



Israel Religious Action Center



Israel Movement for Reform
and Progressive Judaism

Racism and Gender in Israel

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Israel Movement for Reform and Progressive Judaism

Racism and Gender in Israel

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Rabbi Rick Jacobs, President of the Union for Reform Judaism:

"Racist and gender-inspired incitement has no place in a democratic society. In a Jewish state that is also democratic is especially heinous when those who do harm claim to be guided by religious edict or holy sources. This valuable report by IRAC not only documents the depth of the activities in the past few years in this regard, but offers guidance on how to advocate against it. As Reform Jews, we must remind ourselves daily that everyone is made in the image of God."

Rabbi David Saperstein, Director of the Religious Action Center:

"IRAC's new report on racist and gender-based incitement in Israel continues their groundbreaking and often courageous work to ensure Israel lives up to its highest ideals as a Jewish and democratic nation. Hatred in any form, but especially that which is rooted in antiquated stereotypes, is anathema to all people of goodwill. We Jews have been among the quintessential victims of such stereotyping, which sought to diminish our humanity and it is therefore particularly tragic when those who carry the mantle of religious authority in our community give legitimacy to the worst of human instincts, rather than cultivating values of respect, equality and tolerance that uplift the human spirit. IRAC's report sheds much-needed light on these issues that have, for too long, been allowed to grow unchecked. As ever, IRAC is changing Israel's national conversation and culture for the better."

This report has been published with the support and generosity of Lewis Eigen and Ramona Arnett.

Preface

This report makes for uncomfortable reading. It presents dozens of examples of racist incitement against Arabs in Israel based on the vilification that Arab men are predators who seek to ensnare Jewish girls and women in their net. "Every day the emergency hotline of Yad L'Achim receives seven calls for help (2,555 calls a year). Can we allow these miserable souls to languish in Arab villages without anyone coming to their rescue?" (Yad L'Achim newsletter about Jewish women being held captive, February 24, 2013).

Although the Israel Police has unequivocally confirmed that there is no such phenomenon of Jewish women being kidnapped by Arab men, the level of incitement around this issue continues to rise. Organizations and public figures issue warnings and "rescue stories," with an emphasis on relations between Jewish women and Arab men. They encourage fear of assimilation in order to promote their xenophobic message and to exacerbate suspicion and segregation between the Jewish and Arab communities in Israel. This wave of racism is an insult to Judaism and to Jewish morality and casts a grave shadow over modern-day Israel.

Allegations that minority groups seek to harm women from the majority population have been seen in some of the darkest periods of human history in general, and Jewish history in particular. This makes it all the more important that a clear Jewish voice be raised against these racist tendencies and in favor of strengthening Israeli democracy. This report is presented with a strong sense of frustration. No one can doubt the consequences of incitement and hatred. The Israeli authorities, and the Knesset in particular, must use all the tools available to them to stop the flood of incitement before it leads to bloodshed.


Anat Hoffman

Executive Director, Israel Religious Action Center

Introduction

In recent years Israel has seen a steady rise in the phenomenon of racist incitement, including incitement drawing on Jewish religious sources and themes as a basis for xenophobia and hatred of strangers.¹ This phenomenon includes a sharp rise in racist incitement concerning relations between Jewish women and Arab men.² Several organizations, associations, and Orthodox rabbis have devoted themselves to the struggle to defend “the honor of Jewish women,” to distance them from Arab men, and to “save” them from assimilation and intermarriage.

In the 1980s, Member of Knesset Meir Kahane claimed that Arab men were threatening to steal “our” wives and daughters.³ At the time his claims were seen as part of an extremist ideology and were roundly rejected.⁴ Today such comments are no longer confined to the margins but are becoming increasingly common in Israeli discourse, and have even found their way into official debates in Israel’s parliament, the Knesset. Those behind this racist incitement manipulate the emotions of a people committed to

¹ Israel Religious Action Center, *The Israel Movement for Reform and Progressive Judaism, Love the Stranger as Yourself: Racism in the Name of Halacha* (2011): <http://www.irac.org/userfiles/racism-report.pdf>

² For statistics concerning rising racism and racist incitement, see:

The Coalition Against Racism in Israel, *2010 Racism Report*:

<http://www.fightracism.org/en/Article.asp?aid=134>;

The Coalition Against Racism in Israel, *2011 Racism Report*:

<http://www.fightracism.org/en/Article.asp?aid=91>;

The Coalition Against Racism in Israel, *2012 Racism Report*:

<http://www.fightracism.org/en/cat.asp?cat=12>;

The Coalition Against Racism, *2013 Racism Report*:

<http://www.fightracism.org/en/Article.asp?aid=398>

³ Raz Yosef, “Homoland: Interracial Sex and the Israeli-Palestinian Conflict in Israeli Cinema,” *8 J. LESBIAN & GAY STUD.* 553, 553 (2002).

⁴ The attitude toward Member of Knesset Meir Kahane and his ideology is illustrated in HCJ 399/85 *Member of Knesset Meir Kahane v Executive Board of the Israel Broadcasting Authority*, October 17, 1985; Yosef Zuriel & Yehoshua Bitzur, “Kahane’s Speech: A Plenum Empty of Students,” *Ma’ariv*, November 13, 1985.

maintaining their own unique identity and of parents who seek to protect their daughters from any ill. These emotions are exploited with the goal of imposing complete segregation between Jews and Arabs in Israel, isolating and humiliating the Arab community in Israel, and depicting it as a dangerous enemy against which defense is essential.

In light of the growing potency and frequency of these racist manifestations, it is important to discuss the issue openly and directly. This report presents a collection of racist and misogynous statements presented under the guise of a legitimate war against assimilation. In reality, however, this is not a campaign to preserve the unique character of the Jewish people, but rather manifestations of gross racism against non-Jews. Under the pretext of “saving the Jewish people,” ensuring its future, and protecting its daughters, serious and overt expressions of racism are heard in the public domain. This incitement has even led to several physical attacks on Arab men and youth on the pretext that they were exploiting or harming Jewish women.

It is important to emphasize that this phenomenon is not unique to the State of Israel; however, this only serves to underscore its gravity. Manifestations of racism focusing on relations between “foreign” men and “our” women have been seen throughout human history, but are particularly associated with societies that emphasize national honor and with regimes that have openly adopted racist policies and enshrined these in law. Examples of such societies include the former system of racial segregation in the United States, Apartheid in South Africa, and Nazi Germany. At the present point in time, Israeli society should stop and ask itself whether it really wants to slide further down this slippery slope.

In the early 2000s, the Israel Religious Action Center (IRAC) began to work in the legal and public spheres to combat racism in Israel, focusing in particular on racist incitement by public and rabbinical figures. IRAC’s work includes repeated demands for the attorney-general to prosecute those responsible for racist incitement; establishing the Coalition Against Racism in Israel in

cooperation with peer organizations;⁵ publishing reports; and arranging conferences and public campaigns on the issue.⁶ As we expanded our work in the field of racism, we became aware of the particular phenomenon discussed in this report – incitement to racism and incitement to violence in the context of relations between Jewish women and non-Jewish men.

Neither the general public nor the nation's leaders condemn these kind of racist manifestations. The legal response to such incitement is also inadequate. The result is that racist statements become part of accepted public discourse. The organizations and individuals that disseminate incitement in this context exploit the support of official bodies in an effort to create the illusion of a broad-based and acute social problem. For example, the Israeli Knesset has held debates based on misleading and unreliable information, while the media has published one-sided stories about young Jewish women “kidnapped” by Arab men and about the organizations that claim to “save” these women.⁷

This report aims to draw attention to these manifestations of racism and to expose their underlying goals: to marginalize Arab citizens in Israel, to prevent coexistence between Jews and Arabs, and to impose a misogynist perception of women as passive pawns in the conflict who lack any will of

⁵ See the website of the Coalition Against Racism in Israel:
<http://www.fightracism.org/en/>

⁶ For further details about IRAC's struggle against racism, see
<http://www.datumedina.org.il/IssuePage.aspx?id=11#.UIOLHnk8BSI> ; *Love the Stranger as Yourself*, note 1 above.

⁷ “Five incidents in the past month of kidnapping of Jewish girls in the Northern Negev,” *Reshet Bet* radio, December 26, 2011
<http://www.iba.org.il/bet/?type=1&entity=809610&topic=916>; “Rafi Reshef: Nofar Ben Hamo, aged 15, from Lod has been missing from home for a month” (*Channel 10*, December 11, 2010) <http://www.youtube.com/watch?v=31GOLuEFoRs>;
“Rafi Reshef: Missing girl Nofar Ben Hamo found” (*Channel 10*, February 7, 2012) http://youtube.com/watch?feature=player_embedded&v=AGGNxVpmarl; “Fact: Southern Arabs Ensnare Jewish Girls” (*Channel Two*, April 3, 2011); <http://www.youtube.com/watch?v=JYJEfhVnxu4>;

their own. We hope that the report will encourage meaningful discussion of this phenomenon in public, social, academic, and political circles and inspire the relevant authorities to take action on this matter.

We begin by reviewing the phenomenon of incitement dealing with relations between Jewish women and Arab men. This review includes all the incidents documented by IRAC since 2004. We also present the most important organizations and rabbis involved in this type of incitement. The following chapter, *Racism and the Struggle against Assimilation*, discusses the difference between legitimate opposition to assimilation and racist incitement drawing on ostensibly similar motifs. The report then turns to the gender-related aspects of this phenomenon of incitement. In the chapter *Racism and Sexism*, we discuss the use of the woman's body to symbolize the national conflict. The following chapter, *Obedient Women and Men to the Rescue*, considers the gender structuring imposed by those responsible for this incitement. This gender structuring is typical of societies that emphasize national honor; in the Israeli context, it positions Jewish women as passive objects who lack control over their own fate. Jewish men, meanwhile, are portrayed as heroes who come to their rescue. The last chapter examines the attitude toward "foreign" men and stereotypes about their violent and uncontrolled sexuality and their alleged desire to defile Jewish women. The report ends with a list of practical recommendations for action.

A Description of the Problem

A number of organizations, associations, and Orthodox rabbis in Israel have devoted themselves to a campaign to “defend the honor of Jewish women,” to distance these women from Arab men, and to “save” them from assimilation and intermarriage. Some of the main organizations involved in these actions are Yad L’Achim (“A Hand for Brothers”), Lev L’Achim (“A Heart for Brothers,”) Lehava (“Flame,“), Hemla (“Compassion,“) Derekh Chaim (“Way of Life,“), and the website Hakol Hayehudi (“the Jewish Voice.”) Rabbi Shmuel Eliyahu, the chief rabbi of the city of Safed (Tzfat), is one of the Orthodox rabbis most identified with these activities. The racist ideology examined in this report is disseminated through flyers, wall posters, conferences, websites, radio broadcasts, advertising campaigns, and even on the Knesset podium.

Activities intended to prevent assimilation have been taking place for many years. The new, alarming aspect is a trend of racist incitement that seeks to mark Arabs as schemers, seducers, and abusers in order to create walls of suspicion and hostility that will prevent any relations between the Arab and Jewish communities in Israel. This type of incitement naturally leads to serious violence, which is in turn welcomed by the inciters: *“The police and the media here are lynching young Jewish boys. I don’t know exactly what happened but I imagine that what’s going on is that every day Jewish girls are attacked by Arab men and have nowhere to turn. They go the police and the police doesn’t respond. So I guess these boys decided to lift Jewish honor up from the ground and do what the police should have done, and seek justice on the Arab men who harassed the Jewish girls. It’s a pity that it is left to young men to do this, instead of the police dealing with it. A young Arab man who wants to find a girl should look in his own village, he shouldn’t come to us here in Jerusalem in the mall. Let him look in his village and harass the women there – Jewish girls are not free for all.”*⁸ This violence in turn serves the interests

⁸ Chezki Ezra, “Lehava: Our Girls Are Not Free for All,” *Arutz Sheva*, August 21, 2008.

of the organizations involved, since it provokes suspicion and a tendency to segregation not only among Jews, but also among Arab residents afraid that they will be victims of violence. We should emphasize that Israeli law prohibits violence, and specifically violence motivated by hatred or racism.⁹ The police investigates specific instances of violence, and in many cases suspects are indicted. This report concentrates on examining the discourse that forms the foundation for racist incitement and prepares the ground for acts of violence such as those mentioned above.

The offense of racial incitement was enacted in Israel in the 1980s¹⁰ against the background of a growing wave of racism and a conviction that the problem must be confronted, for the first time, in legislation.¹¹ Israeli law defines racism as “persecution, humiliation, degradation, manifestation of enmity, hatred or violence, or causing of strife toward a public or parts of the population due to color or racial affiliation or ethno-national origin.”¹² The offense of racial incitement prohibits a publication intended to incite to racism: the offense is present whether or not the publication indeed led to racism.¹³ It is worth noting that the law emphasizes the prohibition of the racist statement itself, based on the rationale that inciting public opinion

⁹ Article 1144 of the Penal Code, 5737-1977 establishes that an offense committed out of a motive of racism or hostility toward a section of the population constitutes aggravating circumstances.

¹⁰ Article 144B of the Penal Code.

¹¹ Explanatory Notes to the Penal Code (Amendment No. 24), 5745-1985, Government Proposed Laws 1728 193, 195.

¹² Article 144A of the Penal Code.

¹³ Article 144B of the Penal Code: “(A) A person who publishes something with the goal of inciting to racism is liable to five years’ imprisonment. (B) For the purpose of this section, it is immaterial whether the publication led to racism or not, and whether or not it was truthful.” Article 34X of the Penal Code, 5737-1977 defines what constitutes a “publication” as follows: “A document, written matter, computer material, or any other visual display, as well as any aural means liable to convey words or ideas, whether on their own or with the assistance of any means.” For detailed discussion of the question of the legality of some of the manifestations of incitement mentioned in this report, and for details concerning incitement by rabbis, see: *Love the Stranger as Yourself*, note 1 above.

against a particular group, as undertaken by all the organizations and rabbis in the incidents discussed below, constitutes, in itself, a dangerous and destructive action.¹⁴

The following pages detail incidents of racial incitement brought to IRAC's attention since 2004 that deal with relations between Arab men and Jewish women. For ease of reading, the incidents are grouped in several categories according to the method of incitement: Flyers and publications, conferences and demonstrations, statements by rabbis, and other activities.

