יערימו סוד

THE ISRAELI GOVERNMENT'S PLAN
TO TRANSFORM CHAREIDI SOCIETY

A
COMPREHENSIVE
EXPOSÉ

This booklet was released a few years ago in Eretz Yisroel, where it was well-received and sold thousands of copies. Much thanks goes to R' A. F. of Lakewood, who has produced a phenomenal English translation and made this booklet available to the English speaking public.

For dedication opportunities, or to send related material; Machonyaarimusod@gmail.com

הסכמות

באנו בזה לחזק את ידי האברכים החשובים שמפרסמים הקונטרס "יערימו סוד", אשר בו מבואר גודל הסכנות הקשות המאיימות על עתיד הצבור החרדי ע"י המבקשים לשלוח ידם בפך השמן הטהור. כוונת האברכים החשובים לשם שמים, ליידע את הציבור, בבחינת 'דע את האויב', להיות מאוחדים נגדו. ופרסום הקונטרס נעשה ע"פ הדרכה ועצה מאת גדולי הרבנים ומורי ההוראה שליט"א, ובהתאם לדרך המסורה לנו מרבותינו גדולי ישראל שליט"א, ויה"ר שנזכה לתשועת עולמים, ומלאה הארץ וכו'.

We hereby acknowledge our support for the esteemed *avreichim* who are putting out the booklet "Yaarimu Sod", which details the grave dangers threatening the future of the chareidi community, through those who wish to defile the "jar of pure oil."

The intentions of the esteemed *avreichim* are *l'shem Shomayim*, in order to inform the public, in the spirit of "know the enemy". The dissemination of the booklet was undertaken in conjunction with the advice and guidance of leading *rabbanim* and *poskim*, in line with the *hashkafos* we have received from Gedolei Yisroel. May we be *zocheh* to the *geulah shleima*, and that the entire world be filled with the awareness of Hashem.

We brought the booklet to the Mashgiach Harav Don Segal *shlita*, even though it is known that he does not give *haskamos*. After a week we returned, and he said that he read the entire booklet from cover to cover, and the content was presented with clarity, and is indeed frightening. We asked if we can write that the Mashgiach supports the idea of disseminating this booklet. The Mashgiach replied; "Definitely, and with Hashem's help you should succeed."

מכתב מרן הגר"ח מבריסק זצוק"ל

י"ט אלול תרנ"ט

קראתי יתר דבריו בנידון "כת הציונים" שנתחברו ונתאגדו עתה בחזקה, ולא אבוש מלאמר, כי לא אדע איך למצוא מסילות לצאת נגדם. אחרי כי האנשים הלא נודעים כל אחד במקומותם לרעה, ומהם גם מפורסמים בזה, ותכליתם כבר הודיעו ופרסמו כי היא לעקור יסודי הדת, ולתכלית זה גם לכבוש את כל מקומות מושבות ישראל, בכדי שיהיה זאת לעזר למטרתם, וכאשר כבר הודיעו את כל אלה וגילו מחשבתם במכתבי עת.

ומה נוכל עוד להוסיף דבר בזה, האם ייאמנו דברינו עליהם מאשר הם אומרים ומגלים בעצמם – מצאתי כי הצדק עם מע"כ שי', כי ידברו יחד יראי ד' ויצעקו מרה בפרסום בהודעות הדברים מה שהודיעו הציונים בעצמם. וזאת אחת יימצא בה יתירה לטובה כי יהיו הדברים יוצאים מלב טהור, אולי תהיה זאת לרפאות המון בית ישראל אשר עוד לא הושחת לבותם ושבו מעליהם ורפא להם, ויידעו להיזהר בנפשותם לבלי להתחבר לענין שהוא הירוס הדת ומכשול לבית ישראל...

"I am not ashamed to admit that I cannot determine the [proper] path to oppose the Zionists… They have already expressed and publicized that their goal is to uproot the *yesodei hadas*… Will our words be more believed than what they themselves reveal? I believe you are correct, *yirei Hashem* should speak together and bitterly cry-out, by means of publicizing the information that the Zionists themselves have expressed… Perhaps this will be a *refuah* for Klal Yisrael… And they will be able to protect themselves from joining an ideal that is the ruination of our religion and a stumbling block for all of Klal Yisroel… (Hagaon Rav Chaim Soloveitchik *zt"l*)

Topics discussed in this pamphlet:

- Which threat worries the leaders of the State of Israel more than the danger of a nuclear Iran?
- How is the State attempting to counter the expansion of religious influence in the country?
- Will the government proceed with the building of the city Achisamach and other new chareidi cities, or will the shortage of apartments for chareidim continue to be unaddressed?
- What are the dangers lurking in wait for our children?
- Why is the State insisting on appropriating fantastic sums for academic tracks for chareidim?
- What is the single issue in which the Treasury Department is prepared to invest any sum necessary?
- Why has the State put a halt to the building of new chareidi neighborhoods and separate commercial zones?
- Why are secular Jewish foundations outside of Eretz Yisrael dispensing enormous amounts of money with the goal of changing the face of chareidi society?

There are more than enough interested parties who don't want you to find out the answers to these questions. They have a lot of money, and they do their work faithfully.

This booklet is a modest attempt to answer these questions.

Introduction

On the advice of *rabbanim* who perused this booklet before its publication, we were asked to clarify the following points.

This booklet attempts to reveal a wide-ranging, systematic government plan to change the character of chareidi society. This includes prevention of the building of new chareidi cities and neighborhoods; introduction of college studies; encouragement and enticement of men and women to join the corrupt, mixed-gender secular workplace through various means; significant government intrusion into our *chinuch* system, its curriculum and teachers; and more.

The goal of this booklet is to reveal to its readers that all the various government initiatives in these areas are not random, but are part of a cohesive, overarching strategy to utterly change the chareidi population and secularize it.

Numerous experts and organizations have been tasked exclusively with the implementation of this project. They engage in research of chareidi society and produce studies, reports, and suggestions toward this goal. The government has invested tremendous amounts of money in researching and planning this project and toward its implementation. The State sees this as an issue of the highest priority, noting that its very existence and secular nature hinge on this project's success.

Based on the guidance of leading *rabbanim*, it was deemed necessary, for the purpose of presenting a comprehensive picture, to use the services of various databases and research tools to produce this booklet. Many of the sources quoted therein are far from the world of Torah Jewry, such as the general media, academic research papers, and the like. They are cited here in the spirit of "*eis la'asos laHashem*," the Torah principle that there are times when certain prohibited practices are permitted—in this case pursuing sources that are far from the Torah spirit—in order to enable Torah-true *Yiddishkeit* to continue to be observed.

May it be Hashem's will that this booklet be effective in distancing our society from the traps being laid for us by the enemies of *Yiddishkeit*, and may we merit the *geulah sheleimah b'karov*.

Chapter One: An Existential Threat

In the Words of Leaders of the State of Israel

"This danger is the most serious danger to the future of the State, far more than a nuclear Iran." — Efraim Halevy, head of the Mossad.

"We are discussing here a crucial issue, an existential threat to the future of the country." — Professor Ruth Gavison, judge and former candidate for the Supreme Court

“You ask if I sleep well at night? I told Netanyahu, this is an existential threat, more than the Iranian nuclear reactor.” — MK Hasson of the Kadima party, in a media interview

What alarms the heads of the Israeli security forces, judges, and members of the Knesset?

Which mysterious foe endangers the State of Israel in its seventh decade?

The sentiments above have been expressed in various forms by a long list of key figures in the Israeli establishment. All agree that the true danger facing the future of the secular state is the growth of the chareidi community and the increasing religiosity in the traditional and secular public.

The frantic statements expressed above raise several questions. First, are the worries of the establishment justified? Are we in fact dealing with an existential threat to the State of Israel?

It is difficult to deny that from the vantage point of those who live lives devoid of Torah values, the threat of the State turning religious is indeed no less frightening than an Iranian nuclear bomb. From their point of view, this is a complete collapse of the State. Living in a religious country, bound to the laws of the Torah, is as unacceptable to them as living in a Muslim country.

Iranian nuclear reactor in Bushehr

Which leads us to our next question: Are the powers that be going to satisfy themselves with wild proclamations of doom, or are they formulating a response—a series of well-planned government actions to counter this “existential threat”?

It would take an extreme degree of naïveté to imagine that the State of Israel, with all the powerful forces at its disposal, would sit with folded hands and watch passively as the chareidim slowly take control of the country, conquering neighborhood after neighborhood with no resistance.

The Zionist establishment has been battling the chareidi community for well over a century. One hundred years ago, no one would have believed that the Zionists would be able to transform the religious mainstream into a fringe minority, with no practical say on the major policy issues facing the State. However, this is exactly what happened. Does anybody really imagine that today, after all this success, the secular ruling class will sit back and let the chareidim steal the country from them without fighting back with any means possible?

יהדותjudaism

דתיים-לאומיים | העולם החרדי | דת ומדינה | העולם היהודי | מסורת | פרשת השבוע | זמני כניסת שבת

החילונים: רוב חרדי - סכנה לקיום המדינה

72% מהחילונים מודאגים מרוב חרדי, בהם 16% שמאיימים בירידה מהארץ. 68% מהציבור סבורים כי הדרך להשתלבותם בחברה עוברת בשירות צבאי או לאומי. והאם המדינה צריכה לפעול לשינוי המגמה הדמוגרפית? סקר ynet-גשר

ynet פורסם: 06.05.10 , 09:10

החרדים, השכלתם והשתלבותם בשוק העבודה תפסו את הכותרות בשבוע שחלף, ואיתם גם התחזיות לפיהן רוב אזרחי המדינה ישתייכו בעתיד לציבור זה. סקר ynet ועמותת גשר מגלה כי החילונים מודאגים מתרחיש זה, שיש בו לדעתם סכנה אמיתית לקיומה של המדינה,

הפגנה חרדית בירושלים.
ארכיון
צילום: גיל יוחנן

פצצת הפחד של ערוץ 10: רוב חרדי בארץ

ערוץ 10 החליט שעוד מעט החרדים יבואו ומערך החיים החילוני שלי בסכנה. שלטון הרוב יהפוך לשלטון הרב ובעוד 30 שנה יהפכו החילונים למיעוט בישראל. עכשיו זה כבר מרגיש קמפיין

m **תגיות:** חרדים, ערוץ 10, ברלין

אפליקציית | חדשות מתפרצות לפני כולם

ראשי • חדשות • בארץ • חולדאי: "אם החרדים יהיו כאן רוב, הם יהפכו את ישראל לאיראן" • האזינו

חולדאי: "אם החרדים יהיו כאן רוב, הם יהפכו א ישראל לאיראן" • האזינו

20:15 ג' בשבט תשע"ו 13.01.2016 דוד לזר

"ישראל בדרך להפוך למדינה דתית"

פרופ' ארנון סופר מאוניברסיטת חיפה טוען שבשנת 2030 במדינת ישראל יהיה רוב דתי

יצחק טסלר | 9:47 3/4/2011

Recommend 149

תגיות: ארנון סופר, ישראל, יהדות, חרדים, מדינת הלכה

פרופ' ארנון סופר מאוניברסיטת מפרסם מחקר חדש וטוען שישראל בדרך להפוך למדינה דתית, באופן שעלול לסכן את המשך קיומה. המחקר החדש ששמו "ישראל 2010-2030, בדרך למדינה דתית", מהווה המשך למחקרו הקודם של פרופ'

The answer to this question is in fact stated openly, in clear terms, in official government documents, media interviews with leading politicians, and research papers of various Israeli institutions.

In recent years, the government has begun advancing a long list of initiatives whose goal is the integration of the chareidi public into the main melting pots of secular society: college, the secular workplace, the army, and the education system.

A Four-Pronged Approach

The various government plans can be divided into four main categories:

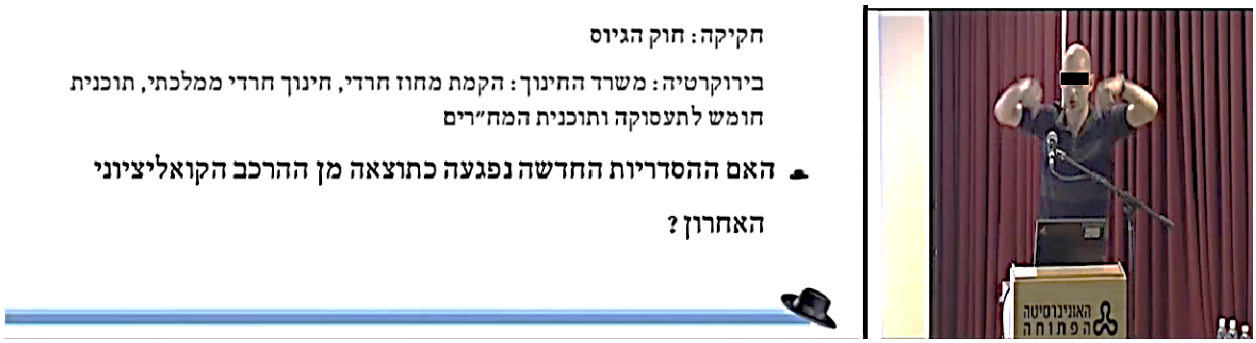
1. Encouragement of the integration of chareidim into academic institutions through the development of multiple college frameworks for chareidi students: The sole difference between these institutions and regular secular universities is the separation of men and women. Beyond this, there is no difference between these frameworks and real colleges. The curriculums are identical, including material that is antithetical to Torah values. The administrations are totally secular, and the staffs of lecturers consist of the same professors who teach in secular universities.

2. The ever-expanding government intrusion into all areas of chareidi education: Government oversight, which in the past was minimal, has become severe and extensive, encroaching into all aspects of chareidi schools. This includes changing the curricula, introduction of new textbooks, meddling with the admissions processes, requirement of specialized teacher training, and more. Included in this category is a wide-ranging slew of government initiatives to develop alternative educational institutions for chareidim, such as

"yeshivah high schools" with full secular studies, army preparatory institutions for chareidim, and a network of "chareidi government (public) schools."

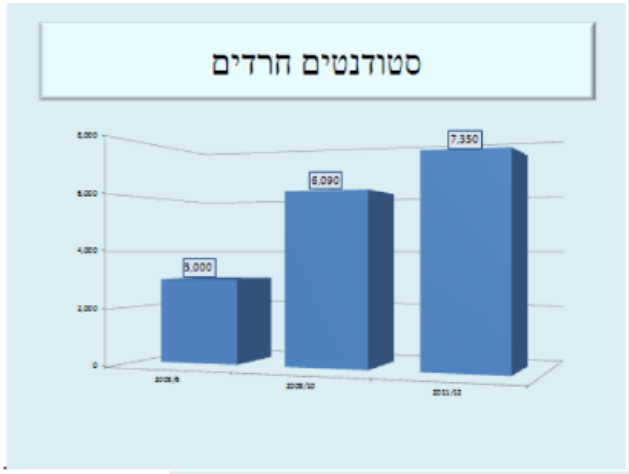
3. Integration of chareidim into secular workplaces, and the prevention of the development of a separate chareidi workplace through the establishment of centers for employment guidance: These centers have spawned an entire network of programs which all operate in the spirit of the above philosophy.

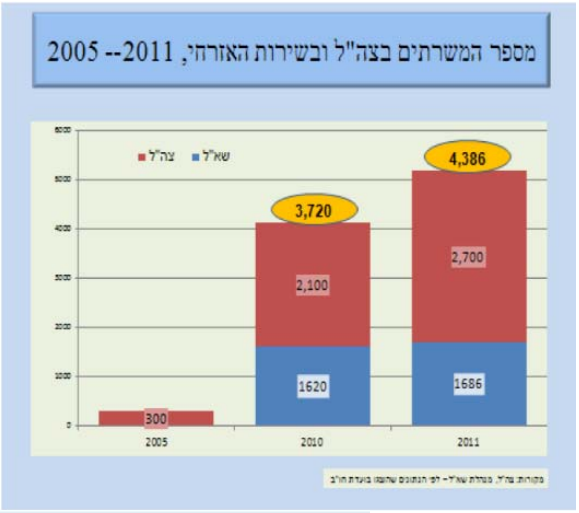
4. Drafting of chareidim into the army: The Supreme Court has struck down the existing draft law on the grounds that it is discriminatory to exempt chareidim from the general draft.

