

SPEAK OUT

Volume No.3
September 2025





Academics for Israel Democracy (AID) is an action protest group of Israeli academics who work to fortify democratic values within Israel, based on principles of freedom, equality, civil rights, separation of powers, and the rule of law.

AID editorial team:

Itai Ater, Tel Aviv University

Doron Cohen, Ben-Gurion University of the Negev

Ronit Cohen-Seffer, Technion - Israel Institute of Technology

Ronny Geva, Bar Ilan University

Alon Korngreen, Bar Ilan University

Anat Prior, University of Haifa

Tsameret Ricon, Oranim College

Yair Sagy, University of Haifa

Ruth Scherz-Shouval, Weizmann Institute of Science

Inbal Talgam-Cohen, Tel-Aviv University

Editor of this volume: Doron Cohen

Editor of the series: Alon Korngreen

Graphic designer: Ronit Cohen-Seffer

Translation of speeches into English: Naomi Shenkar (coordinator, editor and translator), Anat Prior, Yael Shapira, Tami Shamir, Doron Cohen

Photography: Adar Eyal, Alon Korngreen, Avi Goldstein, Dafna Yosha, Daniel Orenstein, Danor Aharon, Eilat Markovitch, Eitan Schley, Eitan Slonim, ELAN, Erez Volach, Gal Mosenson, Gil Levin, Lior Segev, Micha Vardi, Miri Porat, Naama Zeev Rivlin, Ori Koren, Ori Yaffe, Orna Kupferman, Paulina Patimer, Ran Dembo, Rani Graff, Reuven G.Sz, Rony Shapiro, Sha_b_p, Tanya Zion-Waldoks, Tzachi Dovrat, Vardit Alon Korpel, Vered Chalifa-Caspi, Yair Palti, Yehuda Bergstein, Zohar Bar Yehuda

Cover photo: Alon Korngreen

[Academics for a Democratic Israel](#)

matehaacademia@gmail.com

September 2025

BREAKING THE SILENCE



Prologue

On October 7, 2023, Israel endured a brutal assault in which thousands of civilians were murdered, raped, burned alive, wounded and subjected to atrocities that left deep and lasting scars. Hundreds were abducted into Gaza. Nearly two years later, 48 hostages remain in captivity; around 20 are believed to be alive, imprisoned in tunnels, starved and tortured. Their fate has become a national trauma, not only because of the cruelty of their captors but also because of their own government's failure to secure their release. Repeated opportunities for a deal have been frustrated, as political considerations override the imperative to bring them home, thus undermining the fragile path to freedom for those still trapped beneath the ground.

The Israeli government's sabotage of a hostage deal is done concurrently with its targeted attack against Israeli democracy. **The essence of democracy lies in maximizing individual freedom and safeguarding human rights.** In Israel, this vision has been severely compromised, with a sharp deterioration after the events of October 7th, particularly in the following arenas:

- 1. The apartheid in the Negev, where Bedouin homes are systematically demolished.**
- 2. The riots and ethnic cleansing in the occupied territories.**
- 3. The killing, starvation, and destruction in Gaza, over which a black flag(*) is looming**

These issues are often silenced in public discourse. We regard it as our mission, "Academics for Israel Democracy" (AID), to support and amplify the voices of those who dare to speak out.

Speak-Out collections #1 and #2 focused respectively on the protest for democracy against the proposed "judicial reform," and on the post-October 7th struggle to secure the return of our hostages and bring down the government. This collection (#3) centers on our efforts to break the silence surrounding the horrors of the ongoing war. It is framed by two speeches (by Avivit John and Eran Littman) that echo the catastrophe of October 7th. Additionally, a broad overview is provided by Prof. Yiftachel. The other speeches focus on the "protest" perspective, with particular attention to the disaster in Gaza. We conclude with speeches that express messages of hope for a better future, written by Jewish and Arab activists who stand together in this struggle, appending calls and statements by members of the Israeli academia, and a poem by Eran Tzelgov.

This volume is intended for our colleagues abroad, and serves a dual purpose. On the one hand, it is part of our effort to break the silence. On the other, it seeks to show the international community that we are not standing idly by, and that we are not indifferent to the suffering of others. Sadly, the death and the starvation of the many thousands of Gazan children are not always mentioned in public protests. Following the release of Speak Out #2, we feel it is timely, and more than appropriate, to publish Speak Out #3, which centers on the suffering of the 'others', and acknowledges our shared responsibility.

Doron Cohen

* The 'black flag' doctrine refers to a legal principle in Israeli jurisprudence concerning the obligation to disobey manifestly illegal orders. It was also chosen as the name for one of our action groups (see calls and statements), reflecting our commitment to moral accountability and civil resistance.

**Table of contents**

Prologue	4		
Previous volumes	6		
OUTBREAK	8		
Avivit John	10		
Prof. Oren Yiftachel	12		
Prof. Daniel Orenstein	18		
SILENCING	22		
Prof. Sarab Abu-Rabia	24		
Elijah Levin	26		
Prof. David Harel	30		
MK Ayman Odeh	34		
PROTEST	38		
Dr. Nir Barak	40		
Dr. Mazen Abu Siam	44		
Dr. Meital Pinto	46		
Capt. (Res.) Ron Feiner	48		
		SOLIDARITY	50
		Ghadir Hani	52
		Rula Daoud	54
		Dr. Jossef Loss	58
		Nomika Zion	60
		HOPE	62
		Mohammed	64
		Prof. Nitza Ben-Dov	66
		Dr. Tanya Zion Waldoks	68
		Eran Littman	74
		CALLS and STATEMENTS	76
		Epilogue	98
		Dr. Luli Stern	99
		Eran Tzelgov	100

This is an interactive brochure. Clicking on one of the icons in the table of contents will lead to the corresponding address, and you can return to it from any page by clicking on the small icon shaped like a house surrounding the page number.

Previous ENGLISH volumes



Speak Out #1

Speak Out #2

Previous HEBREW volumes



יצאנו לרחובות #4

יצאנו לרחובות #3

יצאנו לרחובות #2

יצאנו לרחובות #1



חזרנו לרחובות #6

חזרנו לרחובות #5

חזרנו לרחובות #4

חזרנו לרחובות #3

חזרנו לרחובות #2

חזרנו לרחובות #1



חזרנו לרחובות #12

חזרנו לרחובות #11

חזרנו לרחובות #10

חזרנו לרחובות #9

חזרנו לרחובות #8

חזרנו לרחובות #7



חזרנו לרחובות #14

חזרנו לרחובות #13

🇮🇱 NO ACADEMIA 🇮🇱
WITHOUT DEMOCRACY

Speak Out #3 | September 2025





OUTBREAK



Avivit John | Kibbutz Be'eri

I come from Kibbutz Be'eri, but believe me, when it comes to morality it doesn't matter where I come from or what I have been through. Thou shalt not kill means thou shalt not kill everywhere and at all times, and whoever kills is a murderer. There is nothing new I can tell you about that.

So I will tell you this: I work in the kibbutz nursery, and that is my part in helping it bloom again and helping the people heal. My parents, who founded the kibbutz, passed away believing they had left behind a flourishing garden, and I will probably never find peace until Be'eri blooms again.

But at night, and also during the day, explosions shake the air and strike the ground. And somewhere, just across a very close, imaginary border, an imaginary people are being bombed – a people who exist only in the virtual world. That same people writes horror stories and posts terrible pictures. I do not want to look. I want to turn away, to preserve my sanity.

But I do look, because every blast that shakes my house forces me to. And there I see blood, and death, and crying, and screaming. And how is it possible that I am so close, yet whenever I am hungry I have food, when it is hot I have air conditioning, when I am sick I have medicine, and when I want to shower I have water? How is it that I do not have to risk my life to get these things, and how is it that I cannot even reach out a hand to the hungry to give them a slice of bread?

Sometimes, when I ride my bike between the green lawns, I ask myself: can it be that to enjoy this goodness, violence against another people is required?

That I cannot accept.

From Be'eri I can tell you: Gaza has never been an existential threat to the State of Israel! On October 7 we were first and foremost victims of Israeli hubris, which insisted on deceiving itself. But the Israeli mainstream – which in plain Hebrew means our friends, our neighbors, our family – believes there is no other solution. That we are in survival mode, where the rules change and morality must be put aside for a while. “We’ll see later.” There is no joy in that statement. I see them lost, confused, and traumatized.

We are living in a sad and tragic time for all sides. War has always been, and will always be, a terrible thing. We were born deserving of grace, and grace is exactly what is missing now. And every time a blast shakes the house, when doors slam and windows rattle, I understand more clearly that those who do what they are doing mean it to be irreversible. And I understand that it will not help me or anyone else in Israel, and that this irreversible act will one day turn against us.

And how can we rebuild the State of Israel like this? How can we rebuild Be'eri?



I sense a looming catastrophe, as we did during the judicial overhaul – not knowing what awaited us on October 7.

I thank all of you for raising the flag of shared life, of humanity, of equal rights. There is nothing more important in these dark days.

Finally, I want to say that in moments like these, it is impossible not to remember Vivian Silver, Lilach Kipnis, Adrian Neta, and others from Be’eri who dreamed and worked in the peace camp. I thank you, Ayman Odeh – a man of peace and truth. We stand with you.

And as a daughter of the communities around Gaza, I have one more very important thing to say: Bring back all the hostages now! Do not play Russian roulette with their lives!



Photos: Erez Volach | Road 232

Prof. Oren Yiftachel | Ben Gurion University of the Negev

Five Wars - Araqib Is Not Alone!

Good afternoon to all, I'm Oren Yiftachel, professor of geography and planning, and a partner in Bedouin struggles for over thirty years. I am honored to be speaking at this important ceremony.

Today is a sad day, because of the on-going obliteration of Gaza and the hundreds of demolitions in Al-Araqib. But it's also a good day, because the struggle for justice continues, because of the steadfastness (sumood) of the village residents, and because many people came from all over the country – from the Galilee, Triangle and Naqab.

Al-Araqib is not alone: it is woven into five wars. I'll briefly speak about four destructive wars and one constructive battle, based on our collective experience and my personal involvement.

First War - Genocide in Gaza

Just half an hour from here, horrific crimes are being committed by Israel—crimes we never imagined would ever happen. Even the horrific crimes committed by Hamas on October 7th, which also deeply affected the Bedouin community, cannot justify even a tenth or a hundredth of what is being done in Gaza. It is now clear: Israel is aiming to completely erase Gaza, to eliminate everything that once existed there - a Palestinian district rich in history, culture, economy, and home to millions of people. This crime will cast a shadow for years over both Israel and Palestine. We must mobilize the entire world to stop the bleeding, the killing, the starvation — and to free all hostages on both sides, and all those buried under the rubbles of this war. Immediately! Now!



Photo: Zohar Bar Yehuda | Tel Aviv



Photo: Alon Korngreen | Tel Aviv



Second War - Demolition of the Bedouin Localities

Another 'branch' of the attack against the Arabs of this land. The current phase of this war actually began right here, exactly 15 years ago – that's when discussions I was involved in, in committees about equality, rights, and land, were halted, and a phase of elimination, destruction, and expulsion began by the government. That's why al-'Araqib is so important – this is where the massive destruction began, which has since affected all the villages. With more than 10,000 demolitions in that period. We have experienced just in the past year:

- The elimination of Umm al-Hiran (after a heroic struggle and the killing of Yaqub Abu al-Qi'an and Erez Levi eight years ago), The elimination of Wadi al-Khalil,
- The elimination of al-Sir near Beersheba,
- The elimination of al-Ghul village,
- An immediate threat of elimination to Ras Jaraba to make way for a new eastern neighborhood in Dimona,
- The elimination of seven Bedouin villages in the occupied Jordan Valley, including Ma'arajat, home to 400 residents.

All are part of the same criminal colonial policy of expulsion and replacement. We must not give up. We must defend the most natural and moral right of every man and woman – to grow and flourish on their land, in their homeland. This is the simple and profound truth: people have a right to their birthplace, especially when they have done no harm to anyone – Palestinian Arabs just like Israeli Jews, al-'Araqib just like every place and every person in the world!



Photo: Alon Korngreen | Tel Aviv



Photo: Rony Shapiro | Haifa

Third War - The Legal Battle

Together with attorney Michael Sfard, Carmel Pomeranz, Prof. Gadi Algazi, and a strong team of experts, I represent the people of Al-Araqib. Recently, we received a devastating court ruling rejecting our claim against the expropriation of Al-Araqib's land. We are now appealing to the Supreme Court. The court ruled that even though Araqib residents weren't told about it, the land was expropriated back in the early 1950s under a harsh law called ironically the Land Purchase Law. The law's purpose was to declare state ownership over empty lands which were 'urgently needed for security, settlement, and development.' But in court, we showed that none of these conditions existed:

- The residents of Al-Araqib were unaware their land had been expropriated.
- Many were expelled under military rule with threats of violence
- The land was not empty – it was cultivated and inhabited.
- There was no security justification – Al-Araqib is far from any border.
- No Israel settlement or development occurred for 40 years despite the law defining the land under 'urgent need'.
- Even today, the vast majority of the land remains undeveloped.

Despite this, the court ignored the evidence and reduced long testimonies of Araqib residents to a few lines. It justified the expropriation with weak and false claims about so called 'agricultural development' during past times of food shortage. This is not a court of justice – it is a court of Judaization, occupation, and racial superiority. We will not accept this and will continue to support the struggle. Al-Araqib is not alone!



Photo: Orna Kupferman | Jerusalem



Photo: Orna Kupferman | Tel Aviv



Fourth War – Future Planning

Even if the land belongs to the state, like in moshavim and kibbutzim, like in Gvaot-Bar and Lehavim road nearby – it is still possible to grant the Bedouins planning approval and recognize their localities like the Jews. Why not? Because we are living under planning apartheid. Because the “Shikeli Plan”, of the new Minister for Bedouin Affairs, openly seeks to expel 80,000 Bedouins to caravan sites instead of recognizing their communities. Apartheid means separation and discrimination based on identity. It is an illegal racist regime. But here are the facts before us: Planning committees grant approval to Jews who establish illegal farms or outposts in the occupied territories or the Naqab, complete with all services, while the same committees approve the expulsion of the historical Bedouin landowners from their land. There is no equality here, no basic justice. To add salt to the wound – Planning committees recently approved 14 new Jewish settlements between Be’er Sheva, Arad, and Dimona, while simultaneously moving to evict Bedouins from Ras Jaraba, Zarnuq, and al-Fura’a, who are deemed to “interfere” with already approved planning and mining sites. This is the planning of an apartheid state – We must resist and propose new equal, just and sustainable plans!

Fifth War - Resistance and Repair.

In the face of four wars of destruction and oppression, the most important war seeks the opposite – it is a war of resistance and repair. To achieve this, the forces working for human rights, Bedouin rights, and planning justice must collaborate and unite.

That’s why our struggle of resistance is not only about saying what we oppose, but also about saying what we propose. I led the team of the Badawi Majlis Aqlimi (the Bedouin Regional



Photo: Ran Dembo | Haifa



Council) – an alternative plan that shows professionally - it is possible to recognize all the villages and localities. There is no planning obstacle to recognition. We are ready to demonstrate this to any planner, architect, or geographer. It is possible. Even the governmental Goldberg Committee said so in 2009. This is what happened to all the Bedouin villages in the Galilee, and it still holds true: recognize them all! But as we recall, the Netanyahu government elected that same year Goldberg released his report, and chose destruction and expulsion, destruction and expulsion. This is the most important struggle – a joint Arab-Jewish war for the future of the Beersheba metropolis, which in 15 years is expected to have 1.5 million people, and a 50-50 percent population composition. The Beersheba region is truly binational and should be planned accordingly! We vow to continue and strengthen our resolve to fight the fifth war – the joint war for recognition and justice – throughout the country!

Here I want to return to the bigger picture – we are part of this land, this bleeding land, which must become a land for all its inhabitants. That's why we founded the movement A Land for All – Bilad lil-Jami'a – Two States, One Homeland. It is a joint Israeli-Palestinian peace movement, of which I am one of the founders. According to our framework, Palestine and Israel will exist as independent states in a shared, equal, and open homeland for both peoples, with free movement and joint capital city – come join us! Here, a joint Arab-Jewish struggle is especially important, because the two peoples living in this land are dependent on each other. As the saying goes “they will either hang together or be hanged separately. hang. There will be no long term future for Jews here without an agreement and equality between the two peoples in the shared homeland. The future of the Negev, of the Beersheba region, is a bi-national future. That's why it's important that Arabs participate in the weekly anti-war demonstrations in Be'er Sheva – come! Everyone is invited!