¹⁴ Additional definitions of racism apply in other contexts. For example, the International Convention on the Elimination of All Forms of Racial Discrimination, to which Israel is a signatory, defines racial discrimination as "any distinction, exclusion, restriction or preference based on race, color, descent, or national or ethnic origin which has the purpose or effect of nullifying or impairing the recognition, enjoyment or exercise, on an equal footing, of human rights and fundamental freedoms in the political, economic, social, cultural or any other field of public life." Article 1A of the International Convention on the Elimination of All Forms of Racial Discrimination (opened for signatures in 1966).

Flyers and Publications

Flyers in Safed Warning about “Arab Seducers”

In 2004 IRAC contacted the attorney-general for the first time¹⁵ about manifestations of racism involving relations between Jewish women and Arab men. IRAC asked that an investigation on suspicion of racist incitement be opened against the organization **Yad L’Achim***. This organization distributed flyers in the northern Israeli city of Safed warning Jewish women of *“Arabs who wander about among you and attempt to seduce you... To take you to Arab villages and to abuse you and to let out all their hatred on you.”*

Rabbi Shmuel Eliyahu,** the chief rabbi of Safed, also commented on this subject: *“This is another kind of war that the Palestinians wage against us, and we have to know how to defend ourselves against it. This relates to young Jewish women... seduced by young Arab men... And we bear an obligation*

* **Yad L’Achim** (“A Hand for Brothers”) is an organization established in 1950 that defines its goal as being “to refuse to abandon a single Jewish soul.” The organization claims that the phenomenon of young Jewish women who find themselves trapped in Arab villages is increasing dangerously. Yad L’Achim operates a “Rescue Department” that seeks to save these girls and women, including by means of extracting them from Arab villages and housing them in a secret apartment. /http://yadleachim.co.il

** **Rabbi Shmuel Eliyahu**, the chief rabbi of Safed, was indicted in the past on three counts of racial incitement (in one instance, he called for all Arab students to be expelled from Safed College and from the city in general). In a series of media interviews during the period October-December 2010, Rabbi Eliyahu reiterated his claim that there is a deliberate plan by Arabs to seize control of Jewish land and that (all) Arabs are “enemies,” and accordingly Jews should not associate with them or sell or rent them apartments. In this series of interviews Rabbi Eliyahu repeatedly stated that Arabs living in Safed are responsible for harassing Jewish girls and collectively accused them of a cruel and degrading attitude toward women. Following this series of statements the attorney general decided to open an additional police investigation against Rabbi Eliyahu on suspicion of incitement to racism. However, he later closed the investigation on the grounds that it was impossible to prove beyond reasonable doubt that it was Rabbi Eliyahu who made the comments – despite the fact that, in some cases, these comments were apparently made in public with an audience present. (During the police investigation, Rabbi Eliyahu denied some of the comments).

¹⁵ IRAC has asked the attorney general to open investigations into those responsible for many of the incidents of racial incitement described in this report.

to save them... The young Jewish women were taken as servants and cannot escape."¹⁶

Posters in Jewish Neighborhoods of Jerusalem Opposing the Employment of Arabs

The past two years have seen a sharp rise in racist manifestations dealing with the sexuality of Jewish women and their relations with non-Jewish men. In some cases, these manifestations have descended into actual violence. In February 2011 announcements were distributed in the Pisgat Ze'ev neighborhood of Jerusalem urging residents to refrain from employing Arabs, with an emphasis on the alleged danger of assimilation.¹⁷

In May 2011 the **Lehava**^{***} organization posted announcements in Haredi neighborhoods in Jerusalem attacking supermarkets from the "Yesh" chain – a Haredi brand of the Shufersal network. The announcements were entitled "Do

***** Lehava** means "flame" in Hebrew and is also an acronym for "preventing assimilation in the Holy Land." Lehava works in cooperation with the "World Headquarters for Saving the People and the Land" and declares that it "aims to save girls of the Jewish People who have been seduced into forming relations with a *goy* (non-Jew)." The organization has repeatedly published its ideology, which advocates hatred of Arabs in Israel and is based on racially-oriented and alarmist incitement. Lehava's basic message is that Arabs are enemies of Israel and that contact with them will lead to disaster and to the kidnapping of Jewish girls to Arab villages. The organization runs media campaigns designed to disseminate its ideology, including the distribution of flyers, newsletters, video clips, and media interviews. Lehava operates volunteers around Israel, a hotline, and a website: <http://www.leava.022.co.il/BRPortal/br/P100.jsp>. The organization is headed by Benzi Gopstein, a right-wing activist who was reportedly a follower of Kahane, Uri Blau and Shai Greenberg, "Kahane Lives on in Welfare," *Ha'aretz*, May 7, 2011: <http://www.haaretz.co.il/misc/1.1173276>

¹⁶ Tal Hassin, "Even the Elders of Safed Do Not Remember Such Incitement," *Ha'aretz* August 4, 2004: <http://www.haaretz.co.il/misc/1.988104>

¹⁷ "Announcements Opposing Employment of Arabs Distributed in Pisgat Ze'ev Neighborhood in Jerusalem," *Hakol Hayehudi*, February 14, 2011: <http://www.hakolhayehudi.co.il/?p=4456>

you want your grandson to be called Ahmad Ben Sarah?" and criticized the chain for employing Arabs.¹⁸

Announcements against the Employment of Arabs in Beitar Illit

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In June 2011 it was reported that residents of the Haredi city of Beitar Illit in the West Bank distributed announcements and wall posters urging local residents not to employ Arab workers.¹⁹ The announcements and wall posters included numerous themes relating to associations between Jewish girls and non-Jews. For example, it was claimed that *"recently there have been a large number of incidents in our holy city 'Beitar Illit' in which members of minorities have ensnared Jewish daughters."* The publications continued: *"The fate and future of the Daughters of Israel rest in your hands! Residents have decided to warn openly so that business owners can take 'full' responsibility for the hazard they bring to our area. / All Jews are liable for each other. / We all bear responsibility for the fate of Jewish souls."*²⁰ Local residents did not confine themselves to posting the announcements, but also declared the establishment of a hotline: *"In light of the appalling phenomenon that is occurring in our city, particularly in the shopping centers and on public transportation, it has been decided to establish an emergency telephone hotline so that important information about Jewish girls who have been ensnared by members of minorities can be conveyed."*²¹

¹⁸ Uri Blau and Shai Greenberg, "Kahane Lives on in Welfare," *Ha'aretz*, May 7, 2011: <http://www.haaretz.co.il/misc/1.1173276>; Yehoshua Breiner, "Right-Wing Campaign: 'Your Grandson Will Be Called Ahmad Ben Sarah,'" *Walla!*, August 1, 2010: <http://news.walla.co.il/?w=/90/1716795>

¹⁹ Yeroham Shmuelovich, "Beitar Illit Residents in War on Employment of Arabs," *Lada'at Net*, June 17, 2011.

²⁰ *Ibid.*

²¹ Yonni Gabbai, "Danger of Assimilation in Beitar Illit: Special Emergency Telephone Hotline Established," *Kikar Hashabbat*, June 24, 2011: <http://www.kikarhashabat.co.il/%D7%A2%D7%A8%D7%91%D7%99%D7%9D-7.html>

IDF Soldiers Given Flyers Declaring “The War Is at Home”

Early the same year, in January 2011, the **Derekh Chaim*** movement and **Rabbi Yitzhak Shapira**** launched a public campaign under the slogan “The War Is at Home.” As part of the campaign, thousands of flyers were distributed to IDF soldiers urging them to participate in the war on assimilation: *“To the dear young Jewish men – peace and blessing. / You are in the army – but at home a war is raging / The Arab media have urged young Arab men to harass Jewish women as part of the war against the State of Israel. / Many young men from the Arab sector are responding to this call. They see themselves as soldiers committed to obscuring our Jewish identity. / When you go home – pay attention to what’s going on around you: If someone is attacking or seducing Jewish women, don’t ignore it, your help is needed. / In any battle a soldier needs to show resourcefulness and think for himself what is the best and most effective thing to do. This is all the more the case in this kind of war. / This war is different from a regular war, it needs plenty of Jewish wisdom*

* **The Derekh Chaim** (“way of life”) movement, founded by Rabbi Ginsburg, founder and co-head of the Od Yosef Chai Yeshiva in the settlement of Yitzhar, believes that Israel should be governed in accordance with the Torah. Among other activities, the movement is active in addressing “the Arab penetration into Jewish neighborhoods throughout the country” and in “correcting” the combat morality in the IDF. Derekh Chaim also operates the website Hakol Hayehudi (“the Jewish voice”). The movement runs a project called “Jews love Jews,” that includes the distribution of stickers and activities against assimilation, such as a march in Zion Square in Jerusalem protesting that “Arabs come here and harass Jewish girls.”

** **Rabbi Yitzhak Shapira** is the co-head of Od Yosef Chai yeshiva in Yitzhar and one of the authors of the book “The King’s Torah.” This book, published by the yeshiva in October 2009, discusses the origins and details of Jewish religious laws concerning the killing of non-Jews in times of peace and war. The book is replete with grave racist statements inciting to sedition and violence against Arabs and other minorities in the State of Israel. Among other conclusions, the authors argue that while a non-Jew is prohibited to kill a non-Jew, and is liable to the death penalty if he does, a Jew may kill a non-Jew. A Jew may do so even if the non-Jew is not encouraging murder, in order to save his own life; it is permitted to kill completely innocent persons, including babies, in order to save Jewish lives; it is permissible to kill babies if they will be raised to be “wicked as their parents.” These statements are ostensibly based on Jewish religious law and tradition, and enjoy Halachic support (in a traditional “letter of consent” prefaced to the book) from four well-known rabbis: Yitzhak Ginsburg, head of Od Yosef Chai Yeshiva; Yaacov Yosef, the rabbi of the Givat Moshe neighborhood in Jerusalem and head of Chazon Yaacov Yeshiva; Zalman Nechemiah Goldberg (who later withdrew his consent and even criticized the book); and Dov Lior, the rabbi of Kiryat Arba.

and lots of Jewish feeling. / When you are at home – you are not on leave: At home you are in a war zone.”²²

<p>בס"ד לבחורי ישראל היקרים, שלום וברכה. אתה בצבא - ובבית מתנהלת מלחמה בתקשורת הערבית התפרסמה קריאה לצעירים ערבים להטריד בנות יהודיות כחלק מהמלחמה במדינת ישראל. צעירים רבים מהמגזר הערבי נענים לקריאה זו. הם מרגישים חיילים שמגויסים לטשטוש הזהות היהודית שלנו. כשאתה בבית – שים לב מסביבך : אם משהו תוקף או מפתה את בנות ישראל. אל תתעלם, עזרתך נחוצה. חייל בכל קרב צריך לגלות תושיה, ולחשוב בעצמו מה הדבר הנכון והיעיל ביותר לעשות. כל שכן במלחמה כזו. המלחמה הזו שונה ממלחמה רגילה, צריך בשבילה הרבה שכל יהודי והרבה רגש יהודי. כשאתה בבית – אתה לא בחופשה; בבית אתה נמצא בוירת המלחמה.</p> <p>ברכת "חזק ואמץ" הרב יצחק שפירא ראש ישיבת "עוד יוסף חי"</p>	<p>To the dear young Jewish men – peace and blessing. You are in the army – but at home a war is raging The Arab media have urged young Arab men to harass Jewish women as part of the war against the State of Israel. Many young men from the Arab sector are responding to this call. They see themselves as soldiers committed to obscuring our Jewish identity. When you go home – pay attention to what's going on around you: If someone is attacking or seducing Jewish women, don't ignore it, your help is needed. In any battle a soldier needs to show resourcefulness and think for himself what is the best and most effective thing to do. This is all the more the case in this kind of war. This war is different from a regular war, it needs plenty of Jewish wisdom and lots of Jewish feeling. When you are at home – you are not on leave: At home you are in a war zone.</p>
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Expelling Arabs from the Pisgat Ze'ev Neighborhood of Jerusalem

An additional announcement published on the website Hakol Hayehudi*** in the same month, which was also initiated by Rabbi Yitzhak Shapira, describes successful efforts by residents of the Pisgat Ze'ev neighborhood to expel Arabs from the neighborhood: *"Pisgat Ze'ev is a large Jewish neighborhood in the north of Jerusalem. The neighborhood is surrounded on almost all sides by Arab neighborhoods and villages. "In recent years there has been a clear erosion in the Jewish character of the neighborhood. Many young Arab men choose to spend their leisure time in the neighborhood parks and in the mall. The Arabs feel that they are the 'kings of the neighborhood.' As a result,*

²² "Rabbi Yitzhak Shapira to Soldiers: 'The Real War Is at Home.'" *Hakol Hayehudi*, January 16, 2011: <http://www.hakolhayehudi.co.il/?p=3136>; "'Derekh Chaim' Movement in Publicity Campaign Targeting IDF Soldiers – 'The War Is at Home,'" *Hakol Hayehudi*, July 16, 2011: <http://www.hakolhayehudi.co.il/?p=11216>, July 16, 2011.

*** The website **Hakol Hayehudi** ("The Jewish voice") is a news site run by an association called **Yehudim Smechim** ("Happy Jews") – <http://www.hakolhayehudi.co.il>. The association also edits and distributes a journal of the same name and uploads video clips on YouTube. The association's aims are "to act to educate Jews in Israel and abroad, using the electronic, written, and other media, in all languages, and to establish and support Jewish educational projects in Israel and in the Diaspora" (articles of the association **Yehudim Smechim**). Regular themes on the

website include articles about the book "The King's Torah," which uses Jewish religious law as a pretext for permitting the killing of Arab citizens; sympathetic reports on "Price Tag" attacks; incitement against foreign workers, refugees, and asylum seekers; incitement against Arab workers; seditious messages against the army; and reports on the association's publicity campaigns to prevent relationships between Arab men and Jewish women, such as those run by the organizations **Lehava** and **Hemla**.

