

## PM leaves for D.C. amid tattered relations with Biden, public uproar

Jonathan Lis and Bar Peleg

Prime Minister Benjamin Netanyahu set off for Washington Monday morning, accompanied by rescued hostage Noa Argamani and relatives of hostages, as other family members of hostages flew to the U.S. capital separately to demonstrate against him.

The prime minister will address a joint session of Congress on Wednesday, which some Democrats said they will boycott, while others vowed to disrupt it.

In addition to the strained relations with U.S. President Joe Biden, the prime minister is facing criticism from senior Israeli defense officials and families of hostages, who claim that Netanyahu is sabotaging the negotiations on a deal for their release.

On the tarmac prior to his departure, Netanyahu said that he will address Congress and affirm that Israel "will remain Washington's ally no matter who is elected president."

The trip was the official maiden flight of Wing of Zion, dubbed Israel's Air Force One. The purchase and upgrading of the plane, at a cost of hundreds of millions of shekels, was met with harsh public criticism. Netanyahu addressed the media before the flight and affirmed that Israel "will remain Washington's ally no matter who is elected president."

Netanyahu is scheduled to meet with Biden on Tuesday; the meeting was postponed



Prime Minister Benjamin Netanyahu and his wife Sara on the flight to Washington, in a carefully crafted image. See Analysis, Page 3.

Amos Ben Gershon / GPO

after the president tested positive for COVID-19. Since Netanyahu's return to the Prime Minister's Office, in December 2022, Biden has refused to invite him to a meeting in the Oval

Office. As far as is known, apart from the meeting with Biden, the prime minister's itinerary in Washington is fairly open; his schedule includes a few interviews with local media outlets and

a briefing for reporters. The focus of the visit is his address to Congress.

Netanyahu will be the first foreign leader to deliver such a speech for the fourth time. Winston

Churchill addressed both houses of Congress three times, while Yitzhak Rabin, Nelson Mandela and Narendra Modi each did so twice. In Netanyahu's first speech to the U.S. House of

Representatives and the U.S. Senate, in 1996, he emphasized Israel's commitment to peace, as long as its security is maintained. He also said

See D.C., Page 2



Yagev Buchshtab



Alex Dancyg

### IDF confirms deaths of two hostages in Hamas captivity

Ofer Aderet, Yaniv Kubovich and Yael Freidson

The military announced Monday that two hostages – Alex Dancyg and Yagev Buchshtab – were killed several months ago in Gaza and that their bodies are being held by Hamas in Khan Yunis.

The statement didn't detail the circumstances of their deaths but said it was very likely that one of them was killed by Israeli fire in Khan Yunis.

Their deaths were determined based on a joint decision by the Health Ministry, the chief rabbi and others following intelligence possessed by the military and recently confirmed.

In March, Hamas claimed that Dancyg had been killed in an Israeli strike and that Buchshtab had died because of a lack of medicine and food. The Israel military has thus far announced the deaths of 46 hostages whose bodies are being held in Gaza.

Buchshtab, who turned 35 during his captivity in Gaza, was abducted from Kibbutz Nirim on October 7. His wife, Rimona Kirsh Buchshtab, was also taken hostage; she was among over 100 hostages who were

released in November as part of a truce. Yagev was a musician who studied sound design and played several instruments, including the flute and the cello. He also built instruments. He and Rimona met when they played in a band together in high school. They renewed contact years later, getting married three years ago.

In March, Rimona wrote a post on Facebook for her

IDF enters Khan Yunis  
News, Page 2

and Buchshtab's anniversary. "My love, tomorrow we commemorate our anniversary, and how can it be? Another day will go by without you? How has it been over 100 days since I hugged you? Two months of not kissing you? Thank you for teaching me love, acceptance, the power of perfection and dedication. Thanks for keeping me together, even from afar. Thanks for not giving up – neither am I," she wrote.

See HOSTAGE, Page 4

Netanyahu, cause no harm Editorial Page 5 • Biden vs. Bibi: A contrast in leaders Opinion Page 5

## Biden offered Israel critical support. His empathy was just as valuable

Analysis Amir Tibon

Joe Biden's decision not to seek a second term came after significant pressure from senior members of his party and influential pundits who had supported him before his weak showing on the debate stage late last month. There is room to criticize

him for not taking this necessary step sooner. There is room to criticize him for the very decision to seek reelection at age 81. But at the moment of truth, Joe Biden did the right thing, before it became too late.

From an Israeli perspective,

Biden came through at the most important and crucial moments, be it on October 8, when he kept Iran and Hezbollah from opening a full-blown war while Israel was at its weakest, or on October 17, when he became the first American president to visit Israel during an on-going conflict. When he sent an aircraft carrier to the Mediterranean to show

that America stood with Israel and when he landed in Tel Aviv under rocket fire, he gave Israelis something their own government failed to provide: A feeling that there was a responsible adult taking care of things.

Biden, a life-long Zionist, also gave Israelis something else they badly needed in the early days of the war: empathy. When Israelis' own

government, which has, to this day, refused to take responsibility for its massive failures, was busy with petty politics and pathetic excuses, Biden was the one who hugged the families of the hostages and listened, tears in his eyes, to the stories of survivors from the October 7 massacre. During his visit, I personally saw how much he cared and how deeply

moved he was.

Half a year later, Biden once again stood by Israel at a critical moment when, in the early hours of April 14, he ordered the U.S. military to do everything it could to defend Israel against the hundreds of drones and missiles launched at Israel by Iran and its proxies. Hundreds of Israelis are alive today thanks to his decisions

on that fateful night.

Biden also played a key role in securing the hostage agreement in November, which brought back dozens of children and women from the hands of Hamas terrorists. These women and children, including personal friends and neighbors of mine, came back alive. I, and many other Israelis, will forever be grateful to

the president for his involvement in their release.

That doesn't mean Biden gave Israel everything it wanted. In the spring, he stopped a major shipment of bombs from being delivered, fearing they would be used against Palestinian civilians in Rafah. He constantly pressured Israel to increase

See SUPPORT, Page 2

### Western countries to toughen sanctions against settler groups



The illegal settlement outpost of Evyatar.

Amir Levy

Amir Tibon

A number of countries regarded as friendly to Israel plan in the next several days to toughen their sanctions against individuals and organizations involved in the settlement enterprise after the International Court of Justice issued an opinion last Friday terming the West Bank occupation unlawful.

Senior Israeli officials said they believed that countries that had already imposed sanctions – including the United States, Britain, the

See WEST, Page 4

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### Antisemitic conspiracies Israel blamed for Biden stepping down from race



Kevin Mohatt / Reuters

First Jewish vice president? Josh Shapiro may run alongside Kamala Harris

haaretz.com

### Survey: Most European Jews feel less safe, but don't plan to leave

Judy Maltz

Despite concerns about rising antisemitism, European Jews are not any more inclined today than they were before October 7 to pack up and move elsewhere, according to a survey published Monday by the American Joint Distribution Committee.

Just under a quarter of the nearly 900 Jewish leaders and professionals questioned in the survey, conducted between March and April this year, said they had considered emigrating because they no longer feel safe living as a Jew in their country – unchanged from a previous survey in 2021 in which the same question was asked.

Among the respondents, 47 percent said they expected increased Jewish emigration from their country in the foreseeable future – also virtually unchanged since 2021. The main difference between now and then was that in the current survey a larger percentage attributed the motivation for emigration to antisemitism: 43 percent compared with 36 percent in the 2021 survey.

Although Israel remains the destination of choice for most of the Jewish lead-



Members of the pro-Israeli collective "Nous Vivrons" protesting in Paris.

Yara Nardi/Reuters

ers and professionals questioned, it has lost some of its appeal since October 7, as other EU countries have gained desirability.

In the current survey, 59 percent of the respondents said that Israel was their destination of choice, were they to emigrate, compared with 62 percent in the previous survey. By contrast, in the current survey, 11 percent said that other EU countries were their desti-

nation of choice, compared with 7 percent in the previous survey.

When asked about the destinations of choice of their Jewish community members – 50 percent cited Israel, virtually unchanged from the previous survey.

The International Centre for Community Development (the European research division of the AJDC) has conducted this survey every three to four

years since 2008. The latest findings were based on a sample of 879 respondents from 32 countries. More than half of the respondents were lay leaders, and more than a quarter were community professionals, including rabbis and activists.

This most recent survey included a list of questions related to the impact of October 7 on Jewish communal

See EUROPE, Page 2

### Gaza border community attack

### Canadian national shot dead after trying to stab guards

Eden Solomon

A Canadian citizen, who attempted to stab security personnel at the entrance to the southern community of Netiv Ha'asara on Monday, was shot dead by guards. The incident is being investigated as a potential terror attack.

The suspect landed in Is-

rael on Sunday, and on Monday, arrived at the entrance gate of the community near the Gaza border in a rented car. He exited the vehicle armed with a knife and ran towards the guards, who shot at him.

Magen David Adom reported that no one was wounded in the incident but that a woman present

at the scene had an anxiety attack.

Netiv Ha'asara's security coordinator, Ziv Volk, who witnessed the incident, said: "The man spoke to the guards in English, and even though they told him to stop, he refused. As soon as he started running toward the members of the security squad, he was shot."

# IDF launches offensive in Khan Yunis; 70 people killed and thousands flee

Jack Khoury, Yaniv Kubovich, Reuters and The Associated Press

The Israeli military began operating in eastern Khan Yunis Monday morning after calling on residents to evacuate west. Sources in Gaza reported aerial strikes and firing of tanks. The Hamas-run Gaza Health Ministry reported that at least 70 people were killed and 196 were wounded.

The Israeli army added it is operating in the area following intelligence on Hamas' intention to rebuild its military capabilities where it has placed terrorist infrastructure, engaged in terrorist activity and launched rockets into Israel. The military ordered residents staying in eastern neighborhoods of the city, designated as a humanitarian area, to temporarily evacuate to the safe zone in al-Mawasi, in western Khan Yunis.

Heading the call, thousands of Palestinians, many carrying backpacks and

accompanied by children, walked down dusty roads under the scorching summer sun, navigating dilapidated cars filled with belongings tied on top. Many Palestinians have been uprooted multiple times in search of safety during Israeli's air and ground campaign. Sources in the Gaza Strip said the army's announcement did not include the evacuation of health institutions in the area. "There is no safe place left in Gaza," they said.

Last week, the IDF announced that it attacked an UNWRA school in the Nuseirat camp, in central Gaza, where terrorists were operating. Hamas' Gaza Health Ministry said 23 people were killed and 73 were wounded. Additionally, an Israeli aircraft targeted an Islamic Jihad naval force company commander in western Khan Yunis. The ministry reported 17 people were killed and 26 were wounded; the IDF said its investigating reports of civilians harmed in the attack.



Palestinians fleeing the eastern part of Khan Yunis on Monday.

Haatem Khaled/Reuters

## 'Sinwar warned Israel before Oct. 7 about prison flare-up'

Haaretz

Hamas leader Yahya Sinwar sent a message to Israel weeks before October 7 that "a flare-up in prisons and over the prisoners" could be expected, Channel 12 News reported on Sunday evening.

According to the report, Israel believed that Sinwar was trying to warn about developments related to prisoners and missing persons, not about an attack.

According to the assessment, Hamas was expected to demand the release of numerous Palestinian pris-

oners in exchange for the release of Israeli citizen Elizabeth Tsurkov, who was kidnapped by a pro-Iranian militia in Iraq in March 2023.

It was added that Prime Minister Benjamin Netanyahu, Defense Minister Yoav Gallant, and senior IDF, Shin Bet security service and Mossad officers held a series of discussions on the subject.

The message was sent to a limited circle of top defense establishment officials, and neither IDF nor Military Intelligence officers were shown the information.

## D.C.

Continued from page 1

Israel plans to reduce its dependence on U.S. aid.

In his 2011 speech, he explained why Israel could not return to the 1967 borders as part of a future peace agreement with the Palestinians—a point of contention with then-President Barack Obama. In addition to Vice President Kamala Harris, who serves as the president of the Senate, Sen. J.D. Vance of Ohio, the vice-presidential candidate of former President Donald Trump, will also be in the audience, officials in Jerusalem believe.

Unlike his most recent speech to Congress, in 2015, when Netanyahu was invited by the Republicans to attack Democratic President Obama for the planned nuclear agreement with Iran, this time the prime minister was invited by representatives of both parties.

The "expectation is that [Netanyahu's] speech will be one that doesn't look like 2015," White House national security adviser Jake Sullivan said Friday, hinting at the administration's desire for a speech that was balanced and supportive of the administration. Sullivan was briefed on the contents of the speech during his meeting last week with Minister Ron Dermer and Israeli National Security Adviser Tzachi Hanegbi.

According to sources, a significant portion of the address relates to the October 7 atrocities. Netanyahu will also focus on the hostages and the delay in reaching a deal, and he will try to persuade his listeners to accept the "total victory" narrative as well as Iran's responsibility for the decline in regional security.

U.S. Secretary of State Antony Blinken said Friday he expects Netanyahu to share his postwar plans for the Gaza Strip during his visit.

The speech to Congress, which is scheduled for prime time in Israel (around 9 P.M.) on Wednesday, is meant as an attempt to shore up Netanyahu's shaky image at home while speaking to the hearts of the Biden administration's decision-makers. Israeli officials expect that the address, like the entire visit, will not arouse particular interest among Americans, whose attention is drawn mainly to the November elections and to domestic issues.

Netanyahu is expected to speak in a conciliatory and sympathetic tone about the Biden administration and its support for Israel since October 7. It's not clear whether he will use his stage to level criticism about the issues on which there is disagreement, such as placing conditions on U.S. arms transfers to Israel or the demand for a significant expansion of humanitarian aid deliveries to Gaza.

Officials in Jerusalem say the address may cause controversy: A few Democratic

members of Congress have announced that they plan to boycott it, while others said they will act to disrupt it in order to protest the war in Gaza. One of the main concerns in Netanyahu's circles is that guests invited by Democratic lawmakers will heckle the prime minister and disrupt the speech. House Speaker Mike Johnson said, at a pro-Israel event on the sidelines of the Republican National Convention last week, the Capitol Police will arrest anyone who tries to disrupt Netanyahu's speech.

A source close to Netanyahu said he hopes that if Tuesday's meeting with Biden goes well, it will help dispel at least some of the opposition to the address and lead some of the lawmakers who are considering boycotting the speech to attend. In any event, spirited demonstrations are expected outside the Capitol during the speech, by pro-Palestinian activists and also by relatives of hostages and dozens of Israelis living in the United States.

Representatives of the hostages' families, organized under the banner "We Are All Hostages," plan to fly from Israel to Washington to protest. They will demonstrate alongside local activists outside the White House during Netanyahu's meeting with Biden Tuesday. The main demonstration is set to take place during the prime minister's speech to Congress Wednesday, in the vicinity of Capitol Hill, with speakers from the Jewish community.

Netanyahu's visit comes at a particularly sensitive time in the United States, right as Biden has dropped out of the presidential race and endorsed Kamala Harris to replace him. "Netanyahu will have to demonstrate great sensitivity so as not to be perceived as interfering in the election process there," an Israeli official said before the president's announcement.

"Every meeting the prime minister holds will be scrutinized carefully," the official said. "Netanyahu, in the midst of the war in Gaza and possibly also in the north, will have to deal with the current Democratic administration for at least another six months, so it is not certain that it is in his interest to clash with the current team."

Netanyahu is not scheduled to meet with Trump, and officials in Jerusalem said the likelihood of such a meeting was low—even though the prime minister would be happy to take advantage of his trip to patch up his relations with the former president, which have foundered ever since Netanyahu recognized Biden's election victory nearly four years ago.