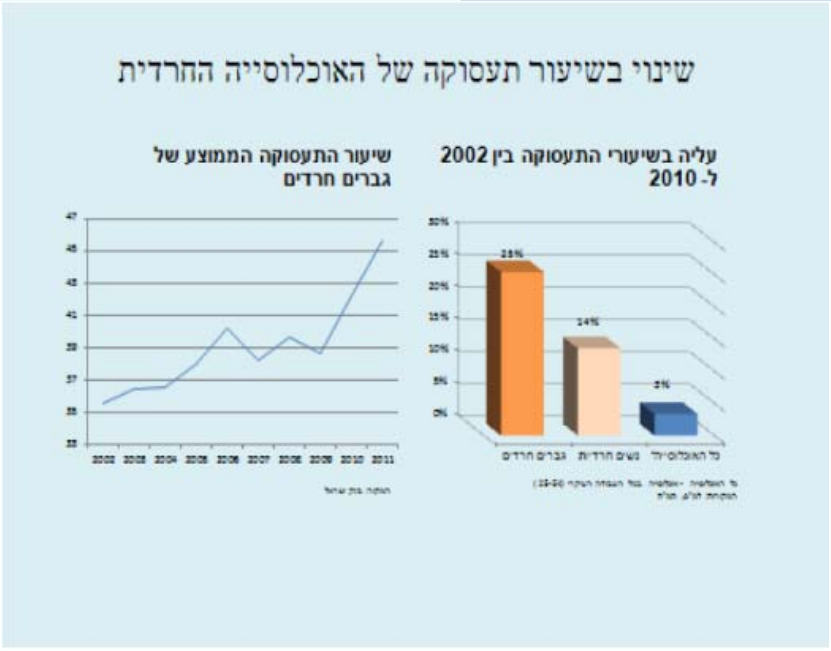


Chareidim researcher Dr. Gilad Malach in a video address to the Open University summarizing the four branches of destruction of the chareidi public: education, academia, integration into the secular workplace, and the Draft Law.

It is important to note that in all of Malach's appearances before leading policy makers, he consistently places the draft issue at the bottom of the list of burning issues of State-chareidi relations, choosing instead to focus primarily on education, academia, and the workforce.



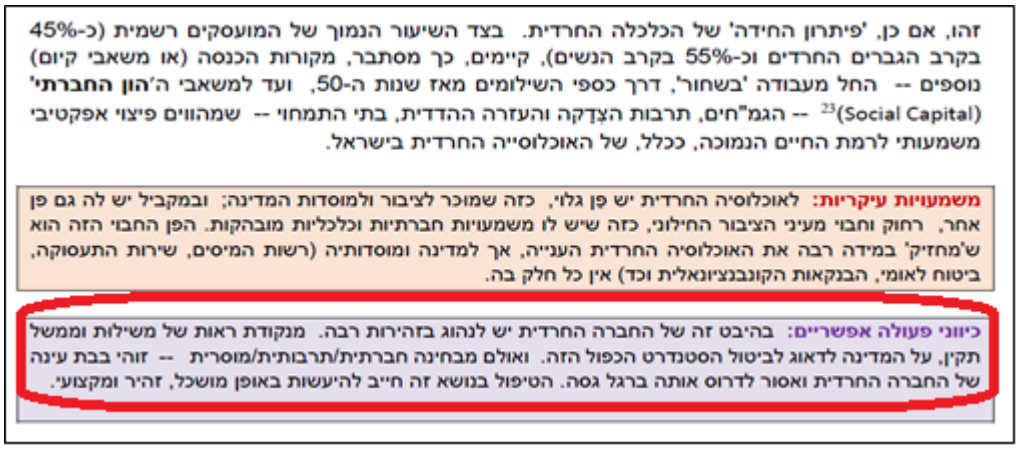




Diagrams and charts detailing the growth of various tracks of chareidi integration

Plans to Destroy Chareidi Society

Chareidim researcher Reuven Gal advises policy makers to combat the chareidi "black market"—*tzedakah* organizations and *gemachs*—in order to economically destroy the chareidi public in an "intelligent, cautious, and professional manner."


זהו, אם כן, 'פיתרון החידה' של הכלכלה החרדית. בצד השיעור הנמוך של המועסקים רשמית (כ-45% בקרב הגברים החרדים וכ-55% בקרב הנשים), קיימים, כך מסתבר, מקורות הכנסה (או משאבי קיום) נוספים -- החל מעבודה 'בשחור', דרך כספי השילומים מאז שנות ה-50, ועד למשאבי ה'**הון החברתי**' (Social Capital)[23] -- הגמ"חים, תרבות הצדקה והעזרה ההדדית, בתי התמחוי -- שמהווים פיצוי אפקטיבי משמעותי לרמת החיים הנמוכה, ככלל, של האוכלוסייה החרדית בישראל.

משמעויות עיקריות: לאוכלוסיה החרדית יש פן גלוי, כזה שמוכר לציבור ולמוסדות המדינה; ובמקביל יש לה גם פן אחר, רחוק וחבוי מעיני הציבור החילוני, כזה שיש לו משמעויות חברתיות וכלכליות מובהקות. הפן החבוי הזה הוא ש'מחזיק' במידה רבה את האוכלוסיה החרדית הענייה, אך למדינה ומוסדותיה (רשות המיסים, שירות התעסוקה, ביטוח לאומי, הבנקאות הקונבנציונאלית וכד) אין כל חלק בה.

כיווני פעולה אפשריים: בהיבט זה של החברה החרדית יש לנהוג בזהירות רבה. מנקודת ראות של משילות וממשל תקין, על המדינה לדאוג לביטול הסטנדרט הכפול הזה. ואולם מבחינה חברתית/תרבותית/מוסרית -- זוהי בבת עינה של החברה החרדית ואסור לדרוס אותה ברגל גסה. הטיפול בנושא זה חייב להיעשות באופן מושכל, זהיר ומקצועי.

"This then is the solution to the mystery of the chareidi economy. Alongside the official low employment rate, there apparently exist parallel sources of income…"social capital" [in the form of] the *gemachim*, a culture of *tzedakah* and social assistance, soup kitchens… The chareidi public has a revealed face…and a [hidden] face, such that has great social and economic effects. This hidden face is that which upholds, to a great degree, the impoverished chareidi public, yet the State and its institution have [little influence] on it…"

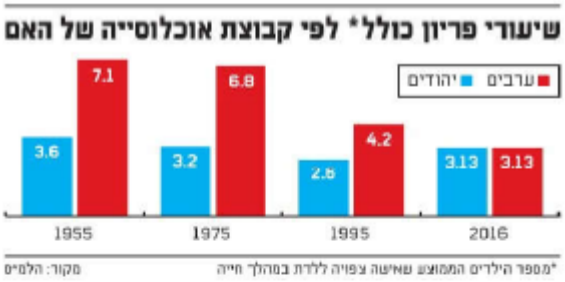
"Possible courses of action… From the standpoint of effective government, the State must seek to nullify this double standard. However, from a social/cultural/ethical standpoint…the State cannot simply trample on it… This issue must be dealt with in an intelligent, cautious, and professional manner."

All of these government plans have their official, stated basis in the assessment that Israeli society is on the threshold of demographic "catastrophe": a religious majority in the country. This conclusion is not a theory based on deductions and guesswork. All the official documents and protocols of the various government initiatives that deal with this subject begin with a warning about the rapidly advancing chareidi majority. Any document or report that explains the government's attempt to reform chareidi society presents in its first pages frightening graphs of the demographic increase of the chareidi community.

And so, for example, when the head of the Chareidi Department of the Education Ministry wanted to explain to his audience the necessity of urgently effecting dramatic changes in chareidi education, he began, naturally, by presenting the demographic threat:

"In twenty-five years the chareidi sector will be 50 percent of the Jewish population. If we want 50 percent of the coming generation to be integrated into the workforce, society, the army, and national security, then we have to deal with their educational system *yesterday*. We are late, and therefore we have begun an extremely accelerated process, through the Department, of improvements in the educational system, its quality, the quality of its teaching methodology, teachers, curriculum, etc." (Meir Shimoni, founder of the Chareidi Department, at a conference).

A report issued by the Shmuel Ne'eman Institute for National Policy's Chareidi Integration Project, dealing with demographic trends in the general and religious populations. The report includes, among other things, plans to constrain the chareidi birthrate through various methods such as encouraging academic institutions for women and education in family planning.



היישובים בעלי שיעור הילודה הגבוה/הנמוך ביותר

בני 19+, באחוזים

מקור: הלמ"ס

הגבוה ביותר		הנמוך ביותר	
מודיעין עילית	66.8	תל אביב־יפו	22.4
ביתר עילית	66.0	קריית ים	22.4
אלעד	63.0	בת ים	22.8
חורה	62.2	מטולה	23.3
תל שבע	61.5	רמת גן	24.3
ערערה בנגב	61.2	נשר	24.4
שגב שלום	59.6	קריית מוצקין	24.7
כסיפה	58.8	חיפה	25.1
רהט	57.7	קריית ביאליק	25.2
לקיה	56.9	נצרת עילית	25.3
בית אל	55.6	גבעתיים	25.3
בית שמש	55.2	בני עייש	25.5
עמנואל	54.6	הרצליה	26.0
רכסים	53.9	אריאל	26.3
קריית יערים	52.3	ראשון לציון	27.1

Graphs in the economic journal *Globes* detailing the average birthrate in chareidi cities as opposed to secular cities

"Unifying" the Jewish Nation

These quotes are just a few examples from a vast ocean of documentation and citations on the subject. In recent years, the Israeli establishment has put out hundreds and thousands of reports, protocols, and recommendations, the product of various organizations and committees working on the government project of secularizing the chareidi population, with the vast majority of them beginning with the familiar ritual of raising the alarm about the advancing chareidi masses.

These documents include clear indications as to the true goal of this project. The government is not seeking to introduce the chareidi community to communal burden-sharing frameworks. Just the opposite. The government seeks to use the excuse of "sharing the burden" as a tool to advance the goal of secularizing the chareidi population and neutralizing this perceived demographic threat.

All these initiatives and government projects are accompanied by noble language and oratory describing the great moral imperative to reunify the Jewish nation. Thus, for example, MK

Ayelet Shaked concluded her historic speech presenting the Shaked Committee Report with the words of Yechezkel HaNavi describing the unifying of the Jewish nation, stating that they shall no longer be like two separate nations or kingdoms (*Yechezkel*, chap. 37).

Shaked and others like her insist that what concerns the government is not a practical need to share the burden, to equally distribute the responsibilities of income taxes and property taxes. A historic, lofty ideal of unification is what guides them. No longer will the chareidi population distance itself from the culture of secular society; rather, there will be one nation of identical ideals—those of secular society.

It goes without saying that this process of unification does not include even the slightest drop of movement from the secular public toward the heritage and Torah of the religious public. Only the chareidim must offer up their sons and daughters for the holy goal of unification.

Universal Values for Chareidi Children

The Education Ministry has in recent years invested heavily in various programs designed to instill universal values (read: global liberal ideals foreign to religious sentiment) in the chareidi education system. These values include democracy, environmentalism, national unity, tolerance of different lifestyles, physical health, and more.

This is how it was described by Faigy Cohen, a leading inspector working for the Chareidi Department of the Education Ministry, at a convention entitled "Goals and Developments in Chareidi Society in Israel." The convention was organized by the Jerusalem Institute for Israeli Research and the Center for Chareidi Societal Research in conjunction with the Chareidi Department of the Education Ministry, the Organization for Educational Progress, the Joint-Israel, and the Netiot Foundation.

"When my colleagues and I dream of change in the chareidi education system, we find ourselves countering the concept that new ideology runs counter to the Torah, a [concept described] by the Chasam Sofer two hundred years ago in the battle against the Reform and Haskalah movements. This…has its source in Halachah, but the concept is deeply established in Orthodoxy and the chareidi world in particular. There are similar ideas expressed frequently in chareidi society…

"The common denominator in all these expressions is that the old is good and the modern is dangerous and threatening, and certainly when coming from the outside, from the Ministry of Education…

"Presented here are eight programs that deal with universal values as developed by the Education Ministry."

At this point, she presented a video entitled "Integration of Extra-Curricular Programs in Chareidi Girls' Elementary Schools" which showcased various programs designed to inculcate universal values based on the frameworks of the Ministry for the general secular public.

Breaking the Chareidi Wall of Separation

Members of the administration of this institution explain that the academic establishment sees in academic education a tool to breach the barriers isolating chareidi society. The paper includes a list of suggestions in this spirit, some of which were adopted by the Council of Higher Education (Malag) in their Five-Year Plan.

1. מניסיוננו, למידה בכיתות אם נפרדות הממוקמות בקמפוס הכללי מאפשרת קהילתיות (המאפיינת את המגזר החרדי) מחד גיסא, והשתלבות מאידך גיסא. לפיכך, ניתן לחשוב על מיסוד קבוצות למידה של סטודנטים חרדיים (כחלק אינהרנטי במערכת הלימודים שלהם), כדי שיתמכו אלה באלה. מצד שני, כדאי לחשוב כיצד פורצים את מחסום ההתבדלות ויוצרים מסגרות **ממוסדות** למפגשים רב-תרבותיים בין סטודנטים חרדים לכלל הסטודנטים הלומדים במוסד הקולט אותם.

בהתייחס לפריצת ההתבדלות, ותוך קבלת עקרון **ההדרגתיות** בהחלת השילוב שבמצגת שלכם, נמליץ (כאפשרות) על מדרג השילוב הבא, כחלק ממהלך כולל להשגת יעד זה:

א. הסטודנטים יקלטו בקמפוס הכללי וילמדו בכיתות אם.

ב. הסטודנטים ילמדו בקורסים מקוונים משותפים שייבחרו בזהירות.

ג. השתתפות בימי עיון משותפים לכלל הסטודנטים.

ד. יצירת קבוצות מחקר (בסדנאות הפרויקט של התואר השני, לדוגמה), בהן סטודנטים חרדים יבחנו נושאי מחקר דומים לאלה שיחקרו סטודנטים שאינם חרדים (כדרך להצגת נתונים ממגזרים שונים בחברה).

צמתי משוב ולימוד משותף מסוג זה יזמנו דיאלוג שאותו אנו רוצים לעודד.

2. הפעלת המדיניות לשילוב מלא ומיידי, באופן לא הדרגתי, במכללה שאיננה בעלת צביון דתי, עלולה לגרום להרס האפשרות לשילוב אמתי ולדיאלוג בין מגזרים שונים. מהלך לא מתפשר כזה עלול להוביל לכך שאוכלוסיית

"In our experience, [having] separate classes for chareidi students on the main campus has shown to be an effective balance between segregation, which allows for social support from peers, and integration…At the same time, in order to breach the wall of separation, we must have established frameworks for multicultural dialogue between chareidi students and the general student population…In order to breach the walls of separation, while at the same time adopting the principle of gradual integration, we present the following steps…" (a policy paper of the Vilensky Education College)

Chapter Two: Integration of Chareidim in the Workforce: Goal or Means?

In Pursuit of Integration

As mentioned earlier, various public officials, researchers, and others in prominent positions have openly declared their true aim that lies behind all the initiatives in the military, academia, workplace, and education systems with regard to the chareidim.

Upon careful examination of the government programs, we discover a paradox: The primary thrust of all the various plans is to effect cultural change in the chareidi population. This imperative is so strong that it overrides all other goals, including the officially stated goal of equal participation of chareidim in the economy and national security.

In other words, the State would rather have a small number of chareidim participating in a way that changes their outlook and lifestyle than have a greater number participate in a way that preserves the divide between them and the nonreligious population.

In order to properly understand this point, let us try to picture how the government would design integration tracks if its true goal was indeed the equal participation of chareidim in the various areas of Israeli public life. If the government indeed desires the result of equal sharing of the social, economic, and security burdens, then it would be logical to do everything possible to tailor the programs to fit the cultural and religious norms that the target community is accustomed to. They would create tracks and economic opportunities where chareidim can feel comfortable. This would be the most basic and elementary starting point necessary to encourage large-scale communal participation.

If, however, all integration initiatives are simply a means toward the true end-goal of secularizing the religious public, the last thing the State would want is to establish a self-contained chareidi marketplace or army and academic tracks with a genuine chareidi identity. Such tracks would not only not further the goal, but would in fact undermine it by perpetuating a chareidi society that is isolated and removed from secular ideals.

Indeed, upon inspection of the government programs, we can unequivocally discern a clear strategy. Not only does the State not seek to create a chareidi economic marketplace or chareidi academic and military institutions, it does all in its power to prevent the emergence of such innovations. This fact is clearly noticeable across the entire spectrum of government-chareidi policy initiatives. The State does everything in its power to prevent the creation of a "chareidi bubble."Furthermore, even when forced to grant certain accommodations in order to encourage enrollment, these are kept to the bare minimum, and are only temporarily.

In the military: There has never been an honest attempt to create units with a true religious atmosphere. (All this is according to their position, however, *gedolei Yisrael* have ruled that even if there would be such a unit, it would still be forbidden to join the army.) All the chareidi programs in the army are built on the foundation of integrating chareidim into the mainstream of the IDF. Project Shachar, the largest integration program in the army, is designed in a way that immediately after basic training, the chareidi recruits are scattered in small groups across secular army bases. The most recent draft law includes a clause forbidding the "exclusion of women" in the IDF, essentially guaranteeing that there will never be true chareidi units devoid of women or female commanders. In addition, the recent reforms introduced by General Gadi Eisenkot have enshrined the totally secular nature of the IDF in a way that makes it impossible to form separate chareidi or National Religious frameworks.

In academia: The Council for Higher Education has set forth a number of severe limitations on chareidi academic frameworks, totally preventing any possibility of building truly religious institutions of higher education. As a result, the curricula learnt in the chareidi tracks are identical to those learnt in secular universities, the professors are secular, and even the administrations of these institutions are secular.