סיפור המאבק בפסגת זאב:

פסגת זאב הינה שכונת יהודית גדולה בעמק יזרעלים. השכונה מוקפת סביבה מוצל עבריה בשטחים ובפרטים עירוביים. בשנים האחרונות חלה הידרדרות ניכרת במצבן החודשי של השכונה. צעירים ערבים רבים נהגו לבלות בפארקים ובקניון של השכונה. הערבים הרגישו "מלכי השכונה".

התוצאה מוכר למעלה מ-100 מנות ישראל נסלו בשרותם ואף נכדו להתגורר בכפרים ערבים. נטיות קיצוניות פורו ואף נאנסו בפארקים ובחניונים בשעות לילה מאוחרות.

קבוצת תושבים התגבשה למעולה. האסעלו סידורים עליו מתגוררים בשעות הלילה. משמרות עם שלטים וחולצות שעליות הכתובות "יהודים בואו נגנה" "לפסגת זאב יהודית", התגבשו בחוצות הפסגת. לחודות העישה הצטרפו סמילים נוספים שהתגוררו באופן מועדי בכדי להסטיק כל קשר מסוה.

התוצאה: התוסעה הכוזבת הוספקה. לפסגת בכורה הללויה. האוירה השתנתה העירבים כבר אינם "מלכי השכונה". הכל למורת רוחם של השמואל. התקשורת ובתי המשפט. בבחירות שנערכו למנהלת השכונה. קיבל משה בן זקרי – סנייל מרכזי שנלחם בתוסעה שזכה בתואר "גיבור השכונה" את מירב הקולות.

**בעזרת השם נהפוך מ"גיבורי
השכונה" ל"מלכי השכונה".**

The Story of the Struggle in Pisgat Ze'ev:

Pisgat Ze'ev is a large Jewish neighborhood in the north of Jerusalem. The neighborhood is surrounded on almost all sides by Arab neighborhoods and villages. In recent years there has been a clear erosion in the Jewish character of the neighborhood. Many young Arab men choose to spend their leisure time in the neighborhood parks and in the mall.

The Arabs feel that they are the 'kings of the neighborhood.'

As a result, over one hundred (!) Jewish girls have been ensnared and have even moved to Arab villages. Minor girls have been seduced and even raped in the parks and car parks late at night.

A group of residents has come together to take action and volunteers are patrolling at night. They carry signs and wear shirts saying "Jews have come to win" and "Pisgat Ze'ev is Jewish." They have been joined by activists who help them put a stop to indecent relations.

As a result, these despicable incidents appear to have stopped. The atmosphere has changed. The Arabs are no longer "kings of the neighborhood" to the displeasure of the lefties, the press and the courts. In the elections that were held for the neighborhood council, Moshe Ben Zakri, an activist who fought the phenomenon and was given the title "neighborhood hero," received most of the votes.

With God's help we will turn the "neighborhood heroes" into the "neighborhood kings."

over one hundred (!) Jewish girls have been ensnared and have even moved to Arab villages. Minor girls have been seduced and even raped in the parks and car parks late at night."²³

²³ "Rabbi Yitzhak Shapira to Soldiers," note 22 above.

“At First Everything Was Rosy” – Flyer Warns High School Girls about Arab Men

In September 2011 an anonymous flyer was distributed at the entrance to high schools in Tel Aviv and in the Tiberias area. Entitled “At First Everything Was Rosy,”²⁴ the flyer warns Jewish girls not to submit to wooing by Arab or minority men since they are hypocritical, deceitful, and violent. The flyer claims that the Arab man will steal the Jewish girl’s liberty and children and place her life in danger. The publication warns that *“things always start off rosy, but as soon as the situation heats up your life will be in danger.”*²⁵ Although the flyer is unsigned, it includes the telephone number of a hotline that is operated by the Lev L’Achim association.²⁶

Yom Kippur “Confession” for those who Encourage Marriages between Arab Men and Jewish Women

Ahead of Yom Kippur in 2011, the Lehava organization distributed a flyer containing a text worded in the style of the traditional Yom Kippur confession and intended for people whom the organization accuses of encouraging intermarriage between Arab men and Jewish women.²⁷ The text is based

²⁴ Ety Dor Nachum, “Tiberias: Broadsheet Urges Jewish Girls Not to Date Arabs,” *mynet Valley and Galilee*, September 21, 2011: <http://www.mynet.co.il/articles/0,7340,L-4124912,00.html>

²⁵ *Ibid.*

²⁶ We should note that the hotline claims that it was not behind the flyer. Lev L’Achim (“a heart for brothers”) was established some 15 years ago with the goal of “heightening the dissemination of Torah among the People of Israel.” The association is active throughout Israel and involved mainly in running religious lessons, home study groups, and activities for young people and in registering children to religious educational institutions. The organization also has a department that seeks to combat Christian missionary activities and assimilation; it claims that the department “saves girls and women who have been seduced by Arabs and later suffered violence.” <http://www.il144.co.il/%D7%9B%D7%AA%D7%91%D7%95%D7%AA/%D7%9C%D7%91%20%D7%9C%D7%90%D7%97%D7%99%D7%9D.htm>

²⁷ Kobi Nachshon, “Campaign: ‘For the Sin We Committed by Leasing Homes to Arabs,’” *YNET*, October 5, 2011: <http://www.YNET.co.il/articles/0,7340,L-4131935,00.html>

on the prayer “For the sin we have committed before You,” which is recited several times during the course of the fast day. Lehava points an accusing finger at all those who it believes contribute to assimilation: marketing chains that employ non-Jewish men and Jewish girls alongside each other; bus companies that employ non-Jews to drive school buses; national service associations that place religious Jewish girls in locations where non-Jews are present; and restaurant owners who employ non-Jewish waiters and Jewish waitresses together. All these “sinners” are asked to repent at Yom Kippur for their role in assimilation, to employ Jews only, and to save Jewish women. The organization promises to pray for the success of all those who keep Arab men and Jewish women apart or who dismiss Arabs. The director of Lehava explained the purpose of the campaign: “Yom Kippur is a time for soul-searching. Many Jewish girls will not be fasting because they will be with their non-Jewish friends. Many Jewish families have been destroyed. Those responsible for this should ask for pardon and mend their ways in the future. We must fight assimilation in Israel, too – not only abroad.”²⁸

בקשת מחילה למעוררים התכולות



Request for Forgiveness for Those who Encourage Assimilation

For the Sin Committed Before You:
 Employing Enemies instead of Brothers
 Renting Homes to Enemies
 Employing non-Jews working together with Jewish Women
 Ignoring those who Warned
 Seeing Arabs harass Girls and remaining Silent
 Encouraging National Service together with non-Jews
 Seeing the Mother's Tears and Lying
 Employing non-Jewish Drivers to drive Jewish Girls
 Encouraging Meetings of Jewish and Arab Youth.
 For all these Sins Committed before You, knowing or unknowing, Forgiveness is asked, Forgive us, Pardon us, Absolve us.
 Presented as a service for the public, courtesy of the Lehava organization.

²⁸ Ibid.

“The Amazing Race – The Race to Assimilation”

In November 2011 Lehava launched a campaign against the Israeli version of the television show “The Amazing Race” called “The Race to a Million.” The show featured a mixed couple – a Jewish woman and an Arab man. In a poster headed “The Race to Assimilation,” the organization urged viewers to boycott the program: *“Golda Meir once said that a Jew who marries a non-Jew joins the six million / This doesn't interest Reshet [the television franchise that runs the show] / They sell us a ‘nice story of assimilation’... / They want us to join the six millions. / This isn't The Race to a Million / But the race to destroy millions more Jews!”*²⁹

<p>המירוץ להתבוללות</p> <p>נולדה מאיר אמרה ביטנו שיהודי שנישא ללא יהודי מצטרף לששת המיליונים את רשת זה לא מנגיין הם מוכרים לנו "התבוללות יפה" את פיראט ושירה הם רוצים שנצטרף לששת המיליונים. זה לא המירוץ למיליון אלא המירוץ להשמדת עוד מיליוני יהודים! אנחנו רוצים חיים! מחרימים את המירוץ למיליון</p> <p>להב"ה נלחמים בהתבוללותו</p>	<p>The Race to Assimilation</p> <p>Golda Meir once said that a Jew who marries a non-Jew joins the six million</p> <p>This doesn't interest Reshet They sell us Firat and Shira as a 'nice story of assimilation'</p> <p>They want us to join the six millions. This isn't The Race to a Million But the race to destroy millions more Jews!</p> <p>We want life!</p> <p>Boycot the Race to a Million.</p> <p>Lehava - Fighting Assimilation</p>
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“Jewish Identity Facing the Test of Reality”

In March 2012 Derekh Chaim published a booklet titled “Jewish Identity Facing the Test of Reality.” The booklet discusses “concern for the interest of Jewish survival, particularly in the Land of Israel.” One of the booklet's

²⁹ Yehoshua Breiner, “The Amazing Race: ‘Boycott the Show because of the Mixed Couple,’” *Walla!*, November 1, 2011: <http://e.walla.co.il/?w=/6/1873300>

central issues is the question of assimilation.³⁰ It complains, for example, that despite the many instances of assimilation between Arab men and Jewish women employed in supermarkets, when the movement's activists sought to encourage supermarkets to only employ Jews, they discovered that this was illegal. Accordingly, the activists had no alternative *"but to attempt to cope with the problems of assimilation after the fact, rather than preventing them in advance."* An entire chapter in the booklet is titled "What They Call Equality – We Call Assimilation," detailing the ways in which "the establishment" drags the Jewish public into assimilation by preventing segregation between Jews and Arabs in daily life.³¹

An Invitation to the Wedding of Muhammad and Michal

In May 2012 Lehava launched a publicity campaign featuring a fictitious invitation to the wedding of Muhammad and Michal. The publication followed the format of a conventional Jewish wedding invitation, but added elements that incite against Arabs and against Islam. For example, the invitation proclaimed *"We will raise Al-Quds [the Arab name for Jerusalem] as our supreme joy... With praise to Allah akbar... to be held at the Shahid ["martyr" in Arabic, a term used to refer to someone who committed a terrorist attack in Israel] Banqueting Hall in Ramallah."* All these phrases are crude paraphrasing of traditional elements in the invitation. Where the names of the bride's parents would usually appear on the invitation, the text declares *"Hoping this isn't you."* The invitation was accompanied by a flyer stating: *"If you don't want your daughter's wedding invitation to look like this then.../Don't let her work with Arabs / She shouldn't perform national service with non-Jews*

³⁰ Yehoshua Hess, *Jewish Identity facing the Test of Reality* (Derekh Chaim Movement, 5772):
<http://www.derech-chaim.org/wp-content/uploads/2012/03/%D7%96%D7%94%D7%95%D7%AA-%D7%99%D7%94%D7%95%D7%93%D7%99%D7%AA-%D7%9C%D7%94%D7%A4%D7%A6%D7%94-%D7%91%D7%A8%D7%A9%D7%AA.pdf>

³¹ *Ibid.*, 19-21.

/ Don't shop in stores that employ enemies / Don't bring non-Jewish workers to your home."³²

Lehava claims that religious Jewish girls and Arab men often meet during national service, and accordingly the campaign targets the parents of girls in religious communities and seminaries.³³

Dating the Enemy

In 2012 activists from the Breslev Hassidic sect distributed a booklet entitled "Dating the Enemy,"

which sought to discourage relations between Jewish women and non-Jewish men. The booklet presents religious sources describing the danger of relations with non-Jews, as well as advice for "fallen" Jewish women – i.e. those who are already in a relationship with a non-Jewish man.³⁴

נכלה את אל-קוד על רגש סמולחנו

בשבת יחידת לילולה הוא אכבר
אבו יחזקאל להחיותנו ולשמור כלילות
ילדנו היקרים

מוחמד עבדי מיכל

שנתיים
כיום יחיד באלים האדונים
"השגחה" המאללה
החלה לפני השקיעה

אנו שמחים לרכז 'ל' אתה לרב'
לדעת המארחים נאמן וקרוב
o.leava@gmail.com

אם אתה לא רוצה
שכבה תראה ההזמנה
של הבת שלך
אז...
אל תחזן לה לעבוד עם ערבים
שלא תשרת שירות לאומי עם נשים
אל תקנה בחנויות המקסימים אויבים
אל תכניס עובדים נשים הביתה
תנסה לומר: תשמעו על הפת שלך
ש' אל אכבר מלכות...

הרב ר' יצחק
הרב ר' יצחק

We will raise Al Quds as our Supreme Joy
With praise to Allah akbar we are pleased to invite you to the
wedding of our dear children
Muhammad and Michal
to be held at the Shahid Banqueting Hall in Ramallah.
The ceremony will be held before sunset.
the parents of the groom: the parents of the bride:
Nabid and Um Jihad Hoping This Isn't You
Hebron

If you don't want your daughter's wedding
invitation to look like this then...
Don't let her work with Arabs
She shouldn't perform national service with non-Jews
Don't shop in stores that employ enemies
Don't bring non-Jewish workers to your home
Do us a favor, keep your daughter safe.
We have enough to do...
Lehava- for the Prevention of Assimilation in the Holy
Land Whoever Saves One Jewish Soul

³² Lehava website: <http://www.leava.022.co.il/BRPortal/br/P100.js>

³³ Yehoshua Breiner, "Campaign of Intimidation: 'Muhammad Marries Michal in Ramallah,'" *Walla!*, May 2, 2012: <http://home.walla.co.il/?w=/90/2529758>

³⁴ Yehuda Perl, "Dating the Enemy" – Breslev Hassidim Join the Battle," *Hakol Hayehudi*, July 18, 2012: <http://www.hakolhayehudi.co.il/?p=37791>

Flyers against the “Ma’ayan 2000” Supermarket Chain for Employing Arabs

In April 2013 flyers were distributed in the religious Beit Israel neighborhood of Jerusalem attacking the “Ma’ayan 2000” supermarket chain for employing Arab workers.³⁵ *“We have urged the owners in the strongest possible terms not to employ these terrorists, but unfortunately they ignored this... Anyone who can influence the managers of the ‘Ma’ayan 2000’ chain should do so... Otherwise, the ‘Ma’ayan 2000’ chain will bear responsibility for the results that occur in the neighborhood.”* The flyer was signed by residents of the neighborhood and the surrounding areas. The website Hakol Hayehudi stated that the flyers were distributed following an incident in which an Arab worker in the shop made a pass at a Jewish girl. Following the publication the manager of the branch promised the residents that the problem would be resolved.

