the Turkish Empire by instruction and education." Ten schools were opened in Greece, most of these in Salonica; some in Romania, later together with the Jewish Colonization Association (JCA); ten in Bulgaria between 1870 and 1885, and in the Ottoman Empire itself the Alliance operated 71 boys' schools and 44 girls' schools by 1912, of which 52 were in the European and 63 in the Asian part of the Empire. In Morocco, 5,500 pupils attended 14 schools in the same year. Tunisia, Syria, Iraq and Iran also became fertile ground for Alliance educational activities.

World War I put a virtual end to the Alliance's role in Eastern Europe, except for an attempt, in the early 1920s, to function in the Ukraine in conjunction with the JDC program there. The interwar period, then, saw a concentration of educational efforts in the Muslim world, with special emphasis on Syria and Lebanon as well as on Palestine, where the famous *Mikve Israel* Agricultural School trained several generations of expert agriculturalists.

During World War II, the Alliance Israélite Universelle's schools functioned more or less autonomously as the head office in Paris was forced to close down. After the liberation, the Alliance resumed its normal activities in Paris, with substantial assistance from American Jewry through JDC. The upsurge of nationalism in the Arab countries posed delicate problems, at first in Syria and Iraq and eventually also in the new states of formerly French North Africa.

Moreover, the Israel War of Independence in 1947–48 resulted in the persecution of Jews living in some Arab countries and in their mass exodus from others. Thus, in Iraq, the schools of the Alliance closed down, as did almost all of the schools in Syria and Egypt. In Morocco and Tunisia, Israel's independence resulted in aliyah and an exodus to France, and shook the foundations of the Alliance's educational projects. In Morocco, where there had been as many as 10,000 pupils in the system in 1959, the government decided to integrate part of the Alliance schools into its own system. The Alliance retained its remaining schools under the name of Ittihad-Maroc, with a local committee put in charge, but they gradually lost their specific character. The same process took place in Tunisia and in Iran. In Algeria, whose Jews had been French citizens who attended the state schools, the Alliance has operated only Talmudei Torah (with the support of the Rothschild Foundation); indeed the name Alliance in that country has been synonymous with Talmud Torah. In Israel itself, the Alliance Israélite Universelle's elementary schools were integrated into the education system, and the Alliance concentrated on development of secondary schools in Tel Aviv, Jerusalem and Haifa.

The Situation in the 1980s

In 1980–81, The Alliance Israélite Universelle's network comprised 38 schools in eight countries attended by 13,627 pupils. There were three institutions in France, seven in Iran, one in Syria, seven in Israel and 11 in Morocco. In addition, there were associated schools in Spain (2), Canada (6) and Belgium (1). The number of pupils attending the Alliance and associated schools was virtually the same as ten years earlier (see Table 1).

In Israel, in addition to the secondary schools, the Alliance Israélite Universelle maintains a school for children with impaired hearing in Jerusalem enrolling 98 pupils, both Jewish and Arab. Furthermore, it sponsors *Kerem*, an Institute for Humanistic and Jewish Studies, where secondary school teachers are trained in both the humanities and Jewish studies. Founded in 1974, the Institute enrolls a class of about 290 carefully chosen students each year.

TABLE 1. THE SCHOOLS OF THE ALLIANCE ISRAELITE UNIVERSELLE - 1981

	No. of Students	No. of Schools
Total	13,627	38
<i>The AIU Network</i>		
Total	10,635	29
France		
Paris: Secondary school of ENIO	227	1
Pavillons-sous-Bois:		
Secondary school	160	1
Primary school	142	1
Iran (Ettehad Schools of the AIU)		
Teheran, Isfahan, Kermanshah, Yezd	2,014	7
Israel		
Jerusalem, Tel Aviv, Haifa, Holon	5,532	7
Morocco (Ittihad Schools of the AIU)		
Casablanca, Fez, Meknes, Marrakech, Agadir, Tangier	2,002	11
Syria Damascus	558	1
<i>Affiliated Schools</i>		
Total	2,992	9
Belgium		
Brussels: Athénée Maimonide	562	1
Canada		
Montreal:		
Maimonides schools	671	3
Folk schools and Peretz School	1,500	3
Spain		
Madrid: Colegio Toledano	145	1
Barcelona: Liceo Sefardi	114	1

Source: *Les Cahiers de l'Alliance* (1981).

The *Mikveh Israel* Agricultural School, symbol of Alliance's contribution to the *Yishuv*, now functions under government auspices.

In Iran, non-Jewish pupils are admitted to the schools under government edict; some of the schools in the outlying areas have lost their Jewish character and are maintained only in order to retain the valuable property. At the same time, the Iranian authorities favor religious education for Jewish children.

Structure and Finances

It is clear that the Alliance Israélite Universelle, in spite of its name, was never really universal in the full sense, but rather a French organization whose purpose was to assist Jews in other lands.

The statutes of the Alliance stipulated a typically French centralization; the organization was to be administered by a Central Committee, located in Paris and two-thirds of its members had to be Paris residents. Regional and local committees everywhere had to transfer their funds to the Central Committee, or to use part of them locally with the Central Committee permission. All Alliance presidents have been French, with the exception of the German S.H. Goldschmidt (1881-98).

At present, the governing body is a Board of Directors, whose 12 members are all French; the Central Committee has been transformed into an Advisory Board. Traditionally, educational activity in France itself was limited to the training of teachers and principals (at the *Ecole Normale Israélite Orientale*, founded in 1867). However, since the recent influx of North African Jews, the former teacher-training college functions as a regular secondary school and another secondary school has been opened in the Paris suburb of Pavillons-sous-Bois.

The budget of the Alliance Israélite Universelle amounted to 22.7 million French francs in 1981 (about \$5.5 million). Of this, Fr. 14 million was budgeted for schools outside of France and Fr. 3.5 million for institutions in France. The balance went for headquarters and administrative expenses. On the income side, some Fr. 5 million (\$1 million) came from the American Friends of the Alliance. Financial support was also forthcoming from the Jewish Agency, the FSJU, JCA, Memorial Foundation for Jewish Culture, Canadian Jewish Congress, the Central British Fund for World Jewish Relief and the South African Jewish Appeal. Governments in the countries where schools are maintained, the French government among them, generally contribute to the cost of the secular education. As a rule, no tuition is charged, but where boarding arrangements exist, parents are charged for part of the cost.

The American Jewish Joint Distribution Committee

American Jewry's premier welfare organization in the field of overseas relief is rarely referred to by its full name. In America itself it is known as the JDC; in Europe, the Middle East and wherever else it has left its mark, simply as 'the Joint.'

The JDC's involvement in Jewish education dates back to its role in Eastern Europe in the interwar period, when its reconstruction program included support for Jewish schools "so as to help build a generation of Jewish people who would be well adapted to the world around them, without foregoing the kind of Jewish education their elders wanted for them" (Bauer, 1974, p. 35). In Poland in particular, the JDC enabled fully one-third of the more than half a million Jewish children of school age (1935 figure) to study at Jewish institutions of different kinds, ranging from the religious primary schools (heders) where Jewish law and religious observances were the main studies, and yeshivoh to the Zionist-oriented *Tarbut* schools, where most subjects were taught in Hebrew, through the modern religious schools of the *Yavneh* group (also Zionist) and the network of left-wing, anti-Zionist Yiddish schools organized by circles close to the Bund, with 16,000 children.

JDC had the choice of supporting all the different trends in Jewish education or none.... Subsidies therefore went to all types of schools; but the principle of supporting only capital investments, not current budgets, was carefully observed. From 1933 to 1939, JDC school expenditures trebled (from \$44,000 to \$121,000) and while the total sums were quite small, a great deal was done with them. As in other cases, JDC made its support conditional on the raising of local funds. Without JDC contributions these funds would never have materialized. With them, many schools either were built or were salvaged for the use of thousands of pupils (Bauer, 1974, pp. 207-209).

JDC similarly supported Jewish education in the Baltic states, Lithuania and Latvia, which embraced some 190 elementary schools as well as a number of Hebrew and Yiddish high schools.

After World War II, a considerable share of JDC funds spent in Europe were designated for cultural, religious and educational institutions. While the JDC did not set up schools itself, it helped the specialized agencies active in this area (Alliance Israélite Universelle, *Otzar HaTorah*, Lubavitch and ORT) to do so. In addition, the JDC involved itself in informal education, helping set up over one hundred community and youth centers, as well as summer camps and youth programs throughout Europe.