In the workplace: The State of Israel invests colossal sums to integrate the chareidi community into the mixed-gender, nonreligious workplace and at the same time torpedoes any attempt to establish an independent chareidi economic arena which would resonate with the chareidi lifestyle.

In the following pages we present a few examples of the above.

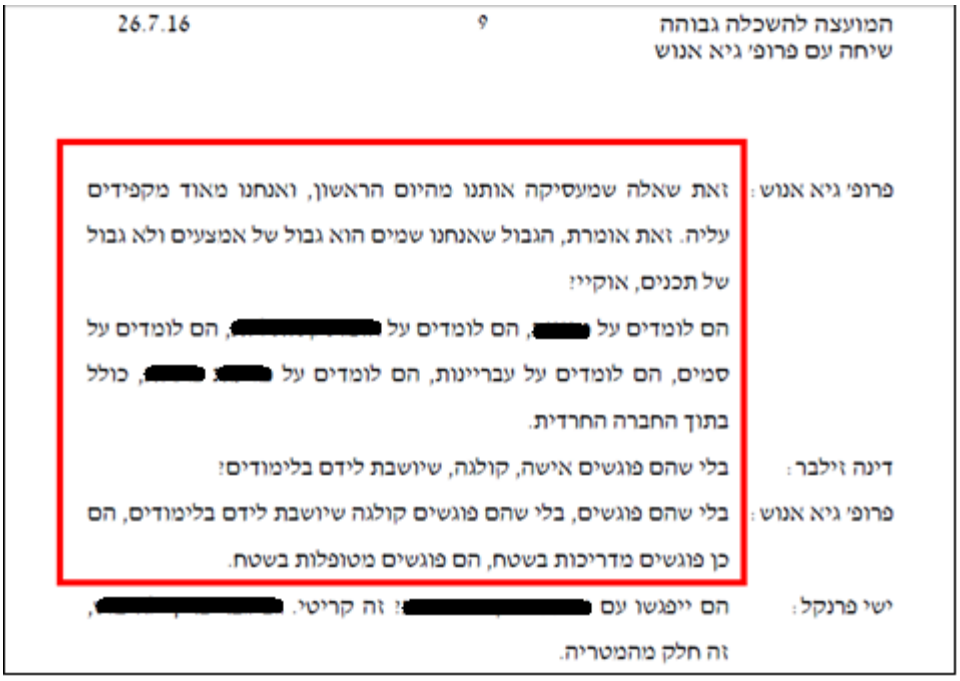
"They Learn Everything"

In recent years the government has invested huge sums of money in the foundation of academic tracks for the chareidi public. The colorful ads that fill the pages of local flyers in chareidi neighborhoods do not reveal the true goal of these programs. From the local weeklies come forth kindly words, such as "to support a Torah household" and "earn a respectable *parnassah*."

However, when we examine the official documents of the Council for Higher Education, we discover the heads of academia explaining clearly their motivation in opening these tracks: not the support of the Torah household, but the opposite—the departure of the chareidi public from the world and values of Torah and its assimilation into secular society.

This past year, the Council released a lengthy report on chareidi academia in preparation for their Five-Year Plan. To gather information for this report, public hearings were held in which hundreds of opinions were solicited from across the academic world. The main topic of discussion at these hearings was the question: How do we regulate chareidi academic tracks in order to prevent the formation of a "chareidi bubble" in academia, which would operate according to chareidi societal norms?

Below is a transcript in which a nonreligious professor who lectures in a "chareidi" college reassures the Council members that chareidi students are "privileged" to study all the abominations of humanity in exactly the same way as any college student in Paris or Tel Aviv.



המועצה להשכלה גבוהה 9 26.7.16
שיחה עם פרופ' גיא אנוש

פרופ' גיא אנוש: זאת שאלה שמעסיקה אותנו מהיום הראשון, ואנחנו מאוד מקפידים עליה. זאת אומרת, הגבול שאנחנו שמים הוא גבול של אמצעים ולא גבול של תכנים, אוקיי?

הם לומדים על [redacted], הם לומדים על [redacted], הם לומדים על סמים, הם לומדים על עבריינות, הם לומדים על [redacted], כולל בתוך החברה החרדית.

דינה זילבר: בלי שהם פוגשים אישה, קולגה, שיושבת לידם בלימודים?

פרופ' גיא אנוש: בלי שהם פוגשים, בלי שהם פוגשים קולגה שיושבת לידם בלימודים, הם כן פוגשים מדריכות בשטח, הם פוגשים מטופלות בשטח.

ישי פרנקל: הם ייפגשו עם [redacted]? זה קריטי. [redacted], זה חלק מהמיטריה.

Another contributor to the same report stated clearly that the goal of academic studies for chareidi women is to take them out of the "chareidi greenhouse."

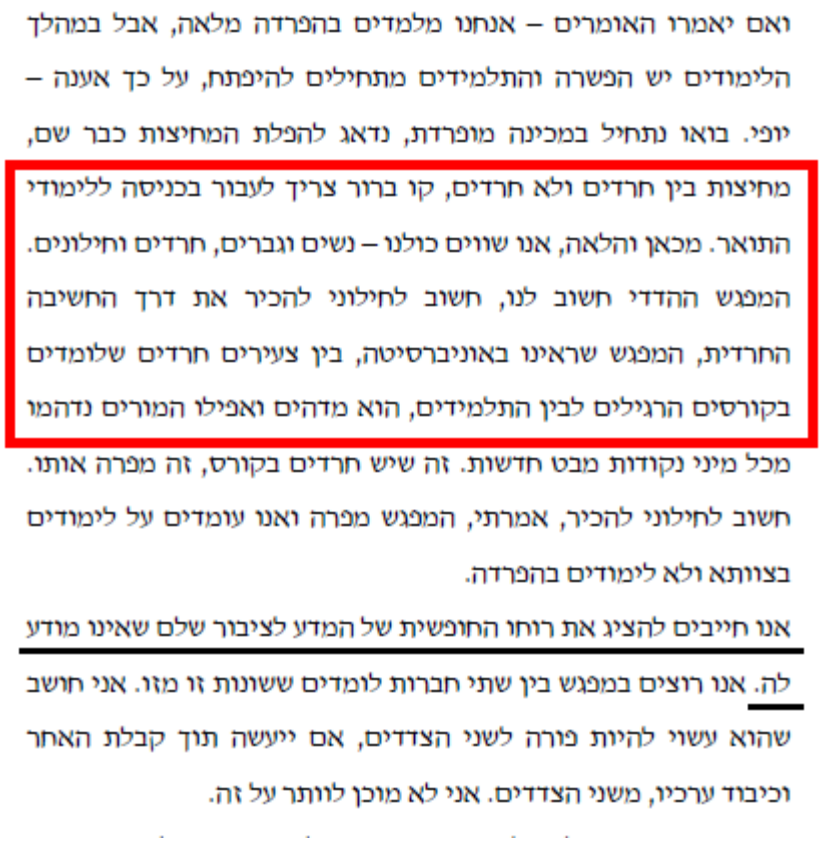
דבר שני, שמאוד מאוד חשוב לי להדגיש – בעצם היותה של אישה חרדית שיצאה ולמדה בכיתה נפרדת בתוך מכללה כללית כבר מבחינתה, מבחינת החוויה האישית שלה, היא כבר יצאה מאזור הנוחות. יש לי סטודנטיות שיוצאות היום למכללת לווינסקי, בתל-אביב. אז עצם זה שהן מסתובבות שם במסדרונות, עצם זה שהן מתחככות עם הצוות שהוא לא יודע להאיר להן פנים כמו שהן רגילות וקוד התרבות הוא אחר, החוויה הזאת כשלעצמה, כבר מוציאה אותן לדרך אחת.

ואם בסופו של דבר, בלי שאמרנו, בטקס יום הזיכרון שליש מהסטודנטיות שלי נכנסו לטקס וישבו והיו שם, אז מבחינתנו, על הדרך, יש סטודנטיות שקיבלו עוד משהו, שלא היה קורה אם לא היינו נותנים להן את זה.

"A chareidi woman who went out and studied in a separate class in a regular college was…already stepping out of her comfort zone… The fact that they [rub shoulders] with a secular staff [unaccustomed to their cultural code]…this experience alone sets them on a different path."

With these words the speaker revealed the true aim of the academic establishment: not "to provide a chareidi woman the opportunity to earn a respectable income," but to encourage her to "leave the comfort zone" of the chareidi world, to mingle and rub shoulders with secular society.

Another speaker and contributor to the same report, Professor Oded Navon, clarified the obligation of the academic institution to "break down walls" between chareidim and the secular population.



ואם יאמרו האומרים – אנחנו מלמדים בהפרדה מלאה, אבל במהלך הלימודים יש הפשרה והתלמידים מתחילים להיפתח, על כך אענה – יופי. בואו נתחיל במכינה מופרדת, נדאג להפלת המחיצות כבר שם, מחיצות בין חרדים ולא חרדים, קו ברור צריך לעבור בכניסה ללימודי התואר. מכאן והלאה, אנו שווים כולנו – נשים וגברים, חרדים וחילונים. המפגש ההדדי חשוב לנו, חשוב לחילוני להכיר את דרך החשיבה החרדית, המפגש שראינו באוניברסיטה, בין צעירים חרדים שלומדים בקורסים הרגילים לבין התלמידים, הוא מדהים ואפילו המורים נדהמו מכל מיני נקודות מבט חדשות. זה שיש חרדים בקורס, זה מפרה אותו. חשוב לחילוני להכיר, אמרתי, המפגש מפרה ואנו עומדים על לימודים בצוותא ולא לימודים בהפרדה.

אנו חייבים להציג את רוחו החופשית של המדע לציבור שלם שאינו מודע לה. אנו רוצים במפגש בין שתי חברות לומדים ששונות זו מזו. אני חושב שהוא עשוי להיות פורה לשני הצדדים, אם ייעשה תוך קבלת האחר וכיבוד ערכיו, משני הצדדים. אני לא מוכן לוותר על זה.

"[Although the classes are separate]…there is a "thawing," and the students become more open-minded… Let us…break down…the walls between chareidim and non-chareidim; a clear line must be crossed when studying for a degree. From here on, we are all equal—women and men, chareidi and secular…We must present the free spirit of science to an entire community that is not aware of it."

Yet another professor explained at the same hearing that the main goal of a university is to "overturn the worldview." In his words: "The basic starting point is that the objective of a university as a university is to 'change the worldview.' A secondary objective is broadening education to the nation and people."

הוא מצומצם, הוא לא מאפשר להם להיפתח אל העולם הרחב, הוא מגביל את המוח שלהם ואני אומר לכם באופן מקצועי כחוקר מוח, אנחנו עושים דבר אסור למוח.

This same methodology is even more glaring when it comes to economic programs and incentives. The government has invested a fortune to encourage chareidi men to enter the workforce, but not a shekel of all this funding has gone toward the most obvious step of developing commercial zones designed for the chareidi community and in step with its needs.

Below is the cover page of a report hundreds of pages long which serves as the blueprint of the government's "grand national objective" of integrating chareidim into the workforce.

This document is full of strategies and suggestions dedicated toward this goal, by way of army tracks and academic programs, but does not include a single word on the most practical solution of setting up workplaces designed for the chareidi community and fostering an independent chareidi economic marketplace.

Which recommendations does the report include? The Liba curriculum, which introduces large-scale secular studies to chareidi schools, academia, the military, incentives to open "chareidi high schools," reforming the girls' seminaries, and more. All of the above are designed to draw the chareidi worker to the secular culture and mind-set, not true economic independence.

Perhaps the State's economic experts never thought of this most simple and necessary idea? This is not the case. Indeed, the State itself has experimented with this formula in the not-too-distant past.

In 2004, the government authorized the trailblazing formation of commercial zones geared toward chareidi women who sought employment in the hi-tech sector. In conjunction with this decision, the tech firm Matrix set up offices in Modi'in Illit and other cities. These projects subsequently became a symbol of dizzying success. In a few short years, over two thousand chareidi women found employment at these workplaces.

But incomprehensibly, despite the great success, the government moved to totally shut down the strategy of developing workplaces targeted to chareidim and instead opted to adopt the opposite approach.

Since 2004, the government has invested millions of shekels to bring the chareidi worker into the secular marketplace, where they face roadblocks at every turn. Instead of setting up an appropriate framework to fit the lifestyle of the chareidi public, the government insists on coercing the chareidi worker to adapt themselves to the nonreligious workplace, a move that lacks any logic, from either a social or an economic standpoint.

Someone not familiar with the language of the chareidim researchers won't grasp the point. "Quality employment" from the mouth of the chareidiologists is synonymous with "work in the secular marketplace."

At the top of the list of researchers' suggestions is, of course, getting an academic degree. In addition, they recommend minimizing the birthrate in the chareidi sector…Thanks, but no thanks.

החרדים זקוקים למקומות עבודה איכותיים

ד"ר גלעד מלאך :מאת |באפריל 2016 20

אנו נמצאים בחלון הזדמנויות שבו מעצבי המדיניות רואים את החשיבות העליונה בקידום תעסוקה איכותית לחרדים. מנגד, צעירים ויזמים חרדים מסתערים על האפשרות לשילוב בין חרדיות וקריירה מוצלחת, תופעה שעד לאחרונה הִיתה נדירה. האם נדע לנצל את שעת הכושר?

"Chareidim need quality employment opportunities."
Behind the caring words hide poisonous intentions.

An Insatiable Appetite: The State and the National Religious Community

One of the strongest proofs of the Israeli government's nefarious intentions is its relationship with the National Religious sector.

If the chareidi community is one that, in the eyes of the secular public, doesn't contribute to the economic and security needs of the country, the National Religious community is its diametric opposite. No other sector participates as much and as enthusiastically as the National Religious. Everybody works, the men serve in the IDF, and the girls perform National Service. Seemingly, then, there would be no need for the government to "reeducate" this community. However, in recent years, in tandem with the various plans for reforming chareidim, the same methods have been applied to the National Religious community. The government has begun

increasingly interfering in its lifestyle and institutions. Sources from within the National Religious camp report that the "reforms" that have sown destruction in recent years in their community are the same as those being introduced into the chareidi community: interfering with education, academia, training teachers under government supervision (through the Teacher Training programs of Hesder yeshivos), using army service as a method of social engineering, drafting girls, and more.

ראשי » יהדות » מגזין

גלוש ב - gזח מהסלולר

המסדר יעבור לדוס: מי מפחד מהחיילים הדתיים?

בשמאל זעמו לגלות את קיומה של מזימה דתית-לאומית להשתלט על הצבא. בימין טענו כי זוהי קונספירציה נגד קצינים בני הציונות הדתית. וד"ר ראובן גל, מי שחולל את המהומה, משוכנע ששני הצדדים טועים, אבל מרוצה מקיומו של הוויכוח

יותם יזרעאלי, דיוקן | 16:20 30/9/2013

תגיות: חיילים דתיים, צה"ל,ד"ר ראובן גל,

G+1 1 המלץ 42

נורת הבקרה של ד"ר ראובן גל, מומחה ליחסי צבא וחברה, נדלקה בעקבות תמונה שפורסמה בעיתון לפני כמה שנים. נראו בה כמה מטיחני חטיבת כפיר, שהניפו שלט נגד פינוי יישובים יהודיים. "קראתי את הידיעה ואמרתי לעצמי, יש פה בעיה", מספר גל. "כבר

One of the most open demonstrations of this is the use of IDF service as a means of secularizing the National Religious youth, who all serve in any case.

In recent years, the National Religious community has been in a state of constant conflict with the leaders of the military, especially with the head of the IDF, General Eisenkot, who has introduced numerous reforms in the army that strengthen its secular nature while trampling on the sensitivities of National Religious soldiers and coercing them to participate in activities that betray their conscience. Behind these policies stand a number of reports, published by social and military researchers, that claim that the National Religious sector seeks to take control of the army.

The person who, more than anyone else, is facilitating this effort is Dr. Reuven Gal, leading chareidim researcher and head of the "Chareidi Integration Project" of the Shmuel Ne'eman Institute. Dr. Gal publicized a report which caused a public storm, entitled "Between the Kippah and Beret," in which he makes the case that the National Religious sector may take control of the military.

The list of reforms introduced in the military by the current chief of staff is wide-ranging and includes the introduction of Reform "rabbis" into the education corps. However, the flagship project of the IDF's secular initiative is what the media calls the "Feminist Revolution." Below is a document published by the Liba Center which spells out the various new rules set in place regarding women's service.

The Main Changes:

1. Abolishment of the rule that women's service is dependent on professional military capability (i.e., women must be included even at the expense of the efficiency of the unit).
2. Commanders are encouraged to promote mixed events as much as possible and prevent segregation.
3. Soldiers must participate in ceremonies with women singers.
4. Officers may not refuse to serve in mixed units.
5. A soldier must participate in all cultural activities and may not refuse on religious grounds without special permission from the commander of the unit.
6. Religious solders must participate in mixed-gender training sessions, excluding physical contact.

