



**RISING FROM THE RUBBLE: RETHINKING SURVIVAL IN GAZA AS A FORM OF
ACTION THROUGH HANNAH ARENDT'S NOTION OF THE *VITA ACTIVA***

By:

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April 2026

That I am here is *sumud* (صمود, “steadfastness”).
— Abdelfattah Abusrour

Introduction

“To live and not just survive” seemingly presumes a stable divide between sustaining life and actually living, with the former often regarded as a lesser, merely biological condition, and the latter constituting greater value. However, can the same distinction still hold true — or, at least, tenable — in contexts where life itself is persistently threatened, like in a genocide? Simply, when the conditions that make “living” possible are placed under assault, the relegation of survival to a lower status tends to become philosophically and politically problematic.

Using Hannah Arendt’s account of the *vita activa* or “active life,” I address this concern by exploring the role of survival in the lives of Palestinians in Gaza. To this end, my paper proceeds threefold: I first briefly outline the Israeli genocide and its impacts to the Palestinian people. I then discuss Arendt’s conception of the *vita activa* and the three human activities. Finally, I investigate how the *vita activa* figures in the Palestinian struggle. In so doing, I begin by looking at the apparent reduction of life in Gaza to bare survival through Israel’s systematic wars of aggression. From this, I shift to the question of worldliness by inspecting the effects of the atrocities on the man-made world and the public space of Palestinians. Lastly, I attempt to reconceptualize survival as a form of political action.

Israel’s Genocidal Campaign Against Palestine Palestinian Struggle for Land, Identity, and Dignity

On October 07, 2023, the Islamist militant group Hamas launched what was described as the “deadliest”¹ attack on Israel. The group targeted towns, military bases, and civilian areas near the Gaza border, firing thousands of rockets and breaching the heavily fortified barrier. In the succeeding years, the event culminated in the intensification of the longstanding

¹ “Israeli-Palestinian Conflict | Global Conflict Tracker,” Global Conflict Tracker, n.d., <https://www.cfr.org/global-conflict-tracker/conflict/israeli-palestinian-conflict>.

Israeli-Palestinian “conflict,”² and later escalated into an outright genocidal campaign by Israel against Palestine. Subsequently, scrutiny shifted almost immediately and disproportionately towards Hamas, overlooking the complexities and crucial realities of the situation. More precisely, what was framed as an act of terrorism and the primary instigator of the current “moral and political failure” in Gaza is not an isolated case, but is prompted by a long history of occupation, systemic oppression, and repeated violations of Palestinian rights by the Israeli government — all driven by Israel’s aggressive Zionist agenda which not only deliberately uprooted Palestinians from their rightful lands, but also rendered them, among other non-Jewish populations, “superfluous” and “excrescent” on the body politic.³

Since then, Palestinians in Gaza have been living through a worsening condition of structural collapse as a consequence of deliberate political and military policies and actions designed to erode the foundations of Palestinian life. Among the most visible mechanisms through which this process unfolds is mass expulsion, which has left the majority of Palestinians without a stable place to live. Over 292,000 housing units have been destroyed, rendering over 1.2 million people, nearly 60 percent of Gaza’s population, homeless.⁴ Those expelled are internally displaced in overcrowded shelters, schools, makeshift tents, and other unsafe areas. This loss of shelter entails a similar loss in the intricate, rich, and tenacious ties between Palestinian land and Palestinian identity and history. As such, when families are forced from their homes and cut off from their land, they lose an important part of who they are — not just a

² Israeli-Palestinian Conflict.

³ Norman G. Finkelstein, *Image and Reality of the Israel-Palestine Conflict*, 2nd ed. (London: Verso, 2003), 34-40, accessed November 18, 2025, <https://www.ec-undp-electoralassistance.org/download/primo-explore/QCooX9/ImageAndRealityOfTheIsraelPalestineConflict.pdf>

⁴ World Bank, European Union, and United Nations, *Gaza and West Bank Interim Rapid Damage and Needs Assessment (IRDNA)*, February 2025, 20-26, <https://palestine.un.org/en/289429-gaza-and-west-bank-interim-rapid-damage-and-needs-assessment-february-2025>

roof overhead. Hence, genuine recovery must involve not only physical rebuildings, but also the restoration of this connection in order to reclaim continuity, identity, and dignity.