Morocco

In March 1982, the JDC Executive Committee reconfirmed that Jewish education continues to be an integral part of the Joint's program – a commitment which was reflected in a budget allocation of over \$10 million in the 1982–83 budget (out of a total of \$45 million). Of this amount, \$1.5 million was budgeted for Morocco where, of a remaining Jewish population of about 15,000, 3,500 Jewish children attend schools of the Alliance, *Otzar HaTorah*, Lubavitch and ORT, all of which benefit from JDC subventions. (Another 800 children attend non-Jewish French-language schools.) Part of the JDC budget is spent locally and part through grants to Alliance Israélite Universelle and ORT centrally for their programs in Morocco.

The Alliance has an enrollment of 1,400 children (including about 300 non-Jews). *Otzar HaTorah* about 1,350, Lubavitch 400, and ORT about 300. In all these systems, the general program follows the French curriculum, but Hebrew studies vary from one system to another. Thus *Otzar HaTorah* and Lubavitch teach Hebrew 10–15 hours per week; the Alliance 5–8 hours, and ORT, 2–4 hours. In *Otzar HaTorah*, the lessons in the upper grades are conducted in Hebrew.

In addition to supporting the schools, JDC sponsors a number of programs to upgrade the quality of teaching. These include:

- bringing specialists to Morocco to conduct summer seminars for teaching personnel;
- weekly study meetings with teachers in Casablanca;
- a two-year program of certification in cooperation with the Torah Education Department of the WZO, consisting of intensive studies during the school year plus two summers of seminars; and
- maintenance of a resident educational consultant in Morocco who works on a regular basis with the teachers.

As the local community had no tradition of pre-school education, the JDC opened kindergartens and trained young women as teachers. The schools have since integrated pre-school education into their systems, but the JDC continues to train kindergarten teachers and to supervise their work. The JDC also helped develop informal youth programs through groups such as the scout movement, which serve young people the year round, along with summer and winter camps. Scout counselors are sent for training in Israel.

Tunisia

The 5,000 Jews of Tunisia are concentrated in two main centers – Tunis (4,000), and Djerba together with adjacent smaller communities (1,000). The JDC has helped these communities develop part-time schools for the Jewish

education of their children, who attend Muslim schools for general studies. The Lubavitch movement is active in the country, sponsoring a school for boys and one for girls starting from kindergarten and leading up to the *Baccalauréat*. There is also a small community primary school in Tunis under the jurisdiction of the Chief Rabbi, and 200 Jewish children attend the French Lycée (high school).

Iran

There are still more than 4,000 Jewish children in full-time day schools in Iran, as compared to 7–8,000 before the revolution. The government insists that every child receive a religious education, and Jewish children who attend government schools must study in Talmudei Torah in the afternoon. The government supports Jewish schools and pays the salaries of teachers; as a result, the Jewish schools operated by the *Otzar HaTorah* and the Alliance Israélite Universelle have large non-Jewish enrollments (see also sections on these organizations).

Eastern Europe

The bulk of JDC activity in Eastern Europe now consists of aid in the field of welfare, as there is little Jewish educational activity left there. However, the JDC has helped the Orthodox community in Budapest to maintain a kindergarten and has sent books and religious supplies to other countries. In Yugoslavia, an informal education program is being supported through a summer camp.

Israel

JDC began its educational activities in 1914 with a grant for the needy of the Old *Yishuv* in Palestine and has been supporting religious and cultural programs in Israel ever since. While other organizations also help finance yeshivoth, the JDC prides itself for working with them selectively and intensively. It does this on three levels:

- through direct support of the yeshiva, its programs and facilities, the size of the grant being based on size of enrollment;
- through ensuring a healthy and esthetic environment for the students, and providing guidance for them; and
- by helping to locate yeshivoth in development towns and border areas,

so as to maximize the benefits derived by communities from the presence of the yeshiva and its students.

JDC provides ORT with financial assistance for its schools in Israel. In the field of informal education, JDC supports the *Matnassim* (Israel Community Centers' Association) and works with the centers on projects to help socially deprived communities. It established the Joseph Schwartz program within the Paul Baerwald School of Social Work at the Hebrew University to help train manpower for these centers. A program of Jewish education was devised to cater primarily to the non-Orthodox population attending the centers. JDC also pioneered in developing early childhood education (age group 0-3) programs at the community centers.

Western Europe

Having helped rebuild the educational infrastructure of European Jewish communities after the war, JDC turned over direct responsibility for their educational institutions to the communities themselves. The one West European country in which the JDC still operates today is France. It supports the main organizations active in that country (Alliance Israélite Universelle, *Otzar HaTorah*, Lubavitch and ORT) and also gives subventions to the Fonds Social Juif Unifié which is deeply committed to the promotion of Jewish education.

JDC has been encouraging more effective cooperation and coordination among those responsible for educational programs in France, and has initiated discussions for setting up a central coordinating body.

The JDC maintains a consultant in its Paris office who has assisted communities in France, Italy, Belgium, Luxembourg and other countries to set up new kindergartens and improve existing ones.

The JDC's educational consultant, Stanley Abramovitch, was the moving spirit in the establishment, in 1969, of the European Association of Jewish School Principals, with which virtually all day schools in Europe are affiliated. The Association has since come under the auspices of the European Council of Jewish Community Services. *Hamoreh*, a pedagogical quarterly in French, was also started by (and is still being supported by) JDC and later turned over to the European Council. Over the years, the JDC has developed a number of principles guiding its involvement in the field of education which reflect its overall philosophy. As cited by Abramovitch, these are:

- the starting point for an education program must be the local community. Programs are never imposed from the outside, but developed from grass roots initiative;
- while the JDC provides help on several levels, including financial aid to launch new projects, its aim has always been to disengage itself from

- financial responsibility and transfer funding to local bodies as soon as feasible;
- the JDC cooperates with other agencies specializing in the area of its concern, such as the Jewish Agency, the *Matnassim* and the European Council of Jewish Community Services;
 - the JDC strives to be a catalyst for coordination, centralization and cooperation among different segments of the community.

The European Council of Jewish Community Services

In the postwar period, leaders of European Jewish communities in various countries felt a growing need to come into contact with one another and they conceived the idea of an inter-European forum where they could meet to exchange experiences and discuss their common problems.

This idea led to the creation, with the help of JDC, of the European Council of Jewish Community Services (known at first, in the early sixties, as the Standing Conference of European Jewish Communities). The European Council now has 19 members, including three in Eastern Europe.

The Council works through commissions and affiliated bodies which deal with areas of common concern to the member communities. One of these is formal education. The Association of Jewish School Principals (see above) seeks to improve methods of teaching, curriculum planning and school administration through exchange of experience among the principals of 82 affiliated day schools throughout Europe. The Association provides a forum for discussion of pedagogical issues while avoiding interference in the religious or educational aims of the member schools. It does examine programs, methods of teaching, teachers' and principals' functions and educational material.

In the area of informal education, an Association of Jewish Community Centers fosters cooperation among professional center personnel in the area of programming, sponsors European-wide encounters among its membership and arranges training seminars for both professionals and volunteers, frequently in close collaboration with the Youth Department of the WZO.

In addition to the Principals' Association, the Council also seeks to activate lay leadership in the field of formal education (chairmen and members of school boards, etc.) who meet at the Council's annual assemblies. Security arrangements for Jewish schools have risen on the agenda.

The pedagogical quarterly, *Hamoreh*, has been published for 25 years in Paris by the European Council in cooperation with the Fonds Social Juif Unifié and the JDC. It provides a link among French-language educators and plays an important role in upgrading their work.

In an article on "Jewish Education in Continental Europe", Stanley Abramovitch discusses some of the successes as well as major problems of Jewish schools in Europe:

No basic answer has been found to the shortage of adequately trained and truly qualified teachers for Jewish Studies, and no solution has been found to the economic, social and psychological forces which dissuade suitable candidates from choosing Jewish education as their life career (Abramovitch, 1981).

Concerning the problem of textbooks, Abramovitch recalls that there was a time when each community, almost each school, printed its own textbooks, with inadequate and sometimes disastrous results. The schools now choose from what is available in Israel and the US or from what is printed in Europe. More and more schools introduce audio-visual aids into their teaching, often with excellent results. However, attempts made from time to time to create a common minimum program of Jewish studies have been doomed to failure "since each school is autonomous and decides its own educational goals."

On an optimistic note, Abramovitch cites the existence of day schools in communities where no such schools existed before the war as evidence of a revived and serious interest in Jewish education. Day schools are no longer opposed on religious, philosophical, social or political grounds; "that battle has been won." The schools' problems are material: lack of funds and qualified teachers, unsuitable buildings, transportation problems and, most recently, security risks.

