

Paris, 26 August 2025

Dear Prime Minister,

I received your letter dated 17 August, which you decided to release before I even received it. That is why my response, similarly, will be released to bring clarity to our debates. For my part, I decided to inform you in advance, and I will wait until you have read it, as a mark of basic courtesy.

The fight against anti-Semitism must not be weaponized and will not fuel any discord between Israel and France.

One of the first things I did after I was elected was to officially endorse, on 16 July 2017, in the tragic setting of the Vél' d'Hiv stadium, the definition of the International Holocaust Remembrance Alliance (IHRA) which condemns anti-Zionism as a form of anti-Semitism, and on that day, you were keen to stand beside me. It was the first time that a President of the French Republic had gone so far, and I fully stand by that step. Protecting France's Jewish citizens from the rise in anti-Semitism has been an absolute priority of mine from day one. This is France's responsibility, and all government services are mobilized to that end. It must not be the subject of manipulation amid the politicization of a conflict that is not France's but that is affecting its national cohesion and the security of its citizens.

***Mr Binyamin Netanyahu***  
***Prime Minister of the State of Israel***

Given the fact that I promulgated a law put forward by the Senate on fighting anti-Semitism in higher education on 31 July, that we held sessions from February to April on the fight against anti-Semitism, that France dedicated 15,000 police officers to protecting the community's meeting places after 7 October, and that so many police officers and volunteers were assigned to provide security for Israeli athletes and tourists during the Olympic and Paralympic Games last summer, these accusations of inaction in the face of a scourge that we are fighting with everything in our power are unacceptable and are an offence to France as a whole.

History has taught us that wherever anti-Semitism has taken root, all forms of racism and hatred have prospered alongside it. It is because of this that the French Republic has tirelessly countered anti-Semitism since its Revolution of 1789. Consequently, no one can deny, in good faith, that I am and will remain a guarantor of the pressing need to fight this abomination, everywhere and always. And it would be wrong to explain, or even justify, anti-Semitism in France through the decisions that I have made. The forms of anti-Semitism seen in our country have roots far away, and have long been stoked by the far-right; today, they are also being stoked by the far-left, which is essentializing the Jewish community and supporting hatred of it. Any form of anti-Semitism is a betrayal of the Republic and its universalism.

However, the definition of the IHRA cannot excuse Israel for the policies that it is conducting today in Gaza and in the Palestinian Territories. We have serious disagreements, but in keeping with the friendship that unites France and the Israeli people, I have maintained the closest dialogue with you, a dialogue based on our unfailing commitment to the right of Israel to exist and to its security.

Our determination to ensure that the Palestinian people have a State is rooted in our belief that a lasting peace is essential to the State of Israel's security, to its full regional integration in a Middle

East at last at peace, and to a shift towards normalization that we support and that must be allowed to come to fruition as swiftly as possible. This lasting peace will be brought about by a sovereign Palestinian State, recognizing Israel and its right to security, demilitarized and living peacefully alongside you.

In no case does this dual belief reflect any sort of tolerance of Hamas or any other terrorist group using that State to threaten your country in the future. The Palestinian State must constitute the end of Hamas. We are convinced, after nearly two years of Israeli operations in Gaza, that this is today the only way to truly eradicate Hamas and ensure Israel's young people are not consumed by a permanent war, devastating both for Palestinians in Gaza and for Israel and the entire region.

To achieve this, with Saudi Arabia, we brought together a great many Arab, Western and other governments in New York on 28 and 29 July, who showed their willingness to help set out a strategy for the Day After, including when it comes to shouldering transitory security responsibilities in the Gaza Strip as part of a stabilization mission, to supporting and contributing to the disarmament of terrorist groups, starting with Hamas, to helping to renew a viable Palestinian governance, freed from the influence of Hamas, and to rebuilding a now ravaged territory.

This commitment is unprecedented. It stems from our indignation in the face of the terrible humanitarian disaster in Gaza that nothing can justify. It also stems from the belief that a massive exodus of Gazans driven by starvation and violence, in addition to the moral indignity that it constitutes, will have direct and lasting effects on regional and international security, including on the security of Israel and Europe. Above all, it stems from the unprecedented collective wish to see lasting peace in the Middle East where Israel has significantly contributed to reducing another threat, that of Iran, in the last two years.