Basic services and civil infrastructure are also heavily ravaged by the genocidal campaign. The health sector, for instance, had long been debilitated by years of blockade, political fragmentation, and external control over its medical infrastructure. Israel's stranglehold on the movement of medical supplies, personnel, and patients has turned health into a weapon against the population, thereby dismantling Gaza's capacity to even sustain life. Approximately 700 health facilities have been completely or partially destroyed, including 95 percent of hospitals, 91 percent of private clinics, and 88 percent of public health centers.⁵ Gaza's WASH (water, sanitation, and hygiene) system was also severely weakened by Israel's blockade, adding to the damages and losses in the energy system, with most power generation and distribution completely shattered and left inoperable. These all took a toll on Gaza's agriculture and food systems which are heavily reliant on the most of the damaged services.

Due to these compounding effects, the food situation in Gaza has entered its most extreme stage — famine. Nearly all 2.2 million residents face acute food insecurity, whereas severe food shortages have forced many to survive on minimal caloric intake, which led to a refeeding syndrome among those who suddenly regain access to food after prolonged starvation.⁶ Malnutrition has become acute, and has visibly stunted children's growth and left pregnant women and the elderly extremely weak and at heightened risk of further complications or, worse, death. This is mainly due to Israel's deliberate policy of population control — described as an

⁵ World Bank, EU, UN, *Gaza and West Bank*, 28-29.

⁶ This condition is characterized by the dangerous shifts in fluid and electrolytes in malnourished individuals. See Integrated Food Security Phase Classification (IPC), *Famine Review Committee Report: Gaza Strip*, August 2025, 19-21.
https://www.ipcinfo.org/fileadmin/user_upload/ipcinfo/docs/IPC_Famine_Review_Committee_Report_Gaza_Aug2025.pdf

“economic warfare”⁷ — through the calculated weaponization and institutionalization of starvation. This caused the reemergence of infectious diseases such as polio, hepatitis, and cholera, which have spread rapidly in overcrowded shelters and temporary camps. The collapse of healthcare, aggravated by the energy crisis, has made basic medical services such as vaccinations and infection control nearly impossible to conduct, much less sustain.

Equally alarming is the collective psychological breakdown due to prolonged exposures to airstrikes, displacement, starvation, and loss. Many experience trauma, anxiety, depression, and despair at the uncertainty of survival, proving that the genocide in Gaza damages not only the body — it consumes the mind and the soul, leaving behind a society struggling to hold on to the remnants of hope amid systemic deprivation and dispossession.

Arendt’s Articulation of the *Vita Activa* as the Human Condition Reclaiming the Active Life through Labor, Work, and Action

The Human Condition and the Vita Activa

Arendt defines human condition as the totality of human affairs, activities, and capabilities that shape the lived experiences of human beings. By virtue of being born into the world, we become conditioned beings, because “everything [we] come in contact with turns immediately into a condition of [our] existence.”⁸ She grounds this in the *vita activa*, or the “active life,” which she defines through a triad of human activities.

Labor and Life’s Necessities

First in these activities is labor, which corresponds to the tasks that sustain the biological process of life, including but not limited to eating, cleaning, cooking, tending to the body, and

⁷ Gisha. *Food Consumption in the Gaza Strip – Red Lines: Position Paper*. October 2012. Accessed October 15, 2025. <https://www.gisha.org/UserFiles/File/publications/redlines/redlines-position-paper-eng.pdf>.

⁸ Hannah Arendt, *The Human Condition*, 2nd edition, (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1998), 9-10.

producing food. Life is the condition of labor. Because the labor of our body is bound to necessity and the cyclical upkeep of life, Arendt places this activity squarely within what she calls the private realm where the urgencies of mere living are met and kept out of public visibility. This cyclical nature stands in opposition to our freedom, hence, a form of enslavement to life's necessities; liberation from it — while not entirely impossible — is only vicarious, conditional, and parasitic, as it depends upon the “violent injustice of forcing one part of humanity into the darkness of pain and necessity”⁹ (e.g., using servants). Thus, we are forced to locate freedom elsewhere, but I return to this later. Arendt further explains that laboring leaves nothing permanent behind, for its products are transient and must be consumed immediately after they are produced. While humans can generate a surplus more than what is needed for survival, labor, as it stands, does not build a durable world or create lasting objects. As Arendt notes:

Their consumption barely survives the act of their production. After a brief stay in the world, they return into the natural process which yielded them either through absorption into the life process of the human animal or through decay; in their man-made shape, through which they acquired their ephemeral place in the world of manmade things, they disappear more quickly than any other part of the world.¹⁰

Work and Worldliness

Whereas labor produces outputs that sustain life, work creates artifacts that outlast it. Work is the activity that corresponds to the “unnaturalness of human existence” and the creation of an artificial world of things.¹¹ Through the *homo faber* (“man, the maker”) — who is the “lord and master of the earth”¹² — work fabricates the vast array of objects whose totality constitutes the human artifice that is more durable than human life and provides a stable environment for human activity. Here, Arendt stresses the importance of this enduring realm of things, relations, and institutions, where our existence and its cessation become meaningful events, rather than

⁹ Arendt, *Human Condition.*, 119.

¹⁰ *Ibid.*, 96.

¹¹ *Ibid.*, 7.

¹² *Ibid.*, 139.

simple biological occurrences. Each human being enters the world as a unique, irreplaceable individual and leaves it as one whose absence is registered, marking us as singular and not anonymous repetitions of a species cycle. Without such a world; that is, if human life were swallowed entirely by nature's ceaseless processes, there would be no individuality, no appearance, and no meaningful birth or death, only perpetual recurrence, or what Arendt calls "deathless everlastingness,"¹³ that is characteristic of all other living creatures. Thus, indeed, "the redemption of life [...] is worldliness."¹⁴

Action, Plurality, and Freedom

The crux of Arendt's political thought is action, the only activity in which men partake without the mediation of objects or institutions. Plurality is its condition and, therefore, of all political life, "rel[ying] on the simultaneous presence of innumerable perspectives," which make each and every human being distinct and irreplaceable.¹⁵ This plurality happens in the so-called "space of appearance," or the realm that is realized whenever people gather to act and speak.

Here, action is inseparable from speech. As Majid Yar succinctly explains:

[A]ction entails speech: by means of language we are able to articulate the meaning of our actions and to coordinate the actions of a plurality of agents. Conversely, speech entails action [...] in the sense that action is often the means whereby we check the sincerity of the speaker. Thus, just as action without speech runs the risk of being meaningless and would be impossible to coordinate with the actions of others, so speech without action would lack one of the means by which we may confirm the veracity of the speaker.¹⁶

Within this space, power arises, not as domination, but as the collective strength that emerges from such interactions. This concerted action sustains the public sphere by keeping it open and alive through the ongoing participation of many, while simultaneously revealing its fragility

¹³ Arendt, *Human Condition.*, 97.

¹⁴ *Ibid.*, 236.

¹⁵ *Ibid.*, 57.

¹⁶ Majid Yar, "Hannah Arendt," *Stanford Encyclopedia of Philosophy*, last modified February 12, 2024, <https://plato.stanford.edu/entries/arendt/#FreeNataPlur>

when such plurality dissolves. Essentially, a life without speech and action is “dead to the world,”¹⁷ because it has already ceased to be a human life that must be lived in plurality.

Furthermore, action is ontologically rooted in natality, because by virtue of being born into the world, humans possess the capacity and freedom to act, particularly to interrupt the automatic, cyclical nature of life, and to initiate new beginnings. Natality, in this respect, ensures that action remains a continuous possibility. But the power of action comes with threefold frustration. First is anonymity, which is evident in the larger web of human relationships where the “authors” of every story or narrative are effectively anonymous, dispersed to all who witness, judge, and recount the deeds of others. In this sense, no one can claim to control the meaning or outcome of one’s actions in isolation. If anything, whatever one does is immediately drawn into the interpretations and responses of others.

Action also faces irreversibility, where once it enters the public sphere, it cannot be taken back or undone. A remedy to this predicament is forgiveness, which releases actors from the otherwise permanent consequences of what they have set into motion. Without this release, we would be “confined to one single deed from which we could never recover,”¹⁸ trapped in a chain of consequences that foreclose the very capacity for beginning anew. Forgiveness therefore protects and restores natality by reopening the possibility of action after error. Moreover, forgiveness is inseparable from plurality, in that no one can forgive himself, only other actors, who altogether sustain the space of appearance.