This struggle for a shared land also begins here, with the struggle for al-'Araqib, who will demonstrate to the whole world that equality and justice are possible – even on this troubled land. Let us end with the inspiring lines of the late poet Mahmoud Darwish – most fitting for the people of al-'Araqib:

“The diary of a Palestinian wound: my homeland is not a suitcase, and I am not a traveler. My homeland is the loved one, and I am her lover”.

is the homeland is aching, injured, but also alive and breathing, and everyone who lives on their beloved land understands these words better than all of us.”

In conclusion, let us remember – al-'Araqib is not alone – al-'Araqib mash li-halaha!

Ya'tikom al-'afiya, wa-salaam 'alaykum! May health and peace come on you!



Prof. Daniel Orenstein | Technion - Israel Institute of Technology

Fragmented Truths: Israel, Gaza, and Responsibility

<https://blogs.timesofisrael.com/fragmented-truths-israel-gaza-and-responsibility/>

I used to get angry when people abroad – actors, professors, politicians – condemned Israel’s military actions. I saw hypocrisy, selective outrage, and a refusal to acknowledge Palestinian culpability. I believed they ignored the complex truths Israelis face every day.

But something has shifted in me – because something fundamental in Israel has changed.

In the wake of the war in Gaza, especially in recent weeks, I can no longer blame those who express disgust at what they see. It’s no longer tenable to deny what’s unfolding on the ground. The asymmetry is undeniable: tens of thousands of Palestinians dead, entire neighborhoods razed, over a million displaced and facing disease and hunger, and an Israeli leadership that increasingly communicates not strategic necessity, but retribution and annexation.



Al-Mughraqa, Gaza Strip. 19 October 2023 (l) and 1 December 2024 (r) (Source: Google Earth. Imagery © 2023, 2024 CNES / Airbus). Note: According to Palestinian press reports, Hamas ambushed Israeli soldiers here in April 2024.

This war may have started as self-defense. But it is now sustained by other forces: Netanyahu’s political survival (acknowledged by a majority of Israelis); the ideological ambitions of Smotrich and Ben Gvir, who envision a maximalist, ethno-nationalist “Greater Israel”; and a desire for revenge after the horrors of October 7.



These are hard truths. And yet, they coexist with another hard truth: Hamas is a genocidal, antisemitic, fundamentalist organization. Its fighters murdered, raped, burned, and kidnapped, and they continue to celebrate 7 October as a great victory. They deliberately embed themselves among civilians. They are not freedom fighters – they are war criminals. But Hamas’s crimes cannot justify Israel’s abandonment of international law, moral restraint, or basic humanity.

“Multiple things are true at once,” writes pro-Palestinian, anti-Hamas political analyst Ahmed Fouad Alkhatib. I concur. We need the courage to hold these multiple truths simultaneously.

Our leaders aren’t even trying to disguise their intentions. Netanyahu boasted about destroying homes to leave Palestinians “nowhere to return.” Heritage Minister Eliyahu suggested bombing food supplies. Smotrich calls for total destruction in Gaza. These aren’t accusations from foreign critics – they are the proud declarations of our own ministers. Should we then be offended when we’re accused of ethnic cleansing, even genocide?

While Israeli media often shields the public from the worst images and accounts – of what’s happening in Gaza and among our own soldiers – truths still penetrate. People are not blind. In a recent poll, 69% of Israelis would support a Trump-led initiative that would free the hostages and end the war. Israelis are beginning to understand the reality of our actions in Gaza. And it’s not one that inspires confidence, pride, or unity.

The government, meanwhile, continues to prioritize its own preservation over the lives of its citizens and hostages. Numerous statements from U.S., Israeli, and Egyptian officials confirm a tragic truth: Netanyahu’s coalition has repeatedly sabotaged or delayed hostage negotiations. Analysts and insiders alike have sounded the alarm. The same is true of the judicial “reform” campaign – a coup in slow motion – which has destabilized the nation and is breaking its democratic institutions. The irony is bitter: Israel once feared becoming isolated by global antisemitism. Today, we risk irrelevance not because of what the world thinks of us – but because of what our leaders have made us become.

International celebrities or campus protestors do not determine whether genocide is occurring. But their voices reflect a growing sentiment – one that Israel ignores at its peril. Of course, many protests are riddled with ignorance, bias, or antisemitism. But it is a profound mistake to respond to all criticism with dismissal or deflection, using the antisemitic brush to ignore all critical voices. The world is watching. And so are Israelis – and many of us are horrified at what we see.

There is space for nuance. The Israeli center and left, so often maligned, includes some of the most dedicated patriots, the loudest voices for peace, and simultaneously the fiercest defenders of Israel and its democracy. That same center and left – leaders of Israel before two decades of Netanyahu – once enjoyed strong bipartisan support in the US. That was before Netanyahu torched that bridge by aligning himself with Donald Trump and alienating half of Washington. Israel needs allies. And it needs to stop confusing loyalty to Netanyahu with loyalty to the state.

It's a moral failure when we're angrier at critics than at our leaders' actions. When using a politician's own words – his or her public declarations of intent – triggers denial or defensiveness, we are in trouble. The fact is that our far-right coalition does not hide its goals of forcing a million or more people out of Gaza by making life impossible for them. It celebrates them.

With our coup against democratic institutions and our never-ending war for “total victory”, we are looking more like Hungary, Turkey, or Russia by the day. And unlike those nations, we once had a powerful, pluralistic democracy that aspired for peace – flawed, yes, but real. We are losing it.

In this tragic moment, I want to hold space for grief – for our dead, for the murdered, for the hostages, for the civilians of Gaza. And I want to hold space for rage – at our leaders, at their cynical power games, at their disregard for life, dignity, decency and democracy.

Most of all, I want to hold space for truth – not the partial truths that comfort and obscure, but those that demand nuance, empathy, and wisdom.





Photo: Alon Korngreen | Tel Aviv



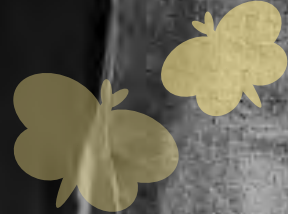
Photo: Gal Mosenson



Photo: Rony Shapiro | Haifa



SILENCING



Prof. Sarab Abu-Rabia | Ben Gurion University of the Negev

Good evening everyone,

My name is Sarab Abu-Rabia. I was born, raised, and educated in Be'er Sheva—first in a Bedouin school and later in a Jewish high school. My life is woven into both Jewish and Arab societies. I was raised on values of shared living, morality, humanity, and acceptance of the other. I was invited by my friends from the “Academics for a Democratic Israel”, to share my perspective on the threat that is choking Israeli society: the attempt to neutralize the gatekeepers, which is a threat to democracy and to our ability to voice the call of humanity.

I ask myself whether tomorrow we will have the courage to raise, within academia and beyond, the voice of the human who refuses to accept the loss of human dignity in Gaza, the West Bank, the Bedouin villages in the Negev, and in the treatment of marginalized groups. This is being done through all means: the ongoing destruction of institutional mechanisms, the transformation of the legal into the illegal, the criminalization of voices, and the conversion of humanity into a hierarchical and polarized system.

When we hear media figures in prime time speak about the war and about a hierarchy of pain, we are confronted with a chilling reflection of the loss of moral compass. The ability to empathize only with one side, to see humanity only on one side—this is not just emotional numbness. It is human hypocrisy that differentiates between a Gazan child and an Israeli child, between a starving hostage and a starving infant.



Photo: Alon Korngreen | Tel aviv



Photo: Eitan Schley | Tel aviv



This war is burying all of us - Jews and Arabs, Israelis and Palestinians. Hostages, civilians, and children. The pool of blood keeps expanding, and despair is deepening. If we open our eyes, we will realize that this is a catastrophic stage in a continuous deterioration of democracy, already evident in the abandonment of minorities: the Nation-State Law that guarantees Jewish supremacy, the non-recognition and destruction of Bedouin villages in the Negev, attempts to oust Arab MKs, the promotion of silencing laws, and the continued persecution and intimidation of anyone who dares to voice protest and opposition.

Breaking the siege of silence at events like this assembly, in order to voice a sane perspective, requires institutional protection of freedom of expression—protection that the legal system and gatekeepers are supposed to provide. We in academia must emphasize our duty not to wash our hands of responsibility, but to be among those who dare to speak out, even when it is uncomfortable, even when it is dangerous. History will not ask where the individuals were—it will ask where the organizations, the institutions, the collective voice were, in one of the darkest periods we have known.

Today we stand at a critical crossroads in one of the darkest times in history.

Participation in the parade of silence, the refusal to recognize the sanctity of life regardless of national or ethnic origin - is not neutrality. It is collaboration with the mechanisms of silencing. Mechanisms whose power grows as the authority of the gatekeepers is stripped and handed over to the executive branch. Each and every one must ask themselves: What kind of citizen do I want to be? A collaborator with creeping fascism - or a proud democrat who refuses to be silent?



Photo: Erez Volach | Tel Aviv

Eliah Levin | Head of the Standing Together Cell at the University of Haifa

My name is Elia Levin, 25 years old, from Haifa, an activist in the Standing Together movement and a student at the University of Haifa. I march with you week after week, and I'm proud to be part of the Haifa People's Protest. A strong protest, led with courage and dedication, serving as a beacon for protests across the country. Many here are part of the university community – students, lecturers, and staff. For those who aren't, it's important you know about the storm raging within. Our university is notorious for silencing and suppressing protest voices. For a decade, there was silence – a disturbing silence. To preserve it, the administration restricts public activity through rigid bureaucracy: hidden demonstrations, flyers under scrutiny, only “kosher” slogans are approved.

Even after the war began – the campus remained silent. While our student, Inbar Haiman, was kidnapped and murdered; many students were called up for reserve duty; Palestinian students were arrested over likes; and lecturers were threatened – the campus was silent. Unfortunately, the university administration was drawn into the cycle of silencing. Under threats from the government to comply with censorship, the administration internalized the silencing and applied it to students and lecturers. This cycle of silencing is dangerous for democracy and freedom of expression, and we must break it.



Photo: Rony Shapiro | Haifa



Two months ago, 20 activists from the Standing Together cell held a protest circle with photos of children killed in bombings in Gaza after Israel violated the ceasefire. This action led to the cell's suspension from campus, media coverage in Israel and abroad, and thousands of responses online. We managed to crack the cycle of silencing, and the whole environment responded. This is the beginning of the revolution they fear so much. The university administration, like the government, knows that students and academics are the greatest threat to fascism.

In recent months, opposition to the war of choice in Gaza has grown. But on the other hand, many institutions have been intimidated into accepting the government's silencing tactics. Here are a few examples:

- The University of Haifa suspended our activity without disciplinary proceedings, instead of standing with students against a fascist government.
- The Haifa Municipality ordered police to confiscate anti-war signs during the Pride Parade, instead of standing with its residents against an anti-liberal government.
- And most painfully, we as individuals silence and suppress ourselves, instead of uniting and resisting the war that is killing us all.

Instead of seeing us, the students, as partners in the struggle for a free, egalitarian, and critical academia, the university surrenders to threats from the far-right. Faced with threats of budget cuts if they don't comply with government-imposed censorship - the university administration



Photo: Miri Porat | Haifa



must resist before it is too late! Despite everything, we chose to sue the university administration claiming our reinstatement to public activity – and we won, breaking the cycle of silencing once again. With or without them, from within the university walls, the revolution will emerge – a revolution of justice, peace, equality, and freedom. And I keep hearing in my head the quote by Martin Niemöller:

*“Then they came for the Jews –
and I did not speak out, because I was not a Jew;
Then they came for me –
and there was no one left to speak for me.”*

My Palestinian partners in the Standing Together movement warned long ago about the institutional violence that I am now experiencing. But I did not speak out. I am proud to say that now, two demonstrations are held weekly on campus – students and faculty, Jews and Palestinians – calling in Hebrew and Arabic for an end to the war of annihilation in Gaza, for an agreement, and for the release of the hostages. The gates of resistance have opened – and they will not close. The cycle of silencing has been broken, and they will not succeed in silencing us again.

So what is our role now?

Our role is to raise our voices calling for peace and an end to the killing. We must resist the normalization of injustices and atrocities against all human beings on this land. But against silencing, words alone are not enough. Reality demands that we act – to immediately bring back the hostages and end the eternal war the government is leading us into.

Students, my generation – I know it’s hard. We are the screwed generation. We are Nova Music Festival survivors, burnt-out reservists, collapsing under the cost of living. We don’t know that things can be different. We are afraid. But the ones who can escalate the struggle for the future of all of us – are only us, the young generation. Students are the engine of revolutions all around the world.

Solidarity and uniting struggles is critical in these times. Our struggle at the university is shared – Jewish and Palestinian. Because Palestinians have long known what we are only now learning:

- There is no academia with silencing.
- There is no democracy with racism.
- There is no life with selective humanism.
- And there is no future with occupation.

And we will continue to raise our voices.

Here, in the streets of Haifa – as well as in the university hallways – we have broken the wall of silencing. And now – it’s time for revolution!



Photo: Ori Yaffe | Gome Junction



Photo: ELAN | Tel Aviv

Prof. David Harel | Weizmann Institute of Science
& President of the Israel Academy of Sciences and Humanities

A Speech on Three Words

Before I begin, I must say something about Ayman Odeh, one of the most wonderful sons this great city has produced. A truly exemplary Member of Knesset (and, by the way, the best head of the Knesset Science Committee I've known), a man of values, wise, diligent, broad-minded, and a friend in the way friends used to be. But above all, Ayman is a lover and pursuer of peace and coexistence, despite the frequent attacks, smear campaigns, lies, incitement, and dirt he endures.

I urge all of you to come to the square in front of the Knesset this coming Monday at 10 a.m. to demonstrate en masse against the shameful attempt to oust him.

Outlawing Ayman Odeh now will ultimately lead to all of us being outlawed.

I prepared this speech for the evening of Saturday, June 14 – two weeks ago. Fate, or perhaps our leader, willed it so that the protest was canceled in favor of a new war with Iran.

Each and every one of us has a personal opinion on this move, its reasons, its goals, the feasibility of achieving them, and, of course, its results. Is Israel safer today? Has the Iranian nuclear threat been removed? I believe not, but you know... only God knows.

I returned to the prepared speech yesterday, and, what a miracle: I barely had to change a thing. A word or two here, a new sentence there, and that's it! Here it is:



Photo: Eitan Slonim | Tel Aviv



Photo: Alon Korngreen | Tel Aviv



I will not speak tonight about corruption, Qatari money, the plundering of the public purse, equal sharing of the burden, the abuse of science and education, the incitement, hatred, evil, and arrogance, the rampant settler violence in the territories, nor the destruction of the country and the tearing apart of Israeli society from within.

I want to speak about just three words, words we hear every day, but whose use has become completely absurd.

The first word is “**maneuvering**.” It can refer to a large-scale military exercise or the movement of forces to gain an advantage or improve positions.

I’ve come to understand a thing or two about maneuvers, ever since I served eons ago as an officer in a paratrooper infantry unit.

Where, oh where, are the maneuvers of back then, my friends, and where are the maneuvers of today in Gaza?

Are aircraft that destroy entire neighborhoods “maneuvering”? Are shells that kill hundreds of people part of a “military exercise,” or do they perhaps “improve positions”? Do booby-trapped buildings that collapse and kill soldiers “gain us an advantage”? Oh, maybe an armored personnel carrier burning with seven soldiers inside “improves positions.” Yes, maybe...

But the truth is that the heart is torn, the rage swells, and the mind cannot comprehend. We are “maneuvering” in Gaza, and everyone is dying – the hostages are dying, slowly and in terrible agony; and our soldiers are also dying and getting wounded, in ever-increasing numbers, and all for no reason.



Photo: Naama Zeev Rivlin | Tel Aviv



Photo: Paulina Patimer | Tel Aviv



And we cannot ignore that as a result of our gentle, calculated, and “surgical” maneuvers, tens of thousands of Gazans are also being killed. Yesterday it was reported that the numbers might be as high as 100,000! True, there are many Hamas terrorists among them, but mostly civilians: women, men, the elderly, and children. A lot of children. Around 17,000 children so far! And where, in all of this, for crying out loud, are our morality, our values, and our commitment to the citizens who were abandoned by the government to their terrible fate, and yes... also our commitment to the two million residents of Gaza, with their hundred thousand dead?

Now that the campaign against Iran is over – or at least paused – perhaps it’s time to find a suitable name for the war in Gaza. Yes, that one, the one that is still with us, in all its idiotic might. Not “Swords of Iron”, not “Chariots of Gideon”, not “Goldknopf’s Slingshots”, not “Nukhba Flip-Flops”, no lions, no lionesses, no

And this brings us to the second word, “**price.**”

The IDF has been in Gaza for almost 21 months, when already a year and a half ago it was possible to bring back all the hostages “at the price of ending the war” – a phrase even used by those who support a ceasefire.