The Lubavitch Movement

The educational activities of the Lubavitch movement in Europe and North Africa began in the postwar era with the arrival in France of a group of Lubavitch Hasidim who had managed to make their way from Russia to Germany as Polish citizens. Some of them had been exiled in Siberia for engaging in illegal education in Soviet Russia. Shortly after arriving in Paris in the late 1940s, the group at first set up Talmudei Torah for their own children, and subsequently opened these to outside pupils. Eventually a primary school for girls was added, with boarding arrangements for pupils from Morocco. After initially concentrating in the Paris area, the movement later also sent *shlichim* to provincial cities to set up Talmudei Torah and kindergartens, generally in conjunction with existing synagogue congregations, but in some cases independently. In Toulouse, the movement also sponsors a pri-

mary school. Evening courses for adults are offered in various provincial towns.

JDC, having supported the underground educational activities of Lubavitch in Soviet Russia, agreed to grant financial help to the movement's efforts in Europe. It also subsidizes the Lubavitch day schools in Morocco and Tunisia, a girls' primary and high-school in Morocco, and a primary school for boys and girls in Tunisia. In both countries, the Lubavitch schools are recognized by the state, and offer the required secular curriculum. More recently, Lubavitch has expanded into Italy, having opened a day school in Milan with 100 pupils.

A report in the *Jerusalem Post* (September 23, 1982), describes the Lubavitch program in Milan as follows:

The religious scene has been stirred by the entry of Lubavitcher (*Chabad*) Hasidim, who came into the city with a bang. They do not recognize the authority of the Chief Rabbi and have formed a flourishing congregation with their own school of 100 pupils. Recently they established Milan's first yeshiva to train *Chabad*-style rabbis. It has 12 students, some from Milan and others from outside Italy. A few years ago, as part of their soul-winning campaign, *Chabad* brought four or five rabbis to Milan to work among the city's smaller congregations, including Sephardic ones, which lacked spiritual leaders. They succeeded in attracting adherents from many different backgrounds. The sizeable *Chabad* congregation is highly concentrated, all its members living within 10 blocks of the synagogue.

In Israel, Lubavitch maintains an education center at Kfar Chabad; its curriculum is recognized by the Education Ministry as a separate 'trend' and receives government aid.

While world headquarters of the Lubavitch movement are in Brooklyn (seat of the Rebbe), the above educational programs are directed from Paris with the highly respected Rav Benjamin Gorodetzki in charge of operations. A yeshiva is located in the Paris suburb of Brunoy.

JDC finances half of the French program, whose total costs amount to some \$500,000 annually, and 70% of the Moroccan and Tunisian programs. Total Lubavitch outlay in each of these countries is about \$250,000 per annum.

Independent of the Paris-based operation, an English-based Lubavitch Foundation maintains nursery, primary and secondary schools in London. These schools, in rigorous competition with the full range of day schools in the London area, offer both Jewish and secular studies at a high level. Thus, the prospectus of a girls' secondary school declares that

The school aims to produce educated and well-adjusted observant Jew-

esses who will become an integral part of modern society... The school achieves its ends by providing a high standard of secular education integrated with religious study to a high intellectual standard... The school building is very modern and purpose-built, with a Science Laboratory, Music Room, Domestic Science Room, Art Room, Library and Typing Room.

The prospectus for the boys' school points out that the school has a gymnasium, playing fields and a swimming pool. For both boys and girls, Jewish studies occupy a full 50% of the curriculum.

ORT (Organization for Rehabilitation Through Training)

ORT describes itself as the largest private vocational and technical training organization in the world, with schools, training programs and technical assistance projects in 36 countries; its network of vocational schools and courses enrolls more than 100,000 students and employs 4,000 teachers, with an annual budget of over \$80 million. However, the technical assistance aspects of ORT's worldwide program relate mainly to Third World countries in Africa, Asia and Latin America, where ORT's experience and personnel serve local (non-Jewish) populations under contracts from governments or international organizations.

If we consider only the programs aimed at Jewish student populations, we find that on January 1, 1982, ORT maintained schools in 16 countries with a student body totalling 66,679 (see Table 2). Instructional and supervisory staff numbered 3,950, supplemented by 1,350 administrative personnel. By far the largest operation was being conducted in Israel, which accounted for nearly three-fourths of the students (45,426) and instructional staff (2,903). Of the remaining 21,253 students in 15 countries, the largest number were in Argentina (6,656) and France (5,047) and the smallest in Paraguay (62) and Switzerland, where 100 students attended the ORT Central Teacher Training Institute at Anières.

Disregarding Israel (since our major concern is Jewish education in the Diaspora), it is evident that the size of the student body and the farflung nature of its operations make ORT the most extensive network by far among those considered here. But the question arises whether ORT should be counted as a factor in the field of Jewish education, since its primary mission is not education in or for Judaism, but rather toward a trade or profession. Certainly, the ORT school cannot be considered, from a Jewish pedagogic point of view, the equivalent of the classic Jewish day school. The statistics of Jewish children receiving a full-time Jewish education in France do not usually include those attending ORT schools.

TABLE 2. THE ORT STUDENT BODY - JAN. 1, 1982

Country	Male	Female	Total
Total	43,636	23,043	66,679
Argentina	3,739	2,917	6,656
Brazil	321	174	495
Chile	513	558	1,071
Colombia	60	79	139
France	3,833	1,214	5,047
India	293	157	450
Israel	30,558	14,868	45,426
Italy	985	847	1,832
Mexico	624	426	1,050
Morocco	424	314	738
Paraguay	32	30	62
Peru	356	380	736
Switzerland ^a	99	1	100
Uruguay	879	486	1,365
USA	443	104	547
Venezuela	477	488	965

(a) Central ORT Institute.

However, the ORT curriculum does include a certain amount of Jewish subject matter, especially Hebrew language instruction. In recent years, increasing emphasis has been given to the Jewish component in the curriculum, although the quantity and type of such instruction is generally left to the educational management in each country. The following excerpt from the annual report of ORT in Argentina is characteristic of the new emphasis on Jewish content:

The year 1980 was marked by a significant rise in the number of Jewish Education teachers following an increase in the scope and importance given to this subject at the Technical School. Teaching methods have not undergone any substantial change, with the same structure in application as in the past where the number of hours are concerned, that is, six hours a week in the junior high school (three for Jewish History and three for Hebrew) and five in the senior high school (three for history and two for Hebrew.)... There are two levels for the teaching of Hebrew, and various kinds of teaching material prepared by the Hebrew teachers at the school have been used, including texts according to the Israeli method *Gesher* (easy Hebrew), Israeli newspapers and other texts. At the elementary level we continue to use the *Habet*

U'Shma system, but the texts have been somewhat modified by the Institute teachers. During 1980 main efforts have been concentrated on the preparation of teaching material. Extra-curricular activities have consisted of the celebration of holidays and remembrance days, such as the Warsaw Ghetto Uprising and *Yom Ha'atzmaut*. The students participated, as they always do, in the Hebrew Song Festival....A group of students went to some provincial towns where they participated in the cultural activities and learned about the history of the local Jewish community (World ORT Union, 1980, p. 8).

It should be recalled that it was not ORT's original purpose to serve as a medium for the transmission of Jewish values. The organization was founded in Russia in 1880 to transform the Jewish condition there by changing the nature of Jewish economic activity. As the American historian Oscar Handlin put it, "There was a demand for vocational education that would prepare youth for the modern world more adequately than the heder or the yeshiva" (Rader, 1970, p. 10).

The acronym ORT stood for "Society for the Promotion of Handicrafts, Industry and Agriculture Among Jews" (in Russian), and only much later were these initials Anglicized and updated into "Organization for Rehabilitation through Training."

ORT's century of existence (as of 1980) can serve as a metaphor for the Jewish history of that period, at least as far as Eastern Europe is concerned. Soon after ORT's founding, the relatively benign regime of Czar Alexander II ended with his assassination, and with the accession of Alexander III to the throne state policy toward the Jews altered drastically. The bloody pogroms of 1881 gave rise to the vast migration from Eastern Europe to America, Britain, Israel and elsewhere. Within the limits allowed, ORT assisted individual craftsmen to move out of the Pale, made loans to artisans for the purchase of equipment, granted subsidies to trade schools, established vocational courses and granted scholarships for attendance at technical and agricultural institutes. But it was only after the Revolution of 1905, with the liberalized political climate, that ORT received a charter from the government which enabled it to cope more effectively with the rush of Jews from the shtetl into the cities. There the beginnings of industrialization were producing a Jewish proletariat and a mass artisan class whose methods were usually as inefficient as their incomes were meager. Steps were taken to modernize and improve the quality of Jewish labor through vocational courses for apprentices, refresher courses for craftsmen and trade schools which introduced new occupations to broaden job prospects. ORT also formed work cooperatives along modern lines and by 1913 such groups were functioning in 20 cities.