Trump attacked Netanyahu in an interview with Time magazine in April, saying the prime minister was "rightfully ... criticized for what took place on October 7 ... it happened on his watch. And I think it's had a profound impact on him." According to Trump, Israel has "the most sophisticated equipment. They had everything with them to stop that. And... thousands and thousands of people knew about it, but Israel didn't know about it." Trump also cited the American assassination of the commander of the Iranian Revolutionary Guards' Quds Force, Qassem Soleimani, in January 2020, as a point of crisis between himself and Netanyahu. Netanyahu "dropped out just before the attack," said Trump, "it was going to be a joint [mission] and all of a sudden, we were told that Israel was not doing it... That was something I never forgot."

# Settlers assault Palestinians, Israeli and foreign activists with iron rods; German envoy decries attack

Bar Peleg and Jack Khoury

Settlers attacked Palestinian, Israeli and foreign activists in the West Bank on Sunday, using stones, batons and iron rods, a security source said.

The incident occurred near the Palestinian town of Qusra, south of Nablus, while the activists were planting trees in Area B—the area under Palestinian civilian control with Israeli security control. Soldiers who were present at the scene fired shots to

disperse the attackers, but didn't arrest them.

Some of the activists were wounded, including two Americans who were evacuated by the Palestinian Red Crescent to the Rafidia Hospital in Nablus.

According to the security source, the settlers came from the Esh Kadosh outpost and attacked the activists for no reason.

David Hummel, an American-German activist who was assaulted in the incident, told the AFP news agency that "we were standing there peacefully, not a threat to

anyone, when they started coming towards us and pushing us down the path."

"They started attacking and beating us all with sticks and metal pipes, and they were throwing rocks as well at us," he added. "I was attacked on my legs, on my arms and here on my jaw as well, and it was ... very violent."

Germany's Ambassador to Israel, Steffen Seibert, decried the attack in a post on X, saying "these attacks are well documented criminal behavior and must be prosecuted by all legal means."

Two days earlier, on Friday, settlers attacked two Palestinians with sticks in the village of Shi'b al-Butum in the South Hebron Hills. The Palestinians, a 38-year-old man and a 58-year-old woman, suffered head injuries and were taken for medical treatment.

Two soldiers were present in the area, and the Palestinians asked them for help. One of the soldiers shot in the air, and the settlers fled. As of 9:22 P.M. Sunday, however, no suspects in the attack had been arrested.

That same day, a settler

shot at a Palestinian who threw rocks at him in the town of Hawara, south of Nablus. Prior to that incident, settlers had come to Hawara and thrown rocks at a pizzeria that, when the war with Hamas began on October 7, hung a sign mocking Esther Cunio of Kibbutz Nir Oz, who had several relatives abducted to the Gaza Strip. On October 8, the army demolished the pizzeria, but it has since reopened.

Friday evening, settlers torched an olive grove and agricultural areas near Hawara and the village of

Burin and damaged an ambulance. Two settlers were arrested in that incident on suspicion of having attacked soldiers and resisted arrest.

"It was quite tense," an Israeli activist who was present said. "The soldiers didn't act the way they should, and there was a lot of shouting."

The Palestinians tried to direct the soldiers to the area where the settlers had fled, she added, and at some point, the soldiers did go there and "a few soldiers searched with a flashlight in one particular direction."

# Families of U.S. hostages implore PM to announce deal in his speech

Ben Samuels

WASHINGTON — Shortly before Prime Minister Benjamin Netanyahu's arrival in Washington, the families of U.S. citizens held hostage in Gaza say that anything short of him announcing a hostage deal during his address to Congress would be an abject failure.

Speaking hours before Netanyahu's expected landing, the families of the eight American hostages presented a united front, saying it was time to accept the deal on the table and not use the visit for strictly political purposes. They added that they were not concerned with political turmoil in the United States in the wake of President Joe Biden's announcement that he will not run for reelection. In fact, they said, the development will likely only add urgency to the matter.

"We're at a point now where the defense establishment in Israel, the intelligence community, and increasingly the public, as shown by polling, are saying we must do a deal now to bring home the hostages," Jon Polin, the father of hostage Hersh Goldberg-Polin, said.

"Prime Minister Netanyahu is here this week to address Congress on Wednesday," he continued. "We fully expect that his speech to Congress on

Wednesday is going to be the announcement of this hostage deal that we've all been waiting for. We view any speech that is not the announcement to be a total failure."

Rachel Goldberg, Hersh's mother, said that the hostages' families were not anxious over Biden's decision. "The fact that here, this is earth-shattering political news, for us personally, we don't see them wavering in their commitment to see this [deal] to its fruition," she said.

"President Biden, the administration, all of Congress have been so incredibly supportive, helpful, as transparent as they can be. I don't think that there's any concern about President Biden deciding not to run for a second term," Goldberg continued.

"In fact, I think that he is so committed to getting these people home — specifically the American eight, but all of the hostages — that, if anything, this allows him to focus more laser concentration on that goal that he is so passionate about," she added.

The American hostages' families have met with Vice President Kamala Harris, the presumptive Democratic nominee for president, twice since October 7. Goldberg said Harris "has been absolutely aligned with President Biden, extremely supportive, extremely open,

very patient and very generous with her time."

The families detailed the stakes of the next three days, during which Netanyahu will meet with Biden and Harris before his record fourth address to a joint session of Congress. They say that their cause will be removed from the political infighting that has plagued virtually every other issue in Washington, related to Israel or not.

"We know that we have bipartisan support for members on both sides of the aisle," said Orna Neutra, the mother of hostage Omer Neutra. "We could feel the huge amount of support that we have from that side at the Republican National Convention, and we know the current administration is fully committed to our cause. The president has shown that these past few months."

She added that Republican presidential nominee Donald Trump said at the party's convention "that he sees the deal, the necessity to bring it home now and not wait for the elections. So, both sides understand the urgency."

During their prime-time speech at the Republican National Convention, Orna and Ronen, Omer's father, revealed they had spoken with Trump two weeks after October 7.

"We had one short call," said Ronen, adding that it had been set up through

a mutual friend. "He was very sympathetic. He did claim that it wouldn't [have] happen[ed] under his watch, as he continued to say during his speech, but he just said that we will continue to monitor these people and that we should stay in touch."

Orna said they had urged Trump to keep the issue bipartisan unrelated to politics, to which, they say, Trump agreed. No other American families have spoken with Trump besides that conversation.

Calling for a deal to be made urgently, Jonathan Dekel-Chen, the father of hostage Sagui Dekel-Chen, noted Monday's announcement of two more hostages killed in Hamas captivity.

Speaking about one of the two, Alexander Dan-cyng, Dekel-Chen said: "He was the seventh member of Nir Oz who was alive on October 7 and subsequently murdered by Hamas in the months since then. This is the clearest possible sign that there is simply no more time. Any better deal is a fantasy and a death sentence for the hostages who may still be alive."

He called on Netanyahu to "cease all stalling and torpedoing any hope for a negotiated return of hostages and a cease-fire to stop the suffering of the people of Gaza."

The American families will hold a meeting with Netanyahu on Monday along



The Netanyahus on the tarmac Monday.

Amos Ben Gershon / GPO

with a larger group of hostage families currently in Washington, in which, Dekel-Chen says, "we expect to hear him declare that Israel is going to sign this imperfect agreement with Satan."

The American hostages' families will also hold their 10th meeting with U.S. National Security Adviser Jake Sullivan, as well as their first meeting with Defense Secretary Lloyd Austin. There are no plans, however, for them to meet with Harris. They will meet with Netanyahu directly after his speech.

"We're New Yorkers, we've been here for 25 years. He is coming to our country as a guest of the United States," says Ronen. "I have this analogy in my head of 120 patients on the floor of an emergency room, half of them dead already. The other half bleeding out on the floor. Then the administrator of that hospital gets on an airplane and goes to travel somewhere to talk about vaccines or some other issue. This is triage," says Polin.

The "American eight" families seem to stand in contrast with families of current and recovered hostages that are traveling to Washington along with Netanyahu. For Goldberg, however, this is not a sign of fracturing among the families.

"A hundred and twenty families, extremely diverse. Because we're in such excruciating torment, there really is no judgement in how people choose to get their loved ones home," she says.

"The only fracturing is between the government and the vast majority of the country," Dekel-Chen adds. "Think about that: a head of state ignoring an entire community that was wiped off the face of the earth by an attack from a terrorist organization that he had sworn to destroy many times over during his many, many years."

"It has to mean something," he continues, "to speak to a joint session of Congress, and not just [be] political theater for domestic consumption."

## SUPPORT

Continued from page 1

the amount of humanitarian aid entering Gaza and put limits on the scope of its response to Hezbollah's attacks from Lebanon.

In doing so, Biden followed the footsteps of all previous U.S. presidents who dealt with Israel in wartime. Even presidents considered very friendly, like Ronald Reagan and George W. Bush, drew

several red lines and had several clashes with their Israeli counterparts. Biden's arguments with Israel weren't unique; his continued support for more than nine months, despite heavy pressure from within his party, was.

As he nears the end of his presidency, now just half a year away, Biden may try one more time to achieve a legacy-defining agreement in the Middle East involving Israel, Saudi Arabia and the Palestinians. The odds are slim, but at this point, he's got nothing left to lose.

## EUROPE

Continued from page 1

life in Europe.

"The grim impact of October 7 on Jewish communities in Europe is fully reflected in this study, but so is the commitment of local Jewish leaders to help their communities brave the storm," said Ariel Zwang, the JDC CEO.

"Since the attacks, we have worked hard to fos-

ter safe environments for thriving Jewish life, aid the most vulnerable, and develop the next generation of Jewish leadership, building on our century-plus work with Europe's Jews. This survey gives us crucial data for guiding those ongoing efforts to strengthen European Jews — something that is ever more critical in the face of spiking antisemitism and political unrest."

Among the respondents, an overwhelming majority said they felt "less safe" or

"somewhat less safe" living and practicing as Jews since October 7. Western European Jews were far more likely than Eastern European Jews to feel in danger.

Asked whether they expected antisemitism to increase in the next five-to-10 years, 80 percent responded in the affirmatives (compared with 68 percent, who expressed such pessimism in the 2021 survey).

The responses indicate an increasing sense of alienation from the non-

Jewish world since October 7. Among the Jewish leaders and professionals, 38 percent said they had grown more distant from their non-Jewish friends, and 27 percent said they had grown more distant from non-Jewish clubs and NGOs they had been affiliated with.

This sense of alienation was sharpest among the younger respondents. By contrast, more than half of the respondents (53 percent) said they had become closer to their Jewish

friends. A sharp increase was registered in the share of respondents reporting that they were "sometimes ashamed of the actions of the Israeli government." More than half (54 percent) acknowledged feeling this way in the current survey, compared with only 39 percent in the 2021 survey. At the same time, 70 percent said they supported Israel "regardless of how its government behaves" — up from 66 percent in the previous survey.

# The total cynic and the Zionist

If Netanyahu has an iota of responsibility left, he must reboot his relations with the Biden administration regarding the hostages and ending the war

Yossi Verter

Benjamin Netanyahu chose to market his "historic" flight to deliver his "historic" speech in the U.S. Congress as a personal-commercial act. Instead of providing, for example, photographs from his three previous addresses to a joint session of Congress, his office published a picture of the prime minister and his wife, Sara, on huge leather seats. He is studying a pixelated, presumably confidential, document; she is looking on from the side, like a trusted confidante.

It was an image of their private total victory over all those who mocked and criticized the long-awaited official plane, Wing of Zion. It was no less an image of the total rot that embodies the essence of this isolated and detached couple, who are concerned only with themselves and their pleasures.

In addition, displayed on the conference room table was a baseball cap with the words "Total Victory" in English. The intention was above all to poke a finger in the eye of anyone who does not identify with the hollow slogan (the majority of Israelis, by the way). But there was another message. The hat is sold by a business involving the media personality and chief mouthpiece Yinon Magal. The (alleged) corruption reaches the highest heights, the heaven themselves: Magal, who once called himself a "tool for conveying messages" of the prime minister, received a lucrative online reward for these services.

Those who were able to hold back their vomit due to the above, won were tested again when Sara Netanyahu posted a picture of herself, in pajamas, talking on the phone with the mothers of two army spotters held hostage in Gaza, Liri Elbag and Daniella Gilboa. And in case we don't know who she is, the caption informs us, "I, the prime minister's wife."

While this conversation was taking place, it was already known that Alex Dancyg, 76, and Yagev Buchsthab, 35, had died in captivity after they were abducted October 7. They



Protests in Jerusalem Monday for the release of the hostages.

Naama Grynbbaum

didn't survive Netanyahu's tricks to scuttle a deal every time one was close to being signed. Why didn't "I, the prime minister's wife" call their families to comfort them in their fresh grief?

The meeting with the president and top White House officials, who will remain at their posts for at least another six months, is extremely important for Israel's national security and of course for the issue of the hostages. The contempt that is accompanying the couple on the trip are of their own making.

Hours before the flight, after a discussion with the Israeli negotiators, the Prime Minister's Office announced that the team led by the head of the Mossad, David Barnea, would leave for Qatar Thursday. Why not Monday? After all, we learned again Monday that the hostages are suffering and dying. Every hour, every day is critical. There is no reason for this delay beyond what is already obvious: On Thursday, the Knesset will have gone into summer recess. The government will then be immune from collapse until the last week of October.

That is the most generous

interpretation of the delay because it implies that Netanyahu wants a deal, but only when he feels on safe coalition ground. The more pessimistic explanation is that Netanyahu delayed dispatching the delegation for more than two weeks, despite the pleas of the entire defense establishment, because he has no interest in a deal. The lives of the hostages are not on his mind, to say the least. He has been and remains a procrastinator, but this time his delay may be at the cost of innocent lives.

The husband of the prime minister's wife is slated to meet with President Joe Biden on Tuesday. It will be a meeting between the most Zionist president the United States has ever had and the most cynical prime minister that Israel has ever had.

The former is an American patriot who demonstrated leadership and responsibility for the fate of his country by withdrawing from the race. A decent man, a humanist, with a big heart (this was expressed in the warmth he has showed to the families of hostage who are American citizens), he did not hesitate for a moment to side with Israel from Octo-

ber 7. He sent huge quantities of arms and ammunition amounting to about \$6.5 billion, while risking his position among his party "base" in an election year.

His interlocutor is the exact opposite. For him, the "base" is everything, it comes before everything, even human life. The tremendous and unprecedented support of Biden and his Democratic government never received the recognition it deserved. Certainly, nothing in comparison to the expressions of admiration for former President Donald Trump, who gave Israel useless baubles – recognition of Jerusalem as the capital of Israel, recognition of the Golan Heights as Israeli territory and so forth.

Netanyahu is a heartless person devoid of compassion, and all about cynical utilitarianism and exploitation. Due to a delay in the delivery of only one weapon, he launched slanderous and lying attacks against Biden, which served the president's opponents in the Republican Party well. It was no accident of course – it's how Netanyahu rewarded those who invited him to address the Congress this week, it's how he launched his cam-

paigned of flattery toward Trump, whom he hopes and prays will be reelected.

And yet, if Netanyahu has an iota of responsibility left, he must reboot his rocky relationship with the Biden administration regarding the hostages and ending the war.

And that is not only because the entry of Vice President Kamala Harris into the race for the White House raises the prospects for a Democratic victory, but mainly because if a war breaks out in the north in the next few months, in which Iran may also join, the assistance Israel will need will need from the Biden administration will dwarf everything that has been done over the past nine and a half months.

## Soldiers' calls to mental-health hotline have spiked since Oct. 7

Ido Efrati

The number of soldiers requesting mental health care has risen dramatically since the start of the Gaza war in October, data from Natal – the Israel Trauma and Resiliency Center shows. Natal's activities include running the Defense Ministry's mental health hotline, set up as part of the ministry's One Soul initiative for treating disabled veterans. The increase has been seen among both conscripts and reservists, as well as soldiers' families.

"The calls and conversations reveal very severe distress," says Natal hotline director Gili Gamish. "Since Memorial Day, and especially since the suicide of Eliran Mizrahi" – a reservist who fought in Gaza's border communities after Hamas' October 7 attack – "last month, we're seeing a spike in the number of calls and their severity." The situation may continue for quite some time, she adds.