Announcements Urge Defense of Safed’s Jewish Character

In April 2013 announcements were displayed in Safed calling for the protection of the neighborhood’s Jewish character. *“Together, let’s keep the neighborhood Jewish: Launching a campaign against assimilation.”* The announcements were signed by Lehava. In an interview on the website *Hakol Hayehudi*, Lehava director Bentzi Gopstein stated: *“In response to numerous requests we have received recently from the north, we have intensified our operations in the area, particularly in order to take pre-emptive action by encouraging residents to keep the neighborhood Jewish.”*³⁶

³⁵ Elhanan Gruner, “Jerusalem: Campaign against Employment of Arabs in the ‘Ma’ayan 2000’ Chain,” *Hakol Hayehudi*, April 25, 2013: <http://www.hakolhayehudi.co.il/?p=62451>

³⁶ Elhanan Gruner, “Announcements in Safed: ‘Let’s Keep the Neighborhood Jewish,’” *Hakol Hayehudi*, April 23, 2013: <http://www.hakolhayehudi.co.il/?p=61913>

Conferences, Demonstrations, and Tours

Residents of a Jerusalem Neighborhood Protest the Construction of a Permanent Home for a Joint Jewish-Arab School

28

In January 2006 residents of the Pat neighborhood in Jerusalem held a conference to discuss ways to prevent the construction of a permanent building in the neighborhood for a bilingual school that educates Jewish and Arab children together. A flyer distributed ahead of the conference declared: *"The establishment of this Jewish-Arab school represents an extremely grave threat to the Jewish, national, and social future of your children. To our great regret, we see that many Jewish girls are lost after they are seduced and misled, and then find themselves trapped in Arab villages."*³⁷ At the conference itself, neighborhood rabbi Amram Deri stated that girls who study with Arabs *"will also eventually go with them."* He claimed that he had visited a village near Jenin and seen a Jewish woman who had married an Arab man: *"What did they do with her? Make her this Arab's wife? Not at all! She became the servant to this Arab man's four Arab wives."* Another speaker at the conference was Rabbi Dov Lifschitz, chairman of Yad L'Achim, who warned that the plan to establish a bilingual school was a plot to promote assimilation among the Jewish people.³⁸

Conference in Kiryat Gat Warns Jewish Girls against Associating with Bedouin Men

In July 2011 Yad L'Achim held an "emergency conference" in the southern city of Kiryat Gat, organized by the director of the municipal welfare department. The conference was attended by municipal officials and the commander

³⁷ Shlomo Tzezana, *Net 02 (Jerusalem Online)*, January 9, 2006.

³⁸ Ze'ev Caspi, "Rabbi S.D. Lifschitz Questioned by Police," *Shturem.Net*, April 30, 2006: <http://www.shturem.net/index.php?section=news&id=5182>

of the local police station spoke at the event. The goal of the conference was to warn Jewish girls against associating with Bedouin men. The event included speeches by several public figures and the screening of a film titled "Sleeping with the Enemy." The film presents the testimonies of girls who had relationships with Bedouin men. Ministry of Welfare officials are quoted in the film as claiming that according to the Koran "*it is permissible to beat a woman, as long as her bones are not broken and no blood is shed.*"³⁹

"Emergency Conference" to Combat Assimilation in the Holy City of Safed

In October 2010 Rabbi Eliyahu held a conference in Safed titled "The Silent War: Fighting Assimilation in the Holy City of Safed." The conference was held in the hall of the city rabbinate and attended by some 400 people. Speakers included the extreme right-wing activist Baruch Marzel and a representative of Lehava. The speakers claimed that the root cause of the "problem" is the college situated in the city, most of whose students are Arab. They warned against the plan to establish a medical school in the city, which would be liable "*to exacerbate the problem enormously and impair the sacred nature of the holy city.*" Rabbi Eliyahu stated that the college can serve as a platform for the development of improper relations between Jewish women and Arab men."⁴⁰

³⁹ Sharon Novak, "Racial Segregation under the Auspices of Kiryat Gat Municipality," *Walla!*, July 16, 2007: <http://news.walla.co.il/?w=/90/1137929>; Itamar Inbari, "Racism with a Police Embrace," *Ma'ariv*, July 20, 2007.

⁴⁰ Eli Ashkenazi, "Rabbis' Conference to Displace Arabs from Safed Held with State Funding," *Ha'aretz*, October 20, 2010: <http://www.haaretz.co.il/news/politics/1.1225986>; Adi Ashkenazi, "Religious Conflict: Safed on Verge of Explosion," *nrg Ma'ariv*, October 24, 2010: <http://www.nrg.co.il/online/54/ART2/170/128.html>

Demonstration in Bat Yam to Keep the City Jewish

Some two months later, Lehava director Bentzi Gopstein organized a demonstration in Bat Yam intended “to keep Bat Yam Jewish.” Ahead of the demonstration, signs were displayed around the city calling for the protection of its Jewish character: *“They won’t make a pass at my sister! / What would you do if an Arab would hit on your sister? / Let’s put an end to it! ... Let’s cut back their self-confidence! / Jews – let’s win!”* Another sign declared: *“Let’s keep Bat Yam Jewish / Arabs are taking over Bat Yam / Buying and renting apartments from Jews / Taking the girls of Bat Yam and leading them astray! / 15,000 Jewish girls have been taken to the villages!”*⁴¹

Conference in Pisgat Ze’ev to Defend “the Jewish Character of the Neighborhood”

In August 2011 an “emergency conference” was held in the Pisgat Ze’ev neighborhood of Jerusalem to discuss “the Jewish character of the neighborhood.” The participants included Rabbi Yitzhak Shapira and Lehava director Bentzi Gopstein, who was quoted as saying: “We congratulate the residents who have woken up and are fighting assimilation. We hope people will wake up in other parts of Israel. We will walk around with a camera and document any Arab who makes a pass at a Jewish girl and distribute his picture in his village.” The conference also discussed ways to combat assimilation and the Arab “takeover” of the neighborhood.⁴²

⁴¹ Yoav Zeitun, “Demonstration against Arabs in Bat Yam: ‘They’re Dating Our Sisters,’” YNET, December 19, 2010: <http://www.YNET.co.il/articles/0,7340,L-4001297,00.html>

⁴² Chezki Ezra, “Pisgat Ze’ev: Afraid of Assimilation,” *Arutz Sheva*, August 15, 2011: <http://www.inn.co.il/News/News.aspx/224473>

Anti-Assimilation Tours

Bat Yam

In June 2012 Lehava activists began to organize anti-assimilation tours. In Bat Yam the activists wore shirts bearing the slogan “Jews – Let’s Win!” and distributed material describing the war on assimilation. Lehava director Bentzi Gopstein explained: “We strengthened the will of the local young men to remove hostile elements from the area...” “Lehava will continue to come to Milton School in Bat Yam and to anywhere else where we are asked to help due to an assimilation problem.”⁴³

Dimona

Lehava organized a patrol team in Dimona with the goal of preventing the “harassment” of local young women by Bedouin men. David Gozlan, the leader of the initiative, declared: “It won’t happen overnight, but I promise that with God’s help soon the Bedouin in the city will think twice before approaching a Jewish girl. We will not act violently, of course, but there are plenty of ways to ensure that no Jewish girl will face harassment by these Bedouin any longer. Unfortunately the girls are extremely frightened because of this harassment by Bedouin, but I promise that with God’s help a Bedouin man who sees a Jewish girl will cross to the other side of the street...”⁴⁴

Right-Wing Activists Attempt to Halt Wedding of a Young Jewish-Arab Couple

At the end of May 2013 the police stopped a bus of right-wing activists heading for the Arab village of Arabeh in northern Israel. The activists hoped

⁴³ Yehuda Perl, “Lehava Activists Come to Help Girl Students in Bat Yam,” *Hakol Hayehudi*, June 5, 2012: <http://www.hakolhayehudi.co.il/?p=34193>

⁴⁴ “Lehava Activists in Dimona to Patrol City to Prevent Harassment of Girls by Bedouin Men,” *Hakol Hayehudi*, June 10, 2012: <http://www.hakolhayehudi.co.il/?p=34628>

to prevent a wedding of a young Jewish woman and an Arab man that was being held in the village on the same day. The activists included former Member of Knesset Michael Ben Ari, extreme right-wing activist Baruch Marzel, and Lehava director Bentzi Gopstein, who initiated the action and even published the groom's telephone number on his Facebook page.⁴⁵ The police prevented the bus from reaching the wedding.

Statements by Rabbis

Rabbi Shmuel Eliyahu Opposes Renting or Sale of Apartments to Arabs

In October 2006 Rabbi Shmuel Eliyahu openly urged his audience not to rent or sell apartments to Arabs: *"The Arabs have raised their heads in Safed, too, and are beginning to harass every girl walking on the street. This isn't a local problem but a national war, a war for the generations..."*⁴⁶

Rabbis in Rosh Ha'ayin Oppose Encounters between Jewish and Arab Women

In March 2007 an encounter meeting between Jewish and Arab women was due to be held in Rosh Ha'ayin. Rabbi Basis, the city rabbi, and other local rabbis made grave statements attacking the event and eventually led to its postponement to May. The rabbis continued to act to cancel the event. Rabbi Yechiel Hindi, rabbi of a neighborhood in the city, declared: *"Every day*

⁴⁵ Rifat Akar and Adva Dadon, "Right-Wing Activist Bus Halted: 'We Won't Let a Jewish Woman Marry an Arab Man,'" *Channel Two News*, May 23, 2013: http://www.mako.co.il/news-israel/local/Article-04cccaa42b2de31004.htm&Partner=facebook_share

⁴⁶ Sharon Dahan, "Safed City Rabbi at Conference in Akko: Do Not Sell or Rent Apartments to Arabs," *Tzafon 1*, October 27, 2006.

in Israel we see instances of assimilation, cases where Jewish girls fall into the hands of Arab men who seduce them and create miserable families.”⁴⁷

As part of their campaign to prevent the encounter from going ahead, the rabbis published a flyer with the following text: *“We again protest in the strongest terms against the ‘One on One’ Encounter between Jewish and Arab women... We hereby warn that such encounters are prohibited in accordance with the Torah... as clarified in the Gemara (Avoda Zara 4:35): that any dish prepared by a non-Jew, even in a pure dish, may not be eaten... Accordingly we urge the entire public not to participate in this encounter or similar ones, and those who care for their souls will stay clear of this and have pity on the sons and daughters of his family – ‘Do not be defiled by all these.’ And may those who heed our words dwell securely and free of the fear of evil.”⁴⁸*

Rabbi Shmuel Eliyahu against Arab Students in Safed

Some three years later, Rabbi Eliyahu was interviewed in the radio program “What’s Up” on Galei Tzahal radio after a resident of Safed received threats following his decision to rent his home to two Arab students. In the interview Rabbi Eliyahu repeated his view that the presence of Arab students in the city endangers the Jewish residents, and particularly threatens the Jewish girls who are harassed by them.⁴⁹

Rabbi Eliyahu made similar comments in an interview for the weekend supplement of Ma’ariv newspaper: *“A study by a professor from Haifa University establishes that most of the violence in Israeli society comes from Arabs. I have seen with my own eyes Arabs who came to Safed and after two days here they were already making passes at girls from the religious college. Modest girls who came to study in a religious atmosphere were forced to turn around and run*

⁴⁷ Avishag Badz-Zabaro, “An Encounter with Arabs Isn’t Healthy,” *24 Supplement, Yediot Acharonot*, May 10, 2007.

⁴⁸ Ibid.

⁴⁹ Razi Barkai, *Galei Tzahal*, November 3, 2010.

away. Once you give an Arab a place among us, it only takes him five minutes to start doing whatever he pleases. If he dared to behave toward Arab girls in his own village the way he does to Jewish girls they would throw him out and slaughter him in the village square. It's only among us that Arab men feel free. As far as they are concerned, our girls are fair game. And this doesn't only happen in Safed. Ask the Jewish women who study on Mt. Scopus [university campus in Jerusalem] about the nightmare they face every night."⁵⁰

Rabbis Publish Poster in Jerusalem Warning of Arabs Who "Offend the Honor" of Jewish Women

In July 2008, following a terror incident in Jerusalem by a man driving a tractor, several rabbis signed a poster entitled "*A Response to the Spilled Blood.*" The signatories included: Shmuel Eliyahu (the chief rabbi of Safed), Yitzhak Ginsburg (rabbi of Od Yosef Chai Yeshiva), Dov Lior (chief rabbi of Kiryat Arba), David Druckman (chief rabbi of Kiryat Motzkin), Yaacov Yosef (rabbi of the Givat Moshe neighborhood of Jerusalem), and Ido Alba (head of the Kollel in the Cave of the Patriarchs in Hebron).⁵¹ The poster describes the Arab citizens of the State of Israel as "*a national problem that long ago became an existential threat to the wellbeing of the Jewish People in Zion... From the gradual takeover of Jewish neighborhoods, audacity and impudence, increasing verbal and physical violence, systematic and deliberate attacks on the honor of Jewish women, and on to intermarriage with Jewish women who fall into their net.*"⁵²

⁵⁰ Sari Makover-Belikov, "Rabbi Eliahu: 'A Jew Should Not Run away from Arabs,'" *Ma'ariv Weekend*, November 19, 2010: <http://www.nrg.co.il/online/1/ART2/179/223.html>

⁵¹ As noted above, Rabbis Yitzhak Ginsburg, Yaacov Yosef, and Dov Lior published their consent to the book "The King's Torah." Rabbi Ido Alba was convicted of racial incitement and sentenced to imprisonment due to the publication of the article "Clarification of Laws regarding Non-Jews."