With the outbreak of World War I, Galicia and the Pale of Settlement became a vast battlefield and hundreds of thousands of Jews were forced onto the road as refugees. ORT sponsored a program of 'relief through work,'

including cooperative workshops with adjacent soup kitchens and credit offices which gave loans to destitute craftsmen. For refugee children, ORT established trade schools with dormitory facilities. As one of the primary relief organizations of the period, ORT's budget grew from 68,000 rubles in 1913 to 541,000 in 1916.

The wartime experience marked a turn to constructive work, with ORT initiating its own programs rather than stimulating and assisting others. The collapse of the Czarist Empire converted ORT into a multi-national organization, as the six million Jews of Eastern Europe were now distributed among Russia, Latvia, Lithuania, Poland, Estonia, Romania and the other entities on Russia's western flank. But the economic foundation of these communities was shattered and ORT, hitherto sustained by Russian Jewry, found itself without means. In 1919, the Central Committee of Russian ORT sent a delegation to Western Europe and America to establish ties with Western Jewry so they might help relieve the plight of their East European brethren. The delegation's mission led to a conference in Berlin in August 1921, at which the World ORT Union was established. A year later, 54 groups in Eastern Europe and 10 in Western Europe and the United States had joined the central body, the primary task of which was to obtain funds for an expanding program. At the same time, the World ORT Union adopted the principle of community responsibility and self-help, which still governs ORT policy; while seeking aid from Jewish organizations in the West, a substantial part of local budgets should come from local resources.

In 1922, an American ORT organization was established, and a regular financial relationship was agreed upon with JDC, which was renewed in 1947, and has prevailed to this day. As a result, ORT receives its major American support through the Joint. Following the agreement, ORT assumed a major role in the JDC's 'Agro-Joint' program designed to agrarianize Jews in the Soviet Union in the 1920s. In 1938, ORT, along with all other international Jewish agencies, was forced to cease operations in Russia. By that time it had developed into an international agency for the economic rehabilitation of Jews throughout Eastern Europe. Poland and Lithuania were focal points of ORT activities between the wars, but programs were also carried out in Romania, Latvia, Bulgaria and Hungary. As late as 1937, ORT established a vocational high school in Germany to provide emigrants with usable skills. Refugee programs were also established in France, including an agricultural farming colony for German refugees and workshops for those interned in camps as 'enemy aliens.' With the outbreak of war in 1939, ORT Union headquarters, which had moved from Berlin to Paris in 1933, were transferred to Vichy, then to Marseilles and finally to Geneva. There they remained until the main office was moved to London in 1978.

With the dispersion of Hitler's victims overseas, ORT established programs in North and South America in the early 1940s, specifically for the

purpose of refugee retraining. Two centers in New York City trained 22,000 immigrants (including the 1956 refugees from Hungary) over a period of two decades.

The postwar period saw ORT briefly return to Eastern Europe, as well as opening vocational training facilities in the DP camps of Germany, Austria and Italy and setting up local committees to administer the work in such countries as Holland, Belgium and Greece where ORT had no prior history. Support groups were also developed in Canada, Great Britain, Latin America and elsewhere. Above all, ORT began to shift a major part of its activities to the new State of Israel, where today most of its operations are concentrated.

Elsewhere, while the basic unit in most areas remained the ORT vocational and technical high school, a radical shift has occurred during the past decade "from skills of the hand to skills of the mind" (American ORT Federation, 1981, p. 2). Advanced educational technology, utilizing sophisticated electronic equipment, has become the norm, and the computer has been thoroughly integrated into the educational process. Some salient developments on the ORT map were the cessation of programs in Iran as a result of the political revolution there and the cessation of operations in Tunis some years earlier. On the other hand, there was expansion in France as a result of the large-scale influx of North African Jews. In Latin America, schools in Argentina, Brazil and Uruguay saw substantial growth in structures and enrollment; elsewhere on the continent, Chile, Colombia, Mexico, Paraguay, Peru and Venezuela were added to the roster of countries where ORT now operates. ORT's program for Soviet transmigrants in Italy was on the decline, due to the diminishing number of Jews coming out of Russia. In Israel, where there had been 353 educational units and 1,400 teachers in 1970, there were 424 units with a faculty numbering 2,757 in 1980. ORT's program in Ethiopia had to be virtually suspended in 1981 when the government ordered the closing of 22 schools in the Gondar province, with their 78 teachers and 2,612 pupils. ORT maintains a school in Bombay, serving India's Jewish population of about 5,000.

Finances

ORT had a budget of almost \$70 million in 1981 (see Table 2). Nearly three-quarters of this amount (73%) was met by the communities served. Of the balance, JDC granted ORT \$4.1 million and Women's American ORT contributed \$4.2 million. Men's chapters of the American ORT Federation were expected to contribute slightly over \$1 million. It was anticipated that \$6.2 million would come from ORT groups in Australia, Britain, Canada, Germany, The Netherlands, Mexico, Scandinavia, South Africa, South

Diaspora, and Tel Aviv University also has a unit for Diaspora Jewish Education in its School of Education.

Taking account of the staff of the Jewish Agency Departments already cited, and of some other institutions (such as *Beit Hatefutsot*), Barry Chazan points to the emergence of a substantive profession of educators in Israel whose work is in Diaspora Jewish education (Barry Chazan, May 1987, an interview).

The Melton Center for Jewish Education in the Diaspora

The Melton Center constitutes by far the most extensive of these efforts on the academic level, and its program will therefore be described in some detail below (Samuel Mendel Melton Center for Jewish Education in the Diaspora, 1982; Barry Chazan, *ibid.*). The Center's activities encompass the following areas:

- training of teachers, supervisors, and administrators for Jewish educational institutions in the Diaspora;
- research into the problems of Jewish education;
- development of curricular and teaching materials for Jewish education in the Diaspora; and
- in-service training of educational personnel for the Diaspora.

The faculty of the Center includes academics in the history, philosophy and sociology of Jewish education, curriculum development, didactics and related academic areas. In addition, the Center staff also includes Jewish educators who write curriculum units, and develop in-service training programs and informal educational activities. The staff of the Center numbers over fifty people and constitutes the largest university department of Jewish Education in the Jewish world.

The Center offers courses of study in Jewish education leading to BA, MA and Ph.D degrees and a teacher-training diploma. Over thirty courses in Jewish education are offered yearly in addition to other university courses in Jewish studies, Contemporary Jewry and Education. Students at the Center come from a broad range of Diaspora communities and from Israel. There are over 120 full-time students mostly from English-speaking countries. In addition to the regular academic programs, students come to the Center within several other frameworks.

Educational Leadership Training Program

This program is co-sponsored by the Departments of Jewish Education of the World Zionist Organization and the Melton Center, with joint funding of the Pincus Foundation, the Melton Foundation and local communities. Students in this program are sent from their respective communities for one to

three years of study, which include individually tailored tutorials to meet specific local needs. The program has included students from Argentina, Australia, Brazil, Canada, Chile, England, France, Peru, Sweden, the United States and Venezuela.

One-Year Study Program (OYP Junior Year Abroad Program)

The Center, together with the Rothberg School for Overseas Students, offers a special program in Jewish education and Jewish studies for overseas students considering careers in Jewish education. Many of these students continue their graduate studies in Jewish education at the Center.

Mount Scopus Fellows - Australia

A new academic program was initiated for the year 1982–83 whereby ten to fifteen potential teacher emissaries of the Torah Education Department of the World Zionist Organization pursued a year's studies at the Center prior to their departure for teaching positions in the Mount Scopus Jewish School in Melbourne. These studies are aimed at preparing Israeli educators to effectively serve in the Diaspora and include language studies, sociology of the local community, background and structure of the school and pedagogy.

A similar program is being developed for the Herzl-Bialik school in Caracas, Venezuela.

Informal Jewish Education

An agreement has been reached with the *Gesher* Educational Programs and the Youth and *Hehalutz* Department of the World Zionist Organization whereby staff of the Zionist Institutes in Israel and of the Youth and *Hehalutz* Department will embark on an MA program in Jewish Education at the Center which will prepare them for eventual *shlihut* abroad followed by return to careers in Jewish education in Israel. In this way a professional cadre of informal Jewish educators will be developed with rich field experience in Israel and in the Diaspora, combined with an advanced academic program in Jewish studies and education.