Mizrahi, 40, killed himself in June after receiving an emergency call-up order for more fighting in Gaza, despite his diagnosis of post-traumatic stress disorder. A bulldozer driver, he witnessed traumatizing scenes in the border communities and Nova music festival parking lot. He fought in Gaza soon after that and was wounded, after which he was diagnosed with PTSD.

Gamish says his case was a major turning point for many soldiers. "The recent incidents, especially Mizrahi's shocking and tragic suicide, have also served as a catalyst for psychological distress in soldiers from previous wars."

She adds that the severity of the distress hasn't just been reflected in the number of calls, but also their urgency. Last week alone, the call center received four calls that were suicidal

in nature and required immediate intervention by the police.

According to Natal's figures, between October 2022 and June 2023, the hotline had to contact the police 35 times because of concern over a potential suicide. In the following year, the figure leaped to 86 – a 145-percent increase. The data also indicates that the number of calls was six times higher than before the war and that the number of nighttime calls had doubled in the past few weeks.

Gamish says that some of the calls came from individuals who had already been receiving emotional support. "Nevertheless," she says, "it seems that for many people, as time goes by, the feeling of despair and lack of hope that things will change is growing stronger."

### Moral injury

Reservists' distress isn't just evidenced by calls to the hotline, but also by treatment centers. More than 1,000 reservists are in therapy at Natal, which has treated more than 2,000 of them in the past few months.

Besides other patients, the main person who hears their stories is Irit Aloni, a trauma specialist and director of Natal's clinical unit.

"The wave of calls we've seen in recent weeks are cases of what in professional jargon is referred to as 'delayed-onset trauma,'" Aloni says. "Someone is discharged from reserve duty, puts all their emotional resources into their ability to function, go back to normal life and 'catch up' – and, then after a few months, a trigger makes it burst out and it all rises to the surface."

Mizrahi's suicide "affected many people and was kind of a trigger," says Aloni. She adds that the trigger for distress may be different for each person. "It might be

a declassification or something else. Sometimes the smallest thing, which might be seen as unrelated, surmounts everything. For example, in one case, the smell of meat at a restaurant triggered severe distress and several symptoms in a patient, including self-isolation and avoidance."

Soldiers' spouses and other family members who are dealing with their own psychological distress also go to the clinic. They also describe a challenge in going back to normal. "Many of them come after experiencing the traumatic loss of good friends," Aloni says. She adds that it is very difficult to continue normal life knowing that close friends are still in combat.

"In the background are the experiences of extreme, life-threatening events in which they were involved," she says. "It is also accompanied by much shame and guilt. Many say, 'I left my comrades behind,' or 'Why was I saved and not someone else?' – what's known as survivor's guilt. One day, a young man called me and said, 'My friends were killed because of a decision I made, and I have to live with that.'"

She says that some of them are also coping with what is known as "moral injury," which in some cases is the result of contact with the civilian population in the Gaza Strip. "A moral injury is related to actions that contradict the moral outlook that they grew up with," Aloni says cautiously.

As to the role of treatment in these cases, she replies, "Trauma represents the shutdown of a lot of resources. The more someone listens and supports, the more the injured person realizes that they are not crazy, that [their situation] is legitimate. We hold the view that even after trauma, it's possible to live a good and meaningful life. It's in humanity's DNA."

## Police: Palestinian suspected in murder of Israeli prison guard

Josh Breiner

The police announced Monday that Israel Prison Service guard Yochai Avni, who was stabbed to death at his home in Giv'on Hahadasha two weeks ago, is suspected to have been killed by a Palestinian from the West Bank. The attack is thought to have been nationalistically motivated. According to the statement by the Israel Police and Shin Bet, the suspect is Ibrahim Mansour, a man in his 20s from the West Bank

village of Bidu. Mansour was arrested two days after the murder and his detention has been extended until July 29.

Avni, 40, a guard and dog handler at Ofer Prison, did not arrive for work on July 8, prompting a police search. Colleagues and police officers who went to Avni's home saw smoke and called the Fire and Rescue Service. They found his body with signs of violence. It is suspected that his murderer also tried to burn the apartment. The murder took place

at night and "was brutal," several sources said. Avni was stabbed multiple times.

At a eulogy, Prison Service Commissioner Kobi Yaakobi said, "A wicked man entered his house, and he fought back until he fell."

The suspicion that the attack was motivated by nationalism is strengthened by the fact that Avni came in contact with security prisoners and Hamas Nukhba terrorists in his job at Ofer Prison, and also because he was murdered

in a West Bank settlement.

Avni grew up in Moshav She'ar Yashuv, in the Upper Galilee. He served in the Border Patrol and joined the Prison Service after his discharge. After the murder, his sister, Nitzan, said Avni "went to work with a sense of mission, which led him to get up in the morning for his difficult job." She said, "He was a gentle and special soul, even though he served in a challenging position with difficult people and security prisoners."

## Comptroller: Government dragging its feet on protecting coastal cliffs from collapse

Zafir Rinat

Thirteen years after the government decided to protect the cliffs along the Mediterranean coast against the danger of collapse, most of the cliffs at risk still haven't been protected from either the land side or the sea side, a new state comptroller's report found.

The fact that this work hasn't been done endangers both lives and property, reduces the amount of beach available for swimming and makes it harder to swim safely, added the report, which was included in an annual audit of local governments that was released on Tuesday.

After some sections of the cliff began crumbling – mainly along natural sand beaches that had shrunk, making the cliffs vulnerable to erosion by the waves – the



A sign warning of landslides at a beach in Herzliya. Guy Raivitz

government decided to form a government company to preside over protecting the cliffs against erosion in several places, including Herzliya, Ashkelon and Netanya. But the actual work was supposed to be done by the municipalities. The requisite

actions included building various kinds of breakwaters, adding artificial sand to the beaches, and building supporting walls or rock embankments.

But as of last summer, the report said, work from the sea side had been done only

along 13 kilometers of coastline. And on the land side, work had been done on only 14 of the 27 stretches slated for protection.

A main reason for this failure was the lack of dedicated funding for the work, which is expected to cost around 670 million shekels (\$185 million). Various government ministries fought over which of them should be responsible for funding the project, and they still hadn't reached an agreement by the time the report was written.

Consequently, only 20 percent of this amount has so far been delivered to the municipalities. And even that money hasn't all been used yet.

Moreover, the Israel Nature and Parks Authority didn't do its job of protecting the cliffs in two national parks, Ashkelon and Apollonia.

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# Israeli and U.S. Jewish leaders react to Biden's stunning decision to drop out

Ben Samuels

WASHINGTON – In the hours after U.S. President Joe Biden's bombshell announcement that he is dropping out of the 2024 presidential election, Israeli and Jewish Democratic officials lauded his legacy while Republican Jewish officials decried both him and his endorsed replacement, Vice President Kamala Harris.

The remarks across the board focused on Biden's record both before the October 7 attack and the ensuing Gaza war, further stressing what is at stake in the coming months of Biden's lame-duck presidency as he continues to push for a Gaza cease-fire and de-escalation across the Middle East.

Liberal Jewish groups and leaders maintained private support for Biden since his support within the Democratic Party began plummeting after his disastrous presidential debate, insisting his record on Israel and antisemitism over the past four years earned him the right to either run for re-election or step down on his own terms.

Democratic Majority for Israel CEO Mark Mellman, perhaps the most vocal pro-Biden advocate in the Jewish world in recent weeks, said, "we owe him our deepest gratitude for his lifetime of service to our country, his myriad accomplishments in the Senate and White House, for his lifelong support for the U.S.-Israel alliance, and for ensuring the Democratic nominee for president has a strong pro-Israel platform on which to run in November."

"In the days following Hamas' barbaric attacks on Israel on October 7th, 2023, President Biden stood with Israel at every turn – he delivered the strongest pro-Israel speech ever given by an American president, he became the first American president to visit Israel during wartime, he directed American forces to defend Israel from Iran's unprecedented missile and drone attack in April and the Biden-Harris Administration has provided Israel with billions in additional military aid so that it can defeat Hamas and defend itself from Iranian-backed terrorist groups like Hezbollah," he added.

J Street President Jeremy Ben-Ami described it as "difficult and selfless decision from a true patriot. We're proud to have endorsed President Biden's election and re-election campaign and to have supported one of the most consequential presidencies in modern history. Israel could have asked for no more true and dedicated friend in peacetime and in wartime. J Street remains entirely committed to defending our democracy and rallying the broadest possible coalition of voters to defeat Trump in November."

"President Biden is a patriot who has served our country honorably in the Senate, as vice president and as one of the most consequential presidents in modern history," said Pennsylvania Gov. Josh Shapiro, whom many believe will be the first Jewish presidential nominee.

"President Biden has gotten an incredible amount



Tavern patrons in Atlanta watching news of U.S. President Joe Biden's withdrawal from the election, Sunday. Mike Stewart/AP

done to move our country forward, defend our democracy, and protect real freedom. I am proud to work by his side and am grateful for his leadership and his unwavering commitment to delivering for Pennsylvania – the Commonwealth that raised him," added Shapiro, who could very well end up Harris' running mate.

In Israel, former Prime Minister Naftali Bennett called Biden "a true friend of Israel who stood by us in our most difficult moments. During my tenure as Prime Minister, I witnessed his unwavering support of the State of Israel. Thank you for everything," Former caretaker

Prime Minister Yair Lapid, too, shared an image of him and Biden fist-bumping, captioned "Thank you."

MK Benny Gantz took to X to thank Biden for being a "true friend" of Israel.

Former Israeli Ambassador to the U.S. Michael Oren, who dealt closely with Biden during his tenure as vice president, said it is "important to remember the President's deep commitment and love for Israel and the Jewish people. The citizens of Israel will always revere President Biden as a best ever – Kamala Harris would be the worst."

The Trump campaign said of the decision, "Biden

has been so weak, pathetic, and incompetent as a leader that he allowed 13 American servicemembers to be killed in Afghanistan, which set off a chain reaction that caused Putin to invade Ukraine and Hamas terrorists to attack Israel. World leaders are laughing at us."

"No matter who receives the Democratic nomination, they own the disastrous and failed policies of the last 4 years under Joe Biden," said the Republican Jewish Coalition. "This month, Kamala Harris expressed sympathy for the Hamas-sympathizing protestors. She would be an absolute disaster for Israel."

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## With 'fighting spirit,' Israel's Olympic team departs for Paris

Ido Rakovsky

The official flight of the Israeli delegation to the 2024 Olympic Games took off Monday morning for Paris.

Many athletes, including the U-23 national soccer team and the sailing team, departed for Paris several days ago and were joined today by the judo team, as well as gymnast Lihie Raz, fencer Yuval Freilich, Israel Olympic Committee chairman Yael Arad and other team members.

Oren Smadga, the Israeli men's Judo team coach whose son Omer was killed in Gaza in June, said, "What is certain is that our athletes (in addition to the competition) have gravitas, beyond a desire to win, to bring this thing of ending the war and returning the hostages. This is another thing we must fight for."

"The level of pressure is very good," said Judoka Inbar Lanir, the 2023 world

champion. "I feel everything, and all the feelings are good. I feel very confident in myself and greatly improved recently. I'm coming hungry and motivated." Commenting on participating in the Olympics during wartime in Israel, Lanir said, "It gives a further push, to represent the country, to bring good news." Judoka Baruch Shmailov, who reached fifth place in the previous games (held in 2021 in Tokyo, after being postponed due to the COVID-19 pandemic), said the fight for a medal in the previous games, "Stays in the subconscious, it was the greatest fun."

"I am going to a new and most exciting competition," he continued, "I know you have to bring everything and be able to go step-by-step and I hope it will end in the best possible way. I try not to come with expectations, even though I have them – a fighting spirit and wish to do something extraordinary."



French soldiers in front of the Eiffel Tower, Stefan Wermuth/Reuters

## French MP: Israel's Olympic delegation 'is not welcome'

Rachel Fink

France's foreign minister lambasted a far-left French lawmaker who said that Israeli athletes were not welcome at the Paris Olympics. Stephane Sejourne called the comments "irresponsible and dangerous," and assured the Israeli delegation's safety during the international competition.

Addressing a meeting of European Union counterparts in Brussels Monday, Sejourne said: "On behalf of France, to the Israeli delegation, we welcome you to France for these Olympic Games," adding, "we are ensuring the security of the Israeli delegation."

The Guardian reported that he planned to reiterate the message to Foreign Minister Israel Katz in a scheduled phone call.

Sejourne was referring to remarks by Thomas Portes of France Unbowed at a pro-Palestinian rally in Paris Saturday. "We are just a few days away from an international event to be held in Paris, the Olympic Games, and I'm here to say that no, the Israeli delegation is not welcome in Paris. Israeli athletes are not welcome at the Olympic Games in Paris. We have to use this deadline and all the levers we have to mobilize," Portes said.

He later told the French newspaper Le Parisien that French diplomats should pressure the International Olympic Committee to ban the Israeli flag and anthem at the Games, which are set to begin Friday, "as is done for Russia." "It's time to end the double standards," Portes said.

Several other French officials joined Sejourne in condemning Portes' remarks. The Guardian quoted Interior Minister Gerald Darmanin as saying, "The hints of antisemitism... are obvious." Paris Deputy Mayor Karen Taieb called Portes "a danger and a disgrace" in a post on X. "What we expect from our elected represen-

tatives is the idea of joining together. These people are advocating hatred."

Yonathan Arfi, the head of the Jewish umbrella organization known as CRIF also called out Portes on social media. Recalling the 11 Israeli athletes killed by Palestinian terrorists at the 1972 Munich Olympics, Arfi called Portes' comments "indecent" and "irresponsible" on X.

"Since October 7, Thomas Portes has legitimized Hamas," Arfi wrote. "He now puts a target on the backs of Israeli athletes, already the most threatened in the Olympic Games."

At least one of Portes' France Unbowed colleagues offered a partial defense of the anti-Israel comments. Manuel Bompard, a senior party official, wrote on X that he supported Portes "in the face of the wave of hatred he is experiencing."

"Faced with repeated violations of international law by the Israeli government, it is legitimate to ask that its athletes compete under a neutral banner in the Olympic Games," Bompard stated.

According to The Associated Press, the Paris 2024 organizing committee announced "unprecedented" security measures, including up to 45,000 police and gendarmes, backed up by a contingent of 10,000 soldiers that has set up the largest military camp in Paris since World War II, from which soldiers would be able to reach any of the city's Olympic venues within 30 minutes. In addition, 17,000 to 22,000 private security agents are expected for the Olympic sites and fan zones.

Darmanin said in a TV interview for French media Sunday that Israeli athletes would be protected around the clock during the Games. According to Israeli news outlet Ynet, Israel sent a record number of Shin Bet security agents to protect the 88-member delegation, which flew to Paris Monday.

## WEST

Continued from page 1

European Union, France and Canada – would order a new round. Other countries that until now have not acted, are expected to impose their own sanctions.

The new and expanded sanctions are not only connected with the ICJ's decision but also took into account measures and statements by Finance Minister Bezalel Smotrich, in his second role as minister in the Defense Ministry, aimed at effectively annexing the West Bank settlements.

"All the countries that have acted on this issue now plan to take additional steps that will be more severe than those we've seen in recent months," a top official involved in discussions on the issue told Haaretz. "The upcoming round of sanctions will be more painful than the earlier ones."

Over the weekend, it was reported that U.S. President Joe Biden was weighing sanctions on Smotrich and National Security Minister Itamar Ben-Gvir, the leaders of the two far-right parties in Prime Minister Benjamin Netanyahu's coalition. A step like that, if the White House approves it, would be unprecedented and open a new page in American pressure on the activities of extreme rightists in Israel.

"A decision like that has not been taken, but it is something being talked about in the relevant places," a U.S. official told Haaretz. "In the past, the White House had been resolutely opposed to the idea, but today there are influential people who speak otherwise."