Finally, actions are unpredictable, primarily due to the inherent unreliability of humans who “never can guarantee today who they will be tomorrow,” and the impossibility of foreseeing the consequences of acts in a community of equals.¹⁹ Whereas irreversibility is addressed by

¹⁷ Arendt, *Human Condition*, 176.

¹⁸ *Ibid.*

¹⁹ *Ibid.*, 244.

forgiving, unpredictability is redeemed by making promises in which one can have limited sovereignty over the future without coercion or domination. These promises emerge from actors' willingness to act and live in concert, which serves as an internal mechanism to shape and partially direct the outcomes of action with certainty, albeit minimal. Nevertheless, the beauty of keeping promises lies in the building of trust and reliability in human affairs, which, in turn, enables hope, faith, and the continuity of plurality and freedom within the collective sphere.

The *Vita Activa* in the Palestinian Struggle Possibility of *Action* through Survival

Survival in the Realm of Necessity

In Arendt's terms, the condition forced upon Palestinians today by Israeli forces reflects a life pressed back — or reduced to — the circular pattern of necessity, where human beings are preoccupied, not with action, speech, or world-building, but with the sheer maintenance of biological life which occurs in the private realm. This sphere is where humans are bound to the body's demands more strictly than anywhere else, and where “the driving force was life itself... which, for its individual maintenance and its survival as the life of the species needs the company of others.”²⁰ In Palestine today, life appears to be overwhelmingly confined to this particular realm, because of the drastic impacts of the genocide, particularly on services essential to everyday subsistence, including healthcare and agriculture. The majority of Gaza have been displaced repeatedly and are facing extreme food insecurity, acute malnutrition, widespread hunger, and psychological breakdown — under which Palestinian life is repeatedly thrown into the fundamental needs of survival: securing water, locating food, finding temporary shelter, and keeping loved ones alive. Even worse, not only is life subjugated to a perpetual struggle to survive, but the very act of staying alive proves a precarious, almost scarcely attainable pursuit.

²⁰ Arendt, *Human Condition.*, 30.

As such, we are compelled to say that continuing to exist, while profoundly meaningful on a human level, remains prepolitical and thus eclipses the possibility of stability and freedom to appear, speak, and act with others. As Arendt says:

To be free meant both not to be subject to the necessity of life or to the command of another and not to be in command of oneself. It meant neither to rule nor to be ruled. Thus within the realm of the household, freedom did not exist, for the household head, its ruler, was considered to be free only insofar as he had the power to leave the household and enter the political realm, where all were equals.²¹

In this light, the daily existence of Palestinians in Gaza is largely governed by the dictates of labor, specifically survival, much like in the confines of the household. Therein, one is compelled by needs that permit no postponement. This captures with unsettling precision the rhythm of life under blockade and bombardment, where each day becomes structured by urgencies — evacuating a neighborhood before it collapses, queueing for hours for a sack of flour, or rushing a wounded relative to receive care. And these acts are mostly not chosen, but are either compelled or imposed, thus reinforcing the elusiveness of freedom.

Worldlessness and the Collapse of the Public Sphere

Moreover, the genocide in Gaza does not only end lives — it also collapses worldliness by destroying the material, political, and symbolic conditions vital for human existence. First, the systematic destruction erodes the common world of man-made artifacts, or the material and institutional structures through which humans sustain continuity, memory, and relational life, and that which “gathers us together and yet prevents our falling over each other.”²² When these structures, including educational, cultural, and religious institutions, are repeatedly and even partially damaged, the tangible connections that bind people together begin to loosen. In this sense, the fragility of material artifacts reflects the fragility of human relationships, as

²¹ Arendt, *Human Condition*, 32.

²² *Ibid.*, 52.

opportunities for sustained cooperation, collective learning, and coordination diminish. The world, consequently, loses its durability, insofar as it becomes less able to support the shared life within which human activities can take place.

The erosion of the common world further extends to the space of appearance itself where “everything that appears in public can be seen and heard by everybody and has the widest possible publicity.”²³ Although intangible, this space benefits from a relatively stable common human artifice that enables people to gather, speak, and act. For instance, when homes, schools, and civic spaces are destroyed, the potential for public interaction diminishes, and plurality increasingly becomes tenuous. In this view, the destruction of worldliness undermines the preconditions for political action: the ability to disclose oneself, to be recognized by others, and to collectively initiate new beginnings. Life under such conditions is, indeed, substantially confined to the private, prepolitical sphere of necessity and survival.