The fact that the leaders of the State of Israel have taken upon themselves the mission of reeducating the National Religious community speaks loudly and clearly as to the true intentions

of the policy makers. Neither “sharing the burden” nor economic participation is what drives them. What causes them to lose sleep is one thing: the religious demographic. This is what lies behind the movement to secularize the chareidi public, and the National Religious public as well. The Israeli establishment feels threatened by a chareidi majority, but even a National Religious majority is unacceptable to it.

הרס עצמי בצה"ל - החוברת המלאה

לקראת השבת הקרובה תפיץ התנועה למדינה יהודית חוברת הגות ומחשבה מפי נשיא ישיבת הר המור, הרב צבי ישראל טאו.

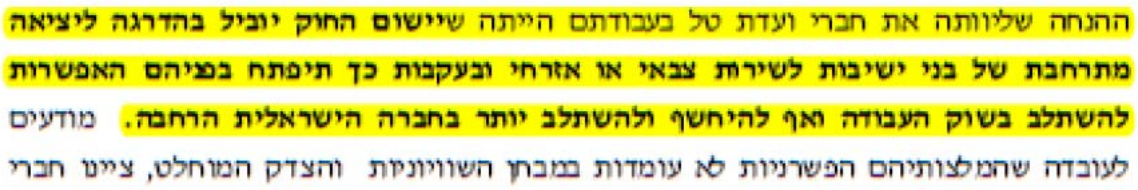
עוזי ברוך , י"ז באדר תשע"ז 09:50 15/03/17

The attitude of the government toward the National Religious camp teaches us another important lesson: Let us not imagine that the nonreligious establishment will be satisfied if we compromise on a few points. Even if we act like the National Religious, who have long since been subsumed into the general secular public, this will not satiate the destructive desires of the secular leadership. The battle is between two opposite poles which can never meet: pure Torah truth against the mortal enemies of everything holy.

שימוש בשירות צבאי כמנוף לכניסה לחברה הוא מהלך שבוצע במדינות רבות. הדוגמא המובלטת היא, כמובן, ארה"ב, שבה השירות הצבאי – באמצעות "מענק החייל המשוחרר" (המוכר בשם "G.I. Bill"[29]) היווה הדרך הטובה ביותר ליוצאי השכבות החלשות להיכנס ללימודים אקדמיים וכך להתקדם כלכלית וחברתית[30].

מלכתחילה לא התכוונה "ועדת טל" (או בשמה הרשמי "הועדה לגיבוש ההסדר הראוי בנושא גיוס בני הישיבות") לפתור את הבעיה התעסוקתית של החברה החרדית. היא לא שאפה גם להגיע לפיתרון מוחלט של בעיית חוסר השוויון מצד הקהילה החרדית. המטרות שהוועדה שמה לפניה (תוך פרשנות של כתב מינויה הרשמי) היו:

1. מציאת פתרון **ישים ומעשי** (לבעיית גיוס בני הישיבות) -- ולא תיאורטי.
2. יצירת **מגמה** של צמצום **הניכור והקיטוב** הקיים בין חילונים לחרדים.[31] (ההדגשות שלי; ר.ג.)


ההנחה שליוותה את חברי ועדת טל בעבודתם הייתה שיישום החוק יוביל בהדרגה ליציאה
מתרחבת של בני ישיבות לשירות צבאי או אזרחי ובעקבות כך תיפתח בפניהם האפשרות
להשתלב בשוק העבודה ואף להיחשף ולהשתלב יותר בחברה הישראלית הרחבה. מודעים
לעובדה שהמלצותיהם הפשרניות לא עומדות במבחן השוויוניות והצדק המוחלט, צייט חברי

Not security considerations, not "sharing the burden," but "decreasing the polarization of the chareidi and nonreligious camps and "exposure to secular society" (a report on the previous draft law, Chok Tal, put out by researchers at the Shmuel Ne'eman Institute

"They Don't Even Attempt to Hide It"

The following testimony was given by MK Michael Ben-Ari of the National Religious Bayit Yehudi party. In an interview with a chareidi media outlet, he reported severe statements he heard while sitting on the Security Committee of the Knesset. These statements shook even him, a National Religious representative, and reveal the nature of the military draft and academia:

"There is an ideological position which is expressed openly on the Committee—they don't even attempt to hide it—and it is as follows: The chareidi public is a large community, it is constantly increasing, and it threatens the character of the State. Even before becoming an actual majority, it already threatens the nature and character of the country.

"So how do we stop it? We use the military. They use the phrase 'melting pot,' i.e., to put something in one way and it comes out different.

"This was said openly on the Security Committee, not even in a closed hearing. It was open to the media. I have the protocols with me of the statements made by Dr. Oren Admin, Professor Yedidyah Stern, and others.

"They say openly: A chareidi student who enters college comes in one way and leaves a different person. This is how we will effect change, and through the army…

"I am a Zionist, I served in the army, my children serve in the army, I was injured in Shechem, but I fully understand that for the chareidi community this is an actual *gezeiras shmad*. I understand the meaning of the term *gezeiras shmad*...My children are more immune—they have the exposure to this—and the truth is that they are also not guaranteed; I tell them this all the time.

"But to take a seventeen-year-old chareidi *bachur* to all this? I can't elaborate in detail to the chareidim, but you have no idea what kinds of *nisyonos* the soldiers go through…"

Chapter Three: In Support of the Destruction of Torah

An Unlimited Budget

If we want to get a clear picture of the boundless motivation the government possesses to secularize the Torah community, we can acquire some perspective by examining the

unfathomable sums the State is prepared to dispense to any program designed to integrate chareidim into the secular mainstream. How much money are they willing to invest in converting chareidi society?

The real answer seems to be, any amount needed.

This was stated explicitly by Economic Minister Naftali Bennet, who declared the following at a meeting of the Government Audit Committee on August 6, 2013: "My directives were…not to limit because of budgetary constraints any action that could bring chareidim" (protocol 42 of the Government Audit Committee meeting).

This unique declaration, effectively saying, "Take as much money as you want," may sound exaggerated, but it accurately portrays the reality on the ground in this sphere.

In Support of the Chareidi Draft

The current budget for yeshivos and chareidi education stands at 1.2 billion shekel. However, the government is prepared to spend three and a half times that amount to draft yeshivah students.

In fact, one researcher wrote, "The chareidi draft will increase the deficit by 4 billion shekel" (Eran Hildesheim, "The True Economy," February 11, 2013, based on a study published by the Knesset's Center for Research and Information).

How much money is currently being spent by the IDF to integrate chareidim? The financial newspaper the *Marker* puts the figure spent monthly on a chareidi soldier at 9,500 shekel, 5,500 more than the average soldier. If we multiply this difference by 5,000 chareidi soldiers currently serving (translator's note: this number is currently much higher – over 7,000) times 12 months a year, we come to the astronomical sum of 300 million shekels a year.

It must be emphasized that this fantastic number does not include the massive budget dedicated to encouraging enlistment. This huge project includes hundreds of recruiters, PR firms, psychologists, offices, and payments to "chareidi" media such as "chareidi" radio and websites which are full of ads, videos, and propaganda disguised as news, all meant to promote chareidi enlistment.

In short, we are dealing with a mind-boggling project. It is hard to fathom how so much money can be spent on a single issue.

מדורים

פרשנות

חייל חרדי עולה לצבא 9,500 שקל בחודש - חייל רגיל רק 4,000 שקל

חייל חרדי שמתגייס בגיל 22 לאחר לימודים בישיבה ומקבל תשלומי משפחה עולה לצה"ל כפול מחייל רגיל ■ גיוס של אלפי חרדים בגיל מבוגר יגדיל את המעמסה הכלכלית על הקופה הציבורית

127 120 שמור

סמי פרץ | התראות במייל
07:02 14.02.2013

In Support of Academia

In the Five-Year Plan of the Council for Higher Education, the Vatat (budgetary arm of the Council responsible for the funding of higher education) set aside the unprecedented amount of 1 billion shekel to fund chareidi academic programs.

To appreciate the significance of this amount, bear in mind that numerous chareidi academic institutions in operation today are the result of a much smaller budget allocated by the Vatat in previous years. Can we even begin to fathom the destruction that will be caused when this additional billion shekels start to flow into the pipeline?

In addition, the Economic Ministry has set aside a budget of half a billion shekel for centers for economic placement dedicated to directing chareidi workers toward the secular marketplace.

זירת הדעות

רוצים שהחרדים ייצאו לעבוד? חלקו להם גזרים

יש שתי דרכים פוזיטיביות להגדלת המוטיבציה של חרדים לצאת לעבודה: האחת טמונה בהגדלת הכדאיות לעבודה גם בשכר נמוך, והשנייה היא הגדלת התמריצים לכניסה ללימודים אקדמיים

גלעד מלאך |
18:46 23.05.2017

At the Government Audit Committee hearings mentioned earlier, the economy minister clarified that this half a billion shekel is just the beginning and that this sum can expand significantly in the future in order to guarantee that "no action necessary for chareidi assimilation will be limited by monetary constraints."

Hybrid Yeshivos

In recent years the government has adopted a number of resolutions to support the foundation of hybrid frameworks known as *yeshivot tichoniot* (yeshivah high schools) for chareidim. This has resulted in the formation of many such institutions. It is important to understand that the government did not need to take any actions to accomplish this—except one: setting aside a large budget for this purpose. As recommended in a report prepared by the Israeli Institute for Democracy and adopted by the Economic Ministry as a blueprint for its approach to the chareidi

public, “The government shall allocate strategic support for chareidi *yeshivot tichoniot*.” This clause may seem like a dry statement in a long, boring report full of technical jargon, but from the minute it was adopted by the government and became an official state policy of prioritizing these institutions, it translated itself into a long list of destructive cells, active and teeming with life.

Below is a list of hybrid yeshivos and pre-military institutions that have been established with the help of this funding: Derech Chaim, Chachmei Lev, Chedvas HaTorah, Midrasha Chareidit LaTzeirim, Meorot, Derech Emunah, Kfar Sitrin, Mesivta Bet Shemesh, Karmiel, Chelkat Yaakov, Menoras HaMaor, Oraytah, Shaarei Rachamim, and more. In addition, five pre-military academies have opened for chareidim: Bnei Bina-Mevaseret Tzion, Tal Chermon, Tiferet Arazim, Harerei Tzion, and Gevurat Ari.

Students of the Yeshivah Tichonit Chachmei Lev at a book fair in Tel Aviv, demonstrating their “enlightened” enthusiasm for current Israeli literary works “full of depth and meaning”

From “Bible Criticism” to opening a “Yeshivah” for Chareidi Youth

A particularly telling description of the new generation of “chareidi” *yeshivot tichoniot* can be found in a report of the Council of Higher Education. There, a professor in a secular university reports how a chareidi student of his, who studied Bible criticism and other such “enlightened” ideas, subsequently returned to the chareidi sector and opened a *yeshivah tichonit*.

דוברת: מאיזה מוסד?

פרופ' מארן ניהוף: באוניברסיטה העברית, כמובן.

בחוג שלי, אנחנו מלמדים גישה היסטורית, ביקורתית, למסורת היהודית ואנחנו גם משלבים בחוג לפעמים תלמידים חרדים ואני בעצמי זכיתי להדריך ואפילו באמת היו לנו יחסים מאוד קרובים, כי הוא היה תלמיד מבריק, שבא מהמגזר החרדי וגם אחרי הלימודים, אחרי שהוא זכה בהרבה מלגות MA, הוא גם חזר למגזר החרדי והקים ישיבה שמשלבת לימודי ליבה מההשכלה הכללית. והניסיון שלי היה מאוד חיובי, התלמידים שהגיעו מהמגזר הזה הם היו נכונים וצמאים מאוד

In addition to the government budgets described above, there is another source of funding for these institutions: donations from secular and Modern Orthodox foundations abroad.

Here is a quote from the CEO of Keren Kemach, an organization dedicated to encouraging *kollel* men to enter the workforce, said at a forum in the Open University: "It's wonderful that there is such an important philanthropy… I don't recognize another philanthropy like this, with so much money."

However, it is not only these targeted budgets that assist the government in its plan to secularize chareidi society.

Of particular concern is the cynical manipulation of the yeshivos by the government bureaucracy, as the paltry yeshivah budget turns into a specialized tool to advance the draft quotas demanded by the State. The government takes advantage of the precarious financial state of the yeshivos and exploits it to its advantage.

For example; it has recently begun promoting a policy of increased funding for yeshivos encouraging army enlistment. This is done in a dual format. First, the standard budget for a "yeshivah promoting enlistment" is substantially higher than that of a regular yeshivah. This principle is spelled out in the coalition agreement of the present government (October 5, 2015):"In recognition of the importance of Torah study and the importance of serving in the IDF…Torah institutions that include army service (Hesder) and Torah institutions that encourage enlistment…will be funded at a rate of no less than 65 percent of the rate for a student in a pre-military academy."In addition, for each student entering a military framework, the institution from which he came receives a significant grant.

Moreover, the government has adopted a cunning strategy whereby each student who enters the military continues to be registered on the books of the yeshivah he came from, and the yeshivah continues to receive the same funding for him as it did before he joined the military.

In the words of Meir Shimoni, head of the Chareidi Department of the Ministry of Education: "I am a big believer in the carrot-and-stick approach. A lot of carrot and a little stick. But a lot of carrot. The more carrot, the better. At the same time, we need to make the necessary demands."

The Power of the Purse

When it comes to the institutions dedicated to reforming chareidi society, we can see in a very real way how a few clauses in the budget have tremendous power. Any such clause immediately transforms itself into facts on the ground. For example, within a few years from when the Council for Higher Education (Malag) began to give out grants to universities who open a branch for chareidim, there were tens of such branches. A few years passed, and the Malag decided to embark on the next step: the Integrated Model. Whereas in the past the chareidi frameworks had complete separation between men and women, religious and secular, the Malag now sought to introduce new frameworks where this segregation is being continuously limited. The new model, like the old, was set into motion through the most effective weapon—the use of budgetary tools.

If we were wondering where the 1 billion shekel set aside in the Five-Year Plan of the Malag to increase chareidi integration was going to, here is our answer.

A list of chareidi academic frameworks; many more have opened since this list was compiled.

A diagram of the Malag showing the increase of the Integrated Model, which consists of partially separate chareidi classes on the main secular campus, as opposed to the classic model of fully separate chareidi classes at an off-site location.

Chapter Four: Like Mice in a Laboratory

Chareidi-Research Foundations

One of the most central roles in the vast chareidi-reform project is filled by foundations dedicated to the research of the chareidi community.

In recent times, there has developed in the State of Israel a new field of research. It's a new branch of sociology: understanding chareidi society. These studies—like any other professional project—are carried out by numerous researchers who are employed and funded by various entities to produce reports and studies about chareidi society and to provide leading figures in the government with suggestions and strategies for formulating government policy vis-a-vis this sector of the population.

Dangerous Research

Here are the names and faces of some of the leading chareidim researchers (two out of dozens). These are people who have dedicated their lives to formulate plans to dismantle chareidi society.

The most popular chareidim researcher, Dr. Gilad Malach, head of the Chareidi Project of the Israeli Democracy Institute and lecturer at Bar-Ilan University. Malach routinely appears before leading policy makers of the State of Israel. From his words, it is evident how this academic researcher has succeeded in cracking the most sensitive codes of chareidi society. In the picture, Dr. Malach is enthusiastically lecturing at a conference dedicated to chareidi integration.

Clinical psychologist Dr. Reuven Gal formerly served as chief psychologist for the army, as head of National Service, and in other leading positions. Today, Gal serves as head of the Chareidi Integration Project at the Shmuel Ne'eman Foundation for National Policy and appears regularly before commissions and government forums dealing with chareidi-secular relations. He

has written six books and dozens of research papers on the subject. Like Malach, he runs from committee to committee, educating the policy makers about chareidim.

A study done by a team of chareidim researchers for the Malag presenting professional advice to the heads of Israeli academia on how to handle the chareidi community

מאמינים בשילוב - שילוב האוכלוסיה החרדית בכלכלה הישראלית

מוסד שמואל נאמן
למחקר מדיניות לאומית

ידיעון

מאמינים בשילוב

פרויקט שילוב האוכלוסייה החרדית בכלכלה הישראלית

גליון מס' 10
חשון תשע"ג
נובמבר 2012

נקודות מעניינות:

חזקי פרקש

"פעילויותיו למען הכלל, הן כנראה חלק מהדי-אן-איי של האיש"

פתיחה

הגיליון הקודם של הידיעון "מאמינים בשילוב" יצא לאור לפני כ- 5 חודשים. אז היינו בעיצומו של המאבק התקשורתי-פוליטי סביב נושא גיוס חרדים וביטול יחוק טלי ע"י בג"צ. מטבע הדברים, הגליון התרכז פחות בסיפורי השילוב ויותר בניסיון להרגיע את הרוחות ולהפוך את הדיון המתלהם לענייני וסובלני.

בינתיים -- הגרעין האירני, הבחירות בארה"ב, התקציב, היוֹרָה בצפון והיָרי בדרום השכיחו את גיוס החרדים, או לפחות הרחיקו אותו מעיני המצלמות. והפלא ופלא: נראה שהאווירה הקשה נמוגה, מנהיגים משני הצדדים החלו לעשות צעדים אחד לכיוון השני, שילוב החרדים בתעסוקה ובהכשרה שוב עומד על הפרק ושוב ניתן לכבד את מי שחושב אחרת בלי להסתכן בגינוי צעקני – ודוגמאות לכך תראו בתוך הגיליון.