What “price” are we talking about, for God’s sake? We lay down our weapons, end the longest war in our history, stop the massive killing and starvation, get the living and dead hostages back, and return to a battered and frayed people the calm, the relative sanity, and our reservists! What “price” is there here, for crying out loud?!

- How many hostages have died in captivity, my friends?
- How many living hostages have we rescued and how many were returned in deals?
- And of course, how many soldiers have been killed in the “maneuver”?

Want a reminder? Here it is: Since the beginning of the month, we have recovered the bodies of seven Israeli hostages, but nineteen soldiers have been killed. A balance of horror...

And the most important question of all: Has even one hostage been returned to us by Hamas as a direct result of the “maneuver”?

So what is the so-frightening “price” in the phrase “the price of ending the war,” a price that the State of Israel, which is becoming increasingly boycotted, isolated, ostracized, and hated, is unwilling to “pay”?

fancy names.

I propose “The War for the Peace of the Coalition of Evil” – or “Malice,” whatever you prefer – a name that faithfully reflects the motivation of those who brought it upon us. Note that the Hebrew acronym for “The Peace of the Coalition of Evil” is “SHEKER,” meaning “lie,” so this is actually “The War of the Lie.” But perhaps it’s actually “The War of the Gross Lie”, as “gross” in



Hebrew is an acronym for “Expulsion and Annexation” – the declared plan for Gaza of the most extreme members of that coalition.

And so we come to the third and final word for today: “**will return**”.

It’s infuriating and heartbreaking to hear people – including politicians – who “pray” or “hope” that the hostages will return. The hostages are not on a field trip! They will not return on their own. We have to bring them back, through an active and courageous act.

It is not possible to bring back all the remaining hostages through complex and dangerous operations that will take another two years, with many, many more unbearable “cleared for publication” announcements. The only way to bring back all the remaining hostages is to end this awful war.

Now!

We must stop the systematic refusal and enter into a serious and open discussion about ending the war, withdrawing from Gaza, transferring responsibility for Gaza to appropriate bodies, and starting a process of regional normalization. Because what is happening in Gaza is not acceptable to any sane person. Do not fall into the euphoria they are trying to feed us after the Iran saga! We are left with a terrible war in Gaza, and with 49 of our loved ones rotting there.

Enough!!!

All of us, all who are raging, shouting, and protesting, must increase our pace and our power, and combine rage, shouting, and protest with a broad, non-violent, but focused and determined civil disobedience.

And if we return to our three words:

We must immediately stop “**maneuvering**”.

We must immediately “**bring back**” all the hostages.

And the “**price**” for all of this will be the replacement of the government of evil with a leadership that will bring healing, rehabilitation, and construction.

It will happen! It must happen. There is no other scenario. And now is the time!



MK Ayman Odeh | Member of Knesset and Chairman of the Hadash-Ta'al list

Friends,

I am proud and happy to stand here with you in the city where I was born, raised and educated, where I served on the City Council, where I had my own family. My Haifa. I speak to you, Haifa, and to all of your sons and daughters, not as a politician, but as a son myself.

Because I have always had a Haifa'ite identity – an identity whose essence is a shared life. For me, Jews and Arabs living together was never something you had to explain or to prove; it was always the clearest, most obvious everyday reality. I come from a beach where waves, not hatred, bring down the sandcastles built by Jewish and Arab children. For a man is always the product of his environment, the “mold of his native landscape” [as the Hebrew poet Shaul Tchernichovsky wrote].

And you know, dear Haifa, in the Knesset they are saying today that I am dangerous. That I am a threat. That I am the eighth front [on which Israel is fighting a war]. That I am a traitor. That I am an enemy. I am not an enemy. I love you, Haifa. I love this country, I love it with every fiber of my being. Just as you love it. And do you know what most frightens the fascist, messianic right?

Not the separatist Arab. He's convenient for them.

Not the submissive Arab. He does not threaten them.

What really rattles them is the democratic Arab.





The one who turns to Jews as well, offering real partnership – based on national rights for both peoples, peace, equality and democracy.

That's why they want to impeach me.

But don't forget: the people who are trying to impeach me today – the same people will try to silence you tomorrow. And even if they don't, it is still incumbent upon all of us to fight – for freedom of expression, and for democracy for everyone. Because they want to kill the hope that a shared life can be more powerful than any tank or racist law. But we, we will not let them!

Because the real struggle is between fascism and democracy.

Between supremacy and equality.

Between hatred and hope.

Between eternal war and peace.

Between occupation and freedom.

Between darkness and light.

And we, my friends, we have come to drive away the darkness! And we can only drive the darkness away together! We all know this: Israel's Arab citizens must be part of the fight against the judicial overhaul. They must swarm to the polls in droves. But not in order to return Israel to what it once was for us – a place of military rule and exclusion, where land is appropriated by the state – because we, my friends, are not fighting for the past. We are fighting to build a just, shared future for both peoples: a future of peace without occupation, security without fear, of equality without supremacy, and of democracy for all!



Photo: ELAN | Tel Aviv



Photo: Alon Korngreen | TLV



And we can already feel the partnership growing stronger. Thousands of authors, hundreds of professors, filmmakers, members of Knesset, former presidents and ministers have signed petitions against my impeachment and for democracy. Organizers of protests across the country have declared: anyone who supports the impeachment will not be invited to speak here again!

And you – you are rare people. Truly rare. There are not many struggles in the world that endure like this, week after week, year after year – and you have been doing that, with dedication, with sacrifice, with profound faith and above all: with great love. Over the last week I have received thousands of messages from Jewish partners, who wrote to me simply and honestly: we agree with you. We agree that we can – and must – fight together for a better future for us all! We agree that we have to end this cursed war immediately, to make a comprehensive deal that will save lives.

We agree that the Israeli government is committing horrific crimes in Gaza – the cruel, systematic and prolonged killing of innocents – and that this has to stop. It has to stop because it is our responsibility to build a safer future, a better one, for all the children here. For the children of Gaza, for the children of the Israeli communities near the border with Gaza, for the children of Haifa, Ramallah and Jerusalem. And we agree that we must say clearly: the occupation has to end, because the occupation is not just a moral injustice against the Palestinians, it is the root of the judicial overhaul. You cannot fight for a real democracy without opposing the occupation. Ben Gvir, Smotrich, Rothman, Strook – all the leaders of the judicial overhaul draw their power from control of the occupied territories. It is the occupation that fuels the supremacy, the racism, the fascism.

And we also agree on one basic, human thing, something that we all need to remember: there are two peoples living here. Both are entitled to self-determination. Because both of the peoples here, Jews and Palestinians, were not born to be afraid. For we were all born free!

“Stayed in Haifa” – that is what author Emil Habibi, another son of this city, asked to have inscribed on his gravestone. And we – Jews and Arabs – are staying here. This is our shared land. This is our shared hope. This is also our shared duty.

We still stay here. All of us! We will stand strong. We will stand strong before fascism, before racism, and before anyone who chooses to cooperate with them. Because we will stay here. Jews. Arabs. Palestinians. Israelis. Human beings! Yes, we will stay here. And the racists will get lost. And those who say no to peace, on both sides – they will lose, because we will triumph over them!

Because there is no other way. And we have no other country.



Photo: Reuven G.Sz. | Alonim Junction



PROTEST



Photo: Sha_b_p | Tel Aviv



Photo: Adar Eyal | Tel Aviv



Photo: Adar Eyal | Tel Aviv

Dr. Nir Barak | Ben Gurion University of the Negev

This evening, I wish to dedicate my words to the destructive interaction between the abandonment of the hostages, the continuation of the war, and the accelerated constitutional overhaul unfolding before our eyes. And I want to begin with a short poem that I haven't stopped thinking about for months, by Adam Zagajewski – a Polish poet of liberty and conscience, who fought against the lies of regimes and blind nationalism.

Apes, by Adam Zagajewski:

*One day apes made their grab for power.
Gold seal-rings,
starched shirts,
aromatic Havanas,
feet squashed into patent leather.
Deeply involved in our other pursuits,
we didn't notice: someone read Aristotle,
someone else was wholly in love.
Rulers' speeches became somewhat more chaotic,
they even gibbered, but still,
when did we ever really listen? Music was better.
Wars: ever more savage; prisons: stinking worse than before.
Apes, it seems, made their grab for power.*



Photo: Micha Vardi | Tel Aviv



Photo: Micha Vardi | Ra'anana Junction



When Zagajewski wrote this poem, he didn't seek to mock rulers, but to warn of the disaster that unfolds when a government loses its moral compass, when it acts with brutality, whim, and moral shallowness. And I can't stop thinking about this poem – not because “apes have taken power”, but because a criminal gang has seized the centers of power. And we see the result everywhere – first and foremost in the sabotage of the hostage deal.

We all hope – even in these very moments – for news of a deal that will return all 50 hostages in a single phase. And we will not let go, we will not be silent – until they all return to their families or are laid to rest in Israel.

And although it's clear to all of us that this deal could have been signed over a year ago, and although there is a clear majority in the public that supports a deal even at the cost of releasing terrorists, and although even the Chief of Staff, appointed by this very government, said this week that the conditions are ripe for a deal – this government continues to refuse.

Meanwhile, just since the beginning of this week, 8 more soldiers have fallen, adding to the list of 890 casualties. Only 7 names were cleared for publication. The eighth was a Golani Brigade fighter who took his own life at the Sde Teiman base and is not included in the list, because according to army policy he is outrageously not counted among the fallen of the war.

This begs the question – For what? For what? It started with the Philadelphi Corridor, moved on to the Netzarim Corridor, and now it turns out that the cornerstone of our existence is actually the Morag Corridor. Meanwhile, around 100 innocent Gazans are killed every day. And this week – a new term: “humanitarian city” – a phrase that makes George Orwell's writing pale in comparison. Minister Israel Katz explained: 600000 Palestinians will be imprisoned there, after screening, with no possibility of leaving. And let it be clear: this is not just a cynical declaration meant to sabotage a deal – it is a chilling reality that no language can sanitize: Netanyahu and Katz's “humanitarian city” is nothing but a concentration camp.

International law experts warned in a letter: “Implementing this plan, if realized, would constitute a series of war crimes and crimes against humanity, and under certain conditions, may fall under the crime of genocide.” A black flag – large and clear – hangs over the plan.

It seems the apes have taken power – where shall we carry our shame?

In her book “The Origins of Totalitarianism”, Hannah Arendt wrote that a totalitarian regime operates with absolute arbitrariness under the guise of absolute legality. And that is exactly what is happening here.

This week: Aviad Glickman was summoned for an investigation under caution following a baseless complaint by an employee of Ben Gvir. Yisrael Frey was arrested for a tweet – provocative and upsetting, yes, but clearly protected under freedom of speech – and was classified as a security detainee. Meanwhile, Jewish terrorists attack Palestinians, ministers and MKs storm military bases, settlers attack soldiers, and are neither arrested nor investigated.



All of this connects to clear threats to freedom of speech and attempts to silence civil servants, journalists, artists, and academics. Above all: the vote to expel MK Ayman Odeh, who will speak here shortly. A populist move with no legal basis – as evidenced by the reservations expressed even by the Legal Advisor to the Knesset.

In this context, we sent a letter to the dithering opposition chair and factions – Yesh Atid and Blue and White – signed by over 170 scholars of political science and law, in which we clarified that: Expelling a Knesset member solely for their political views gravely harms representative democracy; It undermines the freedoms essential to a functioning democracy; It violates political equality and constitutes the exclusion of a national minority; And it is a transparent attempt to tilt the elections in favor of the coalition.

Similar letters were signed this week by former prime ministers, former MKs – including prominent right-wing figures – and even our own mayor, Yona Yahav – kudos for that. They too understand: this expulsion is as dangerous as the Supreme Court-override clause or the cancellation of the reasonableness doctrine.

In the background loom the firing of the Attorney General, the Qatargate affair, the appointment of a new Shin Bet head, and the draft-dodging law. The picture is clear: It's not apes who took power – it's a criminal gang, while parts of the opposition stand paralyzed, and a long line of black flags have been waving for months and years – and now we all enter the picture.

Because there are moments in history when it's clear: We cannot wait for "them" to wake up; We cannot rely on "them" to come to their senses; We cannot entrust hope to hands too afraid to use it.

So yes – we are the people we've been waiting for. We – citizens who understand that the power to change does not come from above – it grows in the streets, in the square, by voice and action. This is not another test run. This is the real thing. This is our moment of truth – and we are rising to it.

And until this terrible government falls – and fall it will – we will not be silent; we will not bow our heads; and we will not surrender. We will look this harsh reality in the eye; We will defend the value of human life; We will heal what has been broken; We will repair what has been corrupted; And together we will build a home. A home of freedom, of equality, of truth. A home of justice, of solidarity, of democracy, and of hope.



Photo: Micha Vardi | Tel Aviv



Photo: Alon Korngreen | Tel Aviv

Dr. Mazen Abu Siam | Activist and Member of the Rahat council,
Supporting the Families of the Bedouin Hostages

Good evening, people of Beer Sheva. We live in a country that changes by the hour. A speech written at noon can already be irrelevant by night. A short while ago, two Members of Knesset were attacked on their way to a protest in Ness Ziona – with the police standing by feebly, all under the spirit of their commander. And is there someone shameless enough to back this? Shame! I condemn the attack on the MKs. The perpetrators must be prosecuted and arrested tonight. And I condemn every verbal or physical assault, against anyone, regardless of their ethnicity or their opinions.

It has been 652 days, and there are still 50 hostages – living and dead – whose fate has been tied from the very first day to the other stated goals of the war: removing the threat and destroying Hamas. Yet not one person in the entire political system can explain what the measure of “destroying Hamas” even is, or how it is supposed to be achieved. Are we really fighting? The state fights “to the last bullet, to the last soldier.” This deadlock is the result of avoiding the decision on what comes the day after the war. Any war that does not pave the way for a political process or for peace is nothing but a war of destruction without purpose. And now it is clearer than ever – this war has another goal: the Prime Minister’s political survival. And it is not I who say this, but a comprehensive New York Times investigation published just days ago, reporting that the Prime Minister sabotaged hostage deals and dragged out the war to stay in power. In recent days, a deal seems to be taking shape, and we are all cautiously optimistic that all the hostages will be released in one phase.





652 days into this war, and still the internet is flooded with images and reels of starving Gazan children, wasting away as they wait in endless lines for a little food – if they even succeed in getting any. Videos of children and women under the rubble, pleading for help. Meanwhile, ministers in our government openly call to starve them further, to expel the population, to seize land, even to settle it. Messianic fantasies of supremacy. One day this war will end, the dust will settle, and all the inciters will come down to earth. And we – who are living now in the Middle East – will have to answer: How did we become indifferent? How did we lose our morality? How did we strip away the human values within us? These are the hard questions history will judge us by.

Just this past week, two factions quit the government. Many thought this was its end. But anyone paying attention knows it was nothing more than political blackmail against a weakened Prime Minister. His partners sensed his vulnerability, and he is willing to sacrifice anything to survive. The judicial coup is racing ahead, with politicians steadily gnawing away at the judicial system through a flood of bills. The executive branch is preparing to rule Israel without checks or balances. An avalanche of bizarre and controversial bills: splitting the powers of the Attorney General, annexing the West Bank, a bill allowing a new government to fire senior position holders within its first 100 days, and turning the country into a banana republic. In plain words: Israel will be a democracy electing a dictator. The “absolute power” approach is a dangerous one – for the state and for its future – especially when so many people believe in it. A public that will not allow the country to function, even after the elections, and especially when they are no longer in power.

Wake up – before it is too late!

Thank you.



Photo: Yair Palti | Jerusalem

Dr. Meital Pinto | Safed Academic College
& the Israeli Law Professors' Forum for Democracy

Hello to all the heroes of Zichron Ya'akov. My name is Meital Pinto and I hold a doctorate in law, and am also co-chair of the Israeli Law Professors' Forum for Democracy. I give quite a few speeches. Usually I try to make legal information accessible to the general public: to explain why we need officials who safeguard against corruption and abuse of power and what they do, or what is the role of the Judicial Selection Committee, and so on. Today, however, I want to do something different. I want to speak about some very basic issues that one does not need a legal education in order to see as very grave: the war in Gaza, the hostages, and the judicial overhaul, some of which we have managed to block.

Let's start with the war in Gaza.

Friends, the time for denial is over. Destroying houses indiscriminately, firing at people indiscriminately, concentrating a civilian population into a so-called "humanitarian zone" – these are war crimes. Abandoning the citizens of Gaza to profound hunger is a war crime. There is no justification for it. It is our duty to speak out constantly about these crimes; we cannot try to sweep them under the rug, we cannot turn away.