In addition, this phenomenon of worldlessness parallels what Arendt describes in *The Origins of Totalitarianism*²⁴ as the condition of statelessness, which not only involves the loss of specific legal protections and civil liberties, but the loss of a political community — or, in this case, a public sphere — that is capable of securing them. In Gaza, Palestinians resemble the stateless who become “outlaws,” not because they are criminals, but because they exist outside the framework where their “right to have rights” is not guaranteed, much less recognized.²⁵

²³ Arendt, *Human Condition*, 50

²⁴ It seems ironic, but not inappropriate, to use Arendt’s philosophy to interpret the Palestinian situation. Arendt developed her account of statelessness primarily to diagnose the catastrophe experienced by European Jews, who had been rendered rightless and politically homeless. Yet today, this same conceptual framework illuminates the condition of Palestinians who are deemed stateless in the aftermath of the very historical catastrophe that prompted the creation of the Israeli state. In a tragic reversal, the analytic lens forged to understand Jewish dispossession now helps explain a dispossession partly enabled by the establishment of a state intended to secure Jewish political belonging. But even Arendt herself was critical of the Zionist movement, warning that the creation of a Jewish state without safeguarding Arab political equality would risk producing a “new category of refugees” and replicating the very problem stateless Jews faced. See Hannah Arendt, *The Origins of Totalitarianism* (New York: Harcourt, 1951).

²⁵ Arendt, *Origins.*, 279-80.

Survival as Action?

Thus far, we have strong grounds to accept that, indeed, survival precludes meaningful political action. To reiterate:

Action, the only activity that goes on directly between men without the intermediary of things or matter, corresponds to the human condition of plurality... it cannot exist where men are completely separated from each other by the domination of necessity or by the compulsion of social and economic survival.²⁶

But while that is the case, we are confronted with a question that challenges us to rethink what becomes of survival when it unfolds under conditions that systematically foreclose the possibility of political life. That is, should survival still be treated as merely a residual, prepolitical activity, or does it acquire a different significance when it is all that remains to those whose shared world has been dismantled? In what follows, I take up this question by examining whether survival bears any meaningful affinity with action, not to collapse the two, but to clarify how survival might register a distinct kind of weight in contexts like a genocide.

Survival and the Fragile Conditions of Action

I first delve into plurality, the foundational condition of action rooted, fundamentally, in the fact that “men, not Man, live on earth and inhabit the world.”²⁷ The genocide in Gaza and other occupied territories works precisely to fracture this condition by dismantling the material and political bases of collective life. Against this, survival serves as the continued maintenance of life amid conditions in which the world that sustains the community of equals is being eroded. Every life that endures does not itself instantiate plurality, at least strictly speaking, but instead preserves the fragile foundation where plurality can be realized. Survival, through acts of caring for the injured, organizing mutual aid, or preparing meals for the family, thus resists the erasure of an entire population of potential actors by sustaining, however precariously, a thin but

²⁶ Arendt, *Human Condition*, 177.

²⁷ *Ibid.*, 7.

persistent space in which they can still be seen and recognized by one another. More clearly, it sustains the fact that there remain others who can still potentially disclose their unique identities through speech and deed even under extreme constraints.

Drawing from this, the Palestinian struggle to survive functions not only as a way of guaranteeing one's capacity to appear, but, more crucially, as the ongoing preservation of the relational and mnemonic conditions that further enriches the space of appearance. Within this space, no one lives in isolation, but always in concert with other equals who, in their plurality, create a web of memories, meanings, and narratives that define their existence. That is, when basic survival needs are met, i.e., when Palestinians are able to eat, receive care, move, and remain in relation to one another, what remains is not merely individual life and the ability to appear as discrete actors, but the possibility of continued relationship with others that can support the formation and re-formation of shared ties.

Put together, survival seems to manifest as small, deliberate acts that signal some sense of human agency that is crucial for political action. Such agency comes in the form of micro-initiatives which, while not fully autonomous and exist outside the public sphere, nonetheless carry the potential for unexpected new beginnings even in the midst of extreme vulnerability. But the unpredictability of action is more evident in the entrance of newcomers into the world. In Gaza, the power of action is juxtaposed with the drastic impacts of the Israeli assault on natality. Halfway through 2025, only 17,000 births were recorded, which is 41 percent lower than the record in 2022.²⁸ This indicates how Israel's atrocities against Palestinians have severely imperilled the arrival of potential actors into the common world.