An academic research journal which is published by one of the chareidi-research institutes. In it we find deep analysis as well as various methods of reforming chareidi society. This journal, among many others, is sent regularly to all the relevant government agencies.

Have the researchers in fact succeeded in discovering the right methods to deal with chareidim, or are they too groping in the dark?

To answer this question, let us examine one such report, prepared by the noted chareidim researcher Gilad Malach, which reviews the issue of academic studies for chareidim, an area in which Malach is one of the leading advisors. At the end of the report is a summary of the main conclusions and recommendations that can be taken away from the report. These are ideas that are constantly reiterated by the academics, such as a low media profile, incremental steps, an attitude of embracing chareidim, and so on.

The following are quotes from Malach's research:

ח. **פרופיל תקשורתי נמוך**: מערך השיווק של המסלולים החדשים נעשה, בייחוד בראשיתו, בטכניקות שנועדו לסכל התנגדות במגזר החרדי. פרסום "מפה לאוזן", כמו גם מיקום המוסדות בפריפריה של המרחב החרדי ומחוצה לו, נטרלו במידה רבה את הגורמים השמרניים במגזר, עד שבשלב מאוחר יותר ניתן היה לשווק את המסלולים במרבית כלי התקשורת החרדיים.

The first piece of advice — keep a low profile: "The original marketing of the new academic tracks was done, especially in its initial stage, in a way that sought to deflect opposition from the

chareidi sector. Advertising by word of mouth and placing the new institutions on the periphery and just outside chareidi population centers went a long way toward neutralizing the more old-fashioned elements of the community, until eventually we were able to openly advertise in the mainstream media outlets."

> א. **הדרגתיות**: המוסדות האקדמיים שהצליחו להתבסס תחילה, היו אלו שנשענו על הכשרה מקצועית שהתקיימה זה מכבר במוסד המלמד ואשר פנו לאוכלוסיות שנמצאות בפריפריה של המגזר החרדי. על אף ההתפתחות האיטית של המסלולים לחרדים בשנים הראשונות, וייתכן שבגינה, משנת **2005** ואילך זינק מספרם של הסטודנטים החרדים באקדמיה.

The second piece of advice — incremental steps: According to Malach, any social trend that one wishes to introduce cannot begin with the most severe and open innovations, which may arouse the community from its slumber.

"The original academic tracks that were successfully established were those that were based on institutions that already existed for vocational training that targeted peripheral elements of the chareidi sector. Despite the slow development of the academic tracks in the first years, *or perhaps because of it*, from 2005 and on there was a sharp increase in the number of chareidi students in academia."

Parenthetically, the method described by Malach in this quote—of changing a vocational training program into an academic program—is a particularly dangerous one. This is a simple and effective way of bypassing all the communal defense systems of the chareidi public. Instead of opening a new institution, they simply take over an existing one, which already has a kosher name, and make internal changes which are not readily apparent from the outside. A person who sees the institution from the outside sees no difference at all. It seems to be the same, well-known institution that was supported in the past by Torah personalities. However, in truth, while it was once a vocational training institute, it is currently a branch of Tel Aviv University. The lecturers are from the university, the curriculum is from academia, and everything perverted and forbidden is studied there.

> ז. **רגולציה בהשהיה**: כדי לעודד את צמיחת המסלולים ביכרה המל"ג "להעלים עין" מתנאי הסף לקבלה לתוכניות השונות, מרמת לימודים לא גבוהה בחלק מן התוכניות ומנוכחות גבוהה של אוכלוסייה דתית וחרד"לית בהן. העלמת עין זו סייעה לגידול המספרי של המסלולים גם אם פגעה באיכותם או בהתמקדותם בקהל היעד.

An additional suggestion by the researcher is to temporarily overlook deviations from the rules in order to facilitate the development of the tracks, and then to crack down at a later date:

"In order to encourage the growth of the academic tracks, the Malag looked away from the guidelines developed for the new programs, from the quality of the learning in certain programs

to the inclusion of National Religious students. This lenient approach helped boost the number of students, even at the expense of the quality of instruction and the focus on the target population."

However, he is quick to point out, these deviations are only temporary and limited in scope. The secular establishment has no intention of giving up any of its goals and plans. Any compromise or leniency is only for a very limited time, when due to the difficulty in establishing a new order, the establishment is forced to act cautiously and in small steps.

כניסת חרדים לאקדמיה הינה חלק מתהליך השתלבות האוכלוסייה החרדית באוכלוסייה הכללית בישראל, תוך שמירה על ייחודה. עיצוב מדיניות בתחום זה מהלך מטבעו על החבל הדק שבין שינויים קלים ואיטיים לבין שינויים דרמטיים שעשויים לעורר התנגדות עד כדי פגיעה במגמת השילוב. עם זאת מסקנת המחקר היא שצעדים הדרגתיים לאורך זמן ודינמיות בעיצוב המדיניות עשויים לחולל שינויים חברתיים גדולים ומתבקשים.

"The introduction of chareidim into academia is part of the general integration of the chareidi community into the general Israeli public, while maintaining its own identity. Developing a policy in this area is by nature a tightrope walk between slight, slow changes and more dramatic ones that have the potential to arouse opposition that would set back the goal of integration. Therefore, the conclusion of this study is that graduated steps over a long-term period…have the power to effect huge social changes."

Dr. Malach further recommends blurring the ideological foundation of the new programs. In other words, he recommends hiding from the community the true intentions behind the initiatives of the government and focusing instead on the more practical aspects:

ה. **עמימות אידאולוגית ותיחום ההסדריות**: מעצבי המסלולים לחרדים עיצבו שפה פרקטית בפנייתם לאוכלוסייה החרדית. המיצוב של המסלולים כמקדמי פרנסה והכנסה

פרקטית בפנייתם לאוכלוסייה החרדית. המיצוב של המסלולים כמקדמי פרנסה והכנסה מובטחת ולא כמקדמי קריירה והשכלה חיזקו את הרושם הפנים-חרדי שאין מדובר בניסיון לשנות את דמותה של החברה החרדית.

"The founders of the chareidi tracks used practical terms when speaking to the chareidi public. The presentation of the programs in terms of *parnassah* and reliable income, and not as career and scholastically oriented, reinforced the internal chareidi perception that there was no attempt being made to change their society."

An additional piece of advice given by Malach is not to directly attack the classic Torah world. Instead of attacking the yeshivos, a move that would antagonize the chareidi community, he suggests to simply ignore the yeshivos and focus on building a parallel system for chareidim—a world of the assimilationist programs:

ג. **מסלולים חדשים** לצד ההסדריות הקלסית: תקצוב המסלולים הייעודיים לא קיפח את תקצוב הישיבות והכוללים. מרבית המוסדות פנו לקהל יעד של גברים מבוגרים או נשים שלימודיהן באקדמיה יכלו לאפשר דווקא את הישארותם של בני זוגם בכולל.

"The funding of the targeted programs did not come at the expense of the budget for yeshivos and *kollelim*. Most of the new programs were aimed at older men or women whose academic studies could be used to support their husbands' learning in *kollel*."

Over the years, the researchers have learned that it is ineffective to butt heads with the chareidi community, rather, the war against chareidim must be fought with sweet words. Therefore, advises Malach, it is not advisable to directly start up with the yeshivos, but rather, to focus instead on building an alternative system to the Torah.

Likewise, Dr. Malach stresses that it is important to pour resources and incentives into these programs:

ו. **תמריצים מבניים וכלכליים** להסדריות: לצורך הקמת המסלולים לחרדים פיתחה המל"ג את מודל "הפלטפורמות" להוראה אקדמית מרחוק, אף כי צעד זה היה כרוך בהורדת רמת הלימודים. בשל הרצון להניע את התהליך המורכב של כניסת חרדים לאקדמיה, העניקה המל"ג תמיכה ייעודית נרחבת למוסדות האקדמיים, למוסדות ה"פלטפורמות" ולסטודנטים עצמם.

"For the purpose of setting up these tracks, the Malag developed the 'off-site' model for long-distance academic instruction, even though this step came at the expense of the level of learning. To facilitate the complex process of chareidi integration into academia, the Malag gave generous grants to academic institutions, the long-distance institutions, and the students themselves."

Unfortunately, the list of recommendations quoted above shows just how much expertise the chareidim researchers have developed over time to effectively work on the chareidi public.

Chareidim Researchers to the Housing Ministry: Do Not Build Chareidi Cities

Beyond academics, chareidim researchers have delved into and advised the government on other vital aspects of chareidi life. The following report, commissioned by the Housing Ministry and prepared by the Chareidi Institute for Policy Research, details the building plans of the Housing Ministry for the chareidi public. It contains recommendations that potentially intensify the housing crisis facing the chareidi community.

Right in the beginning of the report, the head of the Housing Ministry sets forth the theme of its policy with regard to chareidim, demanding of them “tolerance of others and patience.”The authors then state that any housing strategy for the chareidi public must be one that encourages

integration into Israeli society. The report discourages the idea of all-chareidi cities, which the authors fear could become ghettos of isolation. Additionally, they claim these cities would cost too much to establish.

The message emanating from the report, of a principled opposition to new chareidi cities, has become the official policy of the Housing Ministry.

This is of particular concern for the chareidi community. It is well known that the mayors of secular towns do everything in their power to prevent chareidim from settling within their borders. The only realistic solution to the chareidi housing crisis is to build them separate cities. And yet, at the same time that the State builds tens of thousands of apartments for secular couples, the chareidi community cannot get approval for plots of land that are vital to them.

העיר החרדית החדשה

שילוב או בידוד? // ד"ר לי כהנר

הצעתו של השר דרעי לבנות אלפי דירות לחרדים בקרית גת ראויה, אך עשויה לפגוע בחרדים המודרנים אותם יש לשלב בערים חילוניות (דעות)

ד"ר לי כהנר | י"ט בשבט תשעז 22:37 15.02.17

Techniques of Destruction

Leading researchers stand before government policymakers and explain to them in great detail, through well-presented lectures, the most subtle nuances of the chareidi community. They explain to them all the chareidi defense systems and teach them methods of bypassing them.

Thus we find, for example, a report by the Dov Lautman Institute detailing practical advice on how to introduce the concept of democracy into the chareidi educational system without arousing opposition—by simply changing the terminology. Instead of using the word “democracy,” educators are encouraged to call it “social partnership” or “civic responsibility.”

“Education toward democracy depends to a great degree on what you call it. It is an issue of semantics. If we call it ‘democracy’ or all kinds of terms from the secular jargon, it won’t go over well. So call it ‘partnership’, ‘responsibility’—this is already taking place on the periphery, and if we just don’t interfere it will spread quickly to the mainstream.”

מחקרי פלורסהיימר

המכון ללימודים עירוניים ואזוריים האוניברסיטה העברית בירושלים

פרסומים בנושא יחסי דת חברה ומדינה

- שלמה חסון, המאבק על צביונה התרבותי של ירושלים, 1996
- אליעזר דון-יחיא, הפוליטיקה של ההסדרה: יישוב סכסוכים בנושאי דת בישראל, 1996
- שלמה חסון ועמירם גונן, המתח התרבותי בין יהודים בירושלים, 1997
- בנימין נויברגר, דת ודמוקרטיה בישראל, 1997
- יוסף שלהב, מינהל וממשל בעיר חרדית, 1997
- ורדה שיפר, מערכת החינוך החרדי בישראל: תקצוב, פיקוח ובקרה, 1998
- שמעון שטרית, בין שלוש רשויות: מאזן זכויות האזרח בענייני דת בישראל, 1999
- שלמה חסון, חרדים וחילונים בירושלים בעתיד – תסריטים ואסטרטגיות, 1999
- שחר אילן, דחיית הגיוס של בחורי ישיבות – הצעת מדיניות, 1999
- אמנון דה-הרטוך, תמיכת המדינה במוסדות ציבור – חקיקה מול מציאות, 1999
- עמירם גונן, מהישיבה למעגל העבודה – הניסיון האמריקני ולקחים לישראל, 2001
- שלמה חסון, המאבק על ההגמוניה בירושלים: חילונים וחרדים בפוליטיקה העירונית, 2001
- לורה זרמבסקי, השסע הדתי-חילוני בעיני מנהיגים ומעצבי דעת קהל בישראל, 2002
- שלמה חסון, יחסי דת חברה ומדינה – תסריטים לישראל, 2002
- נרי הורוביץ, 'יהודים העיירה בוערת' – יהדות התורה בין בחירות 1999 לבחירות 2001, 2002
- יוחאי חקק, מאוהלה של תורה למאהל טירונים: מפגש בין מודלים תרבותיים, 2003
- יעקב לופו, מפנה בחברה החרדית: הכשרה מקצועית ולימודים אקדמיים, 2003
- יוחאי חקק, בין קודש לתכל'ס: גברים חרדיים לומדים מקצוע, 2004
- יעקב לופו, האם תחזיר ש"ס עטרה ליושנה?, 2004
- יוחאי חקק, רוחניות מול גשמיות בישיבות הליטאיות, 2005
- אָב דרורי, בין אמונה לצבא: גדוד הנח"ל החרדי, סיכונים וסיכויים, 2005
- אהבה (לורה) זרמבסקי, היבטים של המתח הדתי-חילוני בישראל, 2005
- בצלאל כהן, מצוקה ותעסוקה בחברה החרדית: מבט מבפנים, 2005
- עמירם גונן, בין לימוד תורה לפרנסה: חברת לומדים ומתפרנסים בלונדון, 2005
- יעקב לופו, ההתנגדות החרדית לישיבות תיכוניות חרדיות, 2007
- אנשיל פפר, בין תורה לדרך ארץ: כיצד צמחה הקהילה החרדית-לאומית ולאן מועדות פניה, 2007
- גלעד מלאך, על טהרת התואר: לימודים אקדמיים במגזר החרדי, 2014

A list of in-depth research papers on the topic of chareidim and the State published by the Florscheimer Institute. Note the mix of secular chareidim researchers and "new chareidim" on the list.

Dr. Malach explains to his audience how to inculcate academic studies in the chareidi community through a strategy of "from the simple to the complex." "Don't start with *yeshivah bachurim*," says Malach. "First target women, then older men, until eventually we reach the heart of the chareidi society—*yeshivah bachurim*."

Putting on a Pretty Face

While they bring spiritual and economic devastation to the chareidi community, these researchers often put on a *kippah* and appear in the yeshivos and chassidic courts.

Dr. Reuven Gal and his team in the Ponovezh *beis midrash* and at a *tisch* of one of the big chassidic courts

Dr. Gal meeting with heads of academia and advising them on how to lure more and more chareidi youth into the atheism and immorality of academic institutions

The *chadarim* and elementary schools also don't escape the attention of Dr. Gal. The following report by Dr. Gal and his team presents suggestions to the Education Ministry on how to bring the Liba curriculum—which all *gedolim* of the previous generation vehemently opposed—into the chareidi educational system.

The cover picture of the report shows a traditional *rebbi* and his students with long *pei'os* eagerly studying…Einstein's physics, a picture that encapsulates the vision of the researchers.

Chapter Five: The Collaborators

The "New Chareidim" and Their Role in the Demolition of the Torah World

Chareidim researchers' reports and recommendations notwithstanding, in order to actualize the slow but steady assimilation of chareidi society, the State needs more than just experts and reports. It needs a manpower force of thousands of field agents who will personally carry out the various missions needed to achieve the goal.

The ones who fill this role are the so-called “new chareidim” who occupy thousands of key positions in “chareidi” high schools, the chareidi draft systems, and the marketing industry for academic programs, or are inspectors for the Education Ministry and various social organizations.

(Besides the main areas described above, there have also developed in recent years various dangerous ideologies that thrive in the “twilight zone” on the fringe of chareidi society with the generous backing of relevant government agencies. Chareidi feminist organizations, cultural organizations for chareidi college students, and other such innovations are all part of this world of twisted and heretical ideas. The common denominator of all these phenomena is the tight connection between the “new chareidi” circles and generous government funding for anything remotely connected to chareidi reform.)

In recent years, the leading “new chareidim” have become the closest friends of the chareidim researchers, who in turn describe them in glowing and flattering terms.

החרדי המודרני חי בהיברידיות תרבותית. הוא מזהה את עצמו עם הציבור החרדי ומרגיש חלק ממנו, אך הוא בעל מאפיינים מערביים מובהקים: חברי הקבוצה צורכים את התרבות המערבית על בסיס קבוע, הם ניזונים מכלי התקשורת הכללית ולא מזו החרדית, והם משתמשים באינטרנט. התפיסה המודרנית של מעמד הביניים החרדי אינה פוסחת גם על מעמד האישה. לימודים אקדמיים, משרה ייצוגית וקריירה משגשגת, רישיון נהיגה ומכונית צמודה, ירידה בשיעור הילודה, בילוי נשי ומודעות לטיפוח עצמי – כל אלה הם חלק ממהפכה תפיסתית של שכבה גדולה בציבור החרדי, המתרחשת מתוך שמירה על בללי צניעות והפרדה מגדרית.