Of course it is a war crime when a government minister such as Heritage Minister Amichai Eliyahu openly declares that Gaza should be wiped out and that all its people should be killed. So Bibi disavowed Eliyahu and said that he does not represent the government's policy. But then Smotrich appeared to remind us all that we will conquer Gaza and settle Jews there, in the so-called new riviera. There was even a whole symposium devoted to this plan at the Knesset this week.

Enough denying. Until now they've said that the Israeli government was allowing an unlimited supply of food to enter Gaza. But then yesterday they issued a contradictory statement: now we are told that Israel will allow more food trucks to enter Gaza. The denials and conflicting messages are, in themselves, message enough: not enough food is entering Gaza. The Gaza Humanitarian Foundation claims that it has given out 85 million meals. But even if we assume that Hamas did not seize this food and that it was evenly distributed, people in Gaza still need something like 353 million meals.

We have to yell morning, noon and night: Enough! We will not look away while civilians in Gaza are dying of hunger and being killed indiscriminately. This war has to end today!



It also has to end for our soldiers. This is not a defensive war. It is an all-out political war that has failed to reach its objectives for a year and nine months now. And every week, soldiers who only want to defend the country they love are killed. Some of them already understand that this is a political war, aimed to help the coalition survive. Their parents certainly understand it.

On to the hostages.

I don't buy Bibi's lies, and I don't believe Trump. Bibi is the only one blocking a hostage deal. Abandoning the hostages to be tortured, starved and killed is a moral crime. As [former chief of staff and defense minister] Moshe "Bogie" Ya'alon has said, it is not a war crime because no one ever imagined that any country would abandon its citizens this way. That it would traffic in them, in lists of who would or would not go free. We cannot accept this. Abandoning the hostages is a violation of the Israeli spirit and of the basic solidarity between citizens. The government knows this. Its members did not grow up in an alternative universe. They were also taught that we leave no one behind.

So, friends, we are in a very difficult situation. We are living on crumbs of democracy. There has never been a government that so openly flouted the rule of law, the courts, the Attorney General. But we must not despair. Don't get me wrong. Every demonstration is important, your presence everywhere is important, any T-shirt you wear that shocks and refuses to normalize the hostage situation exerts pressure on the government, and will eventually return the hostages to us. Resist! Speak out about it everywhere, all the time.

A few words of hope: this protest in Zichron is wonderful. Why? Because the organizers declared that they would not allow those who support the impeachment of MK Ayman Odeh to speak at the protest. And what do you know, the pressure worked. Members of Knesset who had gone back and forth, glanced in the direction of fascism and were not sure which way the wind was blowing – well, they realized that the right move was not to impeach Arab MKs simply because they are Arab. This fight succeeded, and its success is important. Why? Because this was a trial balloon. Let's see how Israelis react to Odeh's impeachment, and then we can predict how they will react to changes in election law that will push Arab parties or overly leftist parties out of the running. That is the legislative change the government wants to make. We cannot let them. The message that came out of this protest venue is the right one. Keep it up! Don't apologize for your democratic principles and for your humanity. Yell them everywhere. It is a great honor to speak here!

Capt. (Res.) Ron Feiner | Combat officer, sentenced to 25 days in prison after refusing to report for his fourth round of reserve duty.

Good evening, Haifa! My partners in the struggle for Israeli society and our shared future.

My name is Ron Feiner. I am 26 years old, and I study philosophy, economics, and political science at the University of Haifa. I am also a captain on reserve duty, a platoon commander in the northern Nahal Brigade, and an activist in the movements 'Standing Together' and 'Soldiers for the Hostages.' Recently, after completing 270 days of reserve duty on the northern border and in Lebanon, I was court-martialed and sentenced to 25 days of imprisonment in a military prison because I refused to report to military duty and continue serving in Netanyahu, Ben Gvir, and Smotrich's eternal war. A war whose purpose is political survival and dreams of Jewish settlements in Gaza. To achieve these goals, the Israeli government is willing to sacrifice the lives of the hostages, soldiers, and Gazan civilians, and our hope for a secure future. For this government, we are all 'collateral damage' that they are willing to sacrifice for their personal interests.

I completed three rounds of reserve duty in this endless war. The first began on October 7 itself, when we rushed north to prevent Hezbollah from launching an attack similar to Hamas's, to defend our home. I spent five months in Metula and Manara, followed by only two months at home, when I returned for the second round of reserve duty, this time in Rosh Hanikra. Less than a month and a half after the second round ended, we were called up for the third time, under an emergency conscription order (Order 8), with barely a day's notice, this time to Lebanon, where we fought in Blida and Aitaroun. I have experienced the consequences of war firsthand: With my own hands I evacuated the wounded and the dead; With my own eyes I saw friends shot and injured just a few meters from me; I myself almost died when a bullet hit the flashlight on my helmet and, by sheer luck, did not hit me.

This past April we received another Order 8, the fourth in number. This time, I was not willing to report. A huge black flag hangs over the ongoing war in Gaza, from every possible aspect! All remaining hostages can be returned through a single deal. This option has been on the table for many months, but our government chooses to cling to partial deals and drag out negotiations in order to prolong the war forever, at the expense of the hostages' lives. At the same time, our government proposes to concentrate the civilians in Gaza in a closed compound, without any possibility of entry or exit. We have seen and continue to see the horrors in the food distribution centers, where masses of starving people crowd together and fired upon with live ammunition, resulting in hundreds of deaths. I do not even want to imagine what that closed compound will look like, which our defense minister falsely calls a 'humanitarian city.' And the soldiers. Dozens of soldiers have fallen in battle since the last ceasefire was blown up by the government of Israel.



The number of soldiers who have taken their lives continues to grow. Each and every one of us clings daily to the hope that our loved ones, family and friends, will not be the next name on the list of war casualties.

I want to address my generation. We are the generation that got screwed. We were at the Nova music festival, our friends were murdered and kidnapped. We served hundreds of days of reserve duty and returned from the battlefield wounded in body and soul. But! We are also the generation that can lead to a change of direction. Our generation overwhelmingly supports a single deal that will end the war and return all the hostages, like a vast majority of Israelis. Now we must take actions that will leave the government with no choice but to implement our demands. Therefore, we must show the government that it is not legitimate, and that we cannot comply with its decisions and actions. When I decided not to report for reserve duty, I did it to defend our home.

I thank all of you for coming here today, as well as the masses of Israelis who fight every day against death and destruction, against extremism and hatred. Finally, I want to convey two personal messages. First, although I was punished for it, I stand by my decision, and I would make the exact same decision a thousand times over. Three weeks in military prison are a small price to pay for such just and important causes. Second, my personal story is not the issue. There is broad public support for ending the war, as I learned from the thousands of people who approached me personally to support my decision. We must extend that same support to my fellow reservists and make it clear to them that we will stand by their side when they choose to stop serving Smotrich and Ben Gvir's war. We must do this now! This war is gradually eroding everything, and we must stop it before it finally obliterates our future here.



Photos: Miri Porat | Haifa



SOLIDARITY



Ghadir Hani | Member of the Standing Together leadership team
& the Women Wage Peace movement

Good evening. My name is Ghadir Hani, and I am an Arab-Palestinian Israeli citizen. I stand here and my heart is flooded with emotions. It is flooded with pain, because every day I hear and see what is happening to my people in Gaza. I see the pictures of hungry children, and I want to scream. I see the expulsion of entire Palestinian communities in the West Bank and the violence of the settlers there – and I want to scream. Just this week, activist Awdah Hathaleen was murdered in the West Bank by a settler, and I am going out of my mind – because I know there is little chance of justice being done for Awadah after his death, when the Jewish terrorist is already being backed by the government.

And my heart is also full of pain for the hostages, and for the families struggling for their release.

There is no contradiction here. As a Palestinian who is also a citizen of Israel – I live in a torn reality, and I also know that humanity, compassion and solidarity are the bridge across the rift.

I also feel anger. Anger, because the images we are seeing should never have been seen anywhere in the world. Because the crimes we need to stop should never have been committed.

Because starving people is inhuman. And firing at civilians who come in search of food is inhuman. And leveling and destroying entire cities is inhuman. Because erasing a population is inhuman, and it is a crime against humanity!

I hear Smotrich boast that this is a “war of annihilation” – and I know that we are fighting the battle of our lives. This is an emergency, and we cannot give up. If we give up now, we will fall





into despair, and if that happens – everything will be destroyed along with Gaza: the future of the Palestinians, the future of the Israelis, the humanity of this place, each and every one of our souls.

So, enough! We cannot go on one minute longer. We have gathered here tonight, a broad coalition of organizations, to say clearly: we will not allow this to go on. We will not stay silent, and we will not stop – until this war of annihilation stops, until the government of death is gone.

We deserve better than this! My people in Gaza deserve to live! The children there deserve to play! And all of us here deserve to have a just, egalitarian, truly democratic country, where we are all the rightful owners. We deserve it – and we will make it happen!

We have gathered here tonight because we all know: the time is up. We can no longer keep our eyes closed; there are no more excuses or mitigations. When unforgivable crimes are being committed in Gaza, when inside Israel the government is doing everything it can to turn its rule into a dictatorship, when it is clear that for them the war is here to stay and the lives of Palestinians – and Israelis – are worthless, we cannot stay silent. And we have to understand: it is our responsibility to make all this stop!

Join us tomorrow for protests across the country. We will be in Sakhnin, Arabeh, Shefar'am, Deir al-Asad Bi'ina, Majd al-Krum, Jadeidi-Makr, Haifa, Foureidis, Baqa al-Gharbia, Kafr Qara, Tira-Tayibe and Rahat. Starting next Sunday, a protest tent will be set up at Dizengoff Square in Tel Aviv, an unprecedented initiative bringing together dozens of organizations that promote peace, partnership and democracy, and from there activists will lead acts of protest, disruption and ongoing struggle – because there is something we can do, and there is no time to lose.

I want to end by saying that in war there are no victories. We all know this. Only agreements save lives and enable us all to have the security, freedom and peace we all deserve. Deep, bitter conflicts around the world have been resolved. It could happen here too.



Rula Daoud | Co-director of the Standing Together movement

There is a girl in Gaza right now who is hungry. There is a boy in Gaza right now who is thirsty. I cannot begin to imagine how that feels. I cannot imagine the pain of an exhausted body – nor the pain of parents who promise that tomorrow will be better, knowing that it's beyond their control.

I don't know how much strength is left in the bodies of this girl or boy to cry out. But I do know that I can cry out for them. Which is why I am here tonight, to cry out, for and on behalf of all those whose voices are not heard – Enough!

- No more starvation!
- No more destruction!
- No more bombing of displaced persons' tents!
- No more war crimes!
- No more ethnic cleansing!

Enough with the God-awful plans, such as establishing a concentration camp on the ruins of Rafah, cynically and falsely calling it a “humanitarian city.”

Enough!

Stop telling us that when we talk about Gaza and the Palestinians who live there, we speak against Israelis. I am here to say, loud and clear: this war is destroying the future of both peoples. It is shattering the security of us all. It condemns us all to live under a messianic, Kahanist government that hates democracy, hates peace, and hates the people who live here. In their rush toward annexation and transfer, they disregard any and all: they disregard the tens of thousands of Palestinians who already paid with their lives, as many as 100,000 according to some estimates, including nearly 20,000 children.



Photo: Reuven G.Sz | Jerusalem

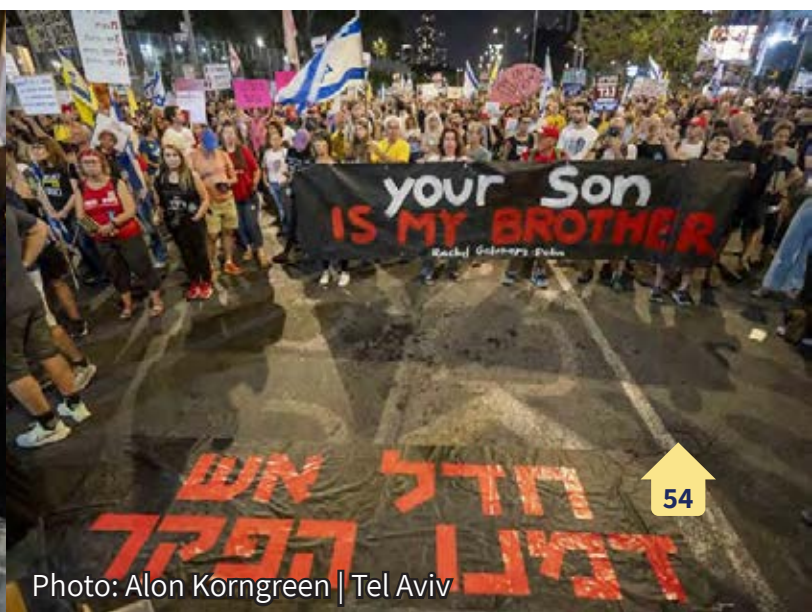


Photo: Alon Korngreen | Tel Aviv



They disregard the hostages, who are waiting for a deal that the Government refuses to sign.

They further disregard the Palestinian communities in the West Bank, who suffer daily from violent settlers accompanied by the army. Just this week, Odeh Hadalin was murdered in the village of Umm al-Khair. And the suspected settler, who was photographed shooting at residents with a pistol? He was released to house arrest and is suspected of “involuntary manslaughter”! Let’s be clear: this is murder!

And just as the Government disregards Odeh’s life, it disregards the lives of future generations of Palestinians and Israelis. They ignore the simple truth: two peoples live in this land, and neither of us is going anywhere!

When I receive messages from Gaza, from people who have been struggling to stay alive for 22 months, I only ask them to hold on. And I break inside every time, because I know that for a family in Gaza, survival is a matter of luck. They don’t know where a bomb will fall tomorrow. They don’t know when they will suddenly come under fire. They don’t know who will be next. It’s a matter of luck – but it’s not inevitable. It could be different! There could be a different future here!

More and more governments around the world – France, Britain, Canada, possibly soon joined by Germany – are recognizing a Palestinian state. They recognize that the Palestinian people also have the right to live in their own independent state. That the Palestinian people also deserve to live not in refugee tents but in peace, in their place under the sun. And it must be said: it is time that here in Israel, too, there will be a government that recognizes the right of the Palestinian people to live in an independent state, a government that decides to end the occupation, a government that signs an Israeli-Palestinian peace treaty!

And to do that, we must raise our voices, together – Arabs and Jews. Palestinian citizens in Israel are under attack. We are being silenced, held back. From here I call on my Jewish partners: stand with us! Don’t be silent when this happens. I also call on my Palestinian partners: this struggle must be a joint one. Because only together we have enough power to stop the Government. And we must not think that this is not our responsibility, or that there is nothing we can do.



Photo: Vardit Alon Korpel | Jerusalem



Photo: Rani Graff | Tel Aviv



Because we can refuse! Indeed, we must refuse to serve this war!
Yes, refuse to serve this war!
Because we can disrupt life here until the Government breaks!
Because we can go out, time and again, until we succeed in defeating them.

I would like to say a few words in Arabic to my people in Gaza:

To my people in Gaza,
We are far from you geographically, but closer than ever in spirit.
True, we do not live under the aircraft,
and we don't count our days after every bombing,
and we don't run over the bodies of those we love under the rubble.
But our sleep is not peaceful,
our hearts are not at ease,
we know that you are tired,
and that your bodies are shaken,
your souls tremble a thousand times a day.
But believe us... your tears are our tears,
and your cries are within us,
your pain lives inside us
Today, from the heart of Tel Aviv,
we stand together, thousands of Arabs and Jews,
carrying one voice,
shaping it from our pain, from our humanity:
Enough genocide, enough siege, enough starvation.
Gaza,
We have not forgotten you,
We will not remain silent and we will not stay quiet.

Friends, together, we have the power to make a different voice heard. Together we can build a different future in this land. And to that end, we will continue to take to the streets – in Tel Aviv, Jaffa, Sakhnin, Baqa, Jerusalem, Haifa, and on the Gazan border. Keep taking to the streets. Come with us. Don't stop and don't give up. We must save lives, and together, we can do it.



Dr. Jossef Loss | Anthropologist, mediator & mindfulness teacher

Dear friends,

A government that abandons its own people, soldiers and civilians, to be tortured and killed rather than release enemy prisoners, and that sometimes prefers to kill its own people when it means that more of the enemy will also die – that is a government without restraints or boundaries, capable of any crime. Just like Hamas.

We are on the verge not of total victory, but of the mass starvation to death of innocents, of the very weakest.

It's here. Right here. Just a short distance away.