²⁸ B. Irfan et al., "Is Gaza still a place for newborn life?", *The Lancet* (2025), [https://doi.org/10.1016/S0140-6736\(25\)01627-7](https://doi.org/10.1016/S0140-6736(25)01627-7)

Notwithstanding this, I maintain that natality in its political sense, or the capacity to begin anew and introduce the unexpected, is not entirely extinguished. Its persistence cannot be measured solely by the number of those who enter the world, but by whether the power for beginning is still enacted among those who remain. Even when the arrival of newcomers is drastically curtailed, natality survives in compressed and brittle forms of human initiative that may interrupt pure determination by necessity. What is at stake, then, is not whether natality appears in its fullest expression, but whether it is continued, however minimally, by people — in this case, Palestinians — who endure and thus become capable of action and initiation.

Survival as a Necessary Precondition for Action

At this point, I return to the question of what becomes of survival in relation to political action, which the foregoing examination, to a significant extent, has already addressed. Clearly, survival, like that in Gaza, — while it does contribute to preserving the fragile imperatives of a political life — cannot be categorically equated with action inasmuch as the fact that it is fundamentally bound to the demands, urgency, and vulnerability of biological life remains decisive. After all, conflating the two would lead us to what Arendt calls the “rise of the social,” where “the activities connected with the sheer survival are permitted to appear in public,” inadvertently posing a significant threat to genuine political life and freedom.²⁹

But even so, it would be reductive and problematic to treat survival as politically insignificant or merely preparatory in a trivial sense. Doing so would flatten and obscure the pivotal role that it plays in people’s political life, especially in situations of systematic destruction and violence. As such, survival through, among others, meeting basic biological needs proves a necessary, if not solely sufficient, precondition for an individual’s participation in

²⁹ Arendt, *Human Condition*, 40-46.

political affairs. In Gaza's context, the small, often quiet, acts of eating, drinking, cleaning oneself, and treating injured and wounded Palestinians, are important for developing the ability to engage in political discussions, express opinions, make promises, and fight for freedom. Simply, without the preservation of life, there can be no actors capable of appearing, speaking, or acting in a collective manner.

I must emphasize, however, that survival's role in politics does not negate that action is, in the first place, distinct and non-mediated, meaning that it is strictly the only activity that occurs directly between actors in their plurality and is not constituted through material objects or the instrumental processes that govern the activities of labor or work. If anything, survival simply underscores the continuation of life as a threshold condition for entry from the private realm into the intersubjective domain of action among persons, which remains qualitatively distinct from the logic of necessity. Applied to Gaza, Palestinians, despite the fragility of the material conditions around them, are still able to gather and organize themselves to take some actions towards their fight for genuine liberation and a renewed political reality.

Conclusion

Overall, my paper does two things: on one hand, it demonstrates that survival through the Palestinian struggle proves more than just a biological process tied to necessity or inferior to truly living, but is — above all — a form of refusal to vanish and an insistence on remaining in the world despite attempts to annihilate the very foundations of life. Through this resistance, it becomes possible to safeguard the fragile yet crucial conditions that enable the higher activity of political action which entails genuine freedom. In this light, while survival does not embody action in the strict, sophisticated Arendtian dialectics, it must nonetheless be regarded as politically valuable rather than merely neutral or mundane.

On the other hand, it highlights that political actors are, before anything else, embodied beings whose capacity to act presupposes the preservation and sustenance of their lives. Before one can even appear, speak, or initiate within a shared world, one must first endure (i.e., remain in existence) as a living body, sustained through material conditions that are indispensable insofar as they secure the bodily existence required for active participation in the political arena.

Ultimately, my objective in this paper is simple: to show that what counts as meaningful does not always take the form of the grand, massive, and loud, but can also emerge in gestures that are quiet, gradual, and easily overlooked, such as the everyday acts of Palestinians making bread, planting olives, weaving clothes, and maintaining daily routines under conditions of a genocidal campaign. So while we assert that Palestinians deserve more than mere survival, this cognizance must not stop us from acknowledging what their actions, however limited, are capable of eliciting.

With that — **from the river to the sea, Palestine will be free!**

Word Count: 4,316

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