⁵² "Rabbis' Petition against Employment of Arabs: 'A Response to the Spilled Blood,'" *nrg Ma'ariv*, July 30, 2008: <http://www.nrg.co.il/online/1/ART1/766/982.html>; Tomer Zarhin and Nadav Shragai, "Attorney's Office Orders Investigation of 29 Rabbis Who

The “Rabbis’ Wives’ Letter”

In December 2010 Lehava circulated a letter signed by dozens of wives of rabbis urging young Jewish women not to date Arab men. The letter, which came to be known as the “Rabbis’ Wives’ Letter” included the following text: *“More than a few Arab workers assume Hebrew names. Yusuf becomes Yossi, Samir becomes Sami, and Abed becomes Ami. They try to get close to you and to make you like them and shower you with all the attention in the world. They certainly know how to act politely, to pretend to really care about you, to praise you... but this behavior is only temporary. Once you’re in their hands, in their village, and under their control everything changes... Your life won’t be the same as it was, and the attention you so much wanted will be replaced by curses, beatings, and humiliation... Your grandmothers never imagined or believed that one of their descendants would do something that would remove all the following generations from the family of the Jewish People. For your sake, for the sake of the generations to come, and to spare yourself terrible suffering – we urge and beg you not to date non-Jewish men. Do not work in places where there are non-Jews and do not perform national service together with non-Jews.”*⁵³

Issued Call Not to Employ Arabs,” *Ha’aretz*, December 31, 2008:
<http://www.haaretz.co.il/news/law/1.1370660>

⁵³ Chaim Levinson, “30 Rabbis’ Wives: ‘Daughter of Israel, Do Not Date Arabs,’” *Ha’aretz*, December 29, 2012: <http://www.haaretz.co.il/misc/1.1237539>; Yair Altman, “The Rabbis’ Wives’ Letter: Girls, Do Not Date Arabs,” YNET, December 28, 2010: <http://www.YNET.co.il/articles/0,7340,L-4005854,00.html>

Other Activities

Excluding Arabs from Places of Entertainment in Ashkelon

In 2004 public figures in Ashkelon asked the mayor to take steps to exclude Bedouin and Arabs from local places of entertainment and to prevent them from sleeping in the city.⁵⁴ They claimed that parents in the city were being forced to protect their daughters against Arabs employed on building sites in the city who formed friendships with local girls.

School Class Warns Jewish Girls Not to Befriend Arabs

In June 2006 Yad L'Achim ran a lesson at a school in Jerusalem with the goal of warning girl students not to become friendly with Arab men.⁵⁵ During the lesson the students were told why they should avoid marrying Arabs, and particularly Muslim Arabs. The association distributed booklets presenting verses from the Koran alongside stories of Jewish girls kidnapped to Arab villages, in an attempt to persuade the students that Islam views women as maids destined to serve their husband.

Public Radio Station Broadcasts Fundraising Advertisement for Yad L'Achim

The regional religious radio station Kol Chai broadcasted an appeal by Yad L'Achim for donations to help "save" Jewish women and children whom it claimed had been kidnapped or imprisoned in Arab villages: *"Dear listeners, hundreds of Jewish women and their children cry out for help. Please save us from the Arab villages – save us!"* The rules for broadcasting fundraising

⁵⁴ Yuval Azulai, "Public Figures in Ashkelon Demand Expulsion of Arabs from City," *Ha'aretz*, July 4, 2004: <http://www.haaretz.co.il/misc/1.978966>

⁵⁵ Asaf Zelinger, "School Presents Lesson in Racism," *Ma'ariv*, June 12, 2006.

appeals on regional radio stations were subsequently changed and the advertisement was rejected.⁵⁶

“Kashrut” Certificates for Businesses that Oppose Assimilation

As part of its activities against the employment of Arab workers, Lehava issued “Kashrut” certificates for businesses that refrained from employing Arabs. The organization’s publicity explaining the campaign declared: *“Ahmad Ben Sarah – We must stop the next case!”* The text continued: *“It is no secret that there is strong competition between the major retail chains in our area... We can present demands and make sure that it is worth their while to employ Jews and to dismiss the many enemies who endanger our daughters.”*⁵⁷



⁵⁶ Uri Pollak, “Second Authority to Regulate Radio Fundraising Broadcasts for First Time,” *Kippa*, May 8, 2011: <http://www.kipa.co.il/now/44902.html>

⁵⁷ Motti Levy, “Right-Wing Initiative: ‘Kashrut Certificate’ for Anyone Who Refuses to Employ Arabs,” *Walla!*, January 26, 2011: <http://news.walla.co.il/?w=/90/1784929>

“Coast Guard” to Defend Jewish Girls on Israel’s Beaches

In June 2011 Lehava established a “coast guard” called “the Committee to Defend Girls on Beaches throughout Israel.” The purpose of the initiative was “to defend Jewish girls” on beaches and prevent harassment by Arab men posing as Jews. Leaflets about the “coast guard” were distributed to Jewish girls at beaches in Bat Yam, Ashkelon, Ashdod, Caesarea, and Eilat urging them not to respond to wooing by non-Jewish men: *“Daughter of Israel: You are the daughter of a great people, the People of Israel! Please do not bring shame on yourself. Do not date non-Jews of all kinds... Protect your honor – there are plenty of good Jewish men!”*⁵⁸ Lehava also uploaded a video clip to promote the campaign. The narrator in the clip declares: *“Do you dare to enter Gaza? Do you dare to enter Nablus? He [the Arab man] can wander freely around Israel: On the pedestrian mall in Jerusalem, in Dizengoff in Tel Aviv, and he even feels safe on the beach... So safe that your daughter, or your wife who has taken the children to the beach, no longer feels comfortable.”*⁵⁹

An article on the YNET news website included an interview with Lehava director Bentzi Gopstein, who described the circumstances behind the establishment of the “coast guard:” *“Last year we realized that many non-Jews come to the beach, but not in search of sun or sea... After numerous complaints, we decided to launch a campaign at the start of this year’s bathing season in order to prevent situations where girls discover that the ‘Yossi’ they are dating is actually ‘Yusuf’ – to prevent sexual harassment and to prevent assimilation.”*⁶⁰

⁵⁸ Yair Altman, “Religious Coast Guard: ‘We Will Prevent the Harassment of Jewish Girls,’” YNET, June 23, 2011: <http://www.YNET.co.il/articles/0,7340,L-4086027,00.html>

⁵⁹ Uri Blai, “Black Flag Flying at the Beach,” *Ha’aretz*, August 27, 2011: <http://www.haaretz.co.il/misc/1.1373181>

⁶⁰ Yair Altman, note 58 above.

Young Arab Men Expelled from Jerusalem Neighborhood

In July 2011 a video report appeared on the website Hakol Hayehudi under the headline: *“Watch! Resident of Neve Ya’acov [in Jerusalem] expels Arab men who were harassing a Jewish woman.”* The report included an interview with a local resident who expelled young Arab men from the local commercial center.⁶¹

Warning of Assimilation between Arab Men and Jewish Women Employed in the “Rami Levy” Supermarket Chain

In the same month Lehava launched a publicity campaign urging parents not to let their daughters work in the branch of the “Rami Levy” supermarket chain in Gush Etzion on the West Bank, due to fears that they would befriend Arabs.⁶² In a report broadcast on Arutz Sheva, Lehava director Bentzi Gopstein described the “danger of assimilation” facing Jewish girls working in the supermarket. He claimed that a week before he had learned that a Jewish woman working as a checkout operator was dating an Arab man employed packing deliveries and was willing to leave her home in order to be with him. Gopstein added that although the organization had managed to “save” this young woman, *“unfortunately we are receiving more telephone calls suggesting that there are cases at Rami Levy in Gush Etzion of Jewish girls dating Arabs.”* Gopstein urged mothers not to let their daughters work at Rami Levy or work with Arabs in general. He claimed that *“there are enough worthy jobs for Jewish girls.”*

The media reported that following the pressure applied by Lehava, Rami Levy met with Rabbi Perl, the rabbi of the settlement of Alon Shvut, and

⁶¹ Elhanan Gruner: *“Watch! Resident of Neve Ya’acov expels Arab men who were harassing a Jewish woman,” Hakol Hayehudi, July 21, 2011: <http://www.hakolhayehudi.co.il/?p=11374>*

⁶² Chezki Ezra, *“Campaign Targets Mothers: Danger of Assimilation in ‘Rami Levy,’” Arutz Sheva, July 15, 2011: <http://www.inn.co.il/News/News.aspx/222839>*

with Aryeh King, chairman of the Fund for Israel Lands. Levy announced organizational changes in the supermarket, including the relocation of packing operations to an area distant from the checkout tills. He also promised to appoint a “monitor” to attend to issues relating to assimilation. The report added that the young Arab man concerned had been dismissed, while the Jewish girl had left the supermarket voluntarily.⁶³

Page of Shame: Publication of Names of Jewish Women Involved in Relationships with Non-Jews

In July 2012 Lehava's website began to publish a “page of shame” displaying the names of Jewish women known to be involved in intimate relationships with a non-Jewish man. Under the heading “Shame,” the website declared: *“On this page we will expose the details of traitorous women who consciously and as a matter of ideology have chosen to leave the Jewish people and openly live with or marry non-Jews... We want to expose them to public view and let their shame be known.”* The website drew a distinction between these women and others *“who made a mistake and got caught in a relationship with non-Jews due to distress, error, or misunderstanding.”*⁶⁴

Informers’ Hotline to Prevent Assimilation

Ahead of Yom Kippur in 2013, Lehava established an “informers’ hotline” – a special telephone number encouraging individuals to provide information about Jewish girls dating young Arab men and about Arabs involved in such relationships.⁶⁵ The hotline, which aims to “save Jewish girls,” then publishes the names and phone numbers of the Arab men whom the

⁶³ Ibid.

⁶⁴ “The Page of Shame – Shame on Them!” *Lehava website*: <http://www.leava.022.co.il/BRPortal/br/P102.jsp?arc=337260>

⁶⁵ Bentzi Gopstein, “Lehava’s Informers’ Hotline: Report and Prevent Assimilation!” *Lehava website*, September 15, 2013: <http://www.leava.022.co.il/BRPortal/br/P102.jsp?arc=669500>

organization claims are seducing and dating Jewish women, with details of the communities where this is happening. Bentzi Gopstein explained that the publication of the Arab men's personal details by the hotline is intended to enable "each individual to explain in his own way to that Arab why he would be better off dating Fatma from the village, than Yael or Einat."⁶⁶

Imposing Restrictions on National Service Volunteers

In October 2013 it was reported that the management of the National-Civil Service framework had issued an instruction stating that national service volunteers are not to perform service after 9 p.m. The reason quoted was a request by Religious Zionist rabbis and organizations, and specifically Lehava and Rabbis Dov Lior, Shmuel Eliyahu, and Yaacov Ariel, who were concerned that young women performing national service were developing intimate relationships with Arab physicians.⁶⁷

Violent Attacks on Arab Men

In August 2012, a number of Jewish youths attacked a 20-year-old Arab man, who sustained serious injuries. According to the details in the indictments against the assailants, the youths were at the "Cats Plaza" in Jerusalem. They were telling people that Arabs were sitting there and that this was prohibited. The youths claimed that Arabs who pass through must be beaten, and one of them announced: "Whoever's a man – come and beat Arabs." A girl who was in the square with the youths began to shout racist slogans and curses against Arabs. Expressions heard included "Mohammed

⁶⁶ Yehoshua Breiner, "Right-Wing Informers' Hotline: Report Jewish Women Dating Arabs," *Walla!*, September 9, 2013: <http://news.walla.co.il/?w=//2676859>; Shlomo Pyotrkovsky, "Lehava's Informers' Hotline: Report and Prevent Assimilation," *Arutz Sheva*, September 9, 2013: <http://www.inn.co.il/News/News.aspx/262040>

⁶⁷ Roi Sharon, "Due to Fear of 'Relations with Arabs:' Night Shifts Cancelled for National Service Girls," *nana10*, October 16, 2013: <http://news.nana10.co.il/Article/?ArticleID=1011629>

בחור ערבי יקר:

אנחנו לא רוצים שתפגע!

הבנות שלנו יקרות לנו,
כשם שאתה לא רוצה שיהודי יצא עם אחותך
כך אנחנו לא מוכנים שערבי יצא עם בת מהעם שלנו.
כשם שאתה היית עושה הכל כדי למנוע שיהודי יצא עם
אחותך, כך גם אנחנו!

אם אתה חושב להגיע למדרחוב או לקניון בירושלים כדי
לצאת עם בנות יהודיות זה לא המקום,
תוכל לטייל בכפר שלך ולמצוא שם חברות, לא אנחנו!

בשבוע שעבר ערבי שחשב למצוא בנות יהודיות נפגע.
אנחנו לא רוצים שתפגע,

שמור על הכבוד של הבנות שלנו

כי ננפשונו הדבר!

ארנוו להבה
o.leava@gmail.com

الرجل العربي المحترم
اهنا لا نرغبي تشنهان بنا تا غالبات علينا
اننا لا نرغبي بيهودي شيمزي مع فوانك
كمان اهنا لا نرغبي شمشي مع بنا تا
اننا يا عربي نتحمل على انشي تخوانك ماشي
مع يهودي كمان اهنا
امر بتعتر شترود بكيون او صدهوف عسات
تسحي مع بنا تا يهوديان انشي من الموضوع
هدا من المكان روح لقرينك هنالغ بتدقي
صحة نك
الاسوع الهاضي عربي شقكر على بنا تا
هو انتهاب اهنا لا نرغبي تشنهان
اشردامزم شترود وشرف بنا تا
اهنا مع شرف كمان

Dear Arab guy:

We do not want you to get hurt!

Our girls are dear to us.

Just as you would not want a Jew to date
your sister,

so we are not willing for an Arab to date
a girl from our people.

Just as you would do everything to
prevent a Jew from dating your sister, so
we will do the same!

If you plan on coming to the pedestrian
mall or the mall in Jerusalem to date
Jewish girls, this isn't the place. You can
walk around your own village and find
girlfriends there, not here!

Last week an Arab man who wanted to
find Jewish girls was injured.

We do not want you to get hurt.