This is a government that hates the enemy more than it loves its own people. Jews whose Judaism consists mainly of hating Arabs, and Muslims whose Islam consists mainly of hating Jews – both live in a deep, dark abyss of consciousness, and they pull us all down there with them. Religion should be a recipe for love, for compassion, for good intentions, for helping and caring for others. Not for hatred. Not for condescension. For real modesty. Not the kind of modesty that means persecuting others, persecuting women and covering up their bodies. That is not modesty. That is male violence against women. That is misogyny.

A government driven by hate is a bad, destructive, harmful government.

It is no accident that the entire world opposes its policies.

And it is therefore not surprising that this government's hatred is pointed in all directions. Towards anyone who will not toe the line and show absolute loyalty to the ruler. That is the nature of hatred. It consumes itself.

Until this hatred consumes itself, our task is to limit its harmful effect as much as we can. Therefore, we need to strengthen others and to strengthen ourselves – to strengthen each other. To cooperate fruitfully, as people have done for the last three weeks when organizing these marches. To find connections and build bridges, even and especially when there are different interpretations of reality, different worldviews. Only then can we create a force powerful enough to oppose this burning hatred, and offer an alternative for Israel and for Palestine.

When the Israeli government prevented all aid from reaching the people of Gaza for two and a half months, it inflicted harm on the very weakest. Since the influx of aid has resumed, far less of it than needed, it is still not reaching the very weakest, who in their thousands – perhaps tens of thousands – are suffering from malnutrition, in danger of dying.

Starvation is a particularly horrifying weapon, causing masses to die slowly. Even before



death, starvation robs the Palestinians in Gaza of their humanity, leaving them in a state of animal-like need for physical survival. That is a crime against humanity. Humanity is very fragile. It is easy to destroy. It requires effort to preserve, especially in horrific times like these.

And that is what we are doing here. We are maintaining our humanity and calling on all humans, Jews and Arabs, in Israel and Palestine and everywhere, to maintain theirs.

By this point, we have no expectations of the Israeli government.

Therefore, we call from here upon governments that distinguish between the Israeli government and the Israeli people to take urgent action and stop the starvation in Gaza, stop the fighting and release the hostages.

In closing, I want to say something to any police officers and soldiers whom my words might reach. Officers and soldiers who are willing to lay down their lives to defend the people and the state. Your willingness to risk your physical and emotional well-being, your families' futures and your lives for others – that is an expression of great generosity. The government is abusing that generosity, exploiting it by setting goals for you that are, by definition, crimes against humanity. Crimes that the whole world opposes, including Israel's most loyal friends. I say to you: open your eyes. Do not let this criminal government drag you into the abyss. Nothing justifies crimes against humanity. Not even the fact that Hamas committed crimes against humanity.

Photo: Eitan Slonim | The March, near the border with Gaza



Nomika Zion | “Kol Aher” (Another Voice)

In 2008, after seven difficult years of Qassam rocket attacks, a group of residents from Sderot and the surrounding area founded Another Voice. It was a political call to resolve the bloody conflict solely through nonviolent means and long-term diplomatic agreements, while also extending a hand and opening a human channel of dialogue with the people beyond the fence. The friendships and deep connections that were built over the years with Gaza residents were tested in every war and escalation.

No one can intimidate us with the chilling statement that “there are no innocents in Gaza”. We personally know dozens of peace-seeking Gazans who cared about us and expressed empathy during every escalation — some of whom paid a heavy price for choosing to stay in contact with us.

All the calls and attempts to raise a different voice and demand a political solution were in vain, and led us to the monstrous encounter with the “pure evil” of October 7th. But “pure evil” is not born from the sea, nor is it embedded in the DNA of an entire people. It is the result of despair, displacement, brutal oppression, prolonged siege, closures, and a lack of any way out — an absence of even a glimmer of hope for a different life. And yes, there is historical context, and we do not have the privilege of hitting Delete on it in favor of a one-sided victim narrative.

But Israeli society, which consciously chose to turn wars into a way of life and the occupation into second nature, is now in a psychosis of unrestrained killing and destruction that has reached epic proportions. It will take decades to digest, understand, investigate, and grasp the scale of the horror it has caused — and continues to cause daily — in Gaza. And over the past year, it has been accelerating a “Gaza-like” reality in the West Bank as well.

All the elements that characterize historically horrifying events are laid at our doorstep: repression, denial, blindness, the sweeping silence of the majority, indifference, numbness — or alternatively, malignant smugness and a drunkenness of power, like the slogan of the Jewish terror group’s WhatsApp chat: “Happy Jews burn villages”, under the sanitized name “Hilltop Youth”. We will have to reckon with all of it — someday.

I’m dressed in white, but I feel black. 24/7 of unimaginable bombings on Gaza shake the homes in Sderot and the surrounding area, driving us to madness and deep worry — for the fate of the abandoned hostages, for the safety of the soldiers sacrificing their lives in a futile war, and for the horrifying question: what is today’s quota of dead babies, children, and innocent Gazan civilians that we’ve allotted ourselves—day after day? It scorches the soul. Literally. Because we must choose what kind of society we want to be: a society that writes Mein Kampf, to borrow the metaphorical language of Szyborska, or a society that writes Winnie the Pooh?



And that's our role here. To stop the banality of evil that we've been living within for so many years. To prevent the next Gazan Dresden. To end this cursed war, bring back the hostages, end the occupation, and begin the work of healing and rebuilding—ourselves and our neighbors. Nothing will protect us — nothing — not in Sderot and not anywhere else in this land, except striving for long-term agreements and outlining a political horizon, with the support, backing, and guarantees of an international coalition of nations.



Photo: Rony Shapiro | Haifa



Photo: Alon Korngreen | Tel Aviv

Photo: Eilat Markovitch | Haifa



HOPE



Mohammed | Khan Yunis, Gaza

Letter (written in English) delivered and read by Arik Yellin (Member of Kol Aher Another Voice)

To my friends and to the peace-loving Israeli people, I would like to greet you with the Arabic salutation we use in Gaza: (Assalamu Alaikum) which means in English, “Peace be upon you”.

To those who have not lost hope in peace and continue to fight with strength and courage for this dream I send you this message from Gaza, where immense suffering caused by this senseless war is intertwined with a faint glimmer of hope for an uncertain future, one we cannot predict after this war.

Here in Gaza, death, destruction, hunger, and displacement spread everywhere. People here are desperate, with no jobs, no homes, no hospitals, no schools, no electricity—nothing—because of a mistake they did not make and a crime they did not commit!

We cry out, “Release the hostages,” but no one listens to us. The people of Gaza are victims of Hamas’s stubbornness and the Israeli army’s harshness.

I have always been, and still am, a supporter and lover of peace. Even in the hardest of times, like this war, I have not lost hope in peace and in living side by side with our Israeli neighbors.

About 15 years ago, I was arrested by Hamas in Gaza because of my visits to Israel and my peace activism. They banned me from entering Israel afterward, but I never lost hope for even a moment, because I believe that courage is moving forward to achieve your goals under the most challenging circumstances.

Please, tell everyone you know that we in Gaza do not deserve all this killing, hunger, and destruction. We are a peaceful people, but just as you have extremists who are enemies of peace, so do we. They are a scourge of nations and exist in every time and place.

We must make our ideas triumph over theirs so that the logic of peace and coexistence prevails over the logic of war and hatred in this sacred region, allowing us to live in peace.

I do not wish to take more of your time, and I pray that God guides you in your difficult yet not impossible mission.

Peace be upon you.

From Mohammed - Khan Yunis



Photo: Alon Korngreen | Tel Aviv



Photo: Orna Kupferman | Jérusalem



Photo: Orna Kupferman | Jerusalem



Photo: Reuven G.Sz. | Alonim Junction

Prof. Nitza Ben-Dov | University of Haifa

Let me start with a trivia question: what is the common thread between the titles of the following books: *The Street of Steps*, *The Lover*, *A Trumpet in the Wadi*, *Pigeons at Trafalgar Square* and *Journey to Haifa Tonight*? I'm sure some of you know the answer: all of these books were written by authors from Haifa, telling the stories of multiculturalism in Haifa, describing interactions between the wealthy and the poor, the complex Jewish-Arab relations and the interpersonal and national tensions between them, within and beyond the borders of Haifa, in times of peace and in times of war.

In Yehudit Hendel's '*The Street of Steps*', the steps reflect the problematic relationship between the residents of downtown and uptown Haifa, the person living downtown being the one who came back from the war of Independence broken and depressed.

In A.B. Yehoshua's '*The Lover*', an Arab boy enters the life of a bourgeois uptown family, against the background of the Yom Kippur War.

Sami Michael's '*A Trumpet in the Wadi*', describes the opposite situation: a Jewish boy enters the life of a Christian Arab family in the cosmopolitan neighborhood of Wadi Nisnas, as the First Lebanon War cuts short the love story between him and an Arab woman.

In '*Pigeons at Trafalgar Square*', another novel by Sami Michael, the protagonist is a Palestinian boy adopted by a Jewish family of Holocaust survivors, who feels like he belongs to both peoples. The novel takes place during the First Intifada, but the Jewish-Arab protagonist, living with his wife in a wealthy neighborhood, feels safe [and I quote] "No guns, no planes, no tanks – none threatened the peaceful neighborhood" (p. 155). Little did Sami Michael imagine that the neighborhood would be threatened by ballistic missiles after his death.

In Yaakov Orland's '*Journey to Haifa Tonight*', the journey and the night are metaphors for the place of burial of this poet and songwriter, whom Abba Hushi [Mayor of Haifa in 1951-1969] brought to the city as part of an artists' project.

All of these authors have passed away, not knowing what happened to their beloved city and country, where they had hoped to establish brotherhood and friendship among its inhabitants, considering its human diversity a strength rather than a weakness. They did not know that a leader would rise whose sole purpose is to divide and incite, rather than unite and mitigate rivalries and tensions, as they had strived for in their work.

And don't say that the divisive and inciting leader has no literary sense. Look at the titles he invents for the war within the war within the war, the eternal war he is forcing upon us with a variety of names intended to draw attention away from the terrible significance of the prolonged war, the goal of which is to keep him in power at any cost.



He wanted to call the October 7th war the “War of Revival.” Did you hear that? He wants to call the most disastrous war in the history of the State of Israel, for which he is responsible, the one that will forever have his name all over it – the “War of Revival”. And in the War of Revival, that involves kidnappings and casualties and hunger and a so-called humanitarian city for the unfortunate residents of Gaza, we also have “Gideon’s Chariots”, even though Gideon the Judge had no chariots at all, and he called the operation against Iran “Rising Lion”.

Since the Iran War, Benjamin Netanyahu has been walking around like a peacock showing off its tail in all its glory, shaking it in public to attract more and more attention. He, who for 636 days since October 7th did not find the time to visit Nir Oz, suddenly made an appearance at this site, which has become a symbol of the slaughter, burning and hostages still in captivity, thinking that the Iran War will conceal his outrageous, unforgivable failure.

He, who completely erased Nir Oz from the map when he explained that the Philadelphi Route is “the cornerstone of our existence,” suddenly found the time to visit all the missile strike sites: Bat Yam, Rishon LeZion, the Weizmann Institute, Soroka Hospital, and Nir Oz as well. All these belated visits were intended to flaunt victory and blur failure. This ultimate opportunist can also sniff upcoming elections. But the destruction of October 7th will not be forgotten, nor his absolute avoidance of contact with the victims.

I will conclude with reference to the idioms and semantics that have taken root among us, with a possible change of context and meaning for these terrifying linguistic formulas. For example, the word ‘phases’ or ‘beats’ that was made up to delay the return of our hostages, can be used for hearts beating with emotion at the sight of the hostages and soldiers returning from Gaza and the rebuilding of homes and communities on both sides of the border.

Another example: Imagine the horrifying “cleared for publication”, currently used to announce fallen soldiers and associated with killing, bereavement and pain, being associated with hope and used to announce inventions and discoveries that benefit humanity. Imagine the Weizmann Institute or the Technion, after years of quiet research in laboratories, “clearing for publication” new pills to fight cancer, aging or depression.

Finally, the prophecy “He shall rise up as a lion, and as a lion’s whelp he shall leap”, spoken by a foreign prophet, a gentile, Balaam son of Beor, who came to curse the people of Israel and ended up blessing them, will be replaced by the prophecy of peace spoken by the true prophets of Israel, Isaiah and Micha, whose successors are the Haifa authors I mentioned earlier, Yehudit Hendel, A.B. Yehoshua, Sami Michael, and Yaakov Orland:

“They shall turn their swords into plowshares and their spears into pruning hooks; no nation shall lift up a sword against another, and they shall no longer learn war. Everyone shall dwell under their vine and under their fig tree, with none to make them afraid”.

Dr. Tanya Zion Waldoks | The Hebrew University

“And Even Better”

“Even better.

And even better.

All I will ever have is good.”

(Lyrics: Yosef Yair Elitzur and Rabbi Shalom Arush)

How can this song be playing everywhere? How can people dance to its beat – when before our eyes the public sphere is collapsing and burning, and inside our homes, and our neighbors’ homes, dwell death, bereavement, ruin and devastation?

I am furious, ready to explode!

How can anyone rejoice that “all is good” when 50 hostages are still held in Gaza? When children who just finished school come back in coffins? When entire families of hostages, evacuees, and reservists are falling apart? When Bedouin families – citizens of Israel – and Palestinian families are expelled from their homes in the name of God and State?

Who dares fill the air with singing and jingling, with hollow words, when we are surrounded by more and more fallen lives? This song doesn’t lift me up – it makes me nauseous, it chills me. It feels like desecration.



Photo: Reuven G.Sz. | Tel Aviv



Tonight I would like to pause on this emotional and moral dissonance. Are they truly the people of miracles and gratitude, while we are the people of depression, rage, and despair? Don't we also deserve to believe that "only good" will come?

I understand the comfort in clinging to the fantasy that everything is good, and will only get better. But perhaps it's also convenient for us – to weep every Saturday night, to proclaim that everything is bad (and getting worse), and then to drift back into the routine of complaints on WhatsApp?

Each week, when the Saturday night protest disperses, an existential anxiety grips me: Will we make do with casting words into the air? And if we remain trapped in loss and helplessness – how will we ever find the strength to create change?

This song makes me feel "even worse," because it is the anthem of a messianic ideology spreading through this country, serving violence and denial. Citizens bury children while ministers proclaim miracles. Terrorists torch entire villages, yet are still called "youths," "Jews," "religious." Failures pile up, buried under layers of spin – and the defendants? They celebrate.

In such a country, it seems almost natural that the site of a massacre would be used as the backdrop for a public-relations campaign, one that would surely tell us how much "better" life will be if only we elected him.

Because is it really "good" to die for our country!? Too many have fallen in love with the culture of sacrifice that Abraham passed down to us when he bound his son on the altar.



Photo: Rony Shapiro | Haifa

This legacy is dangerous – it hands down generational trauma, lets the blood of our children, and persuades us that this is how it always was, and how it must always be. That obedience is sacred, and disobedience forbidden. That we are doomed to suffer forever in a cruel cycle of vengeance and victimhood.

Tonight, here in Beer Sheva, the city of Abraham, I want to suggest we recall other stories as well: of Abraham who believed in what was not visible to the eye and dared to follow a promise toward a better future. Abraham who parted from Lot and shared the land with him. Abraham, father of many nations, who loved all his children. Who prayed for the people of Sodom, and fought for the lives of every innocent person. Abraham who did not accept judgment in silence or submission, but stood up and demanded: “Shall not the Judge of all the earth do justice?” Abraham who did not give up, even when he failed. A man of miracles and trials – who never stopped trying.

We also walk in the path of our mother Rachel – Rachel who wept bitterly, not out of bitterness, but as a warning. She refused to be comforted until all were restored. Her tears were not a sign of weakness – but the wellspring of a steadfast moral stance. Like Rachel, today too there are mothers who refuse to be consoled, who cry out and sound a warning.

Mothers of hostages. Mothers of soldiers. And also civilians – like our comrade in this struggle, the late Naomi Sha’anan, murdered last week when a missile struck her home. She saw every hostage as her own child. She did not wait for a miracle – until her very last day, Naomi rose and took action.

Together with the mothers, and with the majority of the people of Israel, we demand: End the war! Bring them all home, in one phase – now!



Photo: Orna Kupferman | Jerusalem



There is another ancient Jewish tradition we would do well to embrace. This week's Torah portion, Chukat, teaches us that when blood is spilled, we must not remain indifferent. Leaders must go out into the no-man's-land, take responsibility, and ask themselves: "Did our hands not shed this blood?" Atonement requires recognition, investigation, and accountability.

Together with the families of the October Council and the majority of the people of Israel, we demand a State Commission of Inquiry!