The same is true with the EU, which only recently announced sanctions against the Tzav 9 organization, which has blocked trucks carrying humanitarian aid to the Gaza Strip. The EU is now weighing more severe

measures following the ICJ decision.

In a letter, the EU's European External Action Service Sanctions Division told Israeli human rights attorney Eitay Mack that it was examining information in connection with senior Israeli officials but did not cite any names.

A senior European diplomat told Haaretz that if the U.S. imposes sanctions on Smotrich and Ben-Gvir, "the EU will not be left behind on this issue."

France and Britain, two countries that have recently had elections that put the parties of the left in stronger positions politically, also plan to step up sanctions. The British foreign minister warned Israeli leaders he met with during his visit to the country last week that Smotrich's West Bank policies would lead to more sanctions against individuals and organizations associated with the settlement movement. The groups that have been targeted so far, such as

the Lahava and Tzav 9, constitute only the opening shot.

One risk that rightists in Israel especially fear is that sanctions will be imposed on the Amana organization, which plays a major role in building settlements and in May was put on the Canadian government's sanctions list. Another may be Regavim, a pro-settler NGO founded by Smotrich, which the EU is considering as a sanctions target.

Regarding Regavim, the European diplomat told Haaretz that no final decision had been made. "This is something that we wouldn't have considered a year ago, but today there is a discussion underway about it, he said. "A major change has occurred, and Israel isn't paying enough attention."

The government of Japan, one of Israel's greatest friends in East Asia, is planning to issue in the next several days a decision on sanctions against a number of right-wing extremists in Israel who have engaged in

violence against Palestinians. "The Japanese case is important, because it shows a trend – even countries that so far have not taken part in exerting this kind of pressure on Israel are now joining the party," warned the Israeli official who spoke to Haaretz.

The government hopes that if Republican candidate former President Donald Trump wins the U.S. presidential elections, he will reverse most or all of the U.S. sanctions. However, even if Trump wins the election, the Biden administration will remain in office for another six months, during which it can impose additional sanctions.

Moreover, even if a Trump administration does act to reverse the Biden sanctions – and there is no certainty of that – it is not expected to affect the decisions of the EU and member countries or Britain.

In its opinion issued last Friday, the ICJ cited a host of illegal actions that Israel has undertaken in the occu-

pled territories, including seizing land, demolishing houses and displacing Palestinians. The court's president, the Lebanese judge Nawaf Salam, devoted a large part of his reading of the opinion to detailing Israeli acts contrary to international law, including the establishment and expansion of settlements and the harm they cause to Palestinians.

The court asserted that the regime that Israel administers in the West Bank and East Jerusalem was similar to the apartheid regime in South Africa because of the different legal systems for settlers and Palestinians and the physical separation between the two.

Like other ICJ rulings, Friday's decision does not require Israel to change its conduct immediately, but it may strengthen the case of those who claim that Israel has established an apartheid regime in the West Bank and step up international pressure on it.

## HOSTAGE

Continued from page 1

Sahar Kalderon, 17, was abducted October 7 and released in November. In a post on Instagram, she described meeting Buchstab in captivity. "To think that I met him there and I was with him in the same place for a few days until they moved me," she wrote. "This hurts, because I know he was alive and that the government could have saved him."

Dancyg, 75, was snatched from his bed in Kibbutz Nir Oz on October 7. His son Yuval said, "At 8:08 A.M., I called Dad and he told me there was massive fire and terrorists were in the kibbutz, and that he was in his reinforced shelter." He said it was their last conversation. "We know his physical and psychological state is not good," he said after his father was taken hostage. "I believe and hope he is doing whatever he can to stay alive." He was separated from his wife, Rahel, and had four children and 12 grandchildren.

He was born in Warsaw in 1948 to two Holocaust survivors. His older sister, Edith, was born during the Holocaust and survived under the guardianship of a Tatar



Alex Dancyg, left, and Yagev Buchstab and his wife.



Kibbutz Nir Oz.

woman who was eventually recognized by Yad Vashem, the World Holocaust Remembrance Center, as one of the Righteous Among the Nations. Alex was a descendant of Avraham Dancyg, who wrote books on Jewish law in the 18th and 19th centuries.

When he was nine, he immigrated to Israel with his parents and sister as part of "the Gomulka Aliyah," the first legal wave of immigration since the Holocaust from what was then Communist Poland. The family initially settled in Tel Aviv, where Dancyg joined the Hashomer Hatzair youth movement. He later joined the Nahal, a program that, at that time, combined military service with the establishment of agricultural communities, which brought

him to Nir Oz. His former wife, Rahel, arrived a few years later with her own Hashomer Hatzair group.

Dancyg would have turned 76 on Saturday. His son Yuval wrote on Instagram: "Dear and beloved Dad, today you are 76 years old." He noted that the country was also 76 years old. The country whose fields you breathed in for over 50 years. The same country that, for years, neglected your security and the region you so loved."

Dancyg studied history at Ben-Gurion University of the Negev and worked as a history teacher before assisting the Education Ministry and Yad Vashem in training guides for youth trips to Poland. He trained guides for over three decades, making him a prominent figure in

Israeli-Polish ties. He loved soccer and general knowledge quizzes.

He once said that throughout the years before the 2005 Gaza disengagement, back when he would go to Gaza's beach, he was never afraid of the locals. "I believe there are regular people who just want to live on both sides," he said in an interview last year. "It's the politicians who turn our lives into what we see in the media. I'm not sorry when bad people from Hamas are killed, but it hurts when innocent children and civilians die. It shouldn't be this way."

Following news of his death, his granddaughter Galia criticized Prime Minister Benjamin Netanyahu and accused him of derailing a hostage deal that would release him. "Had there been a deal,

my grandfather would have returned alive," she said in an interview with the Kan public broadcaster. "But he's dead. He won't be returning alive."

The military statement added that along with the rest of Israel's defense agencies, it will continue to try and locate the hostages.

Dancyg's eldest grandchild, 22-year-old Eliya, told Haaretz: "Recently, lawmakers have dared to oppose a deal. As far as I'm concerned, those people who are against a deal are party to the murder of my grandfather. They forgot what it means to be human." In a video she posted on her X account, she addressed Netanyahu and accused him of playing a role in his death. She called on people to "understand that these are human beings we are talking about, the most important principle of all."

Eliya described her grandfather as someone who sought peace, a farmer who believed in the value of working the land and who had a deep knowledge of history. "He experienced war for 20 years, not just on October 7, and he still always had hope that peace would arrive," she wrote.

Matti Dancyg, one of Alex's other sons, said: "My father did not die for nothing. He died for the sanctification of Netanyahu's government of destruction, which

claimed that the hostages suffer but do not die. Israel must wake up and take to the streets en masse. There are still lives that can be saved, including my dear uncle, Itzhak Elgarat."

Dancyg commented on Netanyahu's widely reported intention of thwarting a deal, saying "He chooses to save his rotten government instead of saving the lives of Israeli citizens who he himself is responsible being taken hostage. Every moment that Netanyahu continues to maintain his rotten government instead of stopping the war and returning the hostages is a crime against Israeli citizens."

Netanyahu said in a statement after the announcement of the hostages' death: "It was with deep pain and grief that my wife Sara and I received the announcement" that the hostages had died. "Our hearts are with the dear families in their time of mourning. I am committed to returning all our hostages home, alive or fallen alike."

Yad Vashem said Dancyg was "a devoted ally of Yad Vashem in the training course for guides on youth tours to Poland and in the teaching of the Holocaust in Poland. He was a scholar [and] an esteemed expert on Polish culture and on the complex historical relations between the two peoples."

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## Netanyahu, at least do no harm

We know from experience that the message it is important to deliver to Prime Minister Benjamin Netanyahu ahead of his visit to the United States and his speech to Congress is: "At least do no harm." Netanyahu left Monday for Washington, where he is scheduled to address a joint session of the U.S. Congress and to meet with the president, after Joe Biden announced his withdrawal from the presidential race.

"I will seek to anchor the bipartisan support that is so important for Israel. And I will tell my friends on both sides of the aisle that regardless who the American people choose as their next president, Israel remains America's indispensable and strong ally in the Middle East," Netanyahu said before his departure.

That's all well and good, but we must not forget that the person who sabotaged – with his own hands, deliberately and directly – the long-standing, bipartisan, American support is Netanyahu himself. And that one of the main events in which he did so was his address to Congress in 2015, in which he attacked the nuclear agreement with Iran that then-U.S. President Barack Obama was advancing, not passing up the opportunity to humiliate a sitting president.

The destruction of the bipartisan support was expressed in the damage to relations with the Democratic Party and the dangerous closeness to Donald Trump, which contributed to the withdrawal of the United States from the nuclear agreement – a move that was judged even in Israel, including among senior defense officials, to be a serious error. Iran has greatly accelerated the pace of its uranium enrichment since the U.S. withdrawal from the deal, and now it is just a step away from a nuclear bomb.

Netanyahu noted that he planned to meet with Biden, saying: "This will be an opportunity to thank him for the things he did for Israel in the war and during his long and distinguished career in public service, as senator, as vice president and as president." We must hope he will manage to conceal slightly the ingratitude he has displayed during the war, while harnessing his coalition partners and their megaphones in the media in his support.

Israel could not have dreamed of a more supportive American president in its most difficult hour, and Biden proved from the very first day that he may be the greatest of the pro-Israeli presidents: whether in their public rallying to Israel's side against its enemies and sending a message of deterrence; in supplying arms and ammunition, support and aid in securing the release of hostages and advancing a deal, and, of course – on the night of the missiles fired from Iran.

We must hope that in the remaining months of Biden's term – the new president will take office January 20, 2025 – he will not hesitate to continue to act on behalf of Israel: To advance his outline, which includes a deal to end the war and free the hostages; achieving normalization of relations with Saudi Arabia within the framework of a military alliance that also includes the United States and insisting on returning the Israeli-Palestinian conflict to the negotiating table, to work toward a two-state solution.

And we must reiterate to Netanyahu: At the very least, do no harm.



Amos Biderman | amosb@haaretz.co.il

### Odeh Bisharat

## Quiet, Netanyahu is speaking. The hostages can wait

It's a matter of priorities. If you want a hostage deal, you put everything aside and work diligently toward that end.

But if the matter is not urgent, and is even burdensome, any noise coming from the "deal vehicle" is a reason to pause, to reexamine and even to add conditions, including outlandish ones.

On Saturday, another reason to delay was added – that of the Houthis in Yemen. But don't be fooled. In 1991 dozens of Iraqi missiles landed in Israel. Despite the damage they caused and the general sense of gloom, right-wing Prime Minister Yitzhak Shamir did not react, contrary to the counsel of the hawks. He trusted U.S. President George H.W. Bush, and it was as if nothing happened.

Returning to the present, just a few of the hundreds of missiles and drones launched from the east managed to enter Israeli territory. In other words, Israel can count on the protection of the United States and its allies on this front. But the main consideration now is political.

They want to place more and more obstacles in the way of achieving a deal that is supposed to disarm all the mines in the region. But another front and another front, and before you know it we

have a model regional war.

Around 10 days ago an agreement with Hamas was close to being signed, but somebody saw Mohammed Deif, or at least thought they did. People's eyes were blinded, the gates of hell opened up and hundreds of Gazans were killed and wounded, concurrent with the disappearance of the chances for the hostages' return home.

### Every opportunity to turn over a new leaf here is shot down by a counter-opportunity for another questionable military achievement.

Every opportunity to turn over a new leaf here is shot down by a counter-opportunity for another questionable military achievement. Benjamin Netanyahu does not want the deal, we are told; he has other considerations.

But what about the Shin Bet security service, the military and the Mossad? They actually want it, we are told. If so, why don't they say let's bring the hostages home first and deal with the rest later? The conclusion is that the entire top rung of the security and defense establishment forged an ironclad alliance with Ne-

tanyahu and the hostages are on the bottom of their list, too.

There were those who hoped that Netanyahu would go to Washington only after the deal was reached. Now we are waiting for his speech, and who can think about the hostages on the eve of an event that will rock America. Both houses of Congress are clearly deserving of praise, because after such a speech

the opposition is basically another arm of the government these days. Avigdor Lieberman, one of its pillars, is calling to attack Iran – the mother of all fronts – and Gideon Sa'ar asked the Knesset to vote against the establishment of a Palestinian state. Everyone except the Arab lawmakers and Ofer Cassif fell in line with the proposal. With an opposition like this, Netanyahu is guaranteed many more years in power.

Two photographs that were published last week caught my eye. In the first, the prime minister stands in the middle of a circle of soldiers on land in Rafah soaked with the blood of thousands of Gazans. The second is of Adina Moshe and Raz Ben Ami, who were abducted October 7 and released in November.

This is the whole story, one of ebbs and flows, except that here they occur simultaneously, not in succession.

In the first photo, Netanyahu is in the midst of an alarming comeback, from the nadir of October to the zenith in July, in Washington; in the second photo, despair and exhaustion.

But that has been the way of the world since time immemorial: The road to glory for the great is paved with the suffering of the forsaken.

home. Coming to Washington is a display of symbolic force – the only kind he knows – and an attempt to undermine Biden, against whom he has rallied his base.

If Netanyahu opts to muddy the waters by picking fights with Biden, he will infuriate the majority of Israelis who want a deal and the families of the hostages, some of whom have met with Biden but not with him. Conversely, if he praises Biden and expresses a willingness to strike a deal, he will anger his right-wing base.

Netanyahu, ever the political tactician, has focused solely on political survival. Even in the wake of the October 7 attack, as Biden addressed the Israeli people, Netanyahu was preoccupied with maintaining his coalition. This latest political gambit of coming to Washington without a deal that would free the hostages seems impossible to reconcile.

In the hit Broadway musical "Hamilton," an especially moving moment comes when George Washington confides to his protégé Alexander Hamilton that he will be stepping down after two terms – a radical concept for that time.

"If I say goodbye, the nation learns to move on," sings Washington, modeling profound strategic and civic foresight and humility.

Yesterday, Biden mirrored this humility, stepping aside for the sake of his beloved nation. Meanwhile, Netanyahu, 290 days into Israel's greatest catastrophe, continues to hang on desperately to power, willing to sacrifice his country to save himself.

Eian Nechin is an Israeli-born journalist and author.

### Etan Nechin

## Biden vs. Bibi: A contrast in leaders

U.S. President Joe Biden's announcement Sunday that he will not seek the nomination hit America – and the world – like a tsunami upending the race itself, reshaping the contours of the forthcoming electoral battle.

But as soon as Biden made his historic declaration, commendations began pouring in, hailing it as an act of heroism, one that prioritized the nation's welfare above personal ambition.

Leaders around the globe, as well as every former Israeli prime minister, were quick to praise him. Even in deeply polarized America, accolades arrived almost immediately, some from unexpected quarters.

It took Netanyahu a little longer to voice any kind of tribute, waiting until a day later, on Monday, to note in a sentence that he would be thanking Biden for his service to Israel during the Gaza war and throughout his long career. Netanyahu said this just before boarding his flight to Washington where he is expected to meet with the president ahead of his own address to Congress.

This Netanyahu who at first seemed mute in the face of political history is the same Netanyahu who, in the days just after the slaughter of October 7, embraced Biden warmly after he landed on Israeli soil, bearing a powerful message of both emotional and military support. In a dramatic reversal this is also the same Netanyahu who would later rally his base against Biden, accusing him of tying Israel's hands behind its back in the war in Gaza.

Biden, the working-class guy who became a longtime

U.S. senator and rose to the peak of American politics as vice president, then president, is often seen as a sometimes fumbling but family-oriented man of dignity whose heart is truly in public service – someone who remained true to his blue-collar roots and base.

His image stands in stark contrast to that of Netanyahu, a scion of the political class who grew up with the grievances of a father who was pushed out of that class, and who evolved into a sleek, Americanized figure with a penchant for keeping company with billionaires, a free-market hedonist with a taste for champagne and cigars.