**Respect the honor of our girls,
because this is a supreme
concern for us!**

Lehava

is dead," "Death to Arabs," and "A Jew is a soul, an Arab is a sonofabitch." According to the reports, the incident was sparked after another girl in the square told the suspects that she had been raped in the past, presumably by an Arab assailant. In response the youths decided to beat a young Arab who was passing by, and who had no connection to the alleged incident, and to pursue other Arabs in the area.⁶⁸ The charges against the youths included

⁶⁸ Oz Rosenberg, "One of the Youths Suspected of Lynching a Palestinian in Jerusalem: 'Let Him Die as Far as I Care – He's an Arab,'" *Ha'aretz*, August 20, 2012: <http://www.haaretz.co.il/news/law/1.1805474>; Yossi Eli, "Fear and Loathing: Who Are the Youths Who Committed the Attack in Jerusalem?" *nrg Ma'ariv*, August 24, 2012: <http://www.nrg.co.il/online/1/ART2/397/998.html>

racial incitement, incitement to violence on racial motives, and assault in aggravating circumstances.⁶⁹

Following the lynch Lehava activists began to distribute flyers to young Arab men at popular spots in downtown Jerusalem. The leaflets warned the Arabs not to date Jewish girls: *"Last week an Arab man who wanted to find Jewish girls was injured."* The leaflets were written in Hebrew and Arabic: *"Dear Arab guy, We do not want you to get hurt... Our girls are dear to us / Just as you would not want a Jew to date your sister, so we are not willing for an Arab to date a girl from our people. Just as you would do everything to prevent a Jew from dating your sister, so we will do the same! If you plan on coming to the [Ben Yehuda] pedestrian mall or the [Malcha] mall in Jerusalem to date Jewish girls, this isn't the place. You can walk around your own village and find girlfriends there, not here... Respect the honor of our girls, because this a supreme concern for us!"*⁷⁰ Commenting on the lynch, Lehava director Bentzi Gopstein claimed that *"the police ignores nationalist harassment of Jewish girls... The police should regard the harassment of Jewish girls as terrorism."*⁷¹

Following these actions, Lehava published an online flyer on its Facebook page demanding an end to "sexual terrorist attacks against Jewish girls." Designed in black and yellow, the flyer demands an end to such "attacks," accompanied by an outstretched hand bearing the word "Bomb!"

Additional violent attacks on young Arab men occurred in September and October 2012. In September 2012 five Jewish youths attacked an Arab in the

⁶⁹ Yossi Eli, "Indictment for the Lynch in Jerusalem: 'Whoever is a Man – Come and Beat an Arab,'" *nrg Ma'ariv*, August 28, 2012: <http://www.nrg.co.il/online/1/ART2/399/110.html>; Noam (Dabul) Dvir, "Charges in the Lynch: 'Whoever is a Man – Come and Beat Arabs,'" *YNET*, August 28, 2012: <http://www.YNET.co.il/0,7340,L-4273897,00.html>

⁷⁰ Yehoshua Breiner, "Leaflets Distributed to Arabs in Capital: 'Stay away from Jewish Girls or Get Hurt!'" *Walla!*, August 21, 2012: <http://news.walla.co.il/?w=/90/2560286>

⁷¹ Benny Moshe, "Youth Involved in Brawl: The Arab Cursed My Mother," *Arutz Sheva*, August 20, 2012: <http://www.inn.co.il/News/News.aspx/242872>

Katamon neighborhood of Jerusalem. The young Arab was accompanying his Jewish female friend to her home and was attacked on suspicion of “exploiting a Jewish woman,” as three of the suspects stated during their police interrogation.⁷²

In October 2012 Arab youths who were sitting together with young Jewish women at a kiosk near the Tapuach Intersection in the West Bank were attacked.⁷³ A group of Jewish youths from the area objected to the fact that Jewish girls and Arab boys were sitting together at the kiosk, and attacked the Arab youths with their fists and with glass bottles. Lehava director Bentzi Gopstein was interviewed on the subject by the website Hakol Hayehudi. He praised the youths, and called for Jews to boycott the kiosk.⁷⁴

Some three months later, Hakol Hayehudi reported that an Arab man who “walked around and whistled at Jewish girls” in the Kiryat Moshe neighborhood of Jerusalem was beaten by several Jews, who also attacked him with pepper spray.⁷⁵ According to the report the police came to the scene but failed to apprehend those responsible for the attack.

In March 2013 the website Hakol Hayehudi reported that two Jewish youths from Safed, aged 18 and 21, were arrested on suspicion of attacking a 17-year-old Arab youth who was in a relationship with a Jewish girl.⁷⁶ The article emphasized that the issue of assimilation in Safed is a growing

⁷² Noam (Dabul) Dvir, “Five Youths Suspected of Breaking Arab Man’s Leg in Jerusalem,” YNET, September 9, 2012: <http://www.YNET.co.il/articles/0,7340,L-4278669,00.html>

⁷³ Elhanan Gruner, “Tapuach Intersection: Jews Attacked Arabs Sitting with Jewish Girls from Samaria,” *Hakol Hayehudi*, October 28, 2012: <http://www.hakolhayehudi.co.il/?p=44898>

⁷⁴ Ibid.

⁷⁵ “Arab Man Attacked Sunday in Kiryat Menachem Neighborhood of Jerusalem,” *Hakol Hayehudi*, December 12, 2012: <http://www.hakolhayehudi.co.il/?p=51441>

⁷⁶ Elhanan Gruner, “Safed: Two Youths Arrested on Suspicion of Attacking Arab Who Met with Jewish Girl,” *Hakol Hayehudi*, April 15, 2013: <http://www.hakolhayehudi.co.il/?p=61469>

problem. In the same month four vehicles were torched in the nearby Arab neighborhood of Akbara and the slogan *“Do not touch our girls”* was sprayed.⁷⁷

Knesset Committee Discussions

The organizations and rabbis active in racial incitement received institutional support in the form of discussions by Knesset committees devoted to “the phenomenon of assimilation” and “the phenomenon of the kidnapping of Jewish girls by Arab men.” In February 2011, the Committee for the Advancement of the Status of Women held a discussion as part of the “Jewish Identity Day” in the Knesset. The discussion focused on marriages between Jewish women and Muslim men, which were characterized as violent and damaging relationships. The participants discussed educational and other means to prevent interfaith marriage in Israel.⁷⁸

Ten months later another discussion was held in the Knesset, this time in the Absorption, Immigration, and Diaspora Affairs Committee, under the heading “Kidnapping of New Immigrants by Members of Minorities.” Committee Chairperson MK Danny Danon defined the meeting as an “urgent session,” and the participants included representatives of Yad L’Achim, Lehava director Bentzi Gopstein, and extreme right-wing activist Baruch Marzel.⁷⁹ According to MK Danon, *“I have realized that in 2011, in Israel, there are cases where girls are physically kidnapped in the middle of the day from Kiryat Malachi, in the evening from Beersheva and Nahariya... Girls*

⁷⁷ Elhanan Gruner, “Vehicles Torched in Village by Safed – ‘Do Not Touch Our Girls,’” *Hakol Hayehudi*, April 23, 2013: <http://www.hakolhayehudi.co.il/?p=62159>

⁷⁸ Protocol of Meeting Number 78 of the Committee for the Advancement of the Status of Women, 18th Knesset (February 8, 2011): <http://knesset.gov.il/protocols/data/html/maamad/2011-02-8.html>

⁷⁹ Protocol of Meeting Number 221 of the Immigration, Absorption, and Diaspora Affairs Committee, 18th Knesset (December 28, 2011): <http://knesset.gov.il/protocols/data/rtf/alia/2011-12-28.rtf>

*are simply loaded into a vehicle by force by members of minorities... In most of the cases a romantic relationship develops based on the financial need of these young women, most of whom are new immigrants... This financial seduction leads to some kind of relationship, and some of these girls find themselves a few months later in places from where they cannot leave.*⁸⁰ The discussion included descriptions of the seduction of young Jewish women, conversion to Islam, and cases of abusive relations with Arabs where the women were unable to extricate themselves from the relationship. The representatives of the various organizations claimed that they handle hundreds of such cases each year. The discussion went ahead despite the fact that at the outset the police representative explicitly stated that the police is not aware of any phenomenon of Jewish girls being kidnapped by Arab men, and that the problem of domestic violence is not related to the national origin of the couple.⁸¹

While each of these organizations engages in different types of actions, they share the goal of preventing relationships between Jewish girls and women and Arab boys and men. Together with the Orthodox rabbis mentioned in this report, these organizations spread a racist creed that depicts Arab men as seducers lurking to catch Jewish women and kidnap them to their homes and villages into harmful and abusive relationships. In many cases the alleged behavior of Arab men is claimed to form part of a nationalist plot to seize control of the Land of Israel and to weaken the Jewish people. In order to prevent these allegedly disastrous relationships, the organizations and rabbis advocate the complete avoidance of any contact between Jews and Arabs, including contacts in the fields of education, employment, voluntary activity, and leisure.

⁸⁰ Ibid., page 2.

⁸¹ Ibid., p. 35.

Distinguishing between Racism and the Struggle against Assimilation

Most ethnic and national collectives are founded on a myth of a “common origin” that plays a central role in shaping their identity.⁸² The concept of “assimilation” accordingly plays a key role in the structuring of the Jewish people. One reason for the importance of this concept is the fact that throughout history the Jewish people has been dispersed among other peoples outside its homeland. In these circumstances, Jews faced a particular need to address issues of separatism versus integration and assimilation.

Different approaches to these questions and to the myth of common origin can be found in the Jewish sources. In the Bible, for example, two main approaches can be identified regarding the meaning of collective Jewish identity. A nationalist and separatist approach attaches supreme importance to the national ethnic roots of the Jewish people and urges their separation from other nations. Conversely, a universalist approach sees the principle objective of the Jewish people as being to draw in members of other nations who share common values.⁸³ The former approach is represented by Ezra and Nehemiah, who during the “Return to Zion” from exile in Babylon urged the Jewish people not to allow their children to intermingle with the other nations in the country and advocated the preservation of the “holy seed.” Ezra and Nehemiah advocated the expulsion of non-Jewish women, even if they accepted the Jewish religion.⁸⁴ By contrast, the Prophets Zachariah and Isaiah represent the universalist approach that sees the realization of Jewish identity as lying in the affiliation of non-Jewish fellow travelers.⁸⁵ During the

⁸² Nira Yuval-Davis, *Gender and the Nation*, 27 (1997) (Hebrew).

⁸³ Moshe Weinfeld, *The Universalist Trend and the Separatist Trend in the ‘Return to Zion’ Period* (1974), 228-42 (Hebrew).

⁸⁴ For further discussion, see: Yonina Dor, *Were Non-Jewish Women Really Expelled? The Question of Separatism during the Return to Zion Period* (5766) (Hebrew).

⁸⁵ “Sing and rejoice, O daughter of Zion, for behold, I come and I will dwell in your midst... And many nations shall join themselves to the Lord ... and shall be my

Second Temple period these two approaches blended to create the concept of conversion to Judaism – an essentially universalist mechanism, since it enables an individual who did not originally form part of the ethnic collective to join its ranks, provided s/he accepts the yoke of the commandments.⁸⁶

During the period when the Jewish people were dispersed among other peoples, the fear of assimilation acquired an existential dimension. This fear reached its peak in the modern era, as the Jews enjoyed emancipation and could easily assimilate in surrounding society. In response, and in order to combat the trend toward assimilation, the Orthodox Halacha imposed stricter rules on conversion. The Reform and Conservative movements, on the other hand, sought to emphasize the universal aspects of Judaism and to ease the path for those wishing to convert.⁸⁷

Discussion of assimilation is nothing new in Judaism and reflects a desire to maintain the distinct existence and character of the Jewish people and to preserve the common beliefs, values, and culture that define their unique identity. Jewish communities around the world continue to be concerned that couples where one partner is not Jewish will gradually reduce the number of people who define themselves as Jewish, as the descendants of mixed couples may not consider themselves Jewish or may not seek to preserve a common core.

As the phenomena described in this report indicate, the fear of assimilation has also struck down roots among the Jewish population in Israel. For at least

people" (Zachariah 2:14). See also: "Neither let the son of the stranger that has joined himself to the Lord speak, saying, 'The Lord has utterly separated me from his people;' neither let the eunuch say, 'Behold, I am a dry tree'" (Isaiah 56:3). This verse seeks to reassure those not born Jewish regarding the trend to separatism among the Jewish populace.

⁸⁶ *Conversion and Jewish Identity – Study of the Halachic Sources* (Zvi Zohar & Avi Sagi, eds., 1995) (Hebrew).

⁸⁷ Zalman Shazar Center, *Between Tradition and Progress: The History of the Reform Jewish Movement* (1989) (Hebrew).

part of the Jewish community, the establishment of the Jewish state did not constitute a sufficiently strong framework to ensure the survival of the Jewish people, and these circles continue to wage a struggle against assimilation. In this context, a distinction must be made between a legitimate struggle for the integrity and future of the Jewish people and incitement against mixed couples or against non-Jewish men. The latter is unacceptable and incompatible with the basic principles of a democratic and Jewish state. Rising public incitement against Arab men seeks to preserve and reinforce a hierarchical social order in which the Arab community is marginalized and prevented from integrating fully in Israel's social, educational, and economic life.⁸⁸ Racial incitement is certainly not necessary in order to preserve Jewish identity and inculcate Jewish tradition; indeed, it contradicts the values of tolerance and openness that also form part of this tradition.

In the 1980s Rabbi Kahane attempted to introduce legislation prohibiting intimate relations between Jews and Arabs. The Proposed Law: Prevention of Assimilation between Jews and Non-Jews and for the Sanctity of the Jewish People sought to prevent any relationships between Arabs and Jews, and included establishing separate beaches, prohibiting non-Jews from living in Jewish neighborhoods, and preventing a Jewish citizen of Israel from marrying a non-Jew or engaging in sexual relations with a non-Jew. Couples already engaged in such a relationship would be obliged to separate immediately.⁸⁹ Such suggestions, which were perceived as extremist at the time, now form part of the various campaigns by organizations opposed to assimilation and are frequently mirrored in comments by certain rabbis. Although these are public campaigns rather than legislative proposals, the goal is identical: To impose complete segregation between Jews and Arabs and to highlight the perceived damage caused by mixed marriages, while attributing sinister and immoral motives to Arab men.

⁸⁸ Laura Beth Nielsen, "Subtle, Pervasive, Harmful: Racist and Sexist Remarks in Public as Hate Speech," 58 *Journal of Social Issues*, 265, 266 (2002).

⁸⁹ HCJ 742/84, *Rabbi Meir Kahane v Knesset Speaker Shlomo Hillel*, *Piskei Din* 39(4) 85, 88.