But wait – if we refuse to forget, if we refuse to be comforted, if we refuse to give up – will we finally have “only good”? Not at all certain. I am no longer sure we will succeed. And yet, tonight I suggest we adopt this slogan for ourselves: to choose the moral legacy of the common good. To try, to persist, to believe that it is possible.

We must cling to this faith, and to trust in one another – for otherwise, all that remains to us is a choice between detached messianic fantasies and exhaustion, anxiety, and despair. The truth is, we all long for “only good.”

But we are here to remind everyone that no one can dance to this song – not before we bring back the hostages, not before we take responsibility, not before we make things right. That is what will bring the good.

In conclusion:

This week, Mr. Abandonment treated our neighbors in the Gaza border communities as though they were puppets in a political shop window, a backdrop of horror. But I want to show you another picture – the one I see almost every day through my lens, across the country, as I photograph the protests:



Photo: Tanya Zion-Waldoks | Jerusalem



I see you, us, struggling together, with beating hearts and a fierce, determined hope.

And of all the images, one of the very first photos I ever took at a demonstration here in Beer Sheva, about two and a half years ago, still stays with me:

A little girl holding up a sign:

“Let’s keep trying until things get better.”

And that is the whole Torah in a nutshell.

So what shall we embrace tonight? Not the “even better” that dulls, lulls, and deceives – but the aspiration for “even better” that we shall build on responsibility, solidarity, and love of humanity.

A good rooted in the values of the Declaration of Independence – of life, justice, equality, freedom, and peace.

A good that includes everyone – also those who have no voice, also the voices of minorities. A shared good.

Not a sacrifice on the altar and a “plan of submission,” but a true partnership.

Not a war of attrition – but a choice for life.

Not the silencing of criticism and a return to the old order – but a repair that forges a new path.

Yes, they are trying to rewrite the story: to call it “total victory,” a “time of miracles,” to erase the past and set fire to our children’s future. But we have the power to tell another story. And we are already telling it – here and now.

When I feel close to despair, I look at you – at the commitment to keep trying. We are a broad and diverse protest. Together we gather fragments, ignite sparks, build horizons. When I look at us, I believe that, just as Rachel was told: “There is a reward for your labor... and the children shall return to their land.”

We choose Israel. We choose togetherness, out of our differences. With faith – that here too, in the Negev, and across this land, reality can and must be better. For all the inhabitants of this wounded country.

So when we sing Hatikvah tonight – the ceremony is not over. We will not disperse in silence. We will not wait for the next Saturday night. We will go on singing aloud, together with the majority of Israel’s citizens:

“We will make sure that things get better here for everyone, always,

Even better, and even better...”

Be strong and have courage – and hold fast to the hope for good.



Photo: Alon Korngreen | Tel Aviv



Photo: Tanya Zion-Waldoks | Daisy waits for the hostages

Eran Littman | Father of Oriya who was murdered on October 7th

I spoke here for the first time on 7 November 2023, and it is unfathomable that I am here again one year, nine months, and five days later. I am staring in the eyes of reality, and what I have to say will not be pleasant.

Hamas made its plans and remained undetected by Israeli intelligence, and on October 7th it caught us by surprise, and bested us. Hamas conquered hundreds of square kilometers, murdered 1,320 civilians and soldiers, and kidnapped 253 of our finest citizens. And yet my anger and frustration are directed inward, at us. This happened because of us. Because of the government of Israel. When the fence was breached, the first card was pulled, and Israel's arrogant house of cards collapsed. The state crumbled and did not function for many months. Citizens filled the governmental vacuum and saved the country. One of them is brave and humble, maligned from all sides, who never boasted or shared the details of how, on the night of October 8th, in occupied territory teeming with terrorists, he searched and turned over every stone to find my Oriya. Thank you, Yair [Golan]. I owe you. My Oriya was murdered because of a religious war. Islamist extremists murdered her. Messianic Jews ignited a religious war, pouring oil on the fire of terror, trying then and now to deny our freedom and impose their distorted ideology upon us. The heads of the ultra-Orthodox sector joined a criminal defendant in exchange for budgets and exemption from service.

Because I am a Kaplanist [pro-democracy protester] like you, on that very day, October 7th, was the first time I was accused that Oriya was murdered because of me, because I did not support the Prime Minister. From that day on I have received many hateful messages expressing the wish that Oriya had been murdered and abused.

Let me be clear: We are a nation divided, and Am Yisrael (the people of Israel) no longer exists. I refuse to be associated in any way, shape or form with these contemptible people. The Prime Minister, who considered Hamas an asset, and claimed that it was deterred. The Prime minister who refuses to take responsibility. The prime minister, who admits his guilt by refusing to establish a State Commission of Inquiry whose conclusions are foregone.

As far as I am concerned, the prime minister and the 68 partners in his coalition, are guilty of Oriya's murder. If only the members of the government and Knesset had even a thousandth of Oriya's courage. They are spineless immoral cowards, clinging to their seat and to their king. They abandon IDF soldiers to the prosecutors and judges of The Hague. Ministers are declaring this a year of miracles, condoning war crimes, and aspiring to resettle Gaza with Jewish Israelis. They are isolating Israel, making it a pariah state, while failing to return the hostages who are wasting away.



They are agents of chaos, and in the chaos they created, they ignite the fire in the West Bank. They expel people from their homes, driving the desperate to join terror groups, to become monsters, and to kill Israelis.

These are terrible days. Every returned hostage embraced by her father is on the one hand heartbreaking to me, driving another nail into Oria's coffin, and yet opening a new door to life. All the hostages must be returned quickly and unconditionally, including the fallen and the murdered. The return of their remains holds immense significance for their families, far greater than you imagine. They were forsaken, and we have no right to negotiate. The government of Israel is doing everything to thwart and prevent their return to their families' embrace. Everything is connected to everything. The King of Darkness, the devil's right-hand man, has taken over the state of Israel with the aid of his contemptible servants and has covered it in a dark black cloud.

Thank you very much for leaving the comfort of your home and choosing to come here. Together we will bring the necessary change, fix our state and disperse the dark black cloud looming above us. We will bring out the sun to shine upon us, and our children who left this place will return. The state of Israel will once again embody the values of the Declaration of Independence, and perhaps we will even become a people again, and I will be able to raise the flag of the state of Israel with pride again. The flag of the state that abandoned Oria.

We must do everything in our power so that no new members join the family of bereavement. We must carefully choose our thoughts and actions to serve our best interests. We must plan carefully for the long-term and promote processes that will reduce and eliminate the monsters of terror.

The best thing for us is to forge a secure coexistence with our neighbours, from Indonesia in the east to Morocco in the west. To accept the proposals for change in Judea, Samaria, and Gaza. To support investment in civilian infrastructure and education so that in 10 or 20 years the new young generation will abandon terror and choose life. There will be ups and downs, but we must return to being a peace-seeking state.

I have a dream: that you will all awaken from this nightmare and resume your ordinary peaceful lives. I will rejoice in your happiness. And I, I will continue to dream of my Oria and to long for her.



CALLS

and

STATEMENTS

המחבר (1897) נפטר ביום 10/12/1900
בביתו ברחוב המלך דוד 100
בירושלים

[illegible][illegible]

29- לימודי 1857 קיבלו עזרה מאבות המאמדות החלוקה המיוחדת
קמת מדרגה ייחודית לזרם יישובי וזעזערת וזעזעה מאורגת תושבי
רץ וישראל למען בעמם בכל הענינים החדשים בעמם החל לביטול
החלוקה הברורה של המאמדות המאמדות בזכות העם היחודי במקום את
יחיד אמת נחלת להם.

הוא נמצא הנוסדה של המסד המודרני יחדיו כלל עם המסד ברשור
הוא המודרני הרבנות

פירך נתבססו אנו חברי מועצת העם נצטו היטב העבר
תנועה הציונית ביום סיום המגלש הברית על ארץ ישראל
תוקף זכרנו הטבעית וההיסטורית ועל יסוד החלטת
היה האומות המאוחדות אנו מברכים בזאת על הקמ
ינה יהודית בארץ ישראל היא מדינת ישראל.

י קובעים שחל מרע סיום המדע, הליכה אור לים שבר
ר הש"ה 19 במאי 1948. ועד להקנס השלטות הבהרים והסדיר
המדינה בזהאם לחוקה שהקבע על ידי האספה המכנסת הבהר
אחור מן באוקטובר 1948 - העל נקעות העם כמועצה מדינת
ית, ומסד הביצוע שלה, מנחלת העם, יהיה את האמירה הזמן
המדינה היהודית אשר תיקרא בסם: ישראל.

יצת ישראל ותא פהתה לכו
קוד על פיתוח הארץ לטובת כל
דת החירות, הצדק והשלום לאור
יכוות חבדית ומדיני גמור לכל
החופש דת, מצפון, לשון, חינוך והרבות, תשמור על המקום
ימים של כל הדתות, וחיה נאמה לעקרונותיה של מצד
מזות המאחדות

זאת ישראל והיא מוכנה לשותף פעולה עם המוסדות והג
האומות המאוחדות בהגשמת התוכנית העצרת מיום 29 בנוב
והפעל להקמת האחדות הכלכלית של ארץ ישראל בשלמ
ו קוראים לשמירת המאוחדות ולתת יד לעם היהודי ב
נתן ולקבל את מדינת ישראל לתוך משפחת העמים.

קוראים - גם בערך התקפת הדמים הנערכת עלינו
שים - לבני העם הערבי תושבי מדינת ישראל לשמור על הש
שול חלקם בבין המדינה על יסוד אזהרות מלאה ושווה ועל
נות מתאימה בכל מסדותיה, חומותיה וקבוצות.

וּמִשְׁפָּטֵי יְהוָה שְׁלֵם וְשִׁמְרוֹתָּהּ מִצְוָה לְכָל הַמְדִּינוֹת הַשָּׁמַיִם
וְהָאָרֶץ וְקִדְּשֵׁהָ לְפָנֶיךָ עֲשֵׂה לָּנוּ יְהוָה אֱלֹהֵינוּ עֲשֵׂה
עֲמָנוּ בְּאֶרֶץ מִדְּיָן יִשְׂרָאֵל מִצְוָה לְעָרֹם חֶלְקָהּ בְּמִאֲמָן
דִּמְתָּ הַמְּרִיז הַדִּיבָן כֹּכָב.

קוראים אל העם היהודי בכל התפוצות להתלכד סביב בעלה ובנין ועמוד לימין במערכה הגדולה על הבית החדות בנאות ישראל.



14 July 2025

President of the Academy Issues Warning: Addressing the Humanitarian Crisis in Gaza and Securing the Release of Hostages - A National Moral Imperative

Professor David Harel, President of the Israel Academy of Sciences and Humanities, issues this warning: We cannot remain silent in the face of the terrible humanitarian crisis in the Gaza Strip, which threatens the lives and health of hundreds of thousands of human beings.

I see it as a professional and moral duty to express a position on this matter, when medical data and expert opinions show evidence of extreme humanitarian distress. The prolonged fighting in the Strip since October 2023 has caused the deaths of tens of thousands of people, a great many of them children and women. Data from international agencies point to the collapse of the health system and absence of essential medicines, extreme shortage of clean drinking water due to destruction of water and sewage infrastructure, acute malnutrition among thousands of children and deterioration in their health condition, lack of access to fuel and electricity needed to operate life-saving medical equipment and water purification facilities, severe damage to the ability to treat chronic patients, premature infants, the wounded, and more. Additionally, direct hits on civilians have been reported when they arrive to receive medical services and humanitarian aid.

A public health crisis of this magnitude carries long-term consequences: disease outbreak, infant mortality and wounded people who could have been saved, severe damage to the development of an entire generation of children, and deepening cycles of poverty, trauma, and radicalization. All of these extend to a situation that is far more than a local humanitarian problem, constituting a health, social, and security threat that endangers the stability of the entire region, and which will also impact the State of Israel, its economic and scientific standing, and the future of its regional and international cooperation. Already, measures are being taken in the European Union that could lead to Israel's exclusion from the Horizon Europe program, due to non-compliance with clauses relating to human rights - measures that would severely damage Israeli research, development and innovation budgets, and Israel's scientific standing in the world.

As one who heads the senior body of Israel's scientific community, which includes among its members physician-researchers, researchers in immunology, biology, and food security, I call upon the Government of Israel to act immediately, under close security supervision, to protect civilian lives in the Gaza Strip, to alleviate human suffering there, to re-instantiate the basic health and life infrastructures, including regular flow of essential humanitarian aid, food, water, medical equipment, medicines, and fuel.

Along with this, I share in the rage and deep concern of the families of the fifty Israeli hostages held by Hamas for over 640 days, and I mourn the heavy cost in Israeli soldiers' lives from the fighting in Gaza. The responsibility for the lives and health of the hostages rests with Hamas, yet I call upon the government to strive relentlessly to achieve an immediate agreement for their release and safe return home.

The State of Israel, which views the sanctity of life as a fundamental value and scientific excellence as a source of national pride, has a moral duty and also a clear security interest in preventing a large-scale health disaster whose consequences will extend for generations.

History will judge us not only on our ability to defend ourselves, but also on our willingness to act to prevent human suffering when it is within our power to do so. This is a defining moral moment for the State of Israel and its place in the community of civilized nations.

[Link to original letter](#)



Photo: Vered Chalifa-Caspi | Jerusalem

Letter on Famine in Gaza by the Presidents of the Israeli academic institutes

Mr. Benjamin Netanyahu,
Prime Minister of Israel

Prime Minister Netanyahu,

We, the undersigned Presidents of five Israeli universities, call on you to instruct the IDF and other security forces to intensify efforts to address the severe hunger crisis currently afflicting the Gaza Strip, regardless of the heavy responsibility borne by Hamas and other culpable parties. This crisis is causing immense harm to innocent civilians, including children and infants.

Alongside a growing segment of the Israeli public, we observe with shock the harrowing scenes emerging daily from Gaza, where hunger and disease continue to claim the lives of the most vulnerable. While the release of hostages and the safeguarding of our soldiers remain critical national objectives, we must, as a nation shaped by the trauma of the Holocaust, uphold our moral duty and do all we can to prevent cruel, indiscriminate harm to non-combatant men, women, and children.

We are appalled by recent statements issued by ministers and members of the Knesset advocating for the intentional destruction of Gaza and the forced displacement of its civilian population. We expect from you and from the government a clear and unequivocal condemnation of such harmful statements. According to the considered judgments of prominent legal experts within Israel and the international community, these proposals would constitute serious violations of international law, amounting to war crimes and crimes against humanity. Deliberate destruction and the plan to create a “humanitarian city” reflect a loss of moral restraint from which we would not be able to absolve ourselves.

In light of the above, we emphatically call upon you to act with decisiveness and clarity to save lives, while upholding Israel’s ethical and humanitarian obligations.

With all due consideration,

This letter, dated 28/7/2025, has been signed by the presidents of the Weizmann Institute of Science, the Hebrew University, the Open University of Israel, Tel Aviv University, and of the Technion. A follow-up letter with essentially the same wording has been signed by additional 12 presidents on the following day (29/7/2025).

29 July 2025

Letter by the Steering Committee members of the Israel Young Academy

האקדמיה הצעירה הישראלית
الأكاديمية الشابة الإسرائيلية
THE ISRAEL YOUNG ACADEMY



July 29, 2025

To

Mr. Benjamin Netanyahu

Prime Minister

Dear Mr. Prime Minister,

We, the Steering Committee members of the Israel Young Academy, call to put an end to the ongoing war between Israel and Hamas and to the devastation it continues to cause.

Hamas bears direct responsibility for launching this war through a horrific attack on Israeli civilians. Yet, even in the face of such a brutal enemy that systematically violates all moral and international norms, Israeli society cannot forsake its foundational values and principles. The state and its people must act with humanity and responsibility.

As members of the global academic community, grounded in universal values of human dignity, freedom, moral responsibility, and human solidarity, we believe that upholding these principles is especially vital in times of war and crisis. We must do all we can to stop the destruction and suffering, prevent further loss of life, do everything we can to stop the deepening humanitarian crisis, and rebuild Israeli society on the foundations of compassion, morality, and a relentless pursuit of peace.

Accordingly, we call on the Government of Israel to act immediately and decisively:

- To bring the war to an end and secure the release of the 50 hostages
- To refrain entirely from harming civilians
- To ensure the uninterrupted provision of humanitarian aid to Gaza's civilian population
- To pursue an honest and lasting political agreement that promotes regional peace

The continued war severely threatens the moral resilience of Israeli society. As members of the academic and research community in Israel, committed to critical thinking and education, we bear the responsibility to speak out with moral clarity. We call on both the government and civil society to face reality with open eyes and act now to ensure that a just and humane future remains possible for Israel and the region as a whole.