As we begin to assess the Biden era, economic growth has been strong and his administration has been committed to supporting working families and rebuilding infrastructure. He championed the \$1.2 trillion Infrastructure Act to modernize America's aging transit systems. He has been a force for clean energy, pro-union policies, and a \$15 minimum wage. COVID-19 relief included expanded paid leave and child care support.

Internationally, Biden re-engaged with allies, rejoined the Paris Agreement climate accord and gave muscular support to Ukraine. His judicial appointments emphasized inclusiveness, including Ketanji Brown Jackson as the first Black woman on the Supreme Court.

Most importantly, Biden

served as a corrective for an America that had just survived an insurrection attempt and endured four years of profound division under Trump – from the neo-Nazis who felt no shame chanting "Jews will not replace us" to streets boiling over with outrage in wake of the murder of George Floyd. The country witnessed two impeachments. State houses pushed abortion bans and voter suppression measures.

### Biden stepped aside for the sake of his beloved nation. Meanwhile, Netanyahu, 290 days into Israel's greatest catastrophe, continues to hang on desperately to power.

Rising up from that tumult, Biden symbolized the enduring belief in democracy and the peaceful transition of power. His withdrawal on Sunday, under pressure over the limitations of his age, especially after his recent debate performance, only underscores this commitment. His actions were driven by genuine concern for his country at a time when the stakes could not be higher as the authoritarian figure of Trump looms large.

Netanyahu's character can be seen as the polar opposite to Biden's.

Since the mid-1990s, his entire focus seems to be doing anything to stay in

power. When he returned to office in 2009, he sought to make his grip absolute, fostering division, hollowing out institutions, appointing yes-men and collaborating with the far right.

Netanyahu has privatized Israel, creating an oligarchic class, and promoted a high-tech nation at the expense of economic equality. Internationally, the man who boasts of speaking more times before Congress than Churchill,

increasingly resembles a tin pot dictator, akin to Slobodan Milosevic, who, like him, manipulated ethno-nationalism to maintain control.

The contrast between the two men couldn't have been starker in the wake of October 7, the most traumatic day in Israel's history. For Israelis, Biden became the leader they lacked. It was warm, reassuring Biden who addressed the Israeli public when Netanyahu was conspicuously absent. It was Biden who dispatched aircraft carriers to the region, and later organized a coalition of countries to intercept Iranian drones and missiles.

Poignantly, he held little

### Hadar Susskind

## Netanyahu is not welcome in Washington

When Prime Minister Benjamin Netanyahu arrives in Washington this week he will meet with the Speaker of the U.S. House of Representatives, Rep. Mike Johnson. He will likely meet with President Joe Biden and/or Vice President Kamala Harris, pending COVID-19 and the matter of Biden's historic announcement that he is dropping out of his bid for reelection.

While the U.S. election is causing much uncertainty, what we do know is that Netanyahu is scheduled to speak before a joint session of Congress. In itself that's not really new. This is his fourth time doing so.

But this visit to Washington is going to be very different from previous trips, and not just because of the election turmoil.

That's because it's taking place in the aftermath of the most catastrophic breach of security in Israeli history on October 7 which took place on Netanyahu's watch and the ongoing almost 10 months of war in the Gaza Strip it prompted. This time thousands of people, with a broad range of political views, are going to be waiting for him with a message. And that message is simple and straightforward: Benjamin Netanyahu, you are not welcome here.

Netanyahu and his supporters will try to spin this as yet another demonstration of "anti-Israel" activism and will undoubtedly call everyone involved antisemitic. It is true that there will likely be large protests outside of the U.S. Capitol where signs are raised and slogans shouted that are very much anti-Israel and some may even be antisemitic. That's the sad reality of the world we live in today. But it's far from the whole story.

In solidarity with our Israeli brothers and sisters who have been protesting against Netanyahu and his failure of a government, Jewish organizations here in the United States are taking up the baton, or really the bullhorn, of protest and making it clear that we do not want to see Netanyahu here, we do not support him and he most certainly does not speak for us.

Even before he arrived in Washington, thousands of Americans began taking to social media to make it clear that Netanyahu is not welcome, and to do so by explicitly invoking the Israeli protest movement slogan "You are the head (or leader), you are to blame."

And just like the hundreds of thousands of Israelis who come out each week to protest, so too we in America are doing so not because we don't care about Israel, but because we care so very deeply. We believe in a better future for Israel, and we know that Netanyahu is leading the country down the wrong path. We know that this darkest of moments for Israel is also one of great opportunity to break through the impasse of conflict with the help of the international community. But to date Netanyahu has rejected efforts to move forward.

And when he does arrive, there will be rabbis gathering to pray, but also to protest, calling for an end to the war, a release of all hostages, and an end to the occupation. There will be Israeli Americans like me, veterans of the Israel Defense Forces, declaring Netanyahu a person non grata and speaking out for Israel's threatened democracy.

Also among those protesting Netanyahu will be hostages' families demanding that he make the deal for their release, end the war and bring their loved ones home. American Jews, like our Israeli friends and families, are coming out in force to stand for Israel, for peace, for democracy, for an end to the war and the return of the hostages and for

a better future for Israelis and Palestinians alike.

And we will be joined by non-Jewish friends and allies who stand with us in calling for an immediate return of the hostages, an end to this Sisyphean war and yes, an end to 57 years of occupation.

It is important to stop and think about this element and how essential it is that these key allies are standing with us. Because the choice that they faced was never between standing with us and standing with Netanyahu. It was between standing with us and standing with those who are calling for an end to Israel, who are justifying the horrific attacks of October 7.

But they are with us. Key partners like the Center for American Progress are standing with us because they know that there are American Jewish and Israeli leaders and organizations

### The PM will try to spin the protests of U.S. Jews like me as antisemitic, anti-Israeli. But we have a right and a duty to speak up.

that are willing to speak up, to take action and to stand strong even when so many others are trying to make them sit in silence.

And it's not just partner organizations. One of the most impactful protests taking place is slated to be the many members of Congress who plan to skip Netanyahu's speech. Dozens have already announced that they will not attend, including leading Jewish members of Congress. More than 230 Congressional staffers signed a letter urging members not to go to the speech, echoing my own message to Congress, "If members of Congress truly cared about Israel's well-being, they would boycott Netanyahu's speech."

Netanyahu and friends are going to try to tell you that everyone who is protesting, everyone who skips his speech and yes, every rabbi praying Shabbat, the morning prayer service, outside of the Capitol Building and every IDF veteran calling for the return of the hostages, is an antisemite.

He has worked for years to build a pliant and compliant American Jewish community and American political community. He has pounded home the message that the role of American Jews role is simply to "support Israel" and that he is synonymous with Israel.

But no more will we stand for that absurd notion. Americans, Jews and others, who care about Israel and yes, who care about Palestine, have the right and the responsibility to speak up. And that includes our political leaders.

We will not be silenced by Netanyahu and his *hasbara* (propaganda) machine, nor will we be intimidated or silenced by those who call for an end to Israel.

We believe in Israel. We believe that it can and must do better. That the future that Israelis and Palestinians deserve – one of peace, security, sovereignty, justice – is possible. And we will fight for it.

In 1902, Theodor Herzl wrote "If you will it, it is no dream." When he wrote these words at his desk in Vienna, the idea that he was contemplating, a national home for the Jewish people, was considered by most to be fantastical, impossible or downright ridiculous. And yet, even in the face of being told repeatedly that what he was working toward was unachievable, Herzl did not give up.

And neither will we. Hadar Susskind is the president and CEO of Americans for Peace Now.

# The military's October 7 baggage

Raviv Drucker

At a security discussion five months ago, Prime Minister Benjamin Netanyahu addressed the possibility of withdrawing from the east-west Netzarim Corridor, which bisects the Gaza Strip. If we leave it, he said, that would mark our defeat in the war; we would have lost. At the time, Israel Defense Forces Chief of Staff Herzl Halevi was also against the withdrawal, and so the hostage deal was tossed away just as Hamas softened its terms.

By May, Halevi had changed his view, and so had the defense minister. Under heavy pressure, Netanyahu approved a new proposal that included withdrawing from the corridor. Before doing so, he went around the table to make sure everyone was in favor, so as not to be outflanked from the right.

But in May, Hamas hardened its own positions, so once again there were two trains on parallel tracks, so they never met. Netanyahu hates the outline now, perhaps because Hamas once again displayed flexibility. Netanyahu claims senior defense officials "forced" the proposal on him, and he has reiterated his demand for an Israeli presence on the Netzarim Corridor—a demand he knows will thwart a hostage deal.

This time, Halevi is trying to put forth a different position. He says publicly that the army will know how to cope with the terms of any deal, and that it's necessary to reach a deal. But he no longer carries much weight among the public.

Netanyahu can easily dismiss his statements. And that's just one example of the increasingly clear problems caused by the fact that the



Prime Minister Benjamin Netanyahu with IDF Chief of Staff Herzl Halevi at defense headquarters in Tel Aviv. Maayan Toef / GPO

army brass hasn't turned in its keys and allowed others, free of the baggage of October 7, to make the decisions.

Another salient example relates to the fighting in the southern Gaza city of Rafah. Netanyahu is painting a picture of a Hamas on the verge of defeat because we entered Rafah despite all the warnings. In his view, we won; we destroyed and defeated them.

The army knows very well that we didn't really go into Rafah, and that Hamas' four battalions in the city have not been dismantled. They were hit hard a blow and retreated, but now are just waiting to spot an Israeli vulnerability so they can shed our blood.

The problem is that the IDF is cooperating with Netanyahu's misleading narrative. It too says it sees signs that Hamas is breaking, and

that Hamas' power has been eliminated, that two of the Rafah battalions were destroyed and the rest fled.

That's because the army brass has the same interest Netanyahu does in painting a picture of a great victory. In its view, this serves as a kind of atonement for October 7. And more importantly, it justifies Halevi's view that we have to go for a hostage deal. Look, we won, so we can afford to fold.

The assault on the army by Netanyahu and the deep right is so brutal and ugly that my first instinct is to defend the army at any cost. Between the cynicism of ministers Bezalel Smotrich and Itamar Ben-Gvir and the decency and professionalism of Halevi and Shin Bet security service director Ronen Bar, it's really not hard to choose a side. Nev-

ertheless, it has recently become hard to defend the IDF.

Why, for instance, did the army specifically start by investigating Hamas' attack on Kibbutz Be'eri and specifically publish the results of that inquiry? Because it wants to clear Brig. Gen. Barak Hiram so that he can take command of the Gaza Division. But that doesn't justify the fact that the first inquiry whose conclusions the IDF released criticized Shaldag, an Israel Air Force special-operations unit and the commander of Sayeret Matkal, the General Staff's elite special operations force, yet didn't address the responsibility of any senior commander or of Military Intelligence, the Operations Brigade and the Gaza Division. It clearly focused instead on the lower levels.

The army's behavior on the issue of drafting Haredim

also raises quite a few questions. The head of the IDF Manpower Directorate twice failed to attend meetings of the Knesset Foreign Affairs and Defense Committee, and when he did come he provided stammering answers and incomplete data.

And in the background, more and more videos keep emerging of reservists in the field expressing political opinions, setting policy and expressing themselves in ways that "contradict the IDF's values," yet no one in the army appears to be capable of stopping this. It's as if this were a militia, not an army.

Not all of the above problems should be put on Halevi's overburdened shoulders. But the explanations of a chief of staff who didn't carry the baggage of October 7 would carry much more weight.

# The settlements are also a project of lies and self-deception

Iris Leal

Last Wednesday, I was at Kfar Tapuach, a settlement in eastern Samaria. The sun was beating down, and a young woman, whose life was spent being a bone in the throat of Palestinians and making their lives a living hell, looked disheveled and lackluster as she passed between two trailer homes. Before we drove off from there, three youths recognized the name Majdi on our minibus, chased us, banged on the engine hood and demanded, in front of the terrified driver, to know why an Arab had been allowed to enter their community.

So young, and yet they were already well versed in how to carry out racial profiling. This is the image I took with me from this journalistic tour, arranged by the Geneva Initiative: A woman and some youths who imagine themselves to be living in a world in which they can take over land and hold on to it without hindrance, because their parliamentary representatives wield unimaginable power. This is the settlement movement that Religious Zionism's Bezalel Smotrich and Orit Strock are speaking of, this is the face of the "miracle." Not just settlement blocs, but also a few trailer homes in Kfar Tapuach and Evyatar that serve the higher purpose, the elimination of any possibility of resolving the conflict by peaceful means.

In addition to being a project of robbery, the settlements are also a tremendous project of fraud and self-deception, that all of Israel happily embraced. Not even 24 hours had passed before the Knesset adopted a resolution to the effect that "The Israeli Knesset wholly

objects to the establishment of a Palestinian state west of the Jordan River." A group of fantasy-struck people, who believe that after decades of bloody Palestinian national struggle, they will be able to convince millions of people to be subjects on their own lands, a land they never stopped viewing as their homeland. Zeev Elkin tweeted like a groom on his wedding night, that the establishment of a Palestinian state in the heart of the land is what will perpetuate the conflict, which got me wondering what hallucinogen is he on.

**From Smotrich to Lapid, from the messianic right to the center left, everyone chooses to deny the occupation and it being the defining issue of our lives.**

Throughout the years of his rule, Benjamin Netanyahu managed the conflict on the false assumption that the existence of the Palestinians can be erased from memory, in Israel and abroad, while ignoring their demand for a state of their own. About the Abraham Accords he said, contentedly, that they are proof of peace for peace rather than land for peace. October 7 was a horrifying demonstration of his error, and world awareness of the plight of the Palestinians and the critical need for a diplomatic solution has never been greater. But rather than correcting the error, the Knesset set it in stone.

Which brings us to Friday's ruling of the International Court of Justice. In order to beat it to the punch, Smotrich announced that that court is a political, antisemitic institution, and that "we draw the source of our right over all the parts of the land of Israel from divine promise." The justices at the world court were less impressed by divine promise and more by the reality, and ruled that Israeli presence in the West Bank and in Eastern Jerusalem is illegal; that the actions Israel carries out in these territories, including building settlements and expanding them, amount to an annexation of large swaths of Palestinian territory; that Israel fails in preventing settler violence against Palestinians and in punishing perpetrators; that it impounds land for settlement by settlers; and, most shamefully, that Israel is carrying out a system of racial separation — perhaps amounting to an apartheid regime.

The response to the ruling by figures from Religious Zionism was unanimous: "The answer to the Hague — sovereignty now." Netanyahu announced that no nation can be considered an occupying force in its own land, while opposition leader Yair Lapid said the ruling was detached from reality and marred by antisemitism. From Smotrich to Lapid, from the messianic right wing to the center left, everybody chooses to deny the occupation and it being the defining issue of our lives.

Blind, cowardly leaders, who have left dealing with reality to the radical left, will continue to repress the utterance of the word apartheid. But everybody, on both sides of the Green Line that Israel erected, will soon feel the aftershocks of the Hague ruling. Playtime is over.

