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ISRAEL'S LEADING DAILY NEWSPAPER

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Israel strikes Gaza after Hamas reneges on body, shoots at troops

Body bag returned by Hamas actually contained remains from hostage recovered in 2023

Jonathan Lis, Ofer Aderet, Yaniv Kubovich and Jack Khoury

Hamas and the Israel Defense Forces exchanged fire on Tuesday in the most significant test of the cease-fire since it took hold earlier this month.

Hamas targeted IDF troops near Rafah with sniper fire and an anti-tank missile, prompting the army to respond with artillery fire and airstrikes throughout the Gaza Strip.

Settlers' brutal war in W. Bank
News, Page 7

The escalation began after Hamas sent Israel a body bag that allegedly contained the body of one of the 13 remaining hostages still in the Gaza Strip, in keeping with its obligation under the cease-fire arrangement, and Israeli forensic testing revealed on Tuesday that instead the bag contained remains from slain hostage Ofir Tzarfati, whose body had already been retrieved by Israeli forces in 2023.

Israel later released drone footage shot in Gaza City showing Hamas operatives removing the body bag

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Hamas militants retrieving the body bag in Gaza City, Tuesday.

Jehad Alshrafi/AP

10,000 still missing: Gazans search for loved ones in rubble

Rawan Suleiman

On a concrete block that was once part of a house wall in the Nuseirat refugee camp, someone scrawled the words: "Toutou is under the rubble."

Toutou, or Takween Tawil, was three and a half at the time of her death, when her family home was bombed on October 15, 2023. Her body has been buried under the ruins for the past two years.

Takween, whose name means creation, was killed alongside 53 other relatives: the bodies of 12 of them are still under the ruins, Muthanna al-Najjar of the Pales-

tinian newspaper Al Hadath reported.

According to data the Hamas-run Gaza Health Ministry published on Monday, the bodies of 472 people over the past two weeks have been removed from excavated ruins.

The data is based on requests from families for assistance in extricating their relatives from damaged buildings. The families use simple equipment that can't lift blocks and mounds of concrete. These families know where the bodies of their relatives are. Many others don't know where

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IDF: 279 soldiers attempted suicide since start of 2024

Tom Levinson

Almost 300 Israeli soldiers attempted to take their own lives between January 2024 and July 2025 based on Israel Defense Forces data provided to the Knesset and obtained by Haaretz.

According to a Knesset Research and Information Center report prepared at the request of MK Ofer Cassif, IDF mental health personnel recorded 279 attempted suicides in the 19-month period. Thirty-three of the attempts were classified as "serious," that is, defined as actions that could end in death or seri-

ous bodily injury.

The military did not record suicide attempts in the past, and began collecting data on such incidents only in 2024. According to the report, 36 IDF soldiers are known to have died by suicide between during the period, 16 of whom died over the past year. Haaretz has learned of at least four suicides since July.

Military data shows that only six of the 36 soldiers who died by suicide saw an IDF mental health officer in the two months before their deaths. IDF statistics show

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Hamas and Israel are jockeying for control in the battle of perceptions

Analysis **Jonathan Lis**

Hamas' "trick" presumably wasn't meant for an Israeli audience: Israel doesn't care whether the organization retrieves the dead hostages' bodies from safe

houses in the Gaza Strip or from piles of rubble. Rather, Israel's assumption is that Hamas sought to mislead the Red Cross, the U.S. administration and the medi-

ating countries by creating a false impression that there are difficulties in finding the bodies, but that it's making a huge effort to do so.

The "show" in which Hamas operatives buried body parts they had brought with them so that the Red Cross could "find" them

moments later reveals the soft underbelly of the agreement to end the war that was signed in Sharm el-Sheikh.

The deal produced some impressive achievements, including the return of all the living hostages. But its plan for the return of the bodies is full of holes, and

it contains no significant levers of pressure to get the terrorist organization to finish the job.

Specifically, the deal only requires Hamas to "exert maximum effort" to fulfill its obligation to return the dead hostages. It doesn't require them to return a spe-

cific number of them or any specific bodies.

In its ongoing, Sisyphean effort to bring all the hostages home, Israel racked up a modest achievement on Monday. After five days in which Hamas hadn't handed over any bodies, the organization, in a surprise move,

returned the remains of the hostage Ofir Tzarfati.

The government apparently didn't know that Hamas was still holding parts of his body: He had been buried two years ago, after Israel retrieved other parts of his body through a military operation. Conse-

quently, it didn't insist on receiving his remains in the negotiations that have taken place between the parties in recent weeks.

Hamas' trick, and the fact that it was filmed by an Israeli drone, immediately

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After IDF detained him in West Bank

Autistic Israeli teen held as security detainee for two weeks

Nir Hasson

A 14-year-old youth with disabilities has been held in detention for about two weeks by the Shin Bet security service and police on suspicion of security offenses. The teen, who is autistic and considered 100% disabled, is a resident of central Israel and an Israeli citizen.

He was arrested by Israel Defense Forces troops while on a family visit to the West Bank. In detention, the teen is facing violence and brutal conditions, according to his mother and his lawyer, who have visited him.

A gag order has been imposed on the teen's name and reason for his arrest. He was arrested on Tuesday two weeks ago in a West Bank city. The teen is being held in the detention center in the Russian Compound in the



The Russian Compound in Jerusalem.

Noam Rifkin/Pantheon

center of Jerusalem.

"At 4:30 or 5 A.M., before the sun rose, they broke into the house. Dozens of soldiers came in," his mother said. "They entered the children's room, and aimed rifles and flashlights at them. The child shook, he wasn't able to stand on his feet out of

fear. After that, they made a mess. They didn't look for anything, just made a mess and took the telephones and computers of the entire family." The mother's son was handcuffed by the soldiers, and she was also taken, but released after a short drive, she said.

The teen has been brought before the judges in the Juvenile Court in Bat Yam to have his detention extended four times. At the last hearing on Wednesday, Judge Tal Levitas Ben Peretz accepted the police's request and extended the remand by one week. Igal Dotan, the lawyer from the Public Defender's Office who represents the teen, appealed the decision to the Tel Aviv District Court, but Judge Yaron Levy denied it. Another hearing will be held in juvenile court Wednesday morning.

Saja Mishraqi-Baransi, an attorney from the legal department of the Public Committee Against Torture in Israel, visited the teen on Monday. He was handcuffed and the guards held his hands up over his head, treating him like a security

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HAARETZ

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President Javier Milei victorious in Argentine midterm



Noam Revkin-Fenton

Inside J'lem's ornate churches
Tours bring visitors to the heart of two ancient communities

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Wilders posing for a selfie on the campaign trail.

Piroschka Van De Wouw / Reuters

Geert Wilders leads Netherlands' election in turbulent time for Jews

Liam Hoare

ROTTERDAM — When Geert Wilders won the Dutch legislative elections in November 2023, no one saw it coming. If, as it seems likely, the far-right populist with his anti-immigration, anti-Islam and pro-Israel platform wins for a second time when Dutch voters go to the polls on Wednesday, it will come as a surprise to no one.

The two years between Wilders' first victory and his expected second have been marked by political instability and polarization for the Netherlands. After months of negotiations, Wilders' Party for Freedom was able to form a government with three other right-of-center parties in July 2024, only for Wilders to blow it up after less than a year in May over asylum

policy, triggering fresh elections.

This turbulent period coincided with October 7 and the Gaza war, with Israel-Palestine moving from the fringes to the very center of Dutch politics. Antisemitism in the Netherlands spiked. Pro-Palestinian demonstrations mobilized tens of thousands of people. A football

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