Sincerely,

The Steering Committee of the Israel Young Academy

Prof. Ruth Scherz-Shouval, Chair
Prof. Yael Allweil
Prof. Miri Yemini
Prof. Assaf Shwartz

Statement by Members of the Israeli Academic and Scientific Community: Stop the Humanitarian Crisis in Gaza – A Call to Conscience

We, members of the Israeli academic and scientific community, issue an urgent call: Stop the humanitarian crisis in the Gaza Strip. Immediately allow unrestricted entry of medical aid, food, and water, and permanently cease the shelling of unarmed civilians without delay.

The wounds of October 2023 remain open and painful. Fifty of our people are still held by Hamas in unbearable conditions, and many of us live in fear and anguish. Yet it is precisely in this moment, when suffering is so palpable, that we must not avert our eyes from the suffering our actions inflict on others. Such indifference is not merely a moral failing—it is a grave threat to our values and to the very resilience of Israeli society.

The humanitarian situation in Gaza has reached a dangerous nadir. If the current situation persists, it will inflict irreparable harm—not only upon the residents of Gaza, but also upon our own moral fabric and the future of our society. Such moral and psychological wounds do not heal easily; they shape generations.

As scholars and scientists, we are bound to the truth. Our duty is to see reality with clear eyes, even when it is difficult and challenging; to rise above disagreements, and to serve as a moral and rational compass in public discourse. Especially in times of crisis, it is our obligation to sound the alarm and to remind our society of its moral responsibility.

We address the government, the Israel Defense Forces, the media, and every citizen of Israel: This is a moment of reckoning for our nation's character and our values. We must not allow basic human decency to become the subject of political debate. This is a time for humanity, a moment in which each and every one of us is measured as a human being.

We cannot stand idly by as actions taken in our name lead to a humanitarian disaster of global proportions. We call on all parties—public and private alike—to rise to the gravity of this hour and to unite in an unequivocal demand: Immediately end these atrocities and act to save human lives.

History will remember our actions—and our silence.

[Over 700 signatures during July-August 2025, advertised and listed here](#)

An Urgent Call to the Heads of Academia in Israel by the “Black Flag” Action Group

An Urgent Call to the Heads of Academia in Israel

To the Association of University Heads in Israel, the Board of Academic Public Colleges, and Academics for Israeli Democracy,

We, members of the academic and administrative staff in institutions of higher education in Israel, call on you to **act immediately** to mobilize the full weight of Israeli academia to stop the Israeli war in Gaza.

Israeli higher education institutions play a central role in the struggle against the judicial overhaul. It is precisely against this backdrop that their silence in the face of the killing, starvation, and destruction in Gaza, and in the face of the complete elimination of the educational system there, its people, and its structures, is so striking.

Since Israel violated the ceasefire on March 18, almost 3,000 people have been killed in Gaza. The vast majority of them were civilians. Since the start of the war, at least 53,000 people have been killed in Gaza, including at least 15,000 children and at least 41 Israeli hostages. At the same time, many international bodies are warning of acute starvation – the result of intentional and openly declared Israeli government policy – as well as of the rendering of Gaza into an area unfit for human habitation. Israel continues to bomb hospitals, schools, and other institutions. Among the war’s declared goals, as defined in the orders for the current military operation “Gideon’s Chariots,” is the “concentration and displacement of population.” **This is a horrifying litany of war crimes and even crimes against humanity, all of our own doing.**

As academics, we recognize our own role in these crimes. It is human societies, not governments alone, that commit crimes against humanity. Some do so by means of direct violence. Others do so by sanctioning the crimes and justifying them, before and after the fact, and by keeping quiet and silencing voices in the halls of learning. It is this bond of silence that allows clearly evident crimes to continue unabated without penetrating the barriers of recognition.

We cannot claim that we did not know. We have been silent for too long. For the sake of the lives of innocents and the safety of all the people of this land, Palestinians and Jews; for the sake of the return of the hostages; if we do not call to halt the war immediately, history will not forgive us. We will not forgive ourselves. It is our duty to act to stop the slaughter; it is our duty to save lives. It is our duty to save what can still be saved of this land’s future. The institutions of higher education in Israel must raise their voices, address their students and the public at large, look at reality directly and call things what they are – unspeakable actions being done in our name, with our own hands, that will ultimately result in destroying higher education in Israel and the entire society from within.

“Black Flag” Action Group



Over 1400 signatures, advertised on May 31, 2025 [here](#)

1 August 2025

Public Statement by Bar Ilan University members



Public Statement (Published on *Haaretz*, August 1st, 2025)

We, faculty members at Bar-Ilan University, share with the entire nation the sense of pain, loss, and sorrow that have come in the wake of the October 7th massacre and the ensuing war.

Like many others in the country, we lost friends and colleagues in the massacre and in the war. Many of us have family members and friends among those who were taken hostage or are still in captivity. Many among have been wounded in body or spirit; others were forced to leave their homes or saw their homes suffer damage. Many of us, and of our family members, have been serving in the IDF since the massacre. The pain and shared fate we experience are profound and indelible.

In light of this pain and loss, we cannot stand idly by in the face of actions by our state that violate the fundamental democratic and Jewish values on which the state was founded—the same values which guided the establishment of Bar-Ilan University.

We cannot remain silent in the face of:

- An abdication of the duty to act humanely
- A lack of commitment to doing “what is right and good” —as though morality were a “political” question
- A violation of the Jewish value of redeeming captives (*pidyon shvuyim*)
- A violation of the value of the sanctity of life—which is claiming the lives of women, elderly, and children among our people and among our neighbors in Gaza
- The use of unbridled force against our enemies, driven by a lust for revenge
- Responsibility for destruction and starvation in Gaza
- The systematic overlooking of lawbreakers who harm people, animals and plants in Judea and Samaria
- The ongoing and cumulative undermining of the foundations of Israeli democracy during and under the cover of war

Evidence of all this continues to accumulate. Their implications are toxic and all-pervasive, amongst ourselves and throughout the world.

No pain, however deep, can justify immoral actions that contradict the fundamental values of humane conduct.

Our pain, as profound as it may be, cannot justify standing by while civilians suffer harm and women, the elderly, children, and infants go without food, water, and medical care

Let us not close our eyes, lest we become complicit. We will not be absolved.

We therefore call upon the Israeli public, labor organizations and business leaders to demand that the government bring about an immediate cessation of fighting and the release of all the hostages. At the same time, we must work to reach an agreement involving countries from the entire region—an agreement that will enable physical and moral rehabilitation. Without these steps, the state will lose the very foundations of its existence.

“Turn from evil and do good, seek peace and pursue it” (Psalms 34:15)

Signed by 200 Bar-Ilan Faculty members and additional 54 from five other research universities in Israel (as of 27 August 2025)



Photo: Avi Goldstein | Bar Ilan University

A public declaration by students, faculty and staff at the University of Haifa

Published in Haaretz, 8/8/25

Enough! End the war now!!!

A public declaration by students, faculty and staff at the University of Haifa

We, students, faculty and staff of the University of Haifa, clearly and emphatically call for the immediate end of the war, a comprehensive hostages deal, and an end to the starvation, mass killing, and widespread destruction in Gaza.

The atrocities committed by Hamas on 7.10.23 - murder, abuse, rape, and kidnapping - as well as Hamas's ongoing vile abuse of the hostages it still holds, are war crimes and crimes against humanity. Nevertheless, these heinous crimes cannot justify the criminal policies of the current Israeli government.

The large-scale killing of Palestinian civilians; the systematic starvation of the population in Gaza; the destruction of civilian infrastructure and buildings, including hospitals and schools; and the expulsion and ethnic cleansing schemes voiced by Israeli ministers and officials - all these must stop immediately!

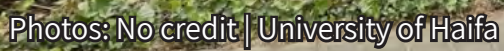
It is inconceivable and unforgivable that the State of Israel, which has inscribed "Never Again" on its banner, is leading a policy with such horrific consequences.

The University of Haifa is a mixed university - a shared space for students, faculty and staff of all groups, religions, and streams. We join hands in imploring decision-makers on all sides: return immediately to negotiations; put an end to this terrible, ongoing war and its mounting costs; and allow Israelis and Palestinians to find a path to reconciliation and healing.

For the sake of this generation and future generations, end the war, return the hostages, stop the starvation, killing, and destruction now. No more!

The declaration was signed by 384 members of the University of Haifa community

[Link to the declaration](#)



Statement by the Forum of Economists for Democracy

July 17, 2025

Statement by the Forum of Economists for Democracy

On the Israeli Government's Plan to Concentrate the Population of Gaza in the Southern Strip

Key Points

We, economists who are university faculty members and economists who have held senior positions in the public sector, are issuing this statement to strongly oppose the government's plan to establish a "humanitarian city" in which hundreds of thousands of Gaza Strip residents would be concentrated. We firmly oppose this plan and everything it implies.

As human beings, we are horrified by this idea. It involves establishing a camp in which a civilian population would be forcibly concentrated, without the ability to enter or exit freely. In practice, this constitutes a blatantly inhumane and immoral detention facility. According to a [legal opinion](#), "Implementation of this plan, if realized, would constitute a series of war crimes and crimes against humanity, and under certain conditions, could fall under the crime of genocide."

As social science researchers, we warn of its destructive societal implications. Such concentration will lead to widespread refusal to serve and significantly increase polarization within Israel.

Beyond our moral stance, as economists we assess that the implementation of the plan would cause severe economic damage to Israel: European countries may impose economic sanctions on Israel, leading to a significant blow to trade with Europe, a central component of Israel's imports and exports. These European measures would result in further credit rating downgrades of the Israeli economy, an additional rise in Israel's risk premium, and in the interest rates it faces. Even partial disconnection from Europe would accelerate the emigration of the high-tech sector out of Israel. Direct Israeli control over Gaza and the provision of civilian services to its residents would increase the defense budget by an estimated 10–15 billion shekels—more than the budget of the Welfare Ministry or the entire budget allocated to local authorities.

An immediate clarification by the Prime Minister and/or a government resolution is required to publicly eliminate the possibility that the State of Israel will construct and operate camps for hundreds of thousands of civilians, even if labeled "humanitarian."



We, economists who are university faculty members in Israel, and economists who have held senior positions in the Israeli public sector, issue this statement to strongly oppose the government's plan to establish a "humanitarian city."

According to media reports, the government intends to establish this "city" on the ruins of Rafah and concentrate Gaza's population there. The plan is to initially transfer 600,000 Palestinians there after screening, primarily from the Al-Mawasi area, and not to allow those admitted to leave except for emigration (see [Israel Hayom, July 6, 2025](#); [Haaretz, July 7, 2025](#); [Channel 14, July 8, 2025](#)). In recent days, there have been reports of pressure by the Prime Minister on the military to begin preparing the area.

Camps concentrating "hostile" civilian populations are not a new invention. Such camps began to appear in the second half of the 19th century. Today, they are used by dictatorial regimes in East Asia, Africa, Russia, and South America. In the past, this policy was practiced by the Soviet regime, and of course, the Nazi regime. Attempts to whitewash these acts using "humanitarian" labels are also not new and do not diminish the cruelty of the proposal.

An in-depth investigation by the [Financial Times on July 4, 2025](#), discussed a new system introduced in late May for distributing aid in Gaza by the GHF. It links this idea to a plan intended to cause the departure of half a million Gaza Strip residents. So far, the food distribution method and the events surrounding it have led to the deaths of hundreds of civilians and worsened hunger. It is difficult to avoid the conclusion that the plan for a "humanitarian city," the implementation of aid distribution centers, and the renewal of Israeli bombings in mid-March indicate that the Israeli government does not intend to end the war, secure the release of hostages, or develop a viable governance arrangement for Gaza.

We firmly oppose the "humanitarian city" plan and all its implications, for the following reasons among others:

First, as human beings, we are deeply appalled by this plan. It effectively involves establishing a tent camp to house hundreds of thousands of residents, in extremely crowded, blatantly inhumane, and immoral conditions. According [to a legal opinion](#) by our law faculty colleagues: "Implementation of this plan, if realized, would constitute a series of war crimes and crimes against humanity, and under certain conditions, could fall under the crime of genocide." As noted in the legal scholars document, which we support, this action would render not only the Israeli government but also IDF commanders and soldiers—including our family members and friends—war criminals, with all the implications for generations to come.



Second, as social scientists, we understand the consequences of such an act and feel compelled to warn of the destructive short- and long-term implications for both Gazan and Israeli societies.

The expected impacts on Israeli society include:

1. Operating camps housing hundreds of thousands of civilians by Israeli soldiers will present regular and reserve service members with grave moral dilemmas and is likely to lead to widespread refusal to serve.
2. The moral and practical implications of operating such camps are expected to lead to voluntary emigration by large segments of Israel's most educated and productive populations—a process [that has already begun](#). This exodus would cause significant economic deterioration, potentially rendering Israel a backward and failed state.
3. The risk of aggravated political polarization in Israel will grow substantially.
4. This policy aligns with other actions such as abandoning the hostages, evacuating communities, undermining the judiciary, and additional measures that erode the trust between Israel's citizens and its government.

Third, beyond the moral considerations, as economists we emphasize that the implementation of the plan will inflict severe economic damage on Israel through the following mechanisms:

1. In addition to the economic harm caused by Israeli emigration, the plan will lead to heavy public pressure on governments across the European Union, the UK, and the Nordic countries to impose economic sanctions on Israel. It must be remembered that about 45% of Israel's imports originate in Europe—more than four times the volume from the U.S. Exports to Europe also exceed those to the U.S., comprising over 35% of Israeli exports. Significant damage to this trade should be expected, with all that implies for employment in Israel.
2. It is likely that European measures will result in further downgrades of Israel's credit rating, which has already experienced significant declines over the past two and a half years. These downgrades will further increase Israel's risk premium and the interest rates it faces, greatly burdening its ability to raise the debt needed to finance the continuation of the war in Gaza, as well as to fund reconstruction after the wars in Iran, Gaza, and along the northern border.



3. Downgrades and even partial economic disconnection from Europe will accelerate the emigration of the high-tech sector out of Israel. The damage from even partial high-tech emigration is immense. This sector is the growth engine of the economy, accounting for almost one-fifth of its GDP. It also generates about one-third of income tax revenues and is a critical source of resources for weaker social groups, including the ultra-Orthodox.
4. According to one estimate – <https://www.ynet.co.il/news/article/yokra14438623> – the direct cost of the plan is expected to be 10–15 billion shekels. This constitutes a direct burden of about 2% of the state budget—more than the Welfare Ministry's budget or the budget allocated to local authorities.

There is a straight line connecting the erosion of democracy, loss of trust in government, and the weakening of the rule of law, to the actions in Gaza, which are immoral, illegal, and pose a tremendous socio-economic danger to Israel.

An immediate clarification by the Prime Minister and/or a government decision is required to publicly eliminate the possibility that the State of Israel will build and manage camps for hundreds of thousands of civilians, even if labeled "humanitarian."

Published here



15 September 2025

A letter by Israeli Social Psychologists

[Link to the letter](#)

Declaration letter by The Israeli Law Professors' Forum for Democracy



THE ISRAELI LAW PROFESSORS' FORUM FOR DEMOCRACY

Declaration on the Grave Humanitarian Crisis in the Gaza Strip (10.8.2025)

At the outset, [the Israeli Law Professors' Forum for Democracy](#) reiterates the moral and legal obligation incumbent upon the Government of Israel to act urgently to secure the *release of Israeli hostages held by Hamas*, whose condition – according to credible reports – continues to deteriorate sharply. Israel's obligation obviously does not detract from Hamas' responsibility for the ongoing holding of the hostages, which constitutes a severe war crime.

Concurrently, in recent weeks a series of reports have been published by Israeli and international organizations, reflecting – on their face – a professional and thorough examination of the humanitarian situation in Gaza. These reports indicate an increasing risk of *severe famine spreading among the civilian population throughout the Gaza Strip, and a breakdown of essential civilian life-support systems*, including medical and sanitation infrastructure. Such reports further point to decisions and actions by the State of Israel as having caused or contributed to the humanitarian disaster in Gaza. Nevertheless, Israeli coalition members and security officials repeatedly claim that “there is no famine in Gaza”, and in this vein, cabinet minister A. Eliyahu went further to assert that “we do not need to concern ourselves with that.”

Against this background, [the Israeli Law Professors' Forum for Democracy](#) reiterates and underscores that under Israeli law *the State of Israel is obligated to take effective measures to minimize the harm caused to the civilian population in Gaza, including in times of armed conflict, and certainly to ensure that they are not left to starve.*

As we have noted in the past, under customary international law and pursuant to rulings of the Israeli Supreme Court (sitting as the High Court of Justice), the Government of Israel must allow and facilitate the passage of humanitarian aid to the civilian population in the combat zone, subject to security inspections. To the extent that exceptions to the obligation to allow and facilitate humanitarian aid exist, they cannot justify a blanket prohibition on assistance and are subject to the requirement of proportionality to be assessed in light of the severity of harm to civilians.