Tuesday  
23.7

## CHANNEL KAN 11

(Y11/H11)

**06.00** The Morning News **07.00** This Morning - with Arieh Golan **08.00** Kalman-Lieberman - Live Reshet Bet radio show **10.00** Today's Agenda - with Yoav Krakovsky **12.00** What's the Big Deal? - Comedian Rishi Budhrani sets out to explore the technological innovations that promise to change our lives **12.25** Nature's Ultimate Survivors - The most formidable hunters in the animal kingdom **13.25** Behind the Notes - Kobi Oz hosts Rita (s.2) **13.55** The Unimportant - On events that at first glance seem unimportant, but from a distance over the years, tell a bigger story about all of us (s.4) **14.30** Come Dine With Me - Israeli version **15.00** The World Today - World News **16.00** Pocket Games - Economic magazine **16.45** Five O'Clock - with Maya Rachlin **17.45** On the Other Hand - with Guy Zohar **17.55** Israel at War - with Ayala Hasson **19.50** The Evening News **21.30** Come Dine With Me - Israeli version (2 eps) **22.30** On the Other Hand - with Guy Zohar **22.40** News **23.10** The Unimportant - On events that at first glance seem unimportant, but from a distance over the years, tell a bigger story about all of us (s.4) **23.45** We'll Meet Again - Docu-reality series (s.3)

## KESHET

(Y12/H12)

**06.00** News Flash **06.10** Today's Headlines **07.00** News Flash **07.05** The Morning Show - with Nir Raskin **09.30** News Flash **09.35** Special news broadcast - with Neshi Barda & Yoav Limor **11.00** Classic Arab dishes with Ofi Atanma-Ismael **11.35** The Amazing Race - Reality **13.00** Special news broadcast **15.00** Special news broadcast - with Ofi Hadad **16.55** Five O'Clock - with Rafi Reshet **17.55** Six O'Clock - with Oded Ben-Ami **19.00** Special news broadcast - with Ofi Hadad **19.55** The News **21.30** The Amazing Race - Reality **23.00** Guy Pines **23.15** Lotto Drawing **23.40** Guy Pines (cont.) **23.35** Tonight - with Yair Sherki & Avri Gilad **00.35** The 12th Floor - Real Estate magazine **01.15** Real Estate Secrets

## RESHET

(Y13/H13)

**06.00** News Flash **06.05** The Fitness Show **06.15** The Morning Show - with Omer Yardeni & Rotem Israel **09.30** News Flash **09.35** Starting the Day - with Elad & Yarden **10.00** News Flash **10.05** Starting the Day (cont.) **11.00** News Flash **11.05** Starting the Day (cont.) **12.00** News Flash **12.05** Stethoscope - Health magazine **13.00** News Flash **13.15** The Fitness Show **13.25** The Tube - with Guy Lerer **13.50** Vort - Docu-reality (2 eps) **14.00** News Flash **14.05** Vort (cont.) **15.00** News Flash **15.05** Vort (cont.) **16.00** Showtime - Culture & Entertainment **16.55** Talk of the Day - with Lucy Aharish **17.55** Six O'Clock - with Almog Boker **18.55** Israel at War - with Raviv Drucker **19.55** The News **21.15** Vort - Docu-reality **22.45** The Tube - with Guy Lerer **23.30** The Day That Was - with Tal Berman **00.00** New Love - Dating reality **01.10** Showtime - Culture & Entertainment

## HOT 3

(H3)

**07.20** Sisi (s.3) **08.10** The Good Fight (s.4) **08.50** Mirage **09.40** Fleeting Lies **10.15** Sisi (s.3) **11.05** A Million Little Things (s.3) **11.45** Mirage **12.40** Fleeting Lies **13.20** Hotel Portofino **14.10** The Good Fight (s.4) **14.55** Days of Our Lives **15.35** The Young and the Restless **16.10** The Bold and the Beautiful (2 eps) **17.00** Days of Our Lives **17.40** The Young and the Restless **18.20** A Million Little Things (s.3) **19.05** Sisi (s.3) **19.50** Fleeting Lies **20.30** The Long Shadow **21.15** A Million Little Things (s.3) **22.00** Northern Wind **22.45** Hotel Portofino **23.45** The Long Shadow **00.40** The Good Fight (s.4) **01.30** Northern Wind **02.15** Hotel Portofino



"Coming 2 America," HOT Cinema 1, 20.10.

Quintrell D. Colbert/Paramount Pictures

## HOT HBO

(H4)

**08.00** My Brilliant Friend (s.3) **08.55** The Minister **09.50** The Night Of **10.50** Fargo (s.5) **11.40** Crossfire **12.25** My Brilliant Friend (s.3) **13.20** The Minister **14.15** The Night Of **15.15** Fargo (s.5) **16.05** Crossfire **16.50** The Minister **17.45** The Night Of **19.20** Fargo (s.5) **20.10** The Head **21.05** My Brilliant Friend (s.3) **22.00** The Curse **23.05** House of the Dragon (s.2) **00.00** Conversations with Friends **00.30** Industry (s.2) **00.45** Conversations with Friends **01.10** Industry (s.2)

## HOT ZONE

(H5)

**07.10** FBI: International (s.2) **07.50** Chicago Fire (s.10) **08.35** FBI (s.5) **09.15** The Rookie (s.3) **10.00** Law & Order (s.22) **10.40** Fire Country **11.25** S.W.A.T. (s.7) **12.05** Chicago Fire (s.10) **12.50** FBI: International (s.2) **13.30** Chicago P.D. (s.7) **14.10** FBI (s.5) **14.55** The Rookie (s.3) **15.35** Fire Country **16.20** Chicago Fire (s.10) **17.00** Law & Order (s.22) **17.45** FBI: International (s.2) **18.25** FBI (s.5) **19.10** S.W.A.T. (s.7) **19.50** The Rookie (s.3) **20.35** Fire Country **21.15** Chicago Fire (s.10) **22.00** FBI (s.5) **22.40** Chicago Med (s.7, 2 eps) **00.00** The Rookie (s.3) **00.45** S.W.A.T. (s.7) **01.25** FBI (s.5) **02.05** Chicago P.D. (s.7)

## HOT CHANNEL 8

(H8)

**06.00** Love to Love You, Donna Summer **07.45** The Queens That Changed the World - Victoria **08.35** Patagonia **09.20** Jew Wars **10.20** Gila Almagor With Yzakov Agmon **11.20** Love to Love You, Donna Summer **13.05** The Queens That Changed the World - Victoria **13.55** Patagonia **14.40** Jew Wars **15.40** Gila Almagor With Yzakov Agmon **16.40** Love to Love You, Donna Summer **18.25** Jew Wars **19.25** Gila Almagor With Yzakov Agmon **20.25** The Queens That Changed the World - Victoria **21.15** Munich **22.00** Superpower **00.00** Kevin Unmarked **00.50** Munich **02.40** Superpower

## YES DOCU

(Y8)

**08.10** Deadlocked: How America Shaped the Supreme Court **09.05** The Prosecution **09.40** The One and Only Dick Gregory **11.30** Savior Complex **12.30** Alive: The Andes Plane Disaster **13.15** The 2019's 14.00 Deadlocked: How America Shaped the Supreme Court **14.55** A Case of a Lifetime **15.45** The Prosecution **16.20** Tony Hawk: Until the Wheels Come Off **18.25** Savior Complex **19.25** Alive: The Andes Plane Disaster **20.10** The 2019's 20.55 The Falconer **22.00** Savior for Sale **23.40** Deepfake Porn: Could You Be Next? **00.30** Murder in Boston: Roots, Rampage, and Reckoning **01.25** Savior for Sale

## HISTORY

(Y44/H43)

**05.05** Pawn Stars **05.45** Alone (s.11) **24** **06.30** The Proof is Out There (s.4, 2 eps) **08.00** How Disney Built America **08.40** Lea Koenigs Loves **09.45** Beyond Skinwalker Ranch **10.30** The Unexplained (s.3) **11.10** Beyond Skinwalker Ranch **11.55** The Curse of Oak Island (s.11)

## EUROSPORT

(Y61/H59)

**06.00** Snooker - Shanghai Masters in China **07.30** Tour de France 2024 **10.30** Car Racing - World Endurance Championship in Sao Paulo, Brazil **12.00** E Sport - World Cup **12.25** The Minute **12.20** Tour de France 2024 **19.15** Cycling - Tour de l'Ain in France **19.55** The Minute **20.00** Olympic Games - The best moments **23.00** Tour de France 2024 **00.25** The Minute **00.30** Car Racing - World Endurance Championship in Sao Paulo, Brazil **01.30** Motorcycling - Speedway of Nations World Championship **02.20** Extreme E - Scotland

## MOVIE CHANNELS

### HOT CINEMA 1

(H16)

**08.05** Dungeons & Dragons: Honor Among Thieves (USA/Canada/UK, 2023). Adventure. Dir: Chris Pine, Michelle Rodriguez, Rege-Jean Page. **10.20** Ocean's Eleven (USA, 2001). Crime comedy. Dir: Steven Soderbergh. With George Clooney, Brad Pitt, Julia Roberts, Matt Damon, Andy Garcia. **12.15** Dear John (USA, 2010). Drama. Dir: Lasse Hallstrom. With Channing Tatum, Amanda Seyfried. **14.00** The Mummy (USA, 1999). Adventure drama. Dir: Stephen Sommers. With Brendan Fraser, Rachel Weisz, John Hannah. **16.05** Miss Julie (Norway/UK/USA/France, 2014). Romantic drama. Dir: Liv Ullmann. Dir: Jessica Chastain, Colin Farrell, Samantha Morton. **20.10** Coming 2 America (USA, 2021). Comedy. Dir: Craig Brewer. With Eddie Murphy, Arsenio Hall, Shari Headley. **22.00** Mission: Impossible - Ghost Protocol (USA/United Arab Emirates/Czech Republic, 2011). Action. Dir: Brad Bird. With Tom Cruise, Jeremy Renner, Simon Pegg. **00.10** The Dark Knight Rises (UK/USA, 2012). Action. Dir: Christopher Nolan. With Christian Bale, Tom Hardy, Anne Hathaway. **02.50** Like.Share.Follow (USA, 2017). Horror. Dir: Abraham Gers. With Kiersey Lindseale, Ema Horvath, Brennan Benrubi.

### HOT CINEMA 4

(H19)

**06.40** What They Had (USA, 2018). Drama. Dir: Elizabeth Chomko. With Hilary Swank, Michael Shannon, Robert Forster. **08.20** The Face of an Angel (UK/Italy/Spain/USA, 2014). Drama. Dir: Michael Winterbottom. With Kate Beckinsale, Daniel Bruhl. **10.05** The Best of Me (USA, 2014). Drama. Dir: Michael Hoffman. With James Marsden, Michelle Monaghan, Luke Bracey. **12.00** Willowflower (USA/Canada, 2022). Comedy drama. Dir: Matt Smukler. With Alexandra Daddario, Kiernan Shipka, Jean Smart. **13.45** Elsa & Fred (USA, 2014). Comedy. Dir: Michael Radford. With Shirley MaLaine, Christopher Plummer, Marcia Gay Harden. **15.25** Venus in Fur (France/Poland, 2013). Drama. Dir: Roman Polanski. With Emmanuelle Seigner, Mathieu Amalric. **17.00** The Two Faces of January (UK/France/USA, 2014). Romantic thriller. Dir: Hossein Amini. With Viggo Mortensen, Kirsten Dunst, Oscar Isaac. **18.40** Tulip Fever (UK/USA, 2017). Romantic drama. Dir: Justin Chadwick. With Alicia Vikander, Dane DeHaan, Jack O'Connell. **20.25** Miller's Girl (USA, 2024). Comedy drama. Dir: Jade Halley Bartlett. With Martin Freeman, Jenna Ortega, Bashir Salahuddin. **22.00** Collateral Beauty (USA, 2016). Romantic drama. Dir: David Frankel. With Will Smith, Edward Norton, Kate Winslet. **23.35** Matchstick Men (USA, 2003). Comedy. Dir: Ridley Scott. With Nicolas Cage, Sam Rockwell. **01.30** Noble (USA/Vietnam, 2014). Biographical drama. Dir: Stephen Bradley. With Deirdre O'Kane, Sarah Greene, Gloria Cramer Curtis.

### HOT CINEMA 2

(H17)

**06.30** 15 Minutes (USA, 2001). Crime thriller. Dir: John Herzfeld. With Robert De Niro, Edward Burns, Kelsey Grammer. **08.30** Shark Bait (UK/Malta, 2022). Horror Thriller. Dir: James Nunn. With Holly Earl, Jack Trueman, Catherine Hannay. **09.55** American Renegades (USA, 2017). Action. Dir: Steven Quale. With J.K. Simmons, Sullivan Stapleton, Charlie Bewley. **11.40** Fortress: Sniper's Eye (USA, 2022). Action thriller. Dir: Josh Sternfeld. With Jesse Metcalfe, Bruce Willis, Chad Michael Murray. **13.20** Ninja (USA, 2009) Action/crime. Dir: Isaac Florentine. With Scott Adkins, Mario Van Peebles, Steven Elder. **23.25** Vampire Academy (USA/UK/Romania, 2014). Action. Dir: Mark Waters. With Zoey Deutch, Olga Kurylenko. **01.10** Aftermath (USA, 2017). Drama. Dir: Elliott Lester. With Arnold Schwarzenegger, Scott McNairy, Maggie Grace.

### YES TV ACTION

(Y6)

**06.00** The Equalizer (s.2) **06.45** Resident Alien **07.30** Law & Order: Organized Crime (s.3, 2 eps) **09.00** FBI: International (s.3) **09.45** FBI (s.6) **10.30** FBI: Most Wanted (s.5) **11.10** Chicago Fire (s.10, 2 eps) **12.35** The Equalizer (s.2) **13.20** Law & Order: Organized Crime (s.3, 2 eps) **14.45** Resident Alien (2 eps) **16.15** Chicago Fire (s.10, 2 eps) **17.35** FBI: International (s.3) **18.20** FBI (s.6) **19.05** FBI: Most Wanted (s.5) **19.45** The Equalizer (s.2) **20.30** Law & Order: Organized Crime (s.3, 2 eps) **22.00** My Life is Murder (s.4) **22.45** Allegiance **23.30** Your Honor (s.2) **00.05** The Sopranos (2 eps) **01.45** Fauda **02.30** Your Honor (s.2)

### YES TV COMEDY

(Y7)

**06.30** Parks and Recreations (s.6, 2 eps) **07.20** The Neighborhood (s.6, 2 eps) **08.10** Growth-ish (s.6, 2 eps) **09.00** Schitt's Creek (s.4, 2 eps) **09.50** Young & Hungry (s.5, 2 eps) **10.40** Parks and Recreations (s.6, 2 eps) **11.30** The Neighborhood (s.6, 2 eps) **12.20** Growth-ish (s.6, 2 eps) **13.10** How I Met Your Mother (s.6, 2 eps) **14.00** Young Sheldon (s.6, 2 eps) **14.45** Friends (2 eps) **15.35** Schitt's Creek (s.4, 2 eps) **16.25** Married with Children (s.10, 2 eps) **17.15** How I Met Your Mother (s.6, 2 eps) **18.05** Young Sheldon (s.6, 2 eps) **18.45** Friends (2 eps) **19.35** Schitt's Creek (s.4, 2 eps) **20.25** Married with Children (s.10, 2 eps) **21.15** How I Met Your Mother (s.6, 2 eps) **22.05** Young Sheldon (s.6, 2 eps) **22.45** Friends (2 eps) **23.35** Married with Children (s.10, 2 eps) **00.25** Entourage (s.6, 2 eps) **01.25** Young & Hungry (s.5, 2 eps) **02.15** Parks and Recreations (s.6, 2 eps)

## HOT CINEMA 3

(H18)

**08.00** Fool's Paradise (USA, 2023). Comedy. Directed by and starring Charlie Day. With Ken Jeong, Kate Beckinsale. **09.40** The Other Woman (USA, 2014). Comedy. Dir: Nick Cassavetes. With Cameron Diaz, Leslie Mann, Kate Upton. **11.30** Runaway Bride (USA, 1999). Romantic comedy. Dir: Garry Marshall. With Julia Roberts, Richard Gere, Joan Cusack. **13.30** Evan Almighty (USA, 2007). Comedy. Dir: Tom Shadyac. With Steve Carell, Morgan Freeman, Lauren Graham. **15.05** Starsky & Hutch (USA, 2004). Comedy. Dir: Todd Phillips. With Ben Stiller, Owen Wilson. **16.45** Trainwreck (Japan/USA, 2015). Romantic comedy. Dir: Judd Apatow. With Amy Poehler, Bill Hader, Brie Larson. **18.50** The Other Woman Amoureuse de ma femme (France/Belgium, 2018). Comedy. Dir: Daniel Auteuil. With Gerard Depardieu, Sandrine Kiberlain, Adriana Ugarte. **20.20** Intolerable Cruelty (USA, 2003). Romantic comedy. Dir: Joel & Ethan Coen. With George Clooney, Catherine Zeta-Jones, Geoffrey Rush. **22.00** Knocked Up (USA, 2007). Comedy. Dir: Judd Apatow. With Seth Rogen, Katherine Heigl. **00.05** Blockers (USA, 2018). Comedy. Dir: Kay Cannon. With Leslie Mann, John Cena, Ike Barinholtz. **01.50** Gringo (Australia/USA, 2018). Action comedy. Dir: Nash Edgerton. With Joel Edgerton, Charlize Theron, David Oyelowo.