Incitement that exploits the fear of assimilation in order to encourage discrimination, exclusion, and the humiliation of non-Jews is beyond any doubt racist incitement. These campaigns are not a legitimate tool for maintaining the integrity of the Jewish people, but cynically and deliberately use the fear of assimilation to create an atmosphere of hatred toward Arabs and foreigners and to justify their discrimination and displacement from shared public arenas. Racial incitement focusing on women's sexuality and their relations with non-Jews seeks to maintain the ethnic purity of the "Chosen People," thereby perpetuating the clear hierarchy between Arabs and Jews in Israel.

Fear of assimilation has also led to an emphasis on the reproductive capability of women in ethno-national discourse. A person generally joins a social collective by virtue of birth, and this is certainly true in the case of the Jewish people.⁹⁰ Accordingly, it is no coincidence that those troubled by such issues will be disturbed by sexual relations between individuals belonging to different collectives.⁹¹ Nevertheless, the racial incitement described here focuses exclusively on relations between Jewish women and Arab men – and not the reverse: relations between Arab women and Jewish men. This distortion contradicts the claim that these campaigns constitute a legitimate struggle against assimilation. According to Jewish law, a person's Jewish status is determined by the mother's status, the children of a Jewish woman and an Arab man (to whom all the incitement relates) will be considered Jews in accordance with the Halacha. Those concerned about assimilation could be expected to be at least as troubled, if not more so, by relations between Jewish men and non-Jewish women, since the children of these couples will not be considered Jewish in accordance with the Orthodox Halachic test. The total absence of discourse on this issue clearly indicates that the emphasis on personal relations between Jewish women and Arab

⁹⁰ Nira Yuval Davis, note 82 above.

⁹¹ *Ibid.*

men is merely a tool for incitement and for maligning the Arab public, while exploiting the latent fears of many Israeli Jews. From a gender perspective, as we will discuss in the next section, the exclusive focus on relations between Jewish women and Arab men reflects a double moral standard whereby a man is a subject who may act freely in the sexual domain, while a woman is expected to observe modesty codes and to “belong” to a single man. Within these gender codes, it is not possible to recruit assimilation in order to prevent Jewish men from associating with Arab women.

Racism and Sexism

Racism and sexism are two control systems that interrelate and sustain each other, using sexism and gender-based stereotypes in order to subjugate and control women.⁹² In many cultures the nation and the state are personified in the figure of a woman and regional, national, and international conflicts are expressed through the use of women's bodies as the arena for violent struggle.⁹³ Zionist discourse, for example, formalized its feminine identity. Although Zionism structured the Jewish nation in masculine, combative, and patriarchal terms, the attitude toward the Land of Israel itself, Zionist concepts such as the love of the Land and the redemption and conquest of the land, were expressed through gender-based discourse that perpetuated a feminine identity.⁹⁴

Throughout history national humiliation has been closely associated with the sexual humiliation of women. One of the ways in which the dominant group showed its control was through the subjugation of women. This pattern is responsible, for example, for the widespread rape of African-American women by white men during the era of slavery.⁹⁵ Conversely, women who were discovered to be having sexual relations with those perceived as the enemy were believed to have humiliated their own nation.⁹⁶ After the end

⁹² Claire Lisa Jaynes, *Interracial Intimate Relationships in Post-Apartheid South Africa*, 25 (2007):

http://wiredspace.wits.ac.za/bitstream/handle/10539/4905/JAYNESCL_Research%report.pdf; Rebecca J. Cook & Simone Cusack, *Gender Stereotyping: Transnational Legal Perspectives*, 288 (2010).

⁹³ Rubina Saigol, *Militarisation, Nation and Gender: Women's Bodies as Arenas of Violent Conflict*: <http://www.sacw.net/Wmov/RubinaSaigol.html>

⁹⁴ Orit Kamir, "The Will of the Princess is Her Honor: An Invitation to Israeli Feminism," 14 (2004) (Hebrew): http://sitemaker.umich.edu/Orit_Kamir/files/isrfemin.pdf

⁹⁵ Claire Lisa Jaynes, note 92 above.

⁹⁶ Martha Hodes, "The Sexualization of Reconstruction Politics: White Women and Black Men in the South after the Civil War," 3 *J. History of Sexuality*, 402, 410-11 (1993): <http://www.uvic.ca/~ayh/Hodes.pdf>

of the Second World War, for example, women accused of collaborating or engaging in sexual relations with German soldiers were humiliated in public ceremonies, including the shearing of their hair.⁹⁷ Through this act of humiliation society reminds women that their body does not belong to themselves but to the entire nation, and so men regain their control over women's sexuality.⁹⁸

For many nations during the Second World War, sexual "occupation" by the victorious forces of the "body" of another nation (i.e. a woman from another nation) symbolized both the military defeat of the enemy and the humiliation of its male population.⁹⁹ Women who fraternized with enemy soldiers, had sexual relations with members of the enemy armed forces, or crossed racial or religious divides risked losing their good name – just like the Jewish women whose names were published on Lehave's "Page of Shame." In German discourse during the Second World War, a woman who fraternized with the enemy was not merely immoral, but was stabbing the entire nation in the back and mocking the sacrifice of German soldiers.¹⁰⁰ By the same logic, a Jewish woman who "submits to wooing by a non-Jewish man" brings dishonor on herself and shame on the entire nation.

Racial incitement focusing on relations between Jewish women and Arab men usurps the woman's body and transforms it into the property of the nation. The woman's body is the nation, and accordingly the war over this body is the war of the entire nation and becomes the focus of the conflict. Jewish women who have relationships with the enemy – Arab men – are

⁹⁷ Fabrice Virgil, *Shorn Women: Gender and Punishment in Liberation France*, 1 (English ed., 2002).

⁹⁸ Zvi H. Triger, "The Gendered Racial Formation: Foreign Men, 'Our' Women, and the Law," 30 *Women's Rts. L. Rep.*, 479 66 (2009).

⁹⁹ Birthe Kundrus & Patricia Szobar, "Forbidden Company: Romantic Relationships between Germans and Foreigners, 1936 to 1945," 11 *J. History of Sexuality*, 201, 204 (2002).

¹⁰⁰ Elizabeth Heinemann, "The Hour of the Woman: Memories of Germany's 'Crisis Years' and West German National Identity," *American Historical Review*, 354, 381 (1996).

perceived as contributing to the defeat of the Jewish people and the State of Israel and as humiliating Jewish men. The bodies of Jewish women become the focus of the Arab-Jewish conflict and ownership over these bodies determines the balance of power in the conflict. This ownership is naturally that of men – Jews or Arabs – and not the autonomous ownership of the women involved. The woman's body is perceived as the property of the state, and others therefore enjoy the mandate to protect this property from itself.¹⁰¹

Maintaining national resilience demands control of women's sexuality.¹⁰² In order to maintain Jewish and Israeli national resilience, this approach argues, it is vital to scrutinize the intimate relations of Jewish women and to ensure their sexual availability to Jewish men and their sexual unavailability to non-Jewish men.¹⁰³ Accordingly, Jewish men are also called on to wage a war on the home front: to pay attention to what happens around them, to show resourcefulness, and to act properly and effectively to prevent Jewish girls and women from associating with Arab boys and men.

Many Jewish women who are involved in relationships with non-Jewish men report that society treats them like prostitutes or traitors and accuses them of being self-centered, uninterested in their nation, people, and state, and motivated solely by their personal desires. The explanation offered by the organizations that devote themselves to "saving" these women is that their behavior is the product of abuse. The underlying assumption is that no young Jewish woman would voluntarily enter into a relationship with a non-Jewish man. These organizations do not recognize the possibility that a relationship between a young Arab man and a young Jewish woman might be based on affection, love, and mutual respect. From their perspective, the relationship must be the result of pressure applied by the young Arab, or

¹⁰¹Raz Yosef, note 3 above.

¹⁰²Zvi H. Triger, note 98 above, p. 83.

¹⁰³Ibid.

alternatively a deliberate desire on the woman's part to behave provocatively and to betray her people and homeland. Accepting the possibility that a Jewish woman might choose to engage in a relationship with an Arab man would be tantamount to abandoning the positioning of the Arab man as an enemy and would suggest the possibility of coexistence between Jews and Arabs – something that is intolerable in the eyes of certain sections of the Israeli public, and particularly those who engage in racial incitement.

The prohibition against relationships with members of other nations imposes a double standard when it focuses exclusively on the sexuality of women. In Nazi Germany, for example, the protection of the German nation demanded more modest conduct of women than of men.¹⁰⁴ A non-German man who was found to have had sexual relations with a German woman was hanged, while his German lover was condemned and humiliated.¹⁰⁵ By complete contrast, in the case of a German man and a non-German woman who engaged in sexual relations, the authorities merely noted their displeasure, but no punitive action was taken and the act might even be perceived as a form of masculine German conquest.¹⁰⁶ In Israel, all the publications and statements of incitement by the organizations discussed in this report relate solely to relations between Jewish women and Arab men, without exception. The possibility of relations between Jewish men and non-Jewish women is not even mentioned. As noted, this reflects double standards whereby men enjoy sexual freedom of action while women are required to observe moral codes of modesty and chastity.

¹⁰⁴Kundrus & Szobar, note 99 above, p. 221.

¹⁰⁵In many instances the humiliation of the German lover took the form of shaving her head in public; in some cases she was forced to watch her lover's execution before being imprisoned. See: Jill Stephenson, "Triangle: Foreign Workers, German Civilians, and the Nazi Regime. War and Society in Württemberg, 1939-45," *15 German Studies Review*, 339, 349 (1992).

¹⁰⁶Kundrus & Szobar, note 99 above, p. 221.

Obedient Women and Men to the Rescue

The gender and racial division between obedient women, men to the rescue, and threatening foreign men is one of the characteristics of what Dr. Orit Kamir calls an “honor society.” An honor society is one in which honor is perceived as “a situation and a desirable social status.” Kamir explains: “The individual’s honor behavior wins admiration from those around, thereby establishing the desired honor.”¹⁰⁷ In an honor society “cleansing and restoring honor demands extreme (and sometimes violent) actions. In many cases honor societies are also committed to collective honor, such as national honor, in their relations with other societies.”¹⁰⁸

A man’s honor depends not only on his own courage, strength, assertiveness, and ability to save Jewish girls or prevent their association with Arab men. It is also dependent on the modesty, loyalty, and obedience of the women in his life (his wife, mother, daughter, and sister).¹⁰⁹ Accordingly, a man’s honor will be injured not only if he himself is harmed, but also if “his women” are harmed in a manner that suggests that he lost control of them and failed in his task of protecting and saving them.¹¹⁰ According to this logic, a man whose sister dates a young Arab man, or is wooed by an Arab, will sustain injury to his honor (the external manifestation of which is his self-confidence).

The honor of a man living in an honor society depends on two additional factors: his own externalized, aggressive, and brave conduct, and the modesty and obedience of the women close to him, and above all his ability to control their sexual availability.¹¹¹ In honor societies, including

¹⁰⁷Orit Kamir, note 94 above, p. 4.

¹⁰⁸Ibid.

¹⁰⁹Ibid.

¹¹⁰Ibid., p. 5.

¹¹¹Orit Kamir, “The Utopia of Zionist Masculinity and Human Dignity in Herzl’s *Altneuland*,” *Herzl Then and Now: An Old Jew, A New Man?*, 209, 27 (Avi Sagi & Yedidia Z. Stern, 2008) (Hebrew).

Israeli society, “the woman’s sexuality carries the potential for shame and is a source of constant threat to honor. The ‘desecration’ of a woman’s sexuality removes not only her own honor, but also – and most importantly – the honor of the man responsible for protecting her sexual availability.”¹¹²

In accordance with masculine honor, feminine honor derives from that of the man to whom she is attached and from her conducting herself in a manner that does not taint him.¹¹³ A woman’s honor is injured if her sexuality is exposed or revealed to a man other than her husband (and she thereby taints the men around her). A woman’s role is to refrain from exposing her sexuality and her femininity, and thereby to protect the honor of the man on whom she depends.¹¹⁴

Foreign Men

Many of the racist statements about relations between Jewish women and Arab men address the sexuality of Arab men, to which destructive force is attributed. Statements such as “*Arabs wandering among you and attempting to seduce you;*”¹¹⁵ “*Jewish girls fall into the hands of Arabs who seduced them;*”¹¹⁶ and “[the Arabs] *have begun to harass every girl that passes on the street*”¹¹⁷ all attribute seductive and threatening powers to Arab men. The cumulative picture is that by virtue of their tremendous seductive capabilities, Arab men manage to ensnare innocent Jewish girls. When this seduction fails to work, Arab men instead begin to harass the girls. This approach appears to believe that the entire being of Arab men is devoted solely to seducing and harassing Jewish girls.

¹¹²Ibid.

¹¹³Orit Kamir, note 94 above, p. 5.

¹¹⁴Ibid.

¹¹⁵Tal Hassin, note 16 above.

¹¹⁶Avishag Badz-Zabaro, note 47 above.

¹¹⁷Sharon Dahan. note 46 above.

The attribution of negative and threatening characteristics to “foreign men” has been seen throughout history in different cultures.¹¹⁸ Foreigners are believed to possess a tremendous, dangerous, and uncontrollable sexuality that justifies the protection of girls and women. One of the best-known examples of fear of the foreign man is the image of the black man as someone imbued with threatening, unbridled, and aggressive sexuality.¹¹⁹ Even before the era of slavery in the United States, and certainly during it, black men were described by white men as primitive and animalistic, and it was believed that their feelings and emotions focused exclusively on their uncontrollable and unbridled sexuality and on their desire to sexually “defile” white women.¹²⁰

White men in the United States feared that black men would seek revenge for the moral and legal offenses committed against them by engaging in sexual relations with white women.¹²¹ Between 1890 and the 1960s, between 4,000 and 5,000 black youths and men were lynched after being accused of having sexual relations with white women.¹²² Responding to one such lynch in 1901, the American educator George T. Winston wrote: “... *when a knock is heard on the door, [the southern woman] shudders with nameless horror.*”

¹¹⁸Avraham Melamed, *Can the Cushite Change His Skin? The Black Man as ‘Other’ in the History of Jewish Culture*, 22 (2002) (Hebrew).