Moreover, impeding aid for the purpose of exerting pressure on a population in the course of diplomatic negotiations is strictly prohibited. The opposite is the case: the denial of access to food as a means of coercion may amount to the use of starvation as a method of warfare, which is itself a war crime. Accordingly, the illegality of the decision to entirely halt the entry of humanitarian aid into the Gaza Strip is becoming increasingly pronounced with the passage of time.



It should be emphasized that these latter obligations are *not* contingent upon reciprocity and apply to the State of Israel by virtue of its status as a sovereign state committed to the rule of law, irrespective of the grave and ongoing violations perpetrated by terrorist organizations.

Furthermore, the State of Israel is obliged not only to comply with applicable provisions of international law and the rulings of the High Court of Justice, but also not to implicate Israel Defense Forces soldiers in unlawful acts, thereby exposing them to the risk of criminal prosecution before international or foreign tribunals.

One must not stand idly by in the face of the mounting testimonies and allegations of an acute humanitarian crisis unfolding in the Gaza Strip, *nor remain silent* in the face of shameful Israeli public officials' calls for deportation and indiscriminate harm to a civilian population.

We must re-anchor ourselves in first principles: the State of Israel bears a legal and moral duty to prevent conditions of hunger and disease in the Gaza Strip – most of which is currently under Israeli control – and to minimize, insofar as possible, harm to civilians there.

To meet this obligation, the following steps must be taken without delay:

- *Israel must allow and facilitate the entry of food, medicine, and humanitarian supplies into the Gaza Strip, and ensure their distribution as effectively as possible.* Moreover, the friction between large civilian crowds and IDF soldiers at food-allocation points has resulted in an intolerably high number of civilian casualties among those seeking aid – an issue demanding urgent remedy.
- Concurrently, *Israel must promptly assess the severity of conditions among the civilian population under its control or direct influence*, in order to reach operational conclusions as quickly as possible regarding the measures required to mitigate the humanitarian disaster, even in the midst of war. Such an assessment must be conducted through an independent, thorough, and objective investigation, undertaken urgently in light of the immediacy of the crisis. Its findings must be made public.

[The Forum](#) calls upon the Government of Israel to heed the words of the late Yitzhak Navon, Israel's fifth President, in response to the 1982 massacre in the Sabra and Shatila refugee camps in Lebanon:

We are neither permitted to turn a blind eye to ourselves, to our own self-image, and to that part of the world with which we identify, nor should we. Our duty is to ascertain, promptly and with precision, through reliable and independent individuals, all that transpired in this unfortunate affair; and, if necessary, to draw from such an inquiry the full conclusions it demands.

In addition, to maximize access to information about events on the ground, the State of Israel must *lift its ban on the entry of journalists* – including foreign journalists – into the Gaza Strip to report on developments there on an ongoing basis.

[The Forum](#) calls on the legal advisors to the IDF and to the Israeli Government to make clear to decision-makers, in the strongest terms, that *the humanitarian disaster in the Gaza Strip demands urgent and immediate action*: facilitating the entry and distribution of food and essential supplies to Gaza; ascertaining the full facts on the ground; and preventing the further deterioration of living conditions for the civilian population in Gaza – and, by extension, for the Israeli hostages, tortured in Hamas captivity.

Statement from the Faculty of the Department of Middle East Studies, Ben-Gurion University of the Negev

Stop the War Now!

Statement from the Faculty of the Department of Middle East Studies, Ben-Gurion University of the Negev

We, the faculty of the Department of Middle Eastern Studies at Ben-Gurion University of the Negev, issue this statement to unequivocally call for an immediate end to Israel's war crimes in Gaza. We say this as researchers of Middle East studies, whose work, among other topics, includes Palestinian studies, Israeli-Arab relations, the region's social and political conditions, its history and religious movements, but above all, as Israeli citizens living in this country.

Israel's policies in Gaza and the nature of the warfare there have exceeded all human and legal standards. Israeli policy has rendered Gaza uninhabitable, resulting in the deaths of tens of thousands of innocent civilians, starvation of the civilian population, destruction of civic infrastructure, health, welfare, schools, universities, and residential buildings, attacks on medical and rescue teams, and the prevention of entry by the foreign press. According to human rights organizations, the mortality rate in the Gaza Strip has created the largest orphan crisis in modern history. This mortality is partly a direct result of the policy of starvation and attacks on those seeking to obtain food for their families at aid distribution sites. This destruction is accompanied by the articulation of plans to conquer the Strip and establish a military regime there, while expelling the Palestinian population. This policy is entirely contrary to basic morality, as well as the laws of war. A consensus is emerging in the international research community that Israel is committing genocide in Gaza.

It should be noted clearly that Hamas's murderous attack of October 7, 2023, including the killing of approximately 1,200 Israeli civilians and soldiers, the abduction of 251 people, and widespread acts of sexual assault and violence, constitutes war crimes and crimes against humanity. However, revenge against civilians, and responding to war crimes committed against the state with war crimes committed by the same state, cannot under any circumstances be justified as a legitimate response.



Over the past two years, Israel has had several opportunities to resolve the crisis through political means, including enabling the entry of the Palestinian Authority or an international force into Gaza and the demilitarization of the Strip. Although each course of action has its drawbacks, all are preferable to a policy of revenge and widespread harm to civilians, the consequences of which are prolonged grief and suffering. These criminal actions have not only failed to contribute to the return of the hostages, but also put their lives at daily risk.

Over the past two years, we have struggled to maintain some semblance of academic routine for our students out of a sense of commitment to them in the face of numerous hardships. Our students have lost family members and friends, some have been absent from their studies for extended periods, and all have had to cope with the anxieties accompanying such a terrible war. In the name of our commitment to the well-being and future of our students, we cannot remain silent. As lecturers and researchers in Middle East studies, we are confident that a different reality is possible – one that is not afflicted by messianic delusions and perpetual war and does not encourage further acts of violence and dispossession, on top of those in Gaza, such as those occurring in the West Bank.

We call for an immediate end to the war in Gaza and a political solution, the return of the Israeli hostages, and the sanctification of human life and the dignity of every human being.

[Link to original letter](#)



Photo: No credit | Ben Gurion University of the Negev

Public Statement of the Scientific Council of the Weizmann Institute of Science

04/09/2025

Public Statement of the Scientific Council on the devastating war between Israel and Hamas

Dear friends,

The position of the Scientific Council on the devastating war between Israel and Hamas

The Scientific Council of the Weizmann Institute of Science, the body representing the senior academic personnel of the Institute, calls for an end to the devastating war between Israel and Hamas, and for the signing of an agreement that will save all of our hostages.

Hamas bears direct responsibility for this war, having launched a heinous and deliberate attack on Israeli civilians, including women, the elderly, and children, and it continues to hold 48 hostages in horrific conditions, now for nearly 700 days. Hamas repeatedly demonstrates its utter disregard for the lives and well-being of the civilian population in Gaza.

Nevertheless, even in the face of such a cruel enemy, Israel must not abandon the core values of morality, law, justice, and mutual responsibility, upon which it was founded. Military force must be exercised only in pursuit of clearly defined and achievable objectives.

As scientists and educators, and as members of the international academic community, we are committed to the principle of the sanctity of human lives. We believe that our moral values must serve as our guiding light, especially in times of war. We must bring an end to the destruction and suffering, prevent further loss of life, and begin to rebuild Israeli society on the foundations of peace and reconciliation.

In addition, we express deep concern over the ongoing attacks on the independence of the judiciary system and the standing of the Attorney General. Such attacks undermine the essential checks and balances that protect democracy. A country that loses its moral compass during wartime becomes vulnerable to the erosion of its democratic institutions.

We call on the Government of Israel to act without delay to bring this war to an end and to pursue an agreement that will ensure the release and safe return of all the hostages. Israel must refrain from harming civilians, guarantee humanitarian aid to the civilian population of Gaza, and resolutely pursue a diplomatic process that will bring peace and regional security.

The above public declaration was approved by a formal vote of the members of the Scientific Council, in accordance with the Council's bylaws.



Photo: Ori Koren | Weizmann Institute of Science



Photo: Vardit Alon Korpel | Weizmann Institute of Science



EPILOGUE

Dr. Luli Stern | Leo Baeck Education Center

Jacqueline Onassis Kennedy

Of all the news from last week -- Matan Zangauker pleading from captivity, airlines canceling flights and reminding us this is a war zone, IDF bombings, the heartbreaking death of two soldiers, a barrage of clichés about Yair Golan and the justified continuation of the war, sirens, the announcement of Zini (whom I hadn't even heard of before) as head of the Shin Bet, the tormented face of Sylvia Cunio, threatening gestures in the Prime Minister's speech, Gazans, adults and children, with pots trying to get food --

All of that, and what stuck in my mind was a radio interview I heard with a witness to the murder of the young couple at the entrance to the Jewish Museum in Washington. He didn't just cry – he sobbed, audibly, with snot, from the depths of his heart. He could barely speak. The interviewer was probably startled by this sudden breakdown, but he didn't even try to hold back.

It felt strange, suddenly. I hadn't heard crying like that in a long time. And if I had, it was restrained crying. Even among families of hostages or casualties. In fact, especially among them. Even in my own family. When I heard that man, I realized he was the one doing the right thing. That is what needs to be done. To sob. What have we become? What am I becoming?

My mother always admired Jackie Kennedy Onassis for not crying at JFK's funeral and for telling her children not to cry. My mother thought that was noble.

We have become a noble country.



Eran Tzelgov | Poet, editor, lecturer, and a social activist

Speaking of the Children without Speaking of children

*“Give sorrow words. The grief that does not speak
Whispers the o’er-fraught heart and bids it break”*

(Macbeth)

i. You cannot speak of the children
without Speaking of children.

ii. You cannot speak of children
without walking through their absence.

You cannot speak of cruelty
without sharpening your knife.

You cannot speak of pain
without opening the wound.

You cannot speak of silence
without listening to it break.

You cannot speak of justice
without staining your hands.

You cannot speak of longing
without becoming the road.

You cannot speak of mercy
without weeping at the gate.

You cannot speak of love
without giving your name away.

You cannot speak of death
without offering yourself.

You cannot speak of God
without hoping to hear a bustle in the thicket.

iii. you cannot speak



לדבר על הילדים בלי לדבר על ילדים

- תן מלים לצער. יגון שלא דובר
"לוחש, מאיץ בלב המתפקע: השבר
(מקבת')

א. אי אפשר לדבר על הילדים
בלי לדבר על ילדים.

ב. אי אפשר לדבר על ילדים
בלי לראות את העדרם.
אי אפשר לדבר על אכזריות
בלי להשחית את הסכין.
אי אפשר לדבר על כאב
בלי לפתח את הפצעים.
אי אפשר לדבר על שתיקה
בלי להאזין איר נסדקה.
אי אפשר לדבר על צדק
בלי להכתים את הידים.
אי אפשר לדבר על כמיהה
בלי להפך לדרך עצמה.
אי אפשר לדבר על חסד
בלי לצעק בשער העיר.
אי אפשר לדבר על אהבה
בלי למסר את שמך הסודי.
אי אפשר לדבר על מות
בלי להקריב את עצמך.
אי אפשר לדבר על אלהים
בלי לקוות לשמע רחש בסבך.

ג. אי אפשר לדבר

التَحَدُّثُ عن الأطفال دونَ التَحَدُّثِ عن أطفال / عيران تسيلچوق
ترجمة من العبرية: نبيل طنوس

- أعطِ للحزن كلمات. الحزن الذي لا يتكلم
لا يهمس، لا يحث القلب المنفجر: انكسر
(ماكبث)

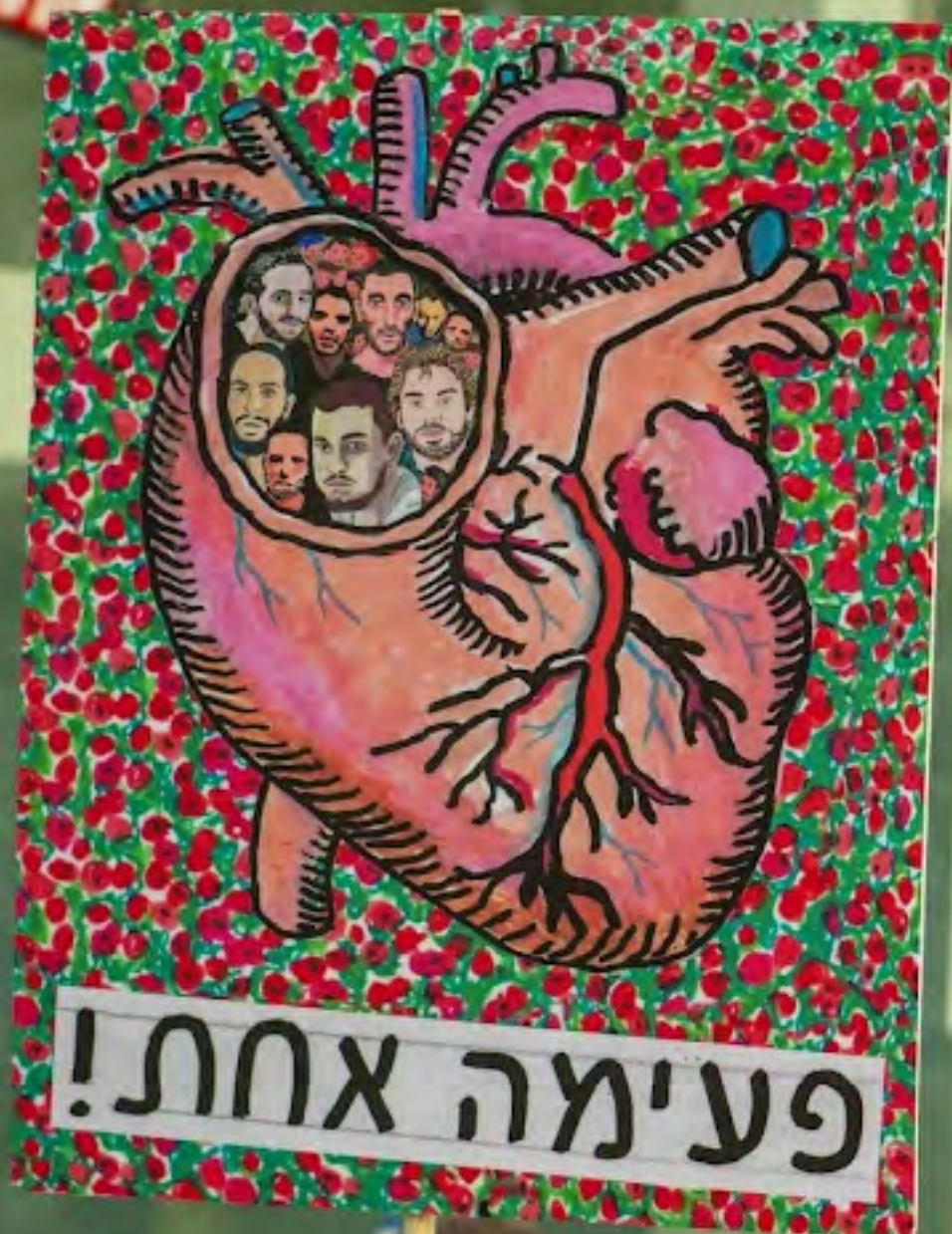
أ. من المحال التحدُّث عن الأطفال
دونَ التحدُّث عن أطفال.

ب. من المحال التحدُّث عن الأطفال
دونَ رؤية الغياب.
من المحال التحدُّث عن القسوة
دونَ شحذ السيكين.
من المحال التحدُّث عن الألم
دونَ فتح الجروح.
من المحال التحدُّث عن الصمت
دونَ الإصغاء إلى كيف انكسر.
من المحال التحدُّث عن العدالة
دونَ تلطيخ الأيدي.
من المحال التحدُّث عن الحنين
دونَ التحوّل إلى ذات الطريق.
من المحال التحدُّث عن النعمة
دونَ الصراخ عند مركز المدينة.
من المحال التحدُّث عن الحب
دونَ كشف اسمك السري.
من المحال التحدُّث عن الموت
دونَ أن تُصحي بنفسك.
من المحال التحدُّث عن الله،
دونَ أمل لسماع همسة في الورطة.

ت. من المحال التحدُّث

(Translated to Arabic by Nabil Tannus)





 NO ACADEMIA
WITHOUT DEMOCRACY

Speak Out #3 | September 2025