מאידאולוגיה חד־גונית של "או או", שעליה מתבססת החרדיות הקלסית, פונה מעמד הביניים המודרני לתפיסה אקלקטית של "גם וגם". קבוצה זו חיה על קו התפר שבין שני העולמות ויונקת הן מן ההוויה החרדית הן מן ההוויה הישראלית. בה בעת חבריה מגדירים עצמם חרדים ומרגישים בשר מבשרה של החברה החרדית. במובחן מהתפיסה החרדית המסורתית, חברי מעמד הביניים החרדי אינם פוחדים מהמודרנה אלא מעורים בה. ואולם הם סבורים כי התערות ברשות הרבים הישראלית, גם אם היא מחייבת להסיר את חומת הבדלנות

Consider the following: “The modern chareidi is a cultural hybrid. He identifies himself as part of chareidi society, yet possesses distinct Western-culture characteristics: The members of

this group are up-to-date with the latest social trends, they feel more comfortable with the general media as opposed to chareidi media, and they use the internet.

"The modern worldview of this interim class does not exclude the women. Academic studies, a professional career, a driver's license and a car, a lowering of the birthrate, and recreational activities—all these are typical of the shift in perspective of a large segment of the population.

"Instead of the strict 'either-or' philosophy of the classic chareidi, the interim class personifies an eclectic approach of 'both this and that.' This group lives on the borderline of two worlds and imbibes freely from both the chareidi and the Israeli lifestyle. Although they define themselves as chareidim, in distinction to traditional chareidim they are not afraid of modernity, but embrace it" ("Modern Chareidim," a report by the Shmuel Ne'eman Institute).

We must emphasize that when we refer to "new chareidim" we do not mean every chareidi who has fallen into the military draft frameworks or academia, or one who uses non-kosher technological devices. There are many Yidden who have not prevailed in the difficult tests of our times and have fallen in the darkness into all kinds of pits and traps of the evil inclination. The group that calls themselves "new chareidim" is fundamentally different from those described above. The "new chareidim" is an ideological movement. It is not a mere collection of individuals, but an established club that have set for themselves a philosophy and a goal of reforming the chareidi world. We are talking about figures on the fringes of chareidi society who preach openly and advocate a fundamental realignment of values in all areas of chareidi life. They utilize media outlets, radio and internet, and public voices to constantly push this agenda, both in the intellectual and practical sense.

In recent years, the State of Israel identified the potential of this group. Those disgruntled individuals who until recently wandered about aimlessly on the periphery of the chareidi world suddenly rose to prominence. This one opened a college, another heads a *yeshivah tichonit*, another one became a "consultant for chareidi affairs" at a research institute, and yet another serves as an inspector for the Education Ministry and terrorizes the principals of chareidi schools.

הם חברי מעמד הביניים החרדי, אולם הצירוף של השירות הצבאי והאזרחי הפותח פתח לשוק העבודה הישראלי, ושל המסלול האקדמי המאפשר השתלבות בקריירה מקצועית המחייבת התערות תרבותית מינימלית בתרבות הישראלית החילונית, יחד עם מוסדות חינוך ייחודיים לקבוצה המעניקים לילדים לימודי ליבה ותעודות בגרות, מהווה את הגרעין של קבוצת מעמד הביניים החרדי המודרני. ניתן לסרטט את הגרעין הקבוצתי כך:

"They are the interim class of chareidi society, the blend of military and civil service, college education which leads to a professional career and integration into general Israeli culture, together with separate educational frameworks for their children which include Liba and a high-school diploma—all these define the core of the modern chareidi movement."

"New Chareidim" Set Forth Their Worldview

As mentioned, the "new chareidim" is a group that has a specific ideology. They have philosophers, authors, and an endless amount of columnists and broadcasters in the "chareidi" media. Through these channels, they clearly present their worldview in a way that leaves no room for misinterpretation.

It is important to understand that the "new chareidim" include figures that come from the elite ranks of the yeshivah and chassidic worlds. They have in their ranks "*lamdanim*" and "*talmidei chachamim*" who make up the most dangerous elements of this society. These former *lamdanim* use the full power of *yeshivish lomdus* in formulating their ideas. They are not prepared, under any circumstances, to see themselves as having failed to live up to the standards and ideals of the Torah world. Instead, they justify themselves by developing a completely new value system.

In the following quote, one of the leading theorists of the "new chareidim," Eli A., presents his view of what chareidi society should look like:

התנהלות קפדנית לפי דרך התורה. לימוד תורה למעוניינים בכך. השתלבות בעבודה, בצבא, בלימודים אקדמאיים וקביעת עיתים לתורה למעוניינים בכך. לימודי ליב"ה במוסדות החינוך. "חנוך לנער על פי דרכו". שלילת הגזענות במוסדות החינוך. פיקוח על מוסדות החינוך. שקיפות. יושר. מתינות. ועוד.

"Serious adherence to the laws of the Torah. Learning Torah for those interested. Integration in the workforce, army, and academia and setting aside time to learn Torah, for those so interested. The Liba curriculum in schools. Educating each child according to his own way. Elimination of discrimination in the educational system. Government oversight of schools. Transparency. Justice. Levelheadedness. And so on."

In these few lines the writer sets forth a worldview that encompasses almost all the main areas of chareidi life. Education, military service, academia, and the workforce are priorities, while *limmud haTorah* is only for those who are interested.

The ideology described above is constantly reiterated in the words, writings, and lives of the "new chareidim."

We can accurately categorize this *hashkafah* as more or less that of lukewarm Religious Zionism. The "new chareidim" is in essence a group of former chareidim who have adopted the lifestyle of the National Religious community, besides for some external formalities.

For seventy years, the *gedolim* fought for the independence of the chareidi educational system, but the "new chareidi" sees government oversight as something to strive for. Not as an unfortunate necessity, not as something beyond our ability to resist, but as a lofty ideal of entrusting chareidi education to the "professional" guidance of the Education Ministry.

For decades, *gedolei Yisrael* sat and devised safeguards to prevent the infiltration of academic studies into the chareidi community, yet this writer sees as his goal the acceptance of these heretical courses by the mainstream. Not to mention the supreme value of army service and the Liba curriculum.

In an interview with *Haaretz*, Betzalel Cohen, one of the leaders of the "new chareidim," explains his view on fostering a relationship between the chareidim and the nonreligious. He cites proofs for his philosophy from a story by a secular author by the name of Efraim Sidon, quoting "Uzu and Muzu from the town of Kakaruzu" who tore down the wall between them and discovered wonderful friends on the other side.

"יש סיפור נחמד של אפרים סידון, 'אחז ומחז מכפר קאקארחז', על כפר שבאמצעו נבנתה חומה. האנשים בכל אחד מהצדדים חשבו שבעבר השני יש מפלצות, ורק כשמישהו העז לעשות בחומה חור, הוא הופתע לגלות מציאות אחרת. כשחילונים וחרדים נפגשים – בצבא, בלימודים, בעבודה – הם רואים שבצד השני אין מפלצות, ושתמיד יש מה ללמוד מהאחר".

"There is a charming story by Efraim Sidon, 'Uzu and Muzu from the town of Kakaruzu,' about a city that had a wall down the middle. The people on either side of the wall thought that monsters lived on the other side. Only when someone dared to make a hole in the wall was he surprised to discover a different picture. When nonreligious Israelis and chareidim interact—in the army, academia, or the workplace—they see that there aren't monsters on the other side and that each can learn from the other."

It is important to note that this philosophy is not "*kiruv*", which means drawing our estranged brethren back to the eternal values of *Yiddishkeit,* but rather mutual tolerance and respect, which confers equal validity to both religious and non-religious lifestyles.

One of the most outspoken voices of "new chareidism" is Avigdor R. He routinely publicizes words of hatred and incitement against traditional chareidi society, which he sees as an archaic group of cavemen, frozen in their old-fashioned ways.

And yet, in one of his many articles, we find him bemoaning the disinterest in learning Torah among the "new chareidim."

אני כותב את זה מכאב. בשכונה בה אני מתגורר יש עשרות חרדים-צעירים-עובדים, שבקלות ניתן להגדירם 'חישניקים'. הם לבושים בד"כ צבעוני, יש להם בד"כ אייפון, חלקם משרתים בצה"ל וכו' וכו'. לפני תקופה ניסיתי לארגן שיעור כלשהו בערב לקבוצה הזאת (אני חבר קרוב של חלקם), ואז התחילו התירוצים: זה לא יכול מסיבה זאת וזה לא יכול מסיבה אחרת.

אני לא חושב שאלו תירוצים מומצאים. קיים באמת קושי להתארגן לשיעור תורה באופן קבוע. אבל אני זוכר את ה"בעלי-בתים" בימי ילדותי, אנשים שעבדו במקצועות חופשיים, אנשים בהחלט עסוקים, שישבו כל ערב לשיעור של שעתיים וחצי. למה זה לא קורה אצל רבים מה'חישניקים'?

"I write this in pain. In my neighborhood, there are dozens of young working chareidim… They wear colored shirts, they have iPhones, some serve in the IDF, etc. A while ago, I tried to organize a nightly *shiur* for this group of friends of mine, and then the excuses began: this one can't come for this reason, that one for another reason.

"I don't think these excuses were made up. It is truthfully difficult to commit to a set *shiur*. But I remember the working men from my youth, people who worked in secular professions, people who were certainly busy, yet they sat every night for two and a half hours and learned. Why doesn't this happen in [our circles]?"

The difference is clear: the old *chareidi* working men who came from Hungary didn't go through the melting pot of the IDF. They didn't study under secular professors and didn't undergo indoctrination from secular research institutions. They simply needed *parnassah*, so they went to work. And therefore, they remained loyal Jews who loved Torah.

Here is another piece by the same writer, in which he expresses his joy over the opening of new *yeshivot tichoniot*:

בחינוך – חשבנו שהמוסדות החרדיים יישארו באותו קו לעד, אז חשבנו. כפטריות אחר הגשם קמות ישיבות לצעירים חרדים המשלבים לימוד תורה עם לימודי חול והצעירים מצביעים ברגליים ומגיעים ללמוד במוסדות שם.

באקדמיה – ב-2006 היו אולי כמה עשרות סטודנטים שנראו כמו חיזרים בעולם האקדמי, והיום אנו עדים לאלפי סטודנטים חרדים ששוטפים את מסדרונות האוניברסיטאות והמכללות.

"Regarding education: We thought that the chareidi education system would stay the same forever... But like mushrooms after the rain, new [*yeshivot tichoniot*] are arising, combining *limmud haTorah* with secular studies, and the youth are voting with their feet and coming to enroll in these institutions.

"Regarding academia: in 2006 there were perhaps several dozen chareidim who stuck out like a sore thumb in the academic world, but today we are witness to the presence of thousands of chareidi students flooding the hallways of the universities…"

It's a pity that this writer and his friends don't recognize the reality: The high schools, universities, and military tracks don't produce the *ba'alei batim* of old, but a generation of youth divorced from any trace of original chareidi *Yiddishkeit* whose noses are stuck in their iPhones, not in a *blatt* Gemara.

Despite their small number, "new chareidi" ideologists have succeeded in taking control of key strategic positions. All the government initiatives of chareidi reform are carried out by this organized group. The key positions in academic frameworks for chareidim, the male and female inspectors of the Chareidi Department of the Education Ministry, the massive infrastructure for the chareidi military draft, and central positions in the Employment Guidance Centers—all these are filled by the "new chareidim" and their ilk. Many times we find the same figures filling concurrent positions in different areas of the network of destruction.

For example, Betzalel Cohen is one of the leaders of the "new chareidi" movement. He runs a *yeshivah tichonit* (Chachmei Lev), and his wife is a chief inspector for the Chareidi Department of the Education Ministry and is in charge of various social reform programs for chareidim. In addition, Cohen has partnered with chief chareidim researcher Dr. Gilad Malach in an in-depth study of the chareidi IDF draft, where the duo offers specific suggestions on how to increase the number of those enlisting. ("Chareidim and the IDF: Can They Walk Together?")

"An Anti-Semitic Parody"

One chareidim researcher who apparently has become disillusioned with his former comrades the "new chareidim," had this to say about the poisonous behavior of this group: "Today, the 'new chareidim' populate almost every prominent think tank and research institution — the Israeli Institute for Democracy, Keren Tikvah, Machon Hartman, Machon Mandel, Machon Van Leer, Machon Shacharit…

"The same familiar faces work as 'chareidim-for-hire' and run back and forth from a seminar on chareidim and socialism in Machon Van Leer to a seminar on "chareidim and capitalism in Keren Tikvah. They daven *Shacharis* in Machon Mandel, *Minchah* in Machon Hartman, and *Ma'ariv* in Machon Shacharit. They're actors in an anti-Semitic parody about the unproductive chareidim.

Generally, it is rare to find a public figure in the State of Israel who will openly speak in a crude and demeaning manner against the chareidi public in general and the yeshivah world in particular. Even the most dangerous enemies of the chareidi community attempt to clothe their plans in politically correct language about the "great respect" they have for that "small, select group of *illuyim*" who study Torah day and night, and how much they value the chareidi community.

In distinction to this, the "new chareidim" use every public venue to degrade and mock everything holy. As noted writer Aaron Rose stated, "The 'new chareidi' spokesmen are practically the only faction in modern Israeli society who speak brazenly and openly in anti-Semitic terms against the chareidi community" (*HaShiloach*, May 3, 2017).

For example, we find one of their spokesmen describing in disgust those "*avreichim* standing in line to receive a few chickens for Pesach" and another one explaining to the chareidim researchers the boorish ignorance of the products of the chareidi educational system.

Even the *gemachim* — the crown jewel of the chareidi *chessed* industry which has no parallel in the entire world—are the subject of criticism of the "new chareidim"—and in the secular media, to boot. Betzalel Cohen, in an interview with *Haaretz*, denigrates the *chessed* powerhouses which enable Yidden to marry off their children by offering credit at no cost.

These people cannot find one good point in the chareidi community. They are in a state of complete emotional disconnect from our heritage.

The Center for the Research of Chareidi Society

The Center for the Research of Chareidi Society was founded by "new chareidim." It is generously funded by the Israeli Government and is a hornets' nest in which the leading "new chareidim" engage in various research projects which have a poisonous effect in the real world. If we want to get a picture of the amount of money flowing into the institute, we can suffice with the following two facts, which are taken from the Institute's own documentation:

"From the tens of reports produced by the Institute, there is one that was produced for the Housing Ministry. For this report alone, the Institute received a grant of 175,000 shekel."

One of the members of the Institute is a leading politician in the chareidi political establishment and also serves as a project manager in the Institute. For this, he receives an annual salary of 100,000 shekel, a generous wage by Israeli standards, despite the fact that it is only a side job.

At the head of the foundation stand Eli Paley, publisher of the *Mishpacha* magazine; Betzalel Cohen, leading "new chareidi" personality and head of the Yeshiva Tichonit Chachmei Lev; and Menachem Bombach, founder of the hybrid Midrashah Chassidit Beitar Illit.

The goal of the foundation is, in the words of its founder, Eli Paley, "to create dialogue and foster societal change through influencing a wide range of individuals and agencies that deal with chareidi society, including policy makers at the local and state levels, organizations active in the chareidi public, employers considering employing chareidim, researchers seeking to enrich their knowledge of chareidim, and media outlets looking for background information regarding chareidi society."

In this limited format, we cannot go into detail about all the activities of this institution, but suffice it to say that there is no area of chareidi reform that it is not involved in, from the military draft to academia, the Liba curriculum, *yeshivot tichoniot*, and so on.

We must stress that these facts and figures, like all those mentioned in this work, are only the tip of the iceberg. It we want to fundamentally investigate all the activities and projects of destruction of chareidi society, we could fill countless volumes that would explain in detail exactly where all the billions of shekels earmarked for the transformation of chareidi society are going.

The War against *Gemachim*

As mentioned, one of the leaders of the "new chareidim" went on the offensive against money-lending *gemachim*. Indeed, in recent years, government forces have begun a series of attacks against *gemachim*. Often, these attacks are accompanied by wild media incitement against these organizations.

The official excuse for harassing the *gemachim* is tax evasion.

