

Exclusive to Haaretz-NYTI subscribers

FREE ACCESS

to **NYTimes.com & Haaretz.com**

For more information:

03-5121750

nyti@haaretz.co.il



Established 1919

HAARETZ

ENGLISH EDITION

הארץ

Friday, October 31, 2025 | Heshvan 9, 5786. Vol 106/32439

ISRAEL'S LEADING DAILY NEWSPAPER

www.haaretz.com

Slow progress on cease-fire lets Hamas resurge

Probe of leaked video from Sde Teiman could serve coalition's war on 'deep state'

Analysis **Amos Harel**

U.S. President Donald Trump continues to have the last word. On the night between Tuesday and Wednesday he asserted that "nothing will jeopardize the Gaza cease-fire." Despite the serious incidents in the Strip this week, that is indeed the situation at the moment. Trump insists on his reading of reality, and so far reality is doing his bidding. That doesn't mean that behind the scenes on both sides there are no forces that want to undermine the cease-fire and resume the fighting.

The first difficulty about the cease-fire relates to the return of the dead hostages. On Thursday afternoon Hamas returned two bodies to Israel via the Red Cross. If they are identified, the number of bodies still held in Gaza will decrease to 11, and the IDF thinks that this number can be more or less halved if Hamas makes the necessary efforts. The many delays, and the deception that included the return of body parts at the beginning of the week, are a combination of calculated psychological warfare and objective difficulties caused by

the massive destruction in the Strip.

In the wake of Hamas' ploy, a meeting was held on Tuesday with the participation of Netanyahu and the heads of the security branches, in which proposals for a response were raised. Zamir suggested reducing the number of aid trucks that enter Gaza, or seizing more territory, in

Netanyahu and Katz's evasion

Editorial, Page 11

order to punish Hamas. The prime minister did not approve this, apparently due to American opposition.

A few hours later, a reservist, Master Sgt. Yona Efraim Feldbaum, was killed in Rafah while operating a bulldozer. That generated another meeting, at the end of which a massive aerial strike in the Strip was energized. The targets were dozens of Hamas commanders of various ranks. About 30 were killed, but

together with them nearly 70 civilians were also killed, according to Palestinian reports. That would not have happened without U.S. approval – and immediately afterward, on Wednesday morning, a cease-fire was again declared. Trump justified the Israeli response.

There's a common denominator between the incident this week and the death of the officer and the soldier from the Nahal Brigade last week. In both cases, an IDF unit was at work demolishing tunnels in the yellow zone that Israel controls, and encountered resistance. Even though the shooters were apparently from Hamas, the organization dissociated itself from them and claimed that they did not act in accordance with the guidelines of its leadership.

It's possible that they were about to be discovered by the IDF's engineering work and preferred to act. From Israel's viewpoint, it's still a violation, so it was decided to take action. But immediately afterward the U.S. administration declared a return to the bedrock situation from its viewpoint: a cease-fire.

See WAR, Page 6



The ultra-Orthodox protest in Jerusalem on Thursday against the arrest of draft evaders.

Olivier Fitoussi

Mass ultra-Orthodox protest against arrests of draft dodgers; teen dies in fall from height

Aaron Rabinowitz, Ido David Cohen, Yael Freidson and Josh Breiner

Hundreds of thousands of demonstrators joined a massive protest, dubbed the "million man rally," in Jerusalem on Thursday against the arrests of yeshiva students accused of evading the mandatory military service,

organized by the leading factions of the country's ultra-Orthodox society.

After the rally officially concluded, clashes broke out between ultra-Orthodox protesters and police, as mounted officers attempted to remove the protesters from the area. During the protests, two ultra-Orthodox soldiers, a police officer and several journalists were attacked by pro-

testers, while a 15-year-old boy died after falling from a construction site.

According to rescue services, the teenager fell after hundreds of young Haredi men entered the site, unimpeded by police. Medics pronounced him dead at the scene.

The police opened an investigation into the circumstances around the boy's death,

and are expected to question the managers of the construction site into which the teenagers entered during the rally. Police are also examining whether the boy may have taken his own life.

By the end of the main event, emergency services said they provided medical treatment to 103 protesters, including the deceased teenager, and 10 others who were

sent to the hospital: a cardiac event, two cases of fainting and minor injuries.

Organizers of the rally released a statement afterward, saying that the protest expressed its "firm demand that the authorities fully preserve the long-standing arrangement regarding Torah students, so that anyone

See HAREDI Page 4



The bodies of the two hostages arriving in Israel.

Itai Ron

Bodies of Sahar Baruch, Amiram Cooper returned

Hamas returned the bodies of the two hostages to Israel after a delay amid accusations of cease-fire violations

Jonathan Lis and Yaniv Kubovich

Two coffins containing the bodies of hostages Sahar Baruch and Amiram Cooper were returned to Israel on Thursday.

Hamas transferred the bodies through the Inter-

national Committee of the Red Cross, and the hostages' identities were confirmed with forensic testing.

This means the number of slain hostages whose bodies remain in the Gaza Strip is now down to 11.

On Tuesday, Hamas announced that it had recov-

ered Cooper 'sand Baruch's bodies.

Hamas said it had deliberately delayed their transfer due to Israeli airstrikes in the Gaza Strip, which the IDF said were carried out in response to an attack in Rafah that killed Master Sgt. (Res.) Yona Efraim Feldbaum.

Earlier this week, Hamas transferred to Israel remains from the body of Ofir Tzarfati, who was kidnapped and murdered on October 7.

His body had been recovered in a military operation two years ago.