The Pedagogic Institute for Curriculum and In-Service Training of Teachers

This Institute was formally established at the Melton Center in 1980, in partnership with the Department of Education and Culture in the Diaspora of the World Zionist Organization. The first activity of the Institute was a major curricular project in 'Jewish Values', funded by the Joint Program for Jewish Education of the Israeli Ministry of Education and Culture and the Jewish Agency. Curriculum work which was formerly organized as specific projects (such as the *Tarbut-Yerushalayim* Mexico project or with schools and Jewish Education Committees in Venezuela and Argentina) is now being channeled through this new Institute.

The core of curriculum development in the pedagogic Institute has been a weekly curriculum workshop in which curricular units are planned, written and analyzed. They are then tested in schools abroad and in in-service training in Israel before final revision by the staff of the Institute. Guest specialists on subject matter are invited to comment and participate.

During the 1980/81 year, units in the following major topics were produced: The Book of Jonah and Yom Kippur; the Book of Esther and Purim; Value Issues in the Midrash; *Pirkei Avoth*; Introduction to Oral Law; Issues in the Teachings of Maimonides; To Be a Jew in a Non-Jewish World; Between Man and Fellow Man; and Hasidic Tales.

In-Service Training Activities

One of the major aspects of the Melton Center's work is in-service and enrichment training of existing Jewish teachers and educators. The Center is committed to the continued professional growth of the teacher and conducts a wide range of programs for that purpose, which falls into two main categories:

- courses and guidance conducted in the Diaspora; and
- courses and guidance conducted in Israel.

Among the agencies with which in-service training programs have been conducted are: the Hornstein Program for Jewish Communal Service of Brandeis University; the Board of Jewish Education of Metropolitan Chicago; the Youth Worker's Program of the Fonds Social Juif Unifié, France; Mount Scopus College, Melbourne; *Tarbut* School, Mexico City; Moral Y Luces School, Caracas; London Board of Jewish Religious Education; The Spiro Institute for the Study of Jewish History and Culture, London; and Sinai School, London.

In 1982, it was decided to establish an annual Summer Institute for Jewish Teachers and Educators at the Center which would offer a regular program of summer in-service courses. The program encompassed in-service seminars in: Teaching Hebrew, Teaching Jewish Values, the Role of Israel in Contemporary Jewish Life and Education; and the Jew in the Modern World, The Teaching of Modern Jewish History; and Media in Jewish Education.

Projects of the Melton Center in the Diaspora

The Center has engaged in projects in a broad range of Diaspora countries of which Mexico is an outstanding example. The Center has concluded more than ten years of intensive association with the *Tarbut* School in Mexico City, which is an integrated day school of 1,400 students ranging in age from 2 to 18. The result of the Center's intervention in this school has been a total reconstruction of the Jewish studies curriculum, including the development of three entirely new fields of study: Contemporary Jewry, the Teaching

about Israel, and the Teaching of Jewish Values. Yet another innovative experiment was the creation of a model kindergarten.

These innovations were developed in the context of an intensive in-service training program, with curriculum workshops conducted simultaneously in Jerusalem and Mexico. The next stage of the Melton Center's association with the Jewish educational community in Mexico City moved the center of activities from the *Tarbut* school to a Jewish educational in-service training center for all day schools in Mexico. This venture was sponsored by the local Jewish Community, the World Zionist Organization and a consortium of all Israeli universities, under the leadership of the Melton Center at the Hebrew University. Seven Jewish day schools, ranging from religious to non-religious, Zionist, Yiddishist and Sephardic, with enrollments of 7,500 students and over 200 teachers and a teachers' seminary of 30 students, were encompassed by this project.

Pedagogic Center

The Melton Center includes the largest Pedagogic Center of Jewish educational materials in the world. It enables students and visitors to study and use all existing Jewish educational material (including media) and conducts workshops for teachers and educators interested in specific subject areas.

New Projects

Among planned projects for the next few years, the following two areas deserve special mention:

- adult Jewish education. One can no longer discuss Jewish education without including the education of parents and adults. The Center has committed itself to a serious study of and contribution to this field;
- informal Jewish education. The Center is currently engaged in plans with the Youth and *Hehalutz* Department of the World Zionist Organization, the World Federation of Jewish Community Centers, Jewish summer camping movements, *Gesher* Educational Services, and the Fonds Social Juif Unifié to develop joint programs for staff training and program development in informal education.

The Academic Board of the Center is the overall forum concerned with policy deliberation and formulation for the Center.

The World Zionist Organization

The major body operating in the field of Diaspora Jewish education on a worldwide basis, and to a significant degree, is the (World) Zionist Organization, operating through the Departments of Education and

Culture in the Diaspora and Torah Education and Culture in the Diaspora (Engelman, 1962, p. 12).

This statement is as true today as it was when it was written. The activities of the WZO in the field of education are not confined to these two departments. However, these are the ones that deal primarily with formal Jewish education and will be the only ones discussed here. Of the remaining departments and subdivisions concerned, among their other activities, with education in the wider sense, or informal education, the Youth and *Hehalutz* Department is the most important.

There is also a division of labor according to age, at least theoretically, between the two education departments and the Youth and *Hehalutz* Department; the former dealing with the elementary and high-school age groups (and with adult education, especially in Hebrew language teaching), while 'youth' in Youth Department refers to adolescents beyond secondary school age. In practice, this division is not always adhered to; the (secular) Education Department's Hayim Greenberg Institute caters in part to college-age youth and the Youth Department includes high-school age youngsters in its summer programs.

As for the division of labor between the two education departments, the one 'religious' (Torah Education) and the other 'secular', this is more related to the political constellation in the Zionist movement than to any reality 'in the field'. The implication of this separation, that there are schools whose religious orientation makes them seek contact with the Torah Department, while others with a more secular orientation turn to the Department of Education and Culture for non-religious teachers and programming, is only partially justified.

In Europe, in any event, the division is more territorial than ideological; some countries are preempted by one department or the other regardless of the degree of Orthodoxy of the schools. Thus in Belgium, the Department of Education and Culture is in exclusive charge, servicing, among others, the Orthodox Maimonides School in Brussels. Sweden, on the other hand, is the domain of the Torah Education Department, even though Stockholm's Hillelskoolen is anything but Orthodox. There is a tradition of 'non-interference' in these territorial arrangements. The department's local clients may sometimes be puzzled by them but they acquiesce unquestioningly.

At times the division of labor is by function rather than territory. Thus in France the secular Department works with the day schools affiliated with the Fonds Social Juif Unifié, while the Torah Department is associated with the Talmudei Torah through the Consistoire. The secular Department was the first to develop programs for establishing kindergartens and training of pre-school teachers in France, and thereby assured its preeminence in that field. Both Departments are represented on the committee controlling FIPE, the

Investment Program for Jewish Education in which local and Israeli funds are committed in equal parts.

The two Departments receive identical budgetary allocations (\$3.6 million in 1981/82 – a reduction from the previous year, when each Department received \$3.8 million). These figures are net of departmental income for seminars, which in 1981/82 was \$2.1 million (Education) and \$2.9 (Torah Education) respectively, a fact which does not satisfy the Education and Culture Department which claims to deal with 90% of Jewish population in the Diaspora.

The WZO, by virtue of the composition of its three-layered governing structure (Zionist Congress, Zionist Action Committee and Zionist Executive), surely qualifies as a 'multi-country' association (Stock, 1975). But this can hardly be said of the two education departments which, though functioning under the supervision of the above-named governing bodies, are in effect Israeli mechanisms operating on a world-wide basis while also maintaining programs in Israel designed for school-age youngsters from abroad. Inasmuch as the Departments directly operate programs in Israel, one might question the designation of the WZO as one of the indirectly active groups. However, the intention is to distinguish these from groups directly engaged in formal education in the Diaspora.

The Department of Education and Culture in the Diaspora

There is no doubt that the Department sees as part of its mission the strengthening of the Israeli component in Diaspora Jewish education. To that end, it is able to mobilize some of the excellent educational resources found in Israel's educational institutions, including those of higher learning. If there is occasional resistance on the part of Diaspora communities, it indicates the degree of concern felt in these quarters about possible Israeli hegemony over local institutions. The Department's emphasis on aliyah as an ultimate goal is also sometimes contrary to the local educational philosophy.