## HOT CINEMA 4

(H19)

**06.40** What They Had (USA, 2018). Drama. Dir: Elizabeth Chomko. With Hilary Swank, Michael Shannon, Robert Forster. **08.20** The Face of an Angel (UK/Italy/Spain/USA, 2014). Drama. Dir: Michael Winterbottom. With Kate Beckinsale, Daniel Bruhl. **10.05** The Best of Me (USA, 2014). Drama. Dir: Michael Hoffman. With James Marsden, Michelle Monaghan, Luke Bracey. **12.00** Willowflower (USA/Canada, 2022). Comedy drama. Dir: Matt Smukler. With Alexandra Daddario, Kiernan Shipka, Jean Smart. **13.45** Elsa & Fred (USA, 2014). Comedy. Dir: Michael Radford. With Shirley MaLaine, Christopher Plummer, Marcia Gay Harden. **15.25** Venus in Fur (France/Poland, 2013). Drama. Dir: Roman Polanski. With Emmanuelle Seigner, Mathieu Amalric. **17.00** The Two Faces of January (UK/France/USA, 2014). Romantic thriller. Dir: Hossein Amini. With Viggo Mortensen, Kirsten Dunst, Oscar Isaac. **18.40** Tulip Fever (UK/USA, 2017). Romantic drama. Dir: Justin Chadwick. With Alicia Vikander, Dane DeHaan, Jack O'Connell. **20.25** Miller's Girl (USA, 2024). Comedy drama. Dir: Jade Halley Bartlett. With Martin Freeman, Jenna Ortega, Bashir Salahuddin. **22.00** Collateral Beauty (USA, 2016). Romantic drama. Dir: David Frankel. With Will Smith, Edward

# Over 100,000 Jerusalemites barely have running water

The capital's largest neighborhood, Kafr Aqab, hasn't had a steady water supply for weeks, and no one seems to care

Nir Hasson

Amjad Shurrab, an employee of Al-Quds Maternity Hospital in East Jerusalem's Kafr Aqab area, goes up to the roof of the building several times a day. There are 28 water tanks, each with a capacity of 1,500 liters (400 gallons). Shurrab moves among them, shaking and banging on them to check the water level. He climbs a ladder to peek inside, checking the complex system of pipes and pumps that supply water to the entire building.

"Water is a serious matter in a hospital," says hospital director Taqi Qaissi. "We have to constantly check how much water is left. We now get water one or two days a week – but even then, there isn't enough pressure in the pipes and the water can't flow upward."

Without a regular supply, the hospital has to spend thousands of shekels a week on water tankers to ensure that new mothers can shower after giving birth. Qaissi says various government agencies are aware of the crisis, including the Health Ministry and the Jerusalem municipality, and that none have offered to assist.

There continues to be no running water in Kafr Aqab, a sprawling area in northern East Jerusalem with over 100,000 residents. A resident whose home has running water for more than one day a week is seen as lucky. Tens of thousands of others have water for only four to nine hours a week.

The situation, which has persisted for two months, is deteriorating. Those who had water for two days a week now have one day, and those who had a day now just have a few hours. The various relevant agencies are rolling the responsibility onto one another. These include the municipality, the Water Authority, the Israeli government's regulating body; Mekorot, the national water company and Hagihon, the municipal water company. Residents are increasingly desperate. Things are getting worse, with one resident warning, "This place will become a second Gaza."

Kafr Aqab was not always part of Jerusalem. In 1967, when East Jerusalem was annexed and the city's map was redrawn, Qalandiyah Airport (later Atarot) was added to it. The ministers who approved the map envisioned Jerusalem as a capital city with a bustling international airport. Foreign airlines boycotted the airport, however, and it was eventually abandoned during the second intifada.

Including the airport in the city's borders also entailed the annexation of Kafr Aqab, a small green village to its north. Until the West Bank separation barrier was built two decades ago, it remained a modest area surrounded by fields and orchards. The construction of the barrier cut it off from Jerusalem, and Israeli authorities withdrew and began to ignore it.

Over the next few years, Palestinians built high-rise apartment buildings to address the housing crisis faced by thousands of East Jerusa-

lem families. For most of the time since then, the price of an apartment outside the barrier has been about one-sixth of the price of a similar apartment within the barrier in East Jerusalem.

In the last two decades, the village and the neighborhoods built around it have become the largest area in Jerusalem. In fact, in terms of the population, it is larger than most cities in Israel, with fewer than 20 of the country's 80-plus cities being larger. None of the others has a hospital that has water for less than two days a week.

## 100 tons of water on the roof

Officially, Kafr Aqab is part of Jerusalem, and most of its residents hold Israeli IDs. Nevertheless, the authorities neglect the area almost completely. Many streets remain unpaved, and drainage systems collapse each winter, flooding homes and streets. There are no police or technicians or service providers. There is not a single playground or green space for the tens of thousands of children who live there.

Qaissi says that recently, the hospital was also out of phone and internet services for two weeks, and staff could only work using cell-phones. Stray dogs roam the area in packs, and residents face poor infrastructure and living conditions. Their livelihoods depend on the Qalandiyah checkpoint, which they use to travel to work and education in the city. The road to the checkpoint is littered with burned concrete blocks, garbage and dust.

**Samer Abu Khalaf: 'Even in the poorest country in the world, you won't see things like this. If there are problems in Gaza or Lebanon, why do we have to be punished?'**

Despite all this, Kafr Aqab is not a miserable place. The dozens of high-rises built without permits are mostly well-maintained. The streets are full of various kinds of businesses, and many residents are middle-class and enjoy being between two large cities, Jerusalem and Ramallah.

Residents have established a community committee that administers the area, arbitrates disputes and pressures the authorities to address the myriad problems. A thriving community center operates in the village, where children learn to dance the *dabke* and adults learn Hebrew and music. It also has programs for seniors and people with disabilities.

Since the war in Gaza began, however, living conditions have been severely degraded. During the first few weeks after October 7, Israel kept the Qalandiyah



Amjad Shurrab on the roof of Al-Quds Maternity Hospital in Kafr Aqab.

checkpoint shut. Patients, schoolchildren, university students and workers found their gateway to the rest of Jerusalem blocked. The local economic situation declined. Members of the committee say some families got to the point where they lacked food.

Checkpoint has been open in recent months, but it now operates only partially and slowly. A huge traffic jam starts outside of it early in the morning and continues throughout the day until the evening. "If you start work at 8 A.M., you leave at 5 A.M.," says village council head Samer Abu Khalaf. "Schoolchildren cross the checkpoint and sleep in the car for three hours. Have you ever seen anything like that?"

Bus companies have greatly reduced their service because of the situation at the checkpoint, further exacerbating the situation. Some residents tried to bypass the checkpoint by entering Jerusalem from the Hizma checkpoint, which is used by the Israeli settlers living north of the city. They discovered that the military had set up a new checkpoint designed to prevent them from reaching the Hizma checkpoint and to allow settlers to enter Jerusalem without being stuck in traffic.

All these challenges pale in comparison to the lack of water, however. Over the years, residents have gotten used to the fact that water doesn't flow 24/7, so the roofs of the buildings in the area are covered with huge water tanks to guarantee a supply when the pipes are empty. Almost every family has two tanks and an electric pump to deal with low pressure and raise water from underground reservoirs. The reason for the shortage is that, unlike all other parts of Jerusalem, Kafr Aqab isn't supplied by the city water corporation, Hagihon, but rather by the Palestinian Water Authority, which buys water from Mekorot and distributes it.

For years, residents and public representatives in the area have warned of the danger posed by the tanks. A simple calculation shows that the two 1,500-liter tanks often found on the roof of a building means there are more than 100 tons of water above the heads of dozens of families. Given that almost all construction in the village is done without permits and oversight, it would take only one contractor to pay insufficient attention to the concrete on the roof for a disaster to occur.

Until recently, the system of tanks and pumps set up by residents had managed the partial water supply quite successfully. The past two months have seen a substantial change. "Even in the poorest country in the world, you won't see things like this," Abu Khalaf says. "If there are problems in Gaza or Lebanon, why do we have to be punished?"

To deal with the shortage, residents have started purchasing water from tankers operated by independent entrepreneurs. They suspect the water in the tankers has been purchased from nearby settlements but have no proof. Three thousand liters filling two large containers cost 300-350 shekels (\$85-95), depending on the height of the building. Most residents who spoke with Haaretz said they refilled the containers at least once a week – and even then, they have to place restrictions on family members and enforce water discipline.

## Not coping

The crisis is severely disrupting life in the area. Schools have canceled summer camps and patients are being transferred to hospitals inside Jerusalem for fear of a water shortage. The impact is felt the most in daily life, with residents avoiding showers, washing floors, running washing machines and even flushing toilets. "Once

of three or four times, the water gets turned off. The house stinks, but what can we do?" one resident says. "Don't ask how we're getting by. We're not getting by. Just not getting by."

Water can be found in the streets in the form of sewage puddles. According to the residents, the crew responsible for unclogging sewers works only some of the time because it also needs water to operate the equipment.

In recent weeks, the community committee has tried to get a clear answer as to who is responsible for the lack of water, but to no avail. The Palestinian Water Authority, the area's water supplier, says Israel has reduced the supply for the area. Mekorot, which sells the water to the Palestinian Authority, denies that the quantity has been reduced and points to the Israeli Water Authority.

The Israeli Water Authority says it instructed Mekorot to search for solutions in the area, but that

infrastructure development is expected to take about two years. In response to a request from the Association for Civil Rights in Israel, the Water Authority also placed some responsibility on its Palestinian counterpart, which, it says, failed to conduct "water harvesting ... that would help improve the supply situation in the neighborhood."

The Jerusalem municipality puts the responsibility to the Palestinian Authority and says that the best solution would be to connect the area to the Hagihon municipal water system. However, such a move would take years become complicated because of the area's unauthorized construction.

## No permit to protest

While the authorities kick the ball over to one another, thirst has become a part of daily life in Kafr Aqab. Desperate residents have protested twice in front of

the Palestinian Water Authority offices in the past couple of weeks. They also wanted to protest outside the Jerusalem city hall, but the police told them they would not receive a permit.

Older residents all expressed a deep sense of helplessness. "Yesterday, I fought with my wife, who wanted to do laundry," one of them says. Another says, "I get 3,500 shekels from the National Insurance Institute each month, and 1,000 shekels of that I spend just on water. I have to get water for the family."

"Last week, my wife went to her family's house because we didn't have water," says a third. "I flush the toilet using bottles." A fourth adds, "If you have children, it's a serious problem. You need water for drinking, for bathing. Without water, there is no life."

Two weeks ago, a large water pipe burst in the Jewish neighborhood of Ein Kerem on the other side of the city. Hagihon workers operated on emergency footing and restored the water supply to the area within a few hours. The next day, however, there were disruptions in the water supply to the community center in the area.

The Jerusalem Municipality's spokesperson released four public notices that day, going so far as to assure the concerned Jerusalem public that "Hagihon is ensuring the provision of water by alternative means" for community center visitors.

By contrast, the water crisis in Kafr Aqab has not been publicly addressed by Jerusalem Mayor Moshe Leon or the city, despite repeated appeals from residents, local officials and journalists. When asked privately, Leon said the matter was not within his jurisdiction. Hagihon and Mekorot gave similar responses. Abu Khalaf says the residents have tried everything. "We are knocking on all the, but none of them opens," he says.

The Water Authority said in response to a request for comment: "The supply in the Kafr Aqab neighborhood is

managed by the Ramallah Water Company. The supply comes from connections that also serve other consumers in the Palestinian Authority, and the decision regarding the quantities directed to these villages or other consumers is in the hands of the Ramallah Water Company.

"The Water Authority has long approved the development of infrastructure to increase the overall amount supplied to this area and it is expected to be completed by 2026. This is an area with extensive unregulated construction, and under such circumstances, there is, by necessity, a disparity in the ability to supply the appropriate quantities of water for the continued population growth. The law prohibits supplying water to illegal buildings, but the Water Authority continues its efforts to increase the overall amount flowing to the area as quickly as possible."

The Jerusalem municipality said in response to a request for comment: "Jerusalem Mayor Moshe Leon has instructed professional experts to delve into the matter with the aim of reaching a solution to ensure the regular water supply to the residents of the Kafr Aqab neighborhood. He did it even though the issue is not within the municipality's responsibility, and the issue stems from the irresponsible conduct of the Palestinian Authority, which is responsible for supplying the water in the neighborhood, according to diplomatic agreements."

"There are two proposed solutions: upgrading Mekorot's existing systems or establishing new infrastructure and putting the area under Gihon's scope of responsibility," it continues. "While the second option may take many years and encounter legal obstacles due to the widespread illegal construction in the neighborhood, it was recommended to further promote the upgrading of Mekorot's existing systems (which is itself also a process of months to years)."

## Only a cease-fire can prevent a polio epidemic in Gaza and Israel

### Opinion

The polio virus, which is highly infectious, has been detected in sewage samples from Gaza, posing a new and yet anticipated threat to both Israel and Gazans.

Conditions in Gaza, triggered by the horrific Hamas attacks against Israel on October 7, were ripe for the spread of vaccine-preventable infectious diseases. These include displacement, inadequate access to safe water, sanitation and hygiene, malfunctioning of the sewage system, crowded shelters, food insecurity and a collapse of the health care infrastructure, including vaccination services. The longstanding captivity of 120 hostages captured in Israel and still being held in Gaza, as well as the prolonged deployment of Israeli soldiers in Gaza, also places both groups at risk alongside Gazans.

Those at greatest risk are Gazan and Israeli infants, who have not completed their required vaccinations due to health service disruptions or their young age. They are not guilty of any crime, other than the dangerous circumstances they were born into. The identification of the polio virus in Gaza reminds us that pathogens and toxic exposures know no borders. Polio can be spread for weeks by infected individuals who have no symptoms. The devastating consequences of this disease, including paralysis, long-term disability and death are well-known.

Even countries where polio was officially eradicated have had outbreaks under conditions of war and conflict. Sadly, many public health officials, including some of us, have warned about this scenario for months.



People walk near sewage in Khan Yunis, July. Jehad Alshrafi/AP

## The response to the threat of the virus must be coordinated and comprehensive.

The response to this threat needs to be multi-pronged, coordinated and comprehensive. It requires the cooperation of international organizations. In Israel, the current response will require the vaccination of all soldiers currently or recently in Gaza (a decision was just made to do so), hostages who have returned and those we hope will return soon, and those caring for them. In Israel, it will require attention to infants who have not yet been adequately vaccinated. In Gaza, international aid agencies will need to reach infants, humanitarian and health workers and immunocompromised adults.

The current conditions in the Gaza Strip make this a daunting task; the conditions of an ongoing war make it almost impossible. We therefore, need a cease-fire – not only in order to free our

ability to services. The State of Israel knows how to deal with this threat and has mounted campaigns in the past to ensure mass vaccination of people at risk, babies and immunocompromised adults. Historically, Israel also contributed to building the vaccination program and health facilities in Gaza, whose children had high levels of vaccination prior to the current war.

We know what needs to be done. It must be done for the sake of all residents of the region. This is not about politics. This is about health and life.

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## sudoku

© Puzzles by Pappocom

The game board is divided into 81 squares, with nine horizontal rows and nine vertical columns. A few numbers already appear in some of the squares. The aim is to fill in numerals 1 to 9 in each of the empty squares, so that every row and column and every box (a group of nine squares outlined in boldface) contains all of the numerals 1 to 9. None of the numerals may recur in the same row, column or box.