This willingness to contribute to post-war Gaza is accompanied by a determination to move forward in the same way vis-à-vis the rest of the occupied Palestinian Territories and to make them a separate, demilitarized and reformed, State living in peace alongside Israel. A Palestinian State where hatred of others has no place, in education and other policies conducted there. We are willing to be collectively held accountable when it comes to the commitments we made in New York as well as those made by President Abbas in his letter of 9 June 2025.

This path is difficult, but it gives Israel a powerful and new hand over its future: a broad normalization at the level of the Muslim world; the end of a long-lasting conflict that has affected your people before and since the foundation of the State of Israel; the end of a serious worsening of Israel's moral image, which has become the pretext and the driver of fresh anti-Semitism that we must fight across the globe.

This commitment is unprecedented and I am asking you not to brush it aside, in the name of our friendship with the people of Israel.

Dear Prime Minister,

Today, your government has decided on a new phase of the offensive leading to the reoccupation of Gaza. I, along with many partners, am convinced that such a measure would impact the lives of the people of Israel for decades to come, would come at an unbearable cost for your Palestinian neighbours and would cause you to lose the historic opportunity which is open to you, as the longest-serving Prime Minister of Israel, and to the people of Israel, to end the losing battle which Israel is currently waging, in order to win the battle of peace. The opportunity to turn Israel's military gains at regional level into a sustainable political victory, benefitting its security and prosperity.

The United States, Qatar and Egypt have been constantly striving to secure a ceasefire so that all hostages can be released. This is our priority. France lost over 50 citizens in the pogrom of 7 October. Three French hostages did not survive. As I think of them, and of the Bibas and David families today, of the pain and suffering of so many families who are still awaiting the return of their loved ones, and all the pain endured by the people of Gaza, I am convinced that our collective duty, and the only realistic way forward, is to show humanity and courage in order to end this war. We are offering you a path forward, one which is credible, with commitments from the international community and regional partners, who will support peace. It is your responsibility to take this path.

The occupation of Gaza, the forced displacement and starvation of Palestinians, the hateful dehumanizing of discourse and the annexation of the West Bank will never achieve victory for Israel. On the contrary, these actions will only make your country more isolated, embolden those who use them as a pretext for anti-Semitism and endanger Jewish communities around the world. The Palestinians will not disappear from the land where they also have their roots and through these actions, nobody can see how Israel's desire to remain a major democracy and the national home for Jewishness can be realized. In a word, these measures would be a victory for those who refuse to recognize Israel as the friend, reliable ally and trusted partner which it should be and which we want it to be.

France cannot resign itself to see a friend like Israel descend into a spiral of violence which runs contrary to its history, to its origins and to its democratic essence, turning its back on the opportunity provided by history today. I cannot resign myself to this and once again, as a loyal friend, I propose to work together, along with all international partners, to achieve lasting peace for you, your people and the entire region. A credible framework to end the crisis in Gaza is within reach. A

permanent ceasefire is within reach. What other path can you offer today to your allies and your people?

The barbaric images of Israeli hostage Eviatar David served as a reminder to the world, if any were needed, that Hamas must never again be a threat to Israel, nor play any role in the future governance of Gaza and the Palestinian Territories. With this despicable video, the terrorist group is continuing what it has been doing constantly for the past two years: wounding the Jewish soul to the core, which represents an offence to us all alongside you, and prolonging the ordeal of the hostages and their families and the horrendous suffering of the people of Gaza. Through these actions, Hamas is also seeking to make you take irreversible decisions, which will only serve to keep it and its ideological influence alive, leading Israel into a future of war which today you have the historic opportunity to avoid.

France will always be a friend of Israel and the Palestinians and it is in this capacity, Mr Prime Minister, that we will continue to work for the peace and security of all.

And it is in this capacity, Mr Prime Minister, that I solemnly appeal to you to end the desperate race of a murderous and illegal permanent war in Gaza, causing indignity for your country and placing your people in a deadlock, and to end the illegal and unjustifiable renewed settlement policy of the West Bank and to take the outstretched hand of international partners who are ready to work towards a peaceful, secure and prosperous future for Israel and the region.

Emmanuel Macron