A characteristic episode occurred when the Department insisted that the Director of its North American office be an Israeli, rather than an American educator, as had previously been the case. This decision was fought vigorously by the Department's American constituency. In the end, an agreement was reached which brought Aviv Edroni, of the Tel Aviv Municipality's Education Department, to the post held by Dr. A.P. Gannes until the latter's retirement in 1980.

The Department's plans to set up 'Israeli Studies Centers' in a number of cities also ran into American opposition, again on the issue of having educational resources for the American Jewish public directed from Jerusalem.

Nevertheless, the first such Center was eventually opened in Los Angeles with the close cooperation of the local Bureau of Education.

There is a tendency in Jerusalem to see this Diaspora concern as a challenge to Israel's status of preeminence. The Chairman of the Department, Eli Tavin, wrote in June 1980 in his introduction to a Report on the Department's activities:

In its endeavour to achieve some of its aims, the Department had to face the tendency to regard 'Babylon' to be of equal, if not of higher spiritual standing with Jerusalem and the consequent weakening of links with the State of Israel...(Tavin, 1979/80).

As stated by Tavin, the Department sees as its goal "the educating of young Jews imbued with Jewish values, proud of their Jewish identity and striving for strong bonds with *Eretz Israel* as preparation for eventual aliyah to their homeland." At the same time, he continues, "the vital continuity of the Jewish people still in the Diaspora must be preserved, and the hovering threat of rapid assimilation must be combatted through the creative programs suitable for the concluding decades of the 20th Century." It is Tavin's purpose to "transform our Department into a catalyst of Jewish education in the Diaspora, and to reach over to the ... Jewish youth who receive no Jewish education and to the children of former Israelis who, for circumstances beyond their control have been cut off from the Israeli educational system." In the same context, Tavin also promises to "persevere in our determination to extricate Jewish educational activity in the Diaspora from the deadening routine in which it now finds itself" (Tavin, *ibid.*).

In the pursuit of these ambitious objectives, the Department operates through central institutions in the Diaspora, including organized local communities, Boards of Education and Zionist Federations, as well as its own branches and representatives in various countries. It assists Jewish schools by supplying teachers, textbooks and teaching materials, organizing extension courses for teachers as well as seminars and conferences. Teachers from the Diaspora are trained in Israel, in cooperation with the institutions of higher learning.

Division for Elementary and High Schools

Through the Division for Elementary and High Schools, the Department maintains contact with 1,875 primary and secondary day schools and Talmudei Torah and Sunday schools throughout the world. In the United States, these contacts are maintained through the educational networks of the Conservative and Reform movements; in Canada, the Division also deals directly with six independent schools. In Latin America, the Department works with 68 schools in Argentina, 23 in Brazil, 6 in Mexico, 4 in Uruguay,

2 each in Chile, Colombia and Venezuela, and 1 each in Bolivia, Ecuador, Paraguay and Peru; in Europe, with 16 in England, 3 in France, 4 in Belgium, 3 in Germany, 2 each in Greece, Holland and Italy, and 1 each in Denmark, Finland and Spain.

The traditional day schools in South Africa are affiliated, as are four day schools and four supplementary schools in Australia.

The Division is also in contact with 11 pedagogical (resource) centers and with a number of local education bureaus and community education committees.

Division for Early Childhood Education

In the 1979/80 school year, the Department added a Division for Early Childhood Education which concentrated initially on France and Belgium, helping to establish new kindergartens and arrange seminars and training courses for teachers. Activities were subsequently extended to Latin America, and according to the latest reports, contacts have been established with 185 kindergartens in 12 countries.

Departmental Emissaries (Sblibim)

In 1980/81, 177 emissaries were active in 22 countries. Of these, 121 were financed by the local communities and 56 by the Department. The largest contingents were in Mexico (35), Canada and the United Kingdom (20 in each country), the United States (14), Brazil (13), and South Africa (12). The total includes both departmental representatives, some of whom act as educational consultants to communities, and Israeli teachers assigned to specific schools.

Teachers' Training

Israeli candidates are trained for service abroad and form a pool from which the emissaries are selected. Some 100 teachers participate in the course each year, of whom about half are eventually sent abroad.

A Pedagogical Institute for the Diaspora was set up jointly by the Department and the Melton Center for Jewish Education in the Diaspora at the Hebrew University. It prepares curricular and teaching aids for instruction in Judaic and *Eretz Israel* studies in non-Orthodox schools. The Institute has its separate Board of Directors and Academic Committee.

Training courses for teachers in the Diaspora are held in North and South America, Europe and South Africa by Israeli educators and university lecturers.

A Seminar Division arranges in-service training and seminars in Israel for teachers from the Diaspora as well as seminars and summer programs for pupils, including bar mitzvah programs and summer camps.

The Division for Publication of Textbooks and Periodicals publishes a series of teaching aids and textbooks which are sold to schools, community centers and cultural institutions.

Residential High Schools Division

This division supervises boarding schools in Israel (Kfar Blum, Kfar Silver, Givat Washington, among others) for high school students from abroad. In 1979/80 these schools were attended by 548 pupils for periods ranging from two months to one year.

The Hayyim Greenberg Hebrew College

The Greenberg College is designed to prepare young people from the Diaspora for teaching careers and to provide in-service training to teachers from abroad. The college was attended by 180 students in the 1979/80 academic year, mostly from Latin America but also from the United States, Canada, and Europe. It operates in a modern campus in the Talpiot Quarter of Jerusalem.

Division for the Dissemination of Bible Studies

This Division coordinates the World Jewish Bible Society and the Israeli Society for Biblical research, and is responsible for the World Bible Contest for Jewish youth. It also publishes a quarterly on Bible studies in three languages.

The Hebrew Language Division

This Division is responsible for running *ulpanim* in 26 countries. Nine hundred seventeen classes were attended by 11,820 students in 1979/80. This, in addition to other activities, was designed to promote the study of Hebrew, including publications, preparation for the Jerusalem Examination and participation in the training of Hebrew language teachers.

Division for Latin America and Cultural Activities

This Division engages in adult education projects in Latin America, especially in remote communities throughout that continent. In Buenos Aires, the Department, together with Tel Aviv University, sponsors the Shazar Teachers' College.

Education for Children of Former Israelis

The Department organizes classes for children of *yordim* in North American cities which offer instruction according to the Israeli syllabus. In some European cities, such children are integrated into classes for children of emissaries.

Conferences

In May 1982, the Department organized a European Conference on Jewish Education in London, which was attended by 180 lay and professional educators from all over the continent. A featured speaker was the Chief of Staff of the Israeli army who lectured on education in the Israel Defense Forces. A similar conference was held in Rio de Janeiro in November 1981, with educators from all Latin American countries attending.

Sbazar Prize

The Department grants an annual prize for the advancement of Jewish education in the Diaspora in memory of the late President of Israel, Zalman Shazar.

Administration

The head of the Department is a member of the Zionist Executive and, as such, is a political appointee. Administrative matters are handled by the Director-General, who is appointed by the Department Head. For decisions in educational matters, the Department maintains a Pedagogical Secretariat, which is headed by a Pedagogical Adviser.

The Department for Torah Education and Culture in the Diaspora

The Department for Torah Education and Culture in the Diaspora operates along the same general lines as the (secular) Department for Education and Culture, except that it sees as its main task a strong emphasis on the religious aspects of education. According to Moshe Krone, a former head of this Department, it views itself as the "central address within the Jewish world for all matters relating to the strengthening and advancement of Torah education and culture" (Jewish Agency, 1982, p. 4).

Like its secular counterpart, the Torah Department maintains educator-emissaries in the Diaspora, who constitute its principal line of contact with Jewish communities and their educational institutions. In 1981/82, 221 such *shlichim* were abroad. The largest number (56) were active in Canada, followed by Australia (31), Brazil (23), the United States (22) and Great Britain (20). About 70% were maintained by the host community. Of the balance, expenses were divided between the Department and the community in most cases; only in the remaining 7% was the Department solely responsible for the cost.

Through its *shlichim*, as well as other means of cooperation, the Department maintains contact with 292 kindergartens, 1,089 elementary schools and 169 high schools throughout the world, as well as 203 Hebrew *ulpanim*,

13 yeshivoth and 19 teachers' colleges. The total number of pupils in these institutions is estimated at 211,000.

In Israel, the Department maintains the Gold College for Women, which offers a broad range of Judaic study courses including teacher-training, to graduates of day high schools from the Diaspora. About 100 women are enrolled annually, two-thirds of them from the United States. For young men, the Department operates the Jerusalem Torah College, which combines a yeshiva curriculum with Judaic, Hebrew and Zionist studies. Annual enrollment is about 175, mostly from the US. Duration of study ranges from six months to two years.