An IDF drone documented Hamas operatives

arriving in eastern Gaza City carrying a white bag containing Tzarfati's remains, which had been taken from a nearby building. The operatives buried the remains in a pit dug with a bulldozer, then summoned the Red Cross and claimed they had discovered another body.

Under the terms of the cease-fire, the terror group was required to inform which bodies it could access within 72 hours of the truce taking effect. Israeli officials believe Hamas violated the agreement by concealing the fact that it was holding Tzarfati's remains.

Haaretz fires Chaim Levinson over work for PR firm tied to Qatargate

Bar Peleg

Perception, the company owned by Israeli political consultant Srulik Einhorn, transferred at least 200,000 shekels (\$61,000) to a company owned by Haaretz journalist Chaim Levinson, Haaretz has learned. The money was transferred between 2019 and 2024, during which period Levinson variously served as Haaretz's political correspondent and as a columnist for the culture section.

Levinson confirmed that he had worked for Einhorn and denied any connection to the Qatargate affair, which relates to allegations that close advisers to Prime Minister Benjamin Netanyahu were paid to promote Qatar's interests in Israel and around the world.

According to Levinson, he

served as a ghostwriter, writing articles for election campaigns in the Balkans. When Haaretz's editorial management learned of the money transfers, Editor-in-Chief Aluf Benn summoned Levinson for a hearing, after which it was decided to end his employment at the newspaper.

Levinson was, until Thursday, Haaretz's diplomatic commentator. He was the newspaper's political correspondent for nearly five years until 2021. During that time, Einhorn was the campaign manager for Netanyahu's Likud party, among other roles. He is a presenter on Israel's Channel 12 News.

Levinson has previously said that the two are friends, but it can now be revealed for the first time that they also had a financial relationship. Levinson interviewed Ein-

Intervention in Gaza

Analysis, Page 5

horn for Haaretz on at least two separate occasions: once in 2019 for an article about Likud's election campaign, and again at Haaretz's Democracy Conference in 2022.

Levinson responded: "In 2019, to avoid raising my salary at the newspaper, Haaretz Editor-in-Chief Aluf Benn approved my doing jobs on the side. With his authorization and consent, I worked on various paid gigs and side projects: participating in conferences such as those of the Kohelet [Policy] Forum, television panels, lectures, radio appearances and ghostwrit-

ing for individuals and organizations. Among other things, I served as a ghostwriter and wrote articles for my friend Srulik Einhorn during election campaigns he worked on in the Balkans.

"I stand behind all the work I did, every bit of it boring and well-documented. My side job with Einhorn ended in mid-2024 when I began hosting a weekly television show. None of the writing I did was in any way connected to my journalistic work."

Levinson added, "The Qatar affair caught me by surprise as well. I didn't know that Einhorn was also providing services to Qatar, and honestly, I was very angry. Had I known about the connection, I would have used it to get stories and material from the

See QATAR Page 6



Mahmoud Illean/AP

Despite huge Haredi protest Ultra-Orthodox power in decline

Page 3



Adam Glanzman

Concerns over democracy

In Israel but more so in the United States

Page 12

After helping with the Palestinian olive harvest

Two American Jewish women face deportation from Israel

Linda Dayan

Two American Jewish women are facing deportation from Israel after joining interfaith groups helping with the Palestinian olive harvest in the West Bank on Wednesday.

The two are participants in a four-month program run by Solidarity of Nations – Achvat Amim, part of the Hashomer Hatzair Labor Zionist youth movement, which organizes Jewish-Palestinian solidarity programs. Participants do two days of study a week and three days of volunteer work.

On Wednesday, the two joined a group of Israeli volunteers organized by Rabbis for Human Rights to participate in the olive harvest in the West Bank village of Burin, near Nablus. According to Achvat Amim, the volunteers encountered a temporary checkpoint before entering Burin, where Israeli soldiers told them that the area was a

closed military zone.

The group attempted to take an alternate route to the village; when they arrived, they learned that the bus drivers' keys had been confiscated by the army, and that the drivers were ordered to reveal where the volunteers were located. Despite complying with the instructions and orders of the soldiers, the army detained the volunteers and confiscated their IDs.

The volunteers were taken to the police station in the settlement of Ariel, where the Israeli volunteers were questioned and released. Several hours later, however, the two American participants were informed that they would be deported. The two women were still in Israel as of Thursday morning and had yet to be deported.

Achvat Amim has received conflicting information about their status: the lawyer whom the two had been in contact with told the

organization that authorities moved them from the airport, where they were questioned, to an migrant detention facility in Ramle, but Achvat Amim staffers who are in touch with immigration authorities were told that the two remain at Ben-Gurion Airport.

In response to queries from Haaretz, the Population and Immigration Authority said the two women had "violated IDF orders, and therefore their entry [into Israel] was refused," and declined to disclose details about their deportation process or their current location.

Becca Strober, director of Achvat Amim, told Haaretz, "They've barely been able to reach out to anyone except to consult with a lawyer before the hearing, so unfortunately, we don't yet know how they're doing. This is a totally unexpected turn of events for them and for all of us."

See WOMEN, Page 4



9771565305008

44

FOR CUSTOMER SERVICE, CALL
+972 3 51 21 750
FOR SUBSCRIPTION INFORMATION, CALL
+972 3 51 21 222. Fax: +972 3 51 21 730
FOR ADVERTISING, CALL +972 3 51 21 774
Email: nyti@haaretz.co.il

NEWSSTAND PRICES
Sunday-Thursday NIS 15.00 (Eilat NIS 12.70)
Friday and Holiday NIS 33.00 (Eilat NIS 28.00)