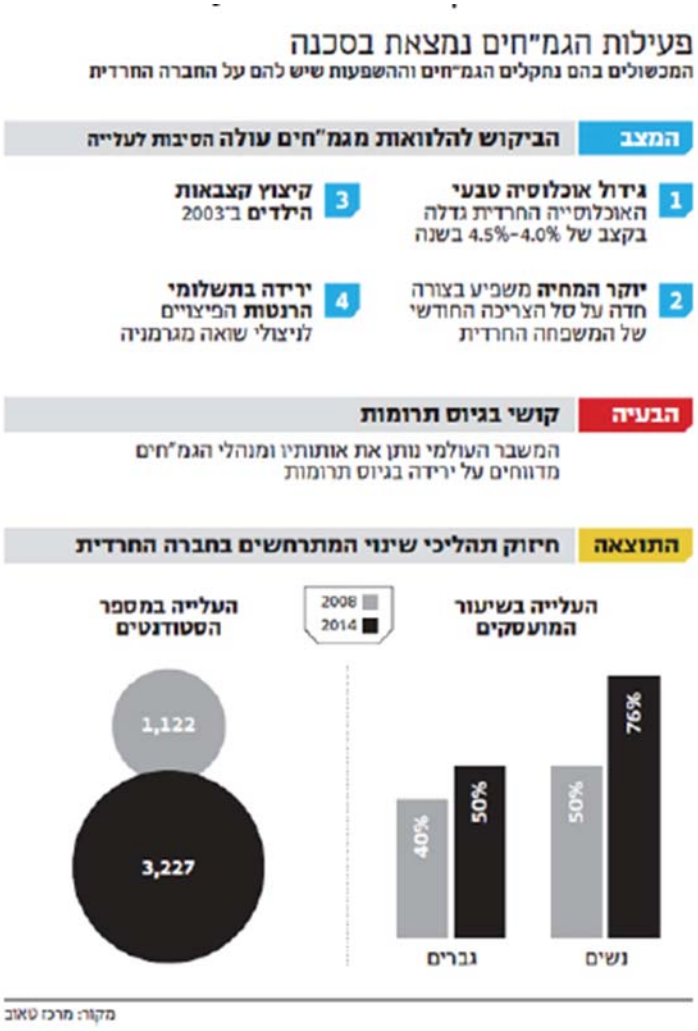

מחקר: הגמ"חים החרדיים ממלאים
תפקיד מרכזי בהלבנות הון בינלאומיות
על פי מחקר שנערך במכון טאוב, המינוס במשקי הבית החרדיים הוא הגבוה בישראל ● כדי לגמור את החודש הם פונים לגמ"ח – מוסד של הלוואות ללא ריבית ● מאחורי הגמ"ח יש מנגנון: כסף שחור של חרדים עשירים מגיע מחו"ל במסווה של תרומה, ולאחר גביית ההלוואה חוזר לחו"ל כתרומה

"Study: The Chareidi *Gemachim* Play a Central Role in International Money Laundering"

האם לשמור על המדינה-בתוך-מדינה של החרדים?

מאות הגמ"חים - מוסדות גמילות החסדים - הם החמצן הפיננסי של החברה החרדית: מרביתם זעירים, אבל יש גם כאלה המספקים הלוואות במאות מיליוני שקלים בשנה - רובם ככולם בלי פיקוח ■ במשרדי הממשלה דורשים פיקוח - מה שעלול להביא לקריסתם

However, when we investigate the true motives of the enemies of the *gemachim*, we discover them singing a different tune. When the Bank of Israel began investigating the *gemach* issue, it turned, as usual, to one of the chareidi-research foundations to produce a comprehensive report on *gemachim*. Yet instead of focusing on the issue of money laundering, the report commissioned by the Bank of Israel (produced by Mercaz Taub) turned the issue of *gemachim* into a tool to increase the number of chareidim in academic courses and the workforce.



A diagram by Mercaz Taub explaining that the increasing demand on *gemachim* has not been matched by enough extra donations, leading to an increase in the number of chareidi students in academic institutions and a rise in the chareidi employment rate

הסכנה הקיומית של הגמ"חים המניעים את החברה החרדית

המנגנון הכלכלי שתחזק עד היום חלק גדול מאורח החיים החרדי נמצא בסכנה, כאשר הגידול הטבעי, יוקר המחיה והמשבר העולמי מזנבים בו. התוצאה: יותר ויותר חרדים רוכשים השכלה ומצטרפים לשוק העבודה

עמרי מילמן 06.06.16 06:40

"The financial system sustaining the chareidi lifestyle is in danger…leading to an increase in chareidim seeking a degree and entering the workforce" (*Calcalist*, June, 6, 2016).

How did we get from international money laundering to chareidim seeking academic degrees?

While we don't have access to the original report presented to the Bank of Israel, we do have knowledge of public proclamations made by the same foundation, which present a clear picture. After all the cuts to child stipends have not succeeded in bringing about the economic collapse of the chareidi community, researchers are looking for new answers to the million-dollar question: How do the chareidim continue to survive? Their clear objective is to damage the Torah world by attacking the *gemachs*.

The financial newspaper *Calcalist* quotes "figures in the chareidi world," namely, "new chareidim," who express their hopes that the collapse of the *gemachim* will bring a "brighter future" in which young chareidi families will be forced out of the *beis midrash*.

Reform and Modern Orthodox Outside of Eretz Yisrael Join the Fray

Throughout the world, there are many Jews who constantly attempt to influence the character and policies of the State of Israel. Among them are assimilated Jews from the Reform movement, who have no connection to anything holy. The only connection they have with the Jewish People is their involvement in the politics of the Jewish state. These individuals are worried about the "chareidization" of the State of Israel and have recently realized that the best way for them to advance their agenda is by supporting the programs that destroy the chareidi world from within.

However, the secular and Reform foundations are not the only overseas partners in this enterprise. Besides them, there is another group which is even more effective and more dangerous. This is a group of wealthy Modern Orthodox philanthropists in the U.S. and Canada.

In contrast to the "new chareidi" circles in Eretz Yisrael, which consist primarily of a younger generation just starting their careers, the Modern Orthodox in America have in their ranks many established families with many mature individuals possessing great wealth who love to use their influence to dabble in Israeli politics. Among these wealthy individuals there are some who, unfortunately, have become sworn enemies of the Torah world. The flourishing of an ever-

expanding community of chareidim rankles them to no end, and they express their feelings openly.

For obvious reasons, we cannot quote these statements in the names of those who said them, but let us just mention two of the largest foundations that fund the chareidi-reform programs. Keren Yedidut Toronto, the largest and most dangerous foundation of this type, provides strong support for the various military programs designed for chareidim, for the establishment of academic programs (especially those located on secular campuses), and in general for anything connected to the reeducation and reform of chareidi society. Its younger sister is Keren Kemach, also a partner in many of the same programs. These two foundations were established by philanthropists from Britain and Canada who have gone on record in the Israeli secular press blaspheming the Torah world in very harsh terms. For example, in an interview with the financial newspaper *Globes* (October, 4, 2016), the main donor of Keren Kemach expounds his opinion on the chareidi community: "In Israel there are generations of chareidim who don't contribute to society… There has never been a period in Jewish history with so much learning and so little benefit… I'm not saying that there is no need for *rabbanim* and *dayanim*, but 50,000 people sitting in *kollel*? Who needs this?... Two of my daughters live in Beit Shemesh, but not near the fanatics, thank G-d."

Chapter Six: Like the Abominations of the Nations

The Campaign against Exclusion of Women

What is the connection between the legal and media campaign against exclusion of women and the plans of the government to assimilate chareidim?

On the surface, the media storm regarding the issue of exclusion of women appears to be another empty gimmick meant to fill the time of the enemies of the chareidi population with another few minutes of incitement against chareidim. However, upon closer investigation, we will discover that it is precisely this issue that serves as one of the most potent tools of the secular establishment in its plan to wipe out chareidi society.

How so? In recent times, the leaders of the government have begun to see success in their efforts to secularize chareidim. The statistics and graphs that flow to their desks, courtesy of the research institutions, clearly show a dramatic increase in the number of chareidi students in academic institutions and the military. The Chareidi Department of the Education Ministry has succeeded in wresting control over the educational institutions, and the future seems assured.

There is one fear, however, that clouds their premature joy.

The nightmare scenario of the secular establishment is one in which the process of secularizing the chareidi public backfires, and the opposite occurs: instead of assimilating into the secular mainstream, the chareidim create chareidi colleges, a chareidi military, and even a chareidi marketplace.

In order to bury any such notions, the members of the establishment have formulated a number of defense mechanisms, foremost among them the issue of exclusion of women, whose purpose is to permanently set in stone the nonreligious character and atmosphere of the main arenas of Israeli society.

The truth is that for the most part, the fears of the establishment are for naught. Experience has shown that those who fall into these melting pots quickly adapt themselves to the value system of their new environment and become one with them. Students and soldiers who find themselves in secular frameworks for a couple of years no longer attempt to change those systems but rather do all that they can to fit into these institutions the way they are. We see many examples of this, such as judges who come from right-wing or traditional backgrounds but bend over backwards to adapt to the current judicial philosophy.

In academic institutions as well, the fears of a chareidi takeover are not realistic. These institutions operate according to a code of rigid rules that are uniform all over the country and do not allow for tailoring the academic curriculum to fit a certain group, certainly not a religious one. The staff in so-called "chareidi" institutions is secular, and the curriculum studied is identical to that of any other university, including all the abominations of the worst of gentile society. We have in our possession hair-raising examples of perverted material being taught in "chareidi colleges." These are shocking things that cannot even be printed.

מכיוון שנהרסים בו הקשרים הלא־
אינסטרומנטליים המשתמעים מן התלות
ההדדית האונטולוגית בין בני אדם.

כאשר ההיגיון של השוק חודר אל המרחב
האינטימי, מובנן של החובות כלפי "אחרים"
נוטה להתעמעם. אם קשרי המרחב האינטימי
מתפוגגים, הקשרים עם המרחבים הרחוקים
יותר נוטים להתרופף גם הם. מדובר בהגינות
לעומת חישוב תועלתני של עלויות ורווח,
בזכות לעומת יתרון.

כאשר "הצופה הדמיוני ונטול הפניות"
של אדם סמית, הפילוסוף של המוסר,אינו
מציב מחסום בפני החישוב האינסטרומנטלי
הכלכלי של אדם סמית, אבי כלכלת השוק,
האדם חייב לחפש אפשרויות אחרות.
הסוציולוג דורקהיים יצר בהקשר זה את
המושג של קבוצות מתַווכות (Intermediate
groups), הפועלות בשדות המתח,

השומרוני הטוב

"והוא חפץ להצטדק ואמר על ישוע: 'ומי הוא
רעי?'. ויען ישוע ויאמר: 'איש אחד ירד
מירושלים ליריחו ונפל בידי שודדים והם
הפשיטוהו וגם פצעוהו ויעזבו אותו בין חיים
למוות ויילכו להם. ויקר המקרה כי ירד כוהן
אחד בדרך ההוא וירא אותו ויעבור מעליו. וכן
גם איש לוי פנע במקום ויגש וירא אותו
ויעבור מעליו. ואיש שומרוני הולך בדרך ויבא
עליו וירא אותו והמו רחמיו. ויגש אליו ויחבש
את פצעיו ויסוכם בשמן ויין ויעלהו על בהמתו
ויוליכהו אל המלון ויכלכלהו. ולמחרת כנסעו
הוציא שני דינרים ויתנם לבעל המלון ויאמר
'כלכל אותו ואת אשר תוסיף עוד להוציא עליו
אני בשובי אשלמנו לך. ועתה, מי מאלה
השלושה היה בעיניך הרֵעַ לנופל בידי
השודדים? ויאמר: 'העושה עמו את החסד'.
ויאמר ישוע: 'לך ועשה כן גם אתה'."
(הבשורה על־פי לוקס י' 30-37. תרגום פרַנץ
דֶליטְש).

A page from a textbook used by a young chareidi girl in one of the more "chareidi" colleges in Bnei Brak. It is part of a course on society and ethics in which the girls learn about social morality from a passage in the *New Testament*.

We emphasize that this example is the mildest of the material that we have on file. Everything else cannot even be discussed in public, for obvious reasons.

Yet the secular establishment is still uneasy. Chareidim are perceived by a large part of the secular public as sneaky individuals who know how to outsmart the whole world with all kinds of tricks and schemes; therefore, they worry that perhaps the cunning chareidim will figure out a way to turn the tables on the nonreligious.

In order to prevent this possibility, the secular establishment has taken a number of steps to permanently enshrine the secular nature of modern Israeli society. One of the cleverest moves undertaken by a list of leading figures in the higher levels of Israeli society is the utilization of the theme of exclusion of women.

One of the most blatant signs differentiating the community of *shomrei Torah u'mitzvos* from the masses of secular Israelis is the separation of men and women. In recent years, the courts and other government agencies have issued various regulations making it almost impossible to publicly separate men and women. Many have paid little attention to this since clearly the State cannot meddle in private internal events of the chareidi community, such as weddings and yeshivah dinners. However, in public forums like the army, the workplace, and academia, these regulations are indeed fully enforced. These rules bury forever any notion of creating a chareidi college or military.

And so, for example, in the draft law passed by Lapid and Bennet, the following clause appears, clarifying that the drafting of yeshivah students shall not infringe on the rights of any female in the army. This passage was left intact in the revised version of the law, and it appears in the text of the proposed new law (*tikkun* 23).

מניעת פגיעה במעמדה של יוצא צבא אישה	26כה. לא ייפגע מעמדה ושילובה של יוצא צבא אישה בשירות ביטחון בשל שירותם של בוגרי ישיבות ומוסדות חינוך חרדיים בשירות ביטחון לפי פרק זה.

The issue of gender separation in the military is a particularly critical one, for various reasons. First of all, the population that serves in the army is made up of young people, many of them unmarried. Any breach in the walls of *kedushah* is for them a tremendous spiritual destruction.

Additionally, a person in the workforce is free to quit at any time if they see that their place of employment is damaging to their religious commitment. Even a college student can theoretically drop out (although this is very difficult in the practical sense due to the heavy investment of time and money already put in by the student). In contrast, a soldier in the military is under the

complete dominion of his commander and does not have the ability to leave due to his religious sensitivities.

The Attorney General Rules: Gender Separation a Criminal Offense

In 2013, a committee of the Judicial Ministry prepared a list of recommendations forbidding gender separation at public nonreligious events and even classified gender separation as a felony. These recommendations were adapted by the attorney general.

וינשטיין
צילום: גיל יוחנן

וינשטיין ממליץ: הדרת נשים - עבירה פלילית

היועמ"ש אימץ דו"ח של צוות במשרד המשפטים, שגיבש שורת המלצות לצמצום תופעת הדרת הנשים מהמרחב הציבורי. הצוות ממליץ למנוע הפרדה באוטובוסים, למנוע הצבת שילוט להתלבש בצניעות ולאסור הפרדה בין נשים לגברים בטקסי המדינה

Recommend 281

אביאל מגנזי פורסם: 12:49 , 08.05.13

הדרת נשים תיחשב לאיסור פלילי, כך ממליץ היועץ המשפטי לממשלה יהודה וינשטיין. היועץ פנה

As a result, in Elul 2016, the municipality of Tel Aviv banned a public *selichos* event because all the participating chazzanim were men. On Simchas Torah of the same year, the Jerusalem municipality sought to prevent a *hakafos shnios* event in Yerushalayim due to the fact that there was a *mechitzah*.

At a graduation ceremony this past year in Hebrew University, a number of religious girls requested a separate dance floor. Their request was denied due to "exclusion of women" even though the women themselves requested it!

Below is a quote from a document from the Center for Reform in which the authors express their satisfaction with the new law and list the practical ramifications attributable to the law:

פסקו פרקטיקות אלה ברובן. ההפרדה המגדרית בתחבורה הציבורית בוטלה בעקבות בג"ץ 746/07 **רגן נ' משרד התחבורה**. ההפרדה המגדרית בקופות החולים בוטלה בעקבות פרסום **חוזר סמנכ"ל משרד הבריאות בנושא. ההפרדה בבתי עלמין בוטלה בעקבות פרסום חוזר** מנכ"ל המשרד לשרותי דת. ואף בתחנת הרדיו החרדית "קול ברמה" ניתן לשמוע נשים ושעורי ההאזנה בקרב הציבור החרדי רק עלו, זאת בעקבות תובענה יצוגית שהוגשה כנגד התחנה (רע"א 6897/14 **קול ברמה נ' קולך**).

"Gender separation is now forbidden on public transportation and at health clinics, and women have begun broadcasting on the 'chareidi' radio station Kol B'Ramah. Even cemeteries are forbidden to separate between men and women attending a funeral."

If religious events like *selichos* and *hakafos shnios* are forbidden to have gender separation, and if a radio station that caters to the chareidi public must have female broadcasters, and if religious girls are forbidden to use a separate dance floor, then surely, in such a legal environment, no one can even dream of gender separation in places that are intrinsically secular, such as the army, National Service, or companies in the marketplace.

Gender Separation in Academia

Surprisingly, there is one place where the government allows separation: in the chareidi tracks for academic studies.

The reason for this flexibility is that these institutions recognize that chareidim will not enroll in programs that are not separate. In a practical sense, gender separation is the only thing chareidi about these "chareidi" programs. Everything else having to do with these tracks is completely secular—the staff, the lecturers, and the curriculum are purely secular, as described by the principal of the Jerusalem College, Adina Bar-Shalom, in an appearance before the Forum on Higher Education: "There is no course that is prepared especially for the chareidi public. Everything is identical to the general curriculum—it's only the separation between men and women" (meeting 20).

In order to market the academic tracks as having been designed for chareidim, the academic community has consented to permit, *temporarily and on a limited basis*, institutions in which there is complete or partial gender separation. Through this concession, these institutions are presented as chareidi and succeed in drawing thousands of chareidi youth.