The Department also enables young men from abroad to enroll in yeshivoth and rabbinical seminaries, and young women in Torah institutes. Under this program, which receives support from the Ministry of Absorption's Student Authority, some 2,300 young people study each year in Israel.

The so-called *Yod-Gimmel* (13) program enables high school seniors from the United States to complete their last semester of secondary education in Israeli high schools or yeshivoth. Current enrollment is around 85.

The Department holds short-term seminars for teachers from abroad, and entire high school classes have been brought to Israel with their teachers for two-month periods of study. This program has been aided financially by the Joint Fund for Diaspora Jewish Education (see below).

The Torah Department operates a Center for Pedagogic Guidance which provides educational materials, library services and pedagogic consultation to the institutions with which the Department works.

In addition, an Institute for Jewish Studies Curricula in Diaspora Schools has been established. Both units enjoy the assistance of the Pincus Fund.

The Department takes credit for assisting in the funding of a number of new schools in Europe during the past several years: new elementary schools in London, Vienna, Geneva and Zurich, and a Yeshiva High School in the Parisian suburb of Elizabethville. Two elementary schools founded in France by *Otzar HaTorah* also were assisted by the Torah Department.

The Department produces and distributes texts in Hebrew and Jewish studies for Diaspora educational institutions, teaching aids in pedagogy and methodology for the teaching of Jewish subjects, books on Jewish tradition, history and philosophy for adult and continuing education. This material is published in Hebrew, English, French and Spanish. The Department operates resource centers for the dissemination of educational materials in England, France, the United States and in its offices in other countries.

The L.A. Pincus Jewish Education Fund for the Diaspora

While the Pincus Fund, as it is known in Jewish educational circles the

world over, is not actually an organ of the World Zionist Organization, it operates essentially within the same orbit and will therefore be subsumed under the WZO heading in this survey. Named after the late Jewish Agency Chairman to whom the cause of Jewish education was especially dear, the Fund was established in 1974 by the Jewish Agency for Israel, the World Zionist Organization,³ the American Jewish Joint Distribution Committee, and the Government of Israel to "encourage new and innovative projects of significant value to Diaspora Jewish education." Its initial capital was \$5,000,000 but in 1978 the partners decided to increase it to \$25 million over a four-year period. Grants are made from the income of the Fund. As of March 31, 1981, \$4,530,000 had been allocated to 59 projects (L.A. Pincus Jewish Education Fund for the Diaspora, July 1981; Chazan, 1982).

Since that date, the number of projects approved by the Fund has more than doubled. By geographical areas, 24% of the funds were allocated to projects in France, 19% were spent in Israel for projects serving Diaspora education; England received 14%, the United States 12%; Europe (for projects serving the continent as a whole) 9%; Italy, 6%; and Switzerland, 4% with nine other countries sharing the rest.

The main subject areas were as follows: training of professional manpower (teachers, youth and community workers, rabbis), 31%; establishment of educational institutions (21%); informal education (community and resource centers, adult education (12%); curricular and pedagogic material, 17%; provision of personnel, 12.3%; and in-service training, 5%.

The Fund does not participate in the financing of building projects, nor will it support regular budgets of already existing programs. Local participation of not less than 25% of the cost of a project is a condition for support by the Fund.

The Joint Program for Jewish Education of the State of Israel, the Jewish Agency and the World Zionist Organization

This program, founded in 1979, constitutes an extension of the concept underlying the Pincus Fund in the direction of committing substantial Israeli resources to the cause of Diaspora Jewish education. While the Pincus Fund supports projects in the Diaspora, the Joint Fund makes grants for activities within Israel (on behalf of the Diaspora). In its Statement of Intent, the Joint Program enunciates the principle of the centrality of Israel:

Israel will be utilized as the Jewish world's central Jewish education resource and staging area. This means transforming Israel into a study center for the Jewish people, one which provides a center for Jewish

experience as well as programmatic resources for Jewish education in the Diaspora. The resources are to be found in the accomplishments of Israel's educational system and the academic and intellectual contributions of its institutions of higher learning (Joint Program for Jewish Education, 1982).

In his introduction to a recent report of the Program, Leon Dulzin stressed the role of the Government of Israel in the Joint Fund, through the Ministry of Education "which shares our concern for Jewish education in the Diaspora." Dulzin also pointed out that the Joint Program has "successfully involved the Jewish Agency for Israel in education, and it is likely to become one of its preferential areas of activity." While the WZO already allocates a considerable part of its budget to Jewish education, Dulzin explains, its means are limited while the needs of Jewish education are great.

It is thus clear that the Jewish Agency, which hitherto has directed all of its resources (derived from appeals in the Diaspora) toward programs in Israel, will henceforth also devote a major effort toward education in the Diaspora.

The composition of the Fund's Directorate reflects its sponsorship. The Chairman of the World Zionist Executive and the Minister of Education are co-chairmen. The first Executive Director was Daniel Tropper, an Adviser to the Minister. The Diaspora viewpoint is represented by two members of the Jewish Agency Board of Governors: Morton L. Mandel, former President of the Council of Jewish Federations; and Michel Topiol, from France. Seymour Fox, of the Hebrew University's School of Education, is the only member of the Directorate who does not represent one of the sponsors.

Expectations for the Joint Fund are high. The Director foresees it ushering in a "new day in Jewish education throughout the world." Acting as a "catalyst of change," the Program is to "identify especially successful programs and encourage their duplication, to initiate projects which represent potential breakthrough concepts...to help develop new methodologies for reaching the unaffiliated." Morton Mandel wishes the Program to sponsor projects that are "both universal and at the same time relevant to the particular needs of a given community."

In concrete terms, the founders of the Joint Program defined its purposes as follows:

- to bring youth and students to Israel for intensive educational programs;
- to train and provide in-service education in Israel for Diaspora teachers and educators;
- to develop, in Israel, curricula and other materials for Jewish education in the Diaspora.

To carry out these objectives, the Government of Israel and the Jewish Agency were to each allocate \$5 million annually. Of this, \$5 million were to

be spent in Israel for Diaspora Jewish education and \$5 million were to be added annually to the Pincus Fund (whose expenditures are mainly outside of Israel).

Projects approved during the initial years of the Program break down as follows:

	Percent	\$
Development of Curricula and Educational Materials	37.4	3,308,000
Study Programs in Israel for Diaspora Youth and Students	33.7	2,979,000
Training and In-Service Training for Diaspora Teachers and Other Educators	22.8	2,018,000
Research and Development	6.1	545,000

The category of Research and Development includes the Project for Jewish Educational Statistics designed to produce basic data worldwide on enrollment trends, teaching staff, etc., and to establish a framework for continual data collection. The goal is the availability of solid quantitative knowledge of Jewish education in the Diaspora as a tool for Jewish educators and planners.

Both the Pincus Fund and the Joint Program make extensive use of existing communal and educational frameworks, in Israel and the Diaspora, for the implementation of projects. As an example, the ten projects in the area of curricula development and educational materials, approved by the Joint Fund, are listed here together with the originating (and implementing) institutions:

- teaching Jewish Values in Diaspora Schools – Hebrew University and WZO Department of Education – development of new materials and training of teachers;
- educational television – *Gesher* Educational Affiliates – development of television series on Jewish education;
- leadership training – WZO Young Leadership and Everyman’s University – production of educational units in Spanish for the training of young leadership;
- university teaching of Jewish civilization – International Center for the University Teaching of Jewish Civilization – project for the implementation and expansion of Judaica courses in Diaspora universities;
- translation and adaptation of curriculum materials from Hebrew – David Schoen Institute;
- preparation of Jewish texts – Shalom Hartman Institute – preparation of texts for curricula and teacher training;

- family study units – WZO Young Leadership;
- basic Jewish bookshelf – WZO Department of Torah Education – preparation of basic Jewish books in various foreign languages;
- Jewish publications in Russian – publishing and translation of material on Judaism and Israel into Russian;
- publication of booklets in easy Hebrew for Jewish day schools – WZO Department of Education.

The Jerusalem Fellows

In July 1981, the Chairman of the WZO announced the establishment of a new program under the auspices of the WZO designed to develop leadership for Jewish education in the Diaspora by training outstanding young Jewish educators from the Diaspora in Israel. Upon completion of three years of intensive training (entirely in Hebrew), each Fellow undertakes to serve for at least five years in a central educational position in the Diaspora.

During the selection process, an attempt is made to promote a relationship between the candidate and a community with the hope that the candidate will later return to a suitable position in that same community.