2	7	4	8	5	3	1	6	9
3	5	1	7	6	9	4	8	2
9	6	8	2	1	4	5	3	7
6	1	2	4	8	7	3	9	5
7	4	5	9	3	6	8	2	1
8	3	9	5	2	1	7	4	6
4	2	6	1	7	8	9	5	3
1	8	3	6	9	5	2	7	4
5	9	7	3	4	2	6	1	8

Tips and a computerized version of Sudoku can be found at [www.sudoku.com](http://www.sudoku.com)

6	4	9	5	3	2			
		7	4	2	3			
2		5	1	8	7			4
		4	5		8		9	1
9		6	3	7		8	4	
		8		4				3
		9	8	1				6
				9				2
5			7		4			8

Difficulty: Easy

# GALLERY גלריה

Itay Goder and Arie Livnat

Bnei Yehuda lost its ticket to Israeli soccer's Premier League in the final minutes of last season, but it didn't despair. Instead, in a season that is expected to be highly competitive given high-profile Hapoel Tel Aviv's relegation to the second tier in May, Bnei Yehuda is working to prevent being stuck in the lower league for another season.

To this end, this month it signed Scottish midfielder Alastair Reynolds – that is, before an unexpected obstacle appeared.

"I presented our goals for the upcoming season, and he was excited," says general manager Maor Borg. He conducted the talks with Reynolds, who plays in Cyprus where his father is stationed as an attaché in the British Armed Forces. The father asked to speak with Borg and explained that he was pausing the signing until he got a full picture from his Israeli colleague of the security situation. "In the next conversation, he thanked us warmly but said that because of the war, his son wouldn't be able to come right now."

The player himself confirmed that account with Haaretz. "The situation right now is too problematic. I hope the war will end. I would very much like to come to Israel, and I believe I will do so in the future," he said.

In the summer of 2024, Bnei Yehuda's story is not unusual in the world of Israeli sports. Teams, both in the Premier League and in the pro basketball league, have been encountering difficulties both recruiting and retaining foreign talent.

In soccer, Maccabi Tel Aviv has so far signed only one foreign player in place of the four who left it (and its sister basketball club has to find replacements for four outstanding overseas players). Maccabi Haifa, which is trying to win back the championship from Maccabi Tel Aviv, has so far signed two foreigners.

General manager Gal Alberman talked this month about the difficulty of recruiting overseas talent – with the exception of Israel's three top basketball teams, led by Hapoel Tel Aviv.

Ironi Tiberias, one of two teams promoted to soccer's Premier League in May, has only been able to fill half of the six slots it is allowed for foreign players: Argentine midfielder Franco Mazurek, who played with it last season; Ukrainian Stanislav Bilenkyi, who played in the last half of the season with Maccabi Netanya; and the Czech midfielder Ondrej Baco, who played for Hapoel



The players' bench at Bloomfield Stadium in Tel Aviv-Jaffa, the home of the Maccabi Tel Aviv, Hapoel Tel Aviv and Bnei Yehuda Tel Aviv soccer teams. Sharon Bukov

## Israel in sports drought as foreign players stay away due to the war

Only the 'big three' basketball teams have the coin to overcome the fears of athletes and their parents and meet the higher demands of their agents

Jerusalem for two and a half years (before making a brief detour to Hungary last January). What all three have in common is they have already lived and played in Israel.

The team's owner, Mickey Bitan, says it has become difficult to find players, pointing to talks with Georgia's substitute goalkeeper in Euro 2024 that ended this week. "[He's] a player we could have signed this season," says Bitan, but the negotiations fell through at the last minute due to the war. Even athletes who have played in Israel in the past, such as former Hapoel Hadera defender Jonathan Cissé, have declined to return.

"The transfer market is sleepy like it hasn't been in many years," says Mazen Ghnaim, a former mayor of Sakhnin and former chair of its Bnei Sakhnin soccer team. As soon as agents hear there's an offer from Israel, their salary demands jump, he notes. "It's a difficult, embarrassing situation.

Even before you start to talk about the team, you have to explain to the agents where the players will live. Until the situation calms down, it will be very difficult."

An executive at one of the top clubs says "the strategy this summer is different from previous years – you first try to maintain what you have, not necessarily try to make improvements. You can't be sure you'll be able to bring in a better replacement."

Yoav Katz, who owns Hapoel Haifa, says "the only ones we can talk to and who aren't afraid to come here are African players, especially those from the Democratic Republic of the Congo. They know what a war is and the Israeli reality is less disturbing to them. The problem for us is that we have almost no ability to bargain with players who want to leave. The war here gives them a good excuse to ask to be released from their contract when they have a good offer from Europe."

**'It's not like they have other offers'**

The situation in basketball is similar, although apparently the market for players is more lively – in part due to the arms race initiated by Hapoel Tel Aviv owner Ofer Yanai against Matan Adelson's Hapoel Jerusalem.

"The war is hurting us in all sectors," says a professional in basketball's Premier League, "Who could have believed four months ago that Hapoel Jerusalem would open the season with Yonatan Alon as coach, and Hapoel Tel Aviv would still have Stefanos Dedas? It's difficult to bring a professional figure of his stature here now."

But Hapoel Tel Aviv actually brought in a general manager from Greece.

"I don't want to belittle George Hinas," says the source, "but he came here because AEK Athens got rid of him."

Yanai's deep pockets have enabled him to go on the kind

of shopping spree never before seen in Israel. That peaked this month with the signing of Patrick Beverley from the United States. But industry sources say they believe Yanai had to pay a war premium to attract him.

According to an industry source, "Joe Ragland earned about \$275,000 in Paris, and now he's getting \$400,000 at Hapoel. He's probably only here because Ofer Yanai can afford it."

He added that "in order to bring Austin Wiley [the MVP of the Turkish League last season] to Israel in such a situation, you have to pay an amount that no one can compete with."

Maccabi Tel Aviv, on the other hand, "has a hard time bringing in even a player like Alexa Abramovich," says Hapoel Be'er Sheva CEO Tomer Yaron. He usually recruits one overseas player every year from the Israeli league, but this year he added two, both in key roles: Jaylen Hoard from Hapoel Tel Aviv and Levi Randolph from

Hapoel Jerusalem. He also acquired Jordan Loyd from Monaco, who previously played in Eilat.

The tradition, the strong organization and the ticket to the EuroLeague helps the champion field a competitive squad, compared to the big money that Yanai and Adelson can invest for their teams to bring them to the lower-level EuroCup. But smaller basketball teams face greater difficulties, and no Israeli



Americans Josh Nebo and Lorenzo Brown when they played for Maccabi Tel Aviv. Nir Keidar

soccer team has the status or resources of basketball's big three outside of Israel.

"Signing foreigners isn't so easy now," Ironi Nes Tziona basketball coach Amit Scharf says. "There are five or six players we wanted and expressed an interest in. We contacted their agents, but they didn't come. One of them had played in Israel, but he won't be coming back for the time being – certainly not for a team that doesn't play in the European finals with big money." Nes Tziona has to date signed only one foreign player, similar to other teams.

"There is currently one foreigner who has played in Israel who I'm talking to. He has been mulling it for a long time, and it's not like he has other offers. Another foreigner, a new one, is also very undecided – and it's not that he has the EuroLeague on his résumé," Yaron says.

Hapoel Haifa, on the other hand, has already signed three foreigners. CEO Ron Feldheim says he encountered no difficulties due to the war. "In the first few weeks it was very difficult, first of all, to keep foreigners," he recalls. "Only Marcus Bingham Jr. remained with us. And then it was hard to bring in new ones. But no one we approached expressed fear of coming to Israel."

Still, the three players are not household names so they were not so expensive. "Most teams cut the contract terms of the foreigners on their roster because of an increase in the cost of the Israelis," admits Feldheim. Yaron adds that "foreigners may be coming here who would not have come before. You get foreigners who are willing to come during wartime because they're going to get a chance to play."

League sources note a trend of overseas players moving from team to team within the league, including those who were in Israel in the recent past. "Once there might be one in the team like that – today there are three," Sharon Abraham, coach of Hapoel Gilboa Galil, says.

In addition to the two signings of Maccabi Tel Aviv, Hapoel Jerusalem

added Justin Smith from Hapoel Holon; Maccabi Ironi Ramat Gan brought back Isaiah Miles from Hapoel Tel Aviv and signed Drew Crawford from Hapoel Holon and Amin Stevens from Kiryat Ata. Holon signed Dakarai Tucker, who played last season at Hapoel Haifa.

The Women's League faces similar challenges. The first half of last season was played with no foreigners; in the second half, they recruited players who were not close to the level in Israel.



Mazen Ghnaim Rami Shlulsh

**Tomer Yaron: 'Foreigners may be coming here who would not have come before, who are willing to come in wartime because they're going to get a chance to play.'**

"The teams took anything that came to hand," says Maccabi Ramat Gan coach Roe Lazare. "Anyone willing to come was taken at great cost. Hapoel Lev Jerusalem, which is a top team, added Breanna Richardson, who a year earlier was relegated with Herzliya to the second division. Even so, she was still one of the best foreigners in the league."

"This summer we had a draft contract with Jasmine Dickey, an American who in the end will not be playing here," Lazare says. "Her parents pressured her and refused to consent. They shouted at the agent, 'How dare you bring her an offer from Israel!'"

AS Ramat Hasharon encountered a similar problem with the Danish player Okako Adika, but eventually overcame it. "She wanted to come, but her parents were against it. Coach Roie Levin spoke with them on Zoom, and explained that everything is fine here," says general manager Eli Rabi.

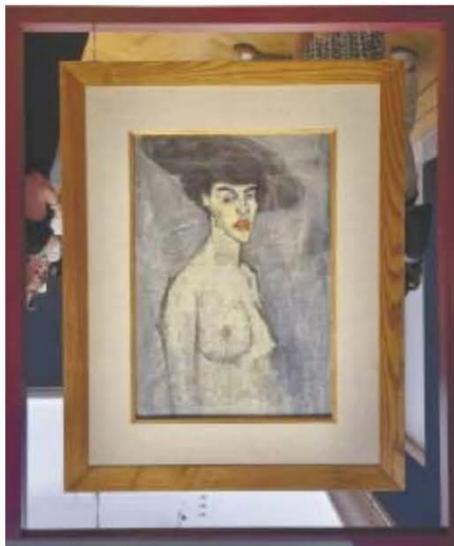
Nevertheless, Rabi admits that the upcoming season will be played at a lower level: "The foreigners signed are not at the level they were four or five years ago."

## Fearing damage, Israeli museums keep name off works on loan abroad

Naama Riba

After October 7, the Israel Museum in Jerusalem decided that the institution's name will not appear on the labels of works on loan to foreign museums. The policy was conceived by the museum's acting director, Suzanne Landau, and approved with the support of the chairman of the board, Isaac Molho. The Israel Museum has one of the best art collections in the world, especially of 19th- and 20th-century art, so its works are in demand for loans. Without loans, museums do not have enough works for their exhibitions, so the loans continue even in times of war, but under different conditions.

The museum maintained discretion about the policy, which was discovered by chance during a visit to the Museum Barberini in Potsdam, near Berlin. A large exhibition of works by the Jewish Italian painter Amedeo Modigliani, one of the leading artists of the so-called Paris School, is currently on display at the German museum. The exhibition comprises dozens of the artist's oil paintings, including portraits and nudes, alongside dozens of works by artists who influenced him or were influenced by him, such as Pablo Picasso,



Modigliani's "Nude with a Hat" at Museum Barberini in Potsdam, with no mention of the lender's location. Naama Riba

Gustav Klimt and Egon Schiele. Exhibitions of this kind are rare, since they require loans from around the world. Accordingly, it is drawing a large number of visitors.

A number of museums in Israel have paintings by Modigliani in their collections, including the Israel Museum, the Tel Aviv Museum of Art and the Reuben

and Edith Hecht Museum at the University of Haifa. It was therefore expected that works from Israel would be on loan for the exhibition, which includes paintings from some of the world's most important museums, including the Pompidou Center and the Musée de l'Orangerie in Paris, the Tate Modern in London, the Metropolitan Museum

of Art in New York and the Albertina in Vienna.

And Israel? The wall label for "Nude with a Hat" indicates that it is on loan from the Hecht, without specifying the museum's location. The work is unusual, in that Modigliani painted both sides of the canvas. On the reverse side, rotated 180 degrees (that is, upside down), is a portrait of Maude Abrantes, a woman in the artist's social circle.

Officials at the Hecht Museum explained that the decision to omit the location was made in parallel with the Israel Museum's decision. They said it was to avoid vandalism of the painting, which stands out in the exhibition.

Although a portrait of Léopold Zborowski, a patron of Modigliani and also of his friend the Belarus-born, French Jewish painter Chaim Soutine, has a central spot in the exhibition, the Israel Museum is not mentioned. The wall text's credit line says "anonymous lender," an appellation usually reserved for private collectors. The Israel Museum website notes: "In this first of the artist's six portraits of Zborowski, the dealer is seen with folded arms, displaying great self-assurance. The tilt of his head and his light blue eyes without pupils – a Modigliani hallmark – create the

impression of a spiritual man absorbed in thought." The work is on permanent loan to the Israel Museum from the Dr. Georg and Josi Guggenheim Foundation, through the Swiss Association of Friends of the Israel Museum.

An examination by Haaretz found that a Peter Rubens painting from the Israel Museum was loaned a few months ago for an exhibition at Rome's Borghese Gallery, and that three paintings by Soutine were loaned to the Louisiana Museum of Modern Art in Denmark for an enormous exhibition of the artist's work that closed July 14 after a five-month run. At the same time, two paintings by Marc Chagall from the Tel Aviv Museum of Art, "The Wailing Wall" and "Solitude," were exhibited in a few museums, including Fundacion MAPFRE in Madrid. Both museums are expected to lend works for a Chagall exhibition opening in September at Vienna's Albertina, whose directors have close ties to Israel.

Suzanne Landau says the Israel Museum "could not ignore the protests and the demonstrations and the hostility toward Israel. We hesitated when we received the request to borrow the Rubens. It is a large and important painting. It was the first time we hesitated over a loan. We understood

that in the current situation we have an obligation to protect our collections, and that is also part of Israel's Museum Law. So we decided on a compromise, in which the source of the work would not be written [on the wall text], but would appear in the catalog as usual."

**Does the museum receive many loan requests?**

"There are many requests and the museum has a lot to give, and this is part of the network of ties, so that we will be able to receive as well. But since October 7 there have been cancellations. There was an incident from Australia where they refused to indicate the source in the catalog as well [as in the wall text]. The entire idea came out of our concern and our responsibility for the works, and I stand behind it."

**Museums like to show off – to offer such exhibitions is a show of force.**

"Not in the current situation. We cannot afford to put the works in danger. We are in an unusual situation. In such cases, we must continue to cooperate, but out of responsibility for protecting the work."

Tel Aviv Museum director Tania Coen-Uzzieli first learned from Haaretz about the policy of the Israel Museum, where she worked for many years in senior positions. "I did not know about their policy. We have a cou-

ple of Chagalls making the rounds, and I admit I did not think this could cause problems. I think the Tel Aviv Museum has got reasons to take pride, and I don't intend to hide away. I trust the borrowers to protect the works."

She does, however, understand the fear, in part because museums around the world have also become scenes of protest. "Muse-

ums around the world today are very involved, publicly. They are not a place for visitors, but rather, the visitors have become partners. This began with Black Lives Matter protests, moved on to the climate crisis, and now the anti-Israeli demonstrations. This doesn't happen in other cultural institutions, such as concert halls and libraries."

### Weather

#### Hot and humid

Tuesday will be hot for late July, with high humidity along the coast. Wednesday will be hot and humid. Thursday will be hotter, and Friday will be slightly less hot but more humid.