However, the Council for Higher Education constantly reiterates that this separation is only a temporary exception to the rule and must be constrained as much as possible.

And so, we find in the Five-Year-Plan of the Malag a list of recommendations on how to limit to the bare minimum any gender separation in chareidi academic institutions:

נספח א'– המלצות המל"ג בענין הפרדה מגדרית

1) הקמת תכניות לעידוד ותמרוץ קליטת סטודנטים בכותלי הקמפוסים הרגילים
   - בכיתות נפרדות או משותפות בכותלי הקמפוס
   - בניית מודלים שיעודדו לימוד שנים מתקדמות לתואר במוסדות האם
   - חידוד אמות מידה והקפדה על הפרדה מותרת ואסורה במסגרות החרדיות

2) ההפרדה המגדרית תוגבל לכיתות הלימוד בלבד ולא תותר כל הפרדה מחוץ לתחומי הכיתות
   - לא יינתנו הנחיות בנוגע ללבוש או דרישות צניעות אחרות
   - לא תופלנה סטודנטים/יות או מרצים/ות בשל מינם/ן
   - יחודדו ויפורסמו הנחיות בהתייחס לאיסורים וכן קו פניות ציבור - תתוגבר האכיפה והפיקוח בנושא

"Separation shall be limited only to the classroom… There shall be no directives given regarding dress or any other modesty requirements. No student or lecturer shall be discriminated against based on gender."

In addition to these recommendations, the Malag has embarked on a campaign of promoting a new model of academic studies for chareidim known as the "integrated model." This refers to academic tracks located in separate classrooms on the main secular campus, such that any gender separation or separation of chareidim and the nonreligious is reduced to an absolute minimum. The Malag has set for itself goals in which the percentage of chareidim enrolled in the "integrated model" is targeted to increase dramatically.

Here is a summary of the targeted goals, from a study by chareidim researchers Gilad Malach, Lee Cahaner, and Eitan Regev on the current Five-Year-Plan:

טבלה מספר 4 - סיכום יעדים כמותיים – שנת תשפ"א

תשפ"א	תשע"ד	
19,000	9,483	כלל הסטודנטים החרדים
(37%) 7,000	(32.5%) 3,090	סטודנטים חרדים גברים
(63%) 12,730	(67.5%) 6,393	סטודנטיות חרדיות נשים
(63%) 12,000	(68.5%) 6,500	סטודנטים במודל השמרני
(10%) 1,900	(13%) 1,230	סטודנטים באונ' הפתוחה
(27%) 5,100	(18.5%) 1,730	סטודנטים במודל המשתלב

Reforms in the Military

The government's efforts to protect women's rights don't compare with the zeal shown in this area by the IDF, under the leadership of Chief of Staff Eisenkot, who has been leading an anti-religious crusade in the ranks of the army.

One of the offshoots of the reforms is the shocking fact that some army bases have begun abolishing separate restrooms for men and women! The scandalous pictures of the new signs for mixed restrooms were widely circulated in the National Religious press, causing a storm of controversy and direct confrontation between the religious leaders of the National Religious public and the Hesder yeshivos and the leading brass of the military.

Here are some of the headlines describing the uproar in the National Religious community:

ראש המכינה בעלי השווה פקודות צה"ל לחטאי סדום: "על כאלה בא המבול"

הרב יגאל לוינשטיין תקף בחריפות את פקודת השירות המשותף לנשים ולגברים. בהקלטה

"הרמטכ"ל הכריז מלחמה על עולם התורה"

רבנים בציונות הדתית מטיחים ביקורת קשה באיזנקוט בעקבות פקודת השירות המשותף. ומה קרה לשירותים במחנה ג'וליס?

חדשות מדיני ביטחוני

צה"ל מגדיל את מספר הלוחמות: יגייס שיא של 2,500 נשים לתפקיד

נשים מהוות את רוב החיילים ביחידות מעורבות. בצבא בוחנים היבטים שונים של השילוב, בודקים אם אחוזי

סמוטריץ' קרא לא להתגייס במחאה על שילוב נשים – ועורר סערה

חבר הכנסת מהבית היהודי פרסם בעיתון הדתי "בשבע" מאמר שבו טען כי "צה"ל צריך להבין שלא יעבוד לו יותר לרמוס כל דבר שבקדושה". בנט: "אין לנו את הזכות 'ללמד את צה"ל' איך להתנהג". ח"כ שפיר קראה להדיח את סמוטריץ' מוועדת החוץ והביטחון

הרב יגאל לוינשטיין הודיע על יציאה לחופשת לימודים

הרב שעורר את סערת גיוס הנשים לצה"ל הודיע לתלמידיו שהוא יוצא לחופשה. במכינה מכחישים כי יש קשר למאבק שהתפתח עם משרד הביטחון בעקבות ההתבטאויות החריגות של הרב

אסף גולן | 14:08 3/5/2017

Needless to say, these protests did not succeed in changing the policies of the IDF one bit. The leaders of the military know all too well the bitter truth: National Religious youth will continue to enlist in the army no matter what and will be forced to endure whatever spiritual challenges the army commanders send their way.

We are accustomed to look at the army as an entity that has a technical and practical mission—to ensure the security of the citizens of the country. In truth, however, this perception stems from a lack of understanding of the nature of the IDF. The IDF sees itself in an official sense as a body with a central educational role in Israeli society. For this reason, the IDF contains a division with many branches known as the Education Corps. Under this banner, the army has many educators whose job is to inculcate in the soldiers the spirit and philosophy of the country and the military.

One of the main roles of the Education Corps is training the officers of the IDF. The IDF wishes to see officers who are thoroughly suffused with the spirit of the IDF and the values that the army wishes to inculcate in its soldiers. For this reason, the army has an Officers Course to train the next generation of commanders. Under this framework, the future leadership of the IDF undergoes intensive training, with a large portion of the course devoted to educational themes and espousing the values of the IDF.

As part of the current reforms in the IDF, the administration of these courses has been delegated to bodies associated with the Reform movement in the U.S. (The following details are based on a report in Arutz Sheva, June, 10, 2016.)Among them, we find organizations such as Binah, a leftist organization with ties to the “Reform stream of Judaism,” in their words, and Machon Hartman, whose stated mission is to advance “religious pluralism” in Israel. (The head of the above organization has been quoted in the Israeli press advocating including Muslim holidays in the official calendar of Israel so that “we may celebrate together.”)

One of the administrators of the course has been quoted as saying, “Those who participate in the course are ‘agents of change’ in the IDF—fresh, youthful, and open to change, and so we are concentrating on them.” As an example, one of the courses, the Program for Development of Educational Leadership for Higher Ranks, targets higher-ranking officers who train and educate

the soldiers of the IDF. This course is under the auspices of Machon Mandel, which advances pluralism and specializes in training "agents of change," particularly in the religious and chareidi communities.

Appendix 1: Pressburg Vs. Prague

The *kol Torah* resounded in the *beis midrash*. *Talmidei chachamim* sat in pairs and debated *divrei Torah*. But today, the tumult was greater than usual. This was not a regular discussion about the Gemara. Both sides claimed that only the good of the people and the Torah concerned them. A group of *lamdanim* was arguing over whether to protest and ostracize the modern women of the city. These women had begun publicly appearing with uncovered hair and with the tight clothing that was the style in Germany and France at the time. With their actions, they had caused a weakening of modesty even in the Torah community.

There were those who claimed that the way of *kiruv*, bringing our estranged sisters close, was the best way to go, saying that only with respect would they return to the ways of the Torah. Others argued that they should be shunned and expelled from the community because these brazen women were causing daughters of good families to imitate them and dress like the gentiles, something that would eventually cause, according to Rabbi Shlomo Kluger, the breakdown of all the fences of the Torah in the rest of the community.

When they could not reach a consensus, they turned to Rav Meir Shapiro, *rav* of Lublin, who had come to their city to raise funds for Yeshivas Chachmei Lublin. The Rav listened to both sides, and a smile broke out on his face. To their surprise, he answered, "I also grappled with the same issue until I realized that Heaven had already decided. The Chasam Sofer was correct."

He elaborated: "One hundred years ago, there were two streams in the Jewish world, Pressburg and Prague. Both were famous cities with world-class *rabbanim*. But when the modern winds of Haskalah and equality began blowing, many of the *rabbanim* of Prague thought that they should attempt to conform *Yiddishkeit* to the spirit of the times, to show flexibility and tolerance, in order to win over the modern elements of the community and save them from assimilation. The leaders of Pressburg had a different approach. 'We will not change one iota,' they said. 'We will not let the current ideas enter our lifestyle through any compromises or capitulations. We will fight the Maskilim and expel them from our midst in an extreme way. In this way we will preserve the purity of Torah.'

"Pressburg and Prague were two centers of Jewish life that represented these two approaches to dealing with the Haskalah movement. The Chasam Sofer was the leader of the Pressburg camp. With his slogan, 'Newness is forbidden by the Torah,' he prevented any attempt to change Jewish culture. The Maskilim fought him bitterly and even involved the government, but they were met with an iron wall of resistance from the community, which refused to make even the slightest change in their customs or way of dress, even at the expense of becoming isolated and losing prominence. And so too, his son the Ksav Sofer followed in this path, not deviating from his father's ways, and courageously declared war on the Haskalah movement and its followers.

"Not so in Prague. Here, the Maskilim found leaders whose reaction was more nuanced, whose slogan was, 'Let the left hand push away and the right hand draw close. With tolerance we will win over the hearts of the Reform and irreligious, so that they won't rebel totally.' But the desires of the Maskilim just increased more and more. Their demands and innovations multiplied. The *rabbanim* wrote works explaining the mitzvos in rational terms, as if human intellect can decide the relevance of the Torah. And for everything they found a justification, a necessity of the times, in order to save the spiritual lives of those who might otherwise abandon Judaism entirely.

"Now, a century later, we can see the following: To this day, in Pressburg there are hundreds of *talmidei chachamim* who learn and discuss what Rav Meshulem Igra asked and what the Chasam Sofer answered. In the *shiur* room of the Chasam Sofer, hundreds of *bachurim* sit and learn Gemara and *Poskim*. In the shuls you can find minyanim all the time and *ba'alei batim* sitting and learning. Everywhere, the pulse of *Yiddishkeit* is felt. Pressburg patterns itself after its former leaders, a bond between the current generation and the previous ones. The community is flourishing and communal institutions are being opened, including *hachnasos orchim* and dormitories for *yeshivah bachurim*.

"In contrast to this," continued the Rav, "I recently visited Prague. I arrived in the afternoon and asked to see the Jewish community. I was told to wait until eight o'clock the next morning. In the morning, a guide took me to the old cemetery and showed me the graves of the Maharal, the Kli Yakar, and Rav Dovid Ganz. Afterward, he led me to a different cemetery where I saw the grave of the Noda B'Yehudah.

"I turned to my guide and asked, 'But where is the living Prague? Where are the yeshivos, the shuls and their *mispallelim*?'

"The answer was, 'Today in Prague there are only sixty religious Jews.'

"When I asked how many Jews there are in Prague in total, he said, 'Sixty-five thousand…'

"When my guide saw my pale face, he hurried to reassure me that he forgot to show me that only in Prague is there a large clock on the face of the community building with Hebrew letters in place of numbers…

"This is the fate of the compromising Prague. The clock 'advances' in Hebrew letters, but the Jewish lifestyle is gone forever…."

Rav Meir Shapiro finished his tale, and the debate in the *beis midrash* was abruptly concluded.

If we want *batei midrashim*, shuls, and yeshivos to remain in Klal Yisrael, if we want Yidden whose hearts are aflame with Torah and *yiras Shamayim*, then even in our generation we must be *moser nefesh* to separate totally from the street. The winds of technology in our times, the internet, the permissiveness and materialism, have the power to totally erase *Yiddishkeit*, *chas*

v'shalom, in much less than one hundred years. In our generation, we must all unite to build walls of defense against any breach in Torah and mitzvos. (*Olamos shel Tohar*)

Appendix 2: The Secret Weapon of the Left

The following was culled from the Facebook page of Shaya Itzkowitz.

Two weeks ago, at a business meeting with an executive in one of the big advertising firms, I found out that the person I was speaking to was the one who built up Yair Lapid. They are close friends, almost inseparable. The guy was a typical Tel Aviv yuppie; for him, Bnei Brak and ISIS are the same thing. We began a conversation about the attitude toward chareidim and the seeming change in Lapid's tone after he entered the opposition.

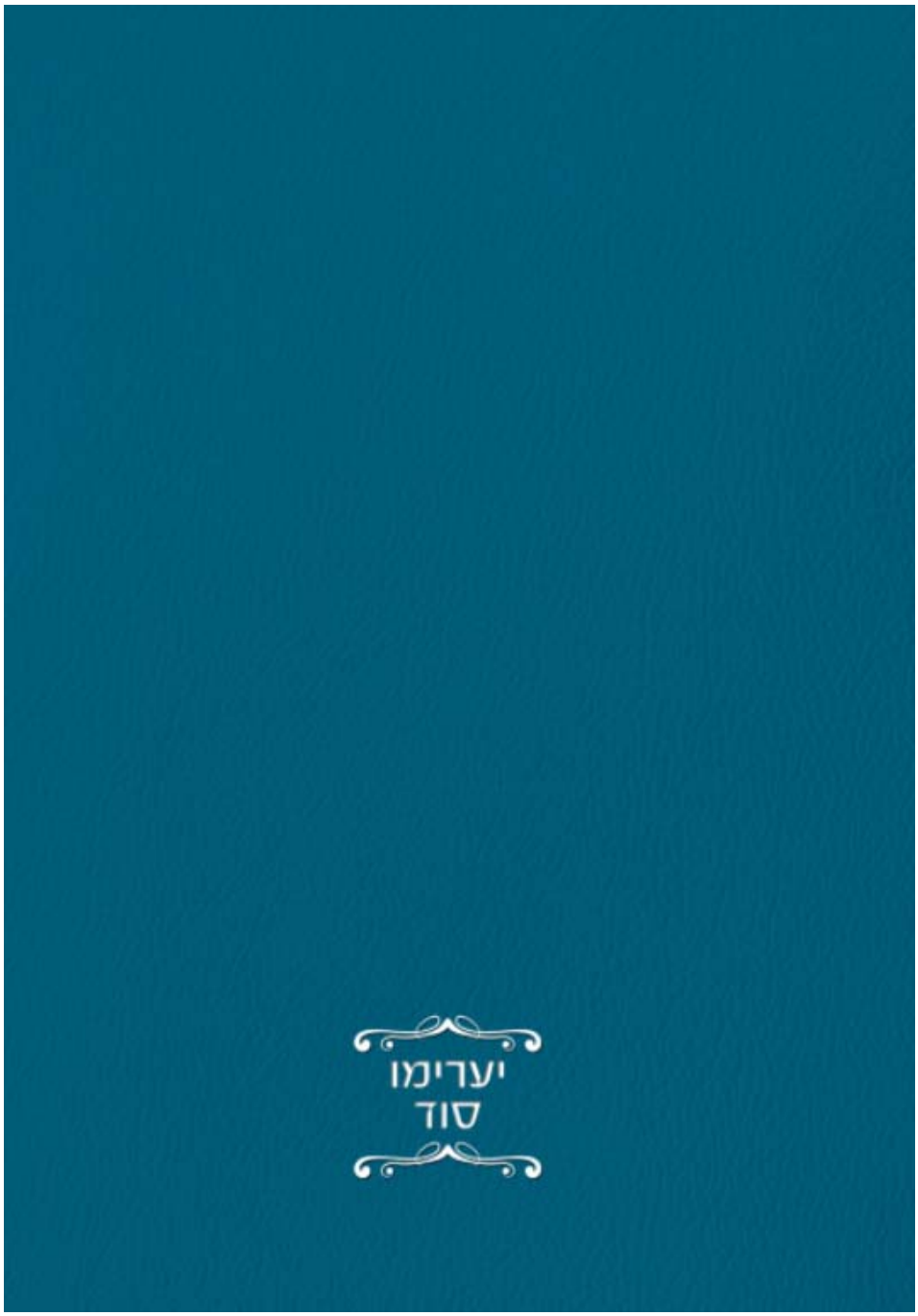
Then he started telling me, "You have no idea how many think tanks we set up for the express purpose of changing chareidim into Israelis and minimizing the differences between us.

"We sat for endless hours with researchers, professors, and doctors, liberal rabbanim*, and chareidi media personalities, and then we reached a conclusion: budget cuts won't help, not economic sanctions, not attacks on the yeshivos—all these just cause the chareidim to resist more. We decided that only one thing can help us get the job done."*

Then he pulled out his Smartphone from his pocket, waved it in front of our eyes, and said, "This will finish you off! This will get rid of your rabbanim*! With this, we can enter your homes, and you can't stop us."*

All of a sudden, something clicked in my brain. This is precisely what I had heard, almost word for word, at a lecture a few weeks ago by Rav Menachem Stein.

At the time, I had laughed at his screaming about the danger of iPhones… And here was sitting in front of me a secular Jew, a known marketing expert, saying exactly the same words, from the other direction… I can't get this out of my head. What do you think?


יערימו
סוד