In the course of the program, the Fellows are required to spend a summer in a Diaspora community and to take an active role in local educational programs. Fellows have a budget at their disposal for collection of material for their own use and for their communities upon completion of the Fellowship. They are also provided with funds for conducting an experimental project in these communities.

Of the ten Fellows studying in Jerusalem in 1982/83, six were from the United States, two from England, one from France and one from Argentina. A second group of ten began their studies in September 1983, and a third group in September 1984. Qualified Israeli citizens were included among the second and third groups of Jerusalem Fellows.

The Program is guided by an Academic Committee, of which Professor Natan Rotenstreich is the chairman. The Academic Director of the program is Professor Seymour Fox.

Summary and Conclusions

In endeavoring to draw some conclusions from the foregoing material, the following three dimensions call for comment:

- the programs of the Diaspora-based organizations;
- the programs of the WZO Departments;
- the need for a new multi-country body.

It would be presumptuous to attempt an evaluation of the Diaspora-based organizations on the basis of the material presented here, which is derived mainly from their own written reports supplemented by interviews. It is apparent that the field of activity open to the organizations involved in Jewish education in the Muslim countries has been contracting radically (except among the North African immigrant population in France) due to the necessity to stay within the scope permitted by the local authorities. Under these conditions, it is unrealistic to expect the organizations to promulgate an educational policy across borders or to expand or modernize course content; at best, theirs is a holding operation. The one truly multi-country educational network under Jewish auspices, ORT, is not engaged in Jewish education primarily, but in training technicians and craftsmen.

Nor are there common criteria by which to assess the quality of the educational work being done in these circumstances. In their absence, success or failure can best be measured on a quantitative basis. Probably the continuing allocation by the JDC of substantial funds to these agencies should be seen as authoritative endorsement from the qualitative aspect as well.

The JDC is also committed to continuing support of the same agencies' programs in France, along with its allocation to the Fonds Social Juif Unifié, which plays a major role in Jewish education there. This should put the JDC in an excellent position to pursue its efforts to set up a coordinating body, similar to the Bureaus of Jewish Education in American communities.

With the JDC's active backing, such a body could gain access to the best experience in the United States. Given France's potential for leadership in Jewish Europe, it might eventually be in a position to make its resources available to other communities on the continent.

Admittedly, such a project would have to contend with deeply rooted ideological and structural constraints in the local setting.⁴ One must hope that the JDC will have sufficient influence and authority to overcome these. The record of the Association of School Principals (which was founded by the JDC and is now a part of the European Council of Jewish Community Services) has been encouraging in this direction; it indicates that multi-country organizations are capable of transcending local rivalries and differences.

The Role of the WZO and of Israel

In spite of his death, Louis Pincus' intense interest in promoting the cause of Jewish education left its mark on subsequent developments. The funds he had earmarked to finance a Commission on Jewish Education of the (World) Conference of Jewish Organizations (COJO) became the financial nucleus of the Pincus Fund which, together with the Joint Program for Jewish Education of the Jewish Agency-WZO and the Government of Israel, now consti-

tutes a substantial resource for the improvement of Jewish education the world over.

Israel is thus no longer represented only by the WZO-Jewish Agency complex, in which it plays the leading part, but, as Barry Chazan put it, "Jewish education has become one of the concerns of the Jewish state." Moreover, "this development has taken place in a rather low-keyed fashion, and almost unknowingly, has overtaken the Jewish world" (Chazan, 1982).

Dr. Chazan acknowledges, at the same time, that "the new Israeli dynamic will bring with it its own set of problems in the realm of Israel-Diaspora relationships. It is a development which is welcomed by many, but not by all. Some in the Diaspora have regarded the significantly increased involvement of Israel in Jewish education as a cover for an effort to 'Zionize' Diaspora Jewish education; others have cast doubts on the professional competence of Israel to contribute to Diaspora Jewish education." But Chazan goes on to dispel such notions:

Even if there is such a Machiavellian plot...the decentralized, regional or locally controlled nature of Jewish education is not readily susceptible to top-down manipulation.... However, the more important point seems to be that Israelis concerned with Diaspora Jewish education have increasingly come to realize that there is a question of priorities, and the major issue is the Jewishness of the young...that the issue confronting contemporary Jewish education is not the question of the young person's relationship to Israel, but of his/her relationship to Judaism. Any possibility of engaging in education in the Diaspora, is likely to occur only within the context of Jewish education. (Chazan, 1982).

It will require a considerable amount of tact as well as an attitude of pragmatic realism on the part of the Israelis to overcome these apprehensions and create the optimum climate of confidence for what Chazan calls the "new constellation of forces and influences emerging in the Jewish educational world." Since the two WZO Education Departments will take an active part in the new efforts, it is important that any malevolence toward Diaspora leaders and institutions that can be detected in some of the pronouncements from Jerusalem will disappear, lest it lead to conflict over issues that are only tangentially relevant.

The continued existence of the two Departments of the WZO with very similar goals and programs appears to have the immutability of a phenomenon of nature, and there is little purpose in pointing once again to the frequent waste and duplication of efforts resulting from it. Although some of the individuals involved have expressed readiness to rationalize the structure, there is little likelihood of a merger under the present political configuration. Fortunately, there have been recent instances of effective cooperation on spe-

cific projects. The supervision of FIPE, the fund for investment of education in France, is an example. Such cooperation should be extended, and grants by the Pincus Fund should contribute toward that direction. For next to the rare episodes of effective cooperation, other projects perpetuate the aura of competition and duplication. An example is the setting up of new resource centers by the Torah Department, in communities where such centers already exist (mostly under the aegis of the Youth and *Hehalutz* Department). Another is the refusal of the Torah Department to participate in the setting up of a single National Advisory Committee for both Departments in the United States, or to have the same mechanism deal with the Teachers Exchange program between America and Israel (Gannes, 1979). A master plan dealing with all educational programs in Israel for Diaspora youth (including the Youth and *Hechalutz* Department) is also long overdue.

Is There A Need for a New Multi-Country Body?

What was said earlier in relation to the direct educational agencies based in the Diaspora, to a large extent, holds true for the WZO programs as well: much more is known about their quantitative aspect than about their effectiveness in relation to cost and needs. The efforts in the 1960s and 1970s to establish a supra-national, or multi-country body were made in full awareness that the WZO Departments could not be a substitute for such a body. But perhaps its sponsors did not aim high enough at that time; rather than serving as a mere clearing house, its main function should be in the area of evaluation of existing programs and planning of new ones, of developing strategies for implementation and problem solving in specific local situations. Such a body should be independent of any particular constituency, and should attract the highest professional competence.

In seeking to analyze the earlier failure, Louis Pincus concluded that an independent international professional body could not function under the conditions of Jewish life (Eisenstadt, 1967). Since then, much has changed in the world of Jewish education. Perhaps the time has come to test that harsh judgement against a new reality.

Notes

1. It is painful to note that there exists no equivalent to the network of the *Tarbut* (Jewish Culture) schools that functioned with great effectiveness in Eastern Europe during the interwar period, educating tens of thousands of pupils in schools in Poland, Romania and the Baltic states. The *Horev* and *Beth Jacob* Schools of the *Agudat Yisrael*, which made available more Orthodox forms of

education in pre-World War II Eastern Europe, are now mainly concentrated in Israel where they became the nucleus of the *Aguda's* 'Independent' (*Chinuch Atzmai*) school system. The *Mizrachi's* *Yavneh* schools also disappeared from the European scene but furnished inspiration for Israel's State Religious School system.

2. Whereas the Alliance schools included four hours of Jewish subjects in their elementary schools and five in the secondary schools, the *Otzar HaTorah* and Lubavitcher schools devoted 10–15 hours to these studies (Engelman, 1962, p. 108).
3. While the Jewish Agency has been responsible for practical work in Israel in the areas of immigrant absorption, agricultural settlement, housing, education and welfare, the WZO is primarily Diaspora-oriented and is charged with implementing the Jerusalem Program of 1968, which defines among the aims of Zionism, "The Unity of the Jewish People and the Centrality of Israel in Jewish Life; ... the Preservation of the Identity of the Jewish People through the Fostering of Jewish and Hebrew Education and of Jewish Spiritual and Cultural Values...." The WZO retains 50% representation on the Jewish Agency's governing bodies, but the offices of Chairman of the Jewish Agency and of the World Zionist Executive have been held by one and the same person.
4. The refusal of Orthodox bodies to cooperate with Liberal ones; opposition to co-education among certain Orthodox groups; reluctance to teach Jewish history except in its religious context – these are just a few of the ideological issues which are often compounded by organizational rivalries.

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