¹¹⁹Marques P. Richeson, “Sex, Drugs, And... Race-t-Castrate: A Black Box Warning of Chemical Castration’s Potential Racial Side Effects,” 25 *Harv. Blackletter L.J.* 95, 97 (2009): <http://www3.law.harvard.edu/journals/hjrej/files/2012/11/95-132.pdf>

¹²⁰*Ibid.*, p. 103; George M. Fredrickson, *The Black Image in the White Mind: The Debate on Afro-American Character and Destiny, 1817-1914*, 276 (1987). On the perpetuation of these tropes in the cinema, see: Chris Miller, “The Representation of the Black Man in Film,” 3 *J. African American Men*, 19 (1998).

¹²¹Anita Kathy Foeman & Teresa Nance, “From Miscegenation to Multiculturalism: Perceptions and Stages of Interracial Relationship Development,” 29 *J. of Black Studies*, 540, 543 (1999).

¹²²Zvi H. Triger, note 98 above, p. 13.

*The black brute is lurking in the dark, a monstrous beast, crazed with lust.*¹²³ These images helped stigmatize black men as aliens and define their presence in “civilized” white society as unnatural, thereby justifying the creation of a society that oppressed and exploited blacks.¹²⁴

Black men accused of having sexual relations with white women were sentenced to death after being convicted of rape, even in instances when the sexual relations were consensual or indeed were completely fabricated. A well-known example of this is the case of the “Scottsboro boys,” which occurred in the southern United States in the 1930s. Nine black youths were accused of raping two white women, one of whom later denied that a rape had taken place. After a trial the youths were convicted and sentenced to death despite the flimsy and contradictory evidence.¹²⁵ Even during the 1950s several black men were indicted in various states of the US for looking at white women.¹²⁶

The image of the black man as possessing a threatening sexuality is also prevalent in Jewish tradition, relating to primeval perceptions that attributed negative connotations to the color black and positive ones to the color white, thereby creating a parallel between the black slave and the threat he presented to white women.¹²⁷ In Jewish tradition the non-Jew (“goy”) was perceived as having a heightened sexuality that controlled his being, making him a dangerous competitor for control of women. Some

¹²³George T. Winston, “The Relation of the Whites to the Negroes,” 18 *Annals of the American Academy of Political and Social Science*, 105, 108-9 (1901).

¹²⁴Marques P. Richeson, note 119 above, p. 103; George M. Fredrickson, note 120 above, p. 282.

¹²⁵Douglas O. Linder, “The Trials of the ‘Scottsboro Boys,’” in: Gilbert Geis & B. Bienen, *Crimes of the Century* (1998), 49-87:
http://papers.ssm.com/sol3/papers.cfm?abstract_id=1027991

¹²⁶Lisa Lindquist Dorr, *White Women, Rape, and the Power of Race in Virginia, 1900-1960*, 213 (2004); Kevin Connolly, *Exposing the colour of prejudice*, BBC News:
<http://news.bbc.co.uk/2/hi/8318628.stm>

¹²⁷Avraham Melamed, note 118 above, pp. 30-31.

Halachic sources described the black man as an inferior being with excessive sexuality.¹²⁸

The tradition of sexually-related fear negating intimate or romantic relations between foreign men and “our” women is not confined to black men. In many periods of history similar propaganda has been directed at Jews. For centuries, for example, the Jewish man was portrayed in Europe as someone with unstable sexual urges who tempted pure and innocent women from non-Jewish European communities.¹²⁹ Naturally, this idea reached its most extreme manifestation in Nazi anti-Semitism. The Nazis introduced a criminal offense of “racial defilement” (*Rassenschande*), allowing for the prosecution of Jews merely for looking at German women.¹³⁰ In several cases Jewish men convicted of this offense were tortured to death. Nazi propaganda depicted the Jewish man as willing to lurk for hours in order to catch an innocent German girl whom he would then defile and steal from her people.¹³¹ Among other charges, Jews were accused of using the German language in order to conceal their Jewish identity and appear as Germans.¹³²

¹²⁸Zvi H. Triger, note 98 above, p. 20.

¹²⁹Jo Doezema, “Loose Women or Lost Women? The Re-emergence of the Myth of White Slavery in Contemporary Discourses of Trafficking in Women,” 18 *Gender Issues*, 23-50, 30 (2000): <http://www.walnet.org/csis/papers/doezema-loose.html>; Joane Nagel, “Ethnicity and Sexuality,” 26 *Annu. Rev. Sociol.*, 107, 119 (2000).

¹³⁰Nathan Stolfus, *Resistance of the Heart: Intermarriage and the Rosenstrasse Protest in Nazi Germany*, 74 (1996).

¹³¹Sections from *Mein Kampf* by Hitler in: *The Holocaust in Documents – A Selection of Documents on the Destruction of the Jews of Germany, Austria, Poland, and the Soviet Union*, 30-33 (Yitzhak Arad, Yisrael Guttman, and Avraham Margalio, eds., 5738), Yad Vashem, Jerusalem, 5738: http://www1.yadvashem.org/odot_pdf/Microsoft%20Word%20-%20711.pdf

¹³²“But a change was now destined to take place. In the course of more than a thousand years the Jew had learned to master the language of his hosts so thoroughly that he considered he might now lay stress on his Jewish character and emphasize the ‘Germanism’ a bit more. Though it must have appeared ridiculous and absurd at first sight, he was impudent enough to call himself a ‘Teuton,’ which in this case meant a German. In that way began one of the most infamous impositions that can be

The threatening sexuality and negative characteristics of the foreign man contrast with the purity, decency, and passivity of the white woman.¹³³ Jewish girls are tempted and misled, lacking any autonomous discretion or will. The sole point of departure in their regard is that they are not interested in any romantic relationship with Arab men. The language used – led, seduced, taken – not only reflects the passive qualities attributed to women, but also deprives them of any independent will, and thereby objectifies them. Similar terms were used to describe the white women in the United States or in South Africa – “our women” who were allegedly taken by black men as if they were no more than an object.¹³⁴ Just as it is unthinkable that a white woman would want to engage in sexual relations with a black man, so it is unthinkable that a Jewish woman might wish to have sex with an Arab man. Accordingly, the only reasonable scenario in such instances, according to those who disseminate racist ideology, is that this occurs against her will.

The image of the Jewish woman as pure and passive was further shaped during the course of the Zionist enterprise, which sought to create a “new Jew.” As the mirror image of the new Jewish man, Zionist thinkers positioned the woman as “beautiful, delicate and soft, modest in her ways, retiring, concerned mainly with housework and happy to relinquish the realization of her rights to civil and political equality.”¹³⁵ The ideal function of the

imagined. The Jew did not possess the slightest traces of the German character. He had only acquired the art of twisting the German language to his own uses, and that in a disgusting way, without having assimilated any other feature of the German character. Therefore his command of the language was the sole ground on which he could pretend to be a German. Adolf Hitler, *Mein Kampf* (James Murphy Trans.) eBook: <http://gutenberg.net.au/ebooks02/0200601.txt>

¹³³ Marques P. Richeson, note 119 above, p. 103.

¹³⁴ Marques P. Richeson, note 119 above, p. 103-4; Naomi Nkealah, “Commodifying the Female Body: Xenophobic Violence in South Africa,” 4 (2008): http://www.codesria.org/IMG/pdf/Naomi_Nkealah.pdf

¹³⁵ Orit Kamir, note 94 above, p. 17.

Jewish woman was to be a wife and mother and to replicate “biologically and ideologically” the “national collective and its borders.”¹³⁶

These stereotypes, which depict “our” women as modest and pure and foreign men as threatening in their sexuality (in contrast to “our” men) are also used to convey a message regarding proper sexuality and the maintenance of patriarchal order in society.¹³⁷ The desirable feminine roles in this social order are obedience and modesty. By depicting “our” women as threatened by foreign men, “our” own men can thereby expropriate the role of saviors protecting women, thereby reaffirming their own patriarchal function.¹³⁸ Many of the organizations involved in issues concerning relations between Jewish women and Arab men describe their role as being to “save” and “rescue” Jewish girls, and thereby the entire Jewish people.

In order to preserve patriarchal order, those responsible for racial incitement seek not only to shape the image of the Jewish man coming to the rescue, but also to create a social order whereby every Jewish man and woman will feel obliged to report instances of “forbidden relations” between a Jewish woman and an Arab man. In addition to the generalized demand to end this phenomenon, specific initiatives have been introduced to ensure social policing and to encourage reporting. Two examples, both launched by the organization Lehava, are the “Page of Shame”¹³⁹ and the “Informers’ Hotline.”¹⁴⁰ In both cases the goal is to create a social obligation to report associations between Jewish women and foreign men involving what those responsible for the incitement view as the violation of moral codes.

¹³⁶Nitza Berkowitz, quoted by Orit Kamir, *ibid.*, p. 18.

¹³⁷Joane Nagel, note 127 above, p. 13.

¹³⁸Claire Lisa James, note 92 above, p. 26.

¹³⁹“Page of Shame – Shame on Them!” note 69 above.

¹⁴⁰“Lehava’s Informers’ Hotline: Report and Prevent Assimilation,” note 70 above.

Conclusion

The statements and actions by the organizations and rabbis responsible for the incitement discussed in this report show beyond all doubt that their goal is to exclude Arabs from the Israeli public domain, which they regard as belonging solely to Jews (the Jewish and mixed cities), and to confine them to the Arab towns and villages in Israel and beyond the Green Line. The demand to protect Jewish girls and women embodies an ideology of discrimination and a desire to place a clear barrier between the Jewish and Arab communities, to encourage hostility between the two populations, and to prevent any joint activities. It is no coincidence that many of the comments and publications in this report came in response to attempts to encourage rapprochement between the two populations. As part of this trend, demands are made not to permit young Jewish women to perform national service in places where non-Jews are employed, such as supermarkets, bus companies, and hospitals, and to prevent dialogue encounters between Arabs and Jews and the establishment of joint educational institutions.¹⁴¹

The struggle against assimilation serves as a fig leaf permitting vicious and dangerous propaganda against the Arab citizens and residents of the State of Israel without carrying the stigma of racism. This campaign finds a sympathetic ear among the public, and even among decision makers, since it is based on profound fears and concerns present in society. As can be seen throughout this report, closer examination shows that the motives and characteristics of the various publications are indeed racist, combining a desire to control the sexuality of Jewish women and the aim of removing Arabs from the Israeli public domain.

¹⁴¹Eli Ashkenazi, "Separate College for Arabs and Prohibition of Sale of Apartments: Rabbi Eliyahu's Positions," *Ha'aretz*, November 22, 2011: <http://www.haaretz.co.il/news/law/1.1572637>; Chezki Ezra, note 62 above; Kobi Nachshoni, note 27 above; Tal Hassin, note 16 above.

This report set out to expose the nature and sources of these racist manifestations and to explain the cynical and deliberate manner in which they exploit the fears of many Israeli Jews in order to create a public atmosphere that threatens the Arab population in Israel. The comparison to other historical periods shows that this phenomenon is not new. Fostering fear of and hostility toward the other on the basis of alleged characteristics of aggression and savagery, particularly in the sexual context, together with the desire to control and police the sexuality of “our” women, places us at the top of a steep and slippery slope.

It must be emphasized that racial incitement is explicitly prohibited under Israeli law, constituting both a criminal and a disciplinary offense (the latter insofar as those responsible bear public office, such as a city rabbi). Despite this, racial incitement flourishes in Israel without hindrance and without any legal action being taken to prevent or restrain it. The authority to serve indictments and order the opening of investigations in instances of racial incitement rests exclusively with the attorney general. The attorney general’s policy of enforcement regarding these offenses is a restrictive one. Only a handful of investigations have been opened on incitement to racism and they are extremely lengthy, thereby limiting the deterrence and prevention of this grave phenomenon.¹⁴² There can be no doubt that such weak enforcement permits the creation of public space saturated with racist incitement due to the lack of an appropriate response by the law enforcement system.

We must reiterate that the systematic incitement against relations between Jewish women and Arab men has recently led to several instances of severe violence against young Arab men whose sole “offense” was to be present in areas where there is a Jewish majority. The atmosphere of terror and

¹⁴²*Love the Stranger as Yourself?*, note 1 above, pp. 21-4. We should note that in the case of the Lehava organization, IRAC has asked the attorney general on eight separate occasions over the past two and a half years to open an investigation but has not received any substantive reply.

intimidation serves the agenda of those organizations and individuals that advocate for the total segregation of the two populations in the State of Israel. The question facing Israeli society is whether Israel wishes to continue along this violent path, or whether it will be blocked by the public and by decision makers acting to end incitement and violence. This report seeks to discuss the phenomenon in depth in order to raise awareness of the problem and to spark the important process of its eradication. In addition, and in order to ensure a comprehensive response to racial incitement, practical action is also essential:

- Extensive public discourse should take place between decision makers, academics, and public opinion leaders (such as religious leaders).
- The policy of enforcement and prosecution relating to offenses of incitement to racism and violence should be changed.
- An interministerial committee against racism should be established as stated in the coalition agreements between the Likud – Yisrael Beitenu faction and the Yesh Atid faction.¹⁴³
- Educational activities in schools and preschools should be expanded in order to counter fear of the other, educate to values of tolerance and human dignity, and promote encounters and joint activities between Jews and Arabs of different ages – children and adults.
- Organizations that engage in racial incitement, such as Lehava and Yad L'Achim, should not be permitted to enter schools.

¹⁴³Yehonatan Liss, "Government Initiates Anti-Racist Plan, Then Forgets about It," *Ha'aretz*, May 31, 2013: <http://www.haaretz.co.il/news/education/1,2034316>

Only through such actions, and by maintaining a liberal discourse, will it be possible to expose the true character of those responsible for racial incitement and deny them the broad public legitimacy that they seek.

The Israel Religious Action Center (IRAC) is the public and legal advocacy arm of the Reform Movement in Israel. Founded in 1987, IRAC seeks to advance pluralism in Israeli society and to defend the freedoms of conscience, faith, and religion. IRAC advocates on behalf of a broadly inclusive Israeli democracy. Rooted in progressive Judaism, we present a vision of Israel that retains its Jewish character without compromising on humanistic and democratic values.

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