

SILENT NIGHT

A People's Tribunal against silence and genocidal censorship

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State-genocidal violence shamelessly exposes what it does, producing the uninhabitable, but its internal machinery feeds on secrecy to make that explicit violence possible. Secrecy is woven through complicities that seek opacity. In response, this Tribunal constructs a counternarrative to secrecy, reveals opacity, confronts us with our violent undercurrents, and maps our cruelty. (Peoples' Tribunal on the Complicity within the Spanish state with the Genocide in Palestine (PTCGP-25), Session 2, Conclusions, point 26).

We met in Algiers to proclaim that all the peoples of the world have the equal right to liberty, the right to free themselves from any foreign interference and to choose their own government, the right if they are under subjection, to fight for their liberation, and the right to benefit from other peoples' assistance in their struggle. (Universal Declaration of the Rights of Peoples, 1976).

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On complicities, indignities and illegalities (Part One)

Rabab Abdulhadi (founding director and senior scholar of the Arab and Muslim Ethnicities and Diaspora Studies Program at San Francisco State University) explained it this way during her speech as co-Chair of the PTCGP-25 at the closing session:

The Tribunal's work is the result of a cumulative effort. This is exactly the kind of work we need. We must ask ourselves: how are we going to decolonize the discourse of complicity in our countries, spaces, and contexts? How are we going to fight against censorship and repression in our states?

The Palestinian people want liberation. It is from here we must ask ourselves what position we are going to take. We are producers of knowledge, and we produce it for justice. We know that whoever defends the production of "neutral" knowledge is lying. Neutrality reproduces the status quo, injustice. The hard work and all the Tribunal's research form part of the struggle for narrative and the story of liberation, against denial and Zionist discourse. We must be able to recover the stories, songs, archives, the voices of the bones and bodies that are buried under the rubble, that bear witness to the truth.

We want to reclaim our spaces in schools, universities, in the public sphere, to be able to speak for ourselves, to open debates that allow us to identify the possibility of revolutionary optimism.

This is the type of knowledge production that shows truth to power, knowledge that interpellates us all, building a different kind of world. A knowledge production that gives us hope, life and possibilities in the union of struggles, building together other worlds, without Zionism, without supremacism nor fascism.

On November 28 and 29, the first edition of the [Peoples' Tribunal on the Complicity within the Spanish state of the Genocide in Palestine](#) (PTCGP-25) took place at the Complutense University of Madrid, an academic event organized by the Spanish [University Network for Palestine \(RUxP\)](#), open to all of society and with participants from different generations, professional and institutional backgrounds, denunciation campaigns, solidarity groups, or human rights organizations, professors, health care workers, journalists, lawyers, students, activists and an *et cetera* that includes a Relator of the United Nations.

Precisely because it is an academic event, the PTCGP-25 is committed to working based on the principles that define the best possible version of a university worthy of that name. The first principle reminds us that knowledge production always is, by definition, a collective process and not the result of “eurekas”, individual epiphanies nor meritocratic hallucinations of individualism. The second, that the academy’s (social!) function requires a constant back and forth journey through its contents, discussions, reflections and conclusions –a journey that tears down its walls of elitist, managerial and commercialized/ing *mystery*. The third is that the two beforementioned principles should be accompanied by extreme respect for notions such as rigor, dignity and justice, a respect that has nothing to do with the liturgies that often disguise that academic *mystery*. [No intellectual work can be neutral nor impartial in its demands for rigor, dignity, and justice.](#) *You can't be neutral on a moving train*, Howard Zinn said. There is no impartiality in the face of an occupation, a colonial project, a genocide. There is no view that respects these cited requirements while circumventing *the question*: the history that [embeds genocide as a social practice in the Western European identity](#).

The six pages of the Tribunal’s final resolution (see the [Declaration of Madrid of 11.29.25](#)) apply those principles in four main lines:

1. Focusing on complicity, understood beyond the strictly legal meaning of the term, of a complicit society in the jurisdiction of a complicit state, its first edition held at the facilities of a complicit institution.

2. Taking into account all areas and levels of such complicity, starting with the academic institutions and those who govern, inhabit and sustain them.

3. Pointing to the power of the Zionist machinery and its profound political (state) and entrepreneurial (market) embeddedness in the spaces of power of one of the *geo-economic provinces* of the European motherland, trying to put names, links and numbers to the relations that flow through the networks that have been woven during the last four decades in the *province of Spain*, networks of pro-apartheid propaganda and necropolitical collusion that must be known and reported.

4. Based on an indisputable legal and analytical framework. Hence the attacks that attempted to prevent its celebration, with the same objective that seeks the political-media black-out that, since the beginning of the “[genocidal] peace process”, has tried to turn off lights, screens, speakers and keyboards, stop public denunciation and reduce mobilization to a minimum –we will come back to this point in the second part of the text.

Thus, the first edition of the PTCGP has exposed and documented that *the Spanish state has been collaborating for decades with the occupation, apartheid and ongoing Nakba and with genocide as the ultimate outcome, violating international law, and, with it, the prohibition to third states to help or assist another in the committing of international crimes. The Spanish government had, and has, full knowledge of the illegalities and war crimes committed by the Israeli state, but this information has not motivated any measures to suspend economic or diplomatic relations, nor to impose any sanctions mandated by numerous international resolutions* (point 5 of the PTCGP-25’s final resolution).

Hopefully there are many of you who read this resolution and the hundreds of pages of the Tribunal’s documentation, to share it, disseminate it, review it, expand it, contact ruxp@tribunalde lospueblos.org, join the effort, contribute information and reports...The information generated by the PTCGP’s first edition is being published at <https://tribunalde lospueblos.org/>. Here you can find a small summary of the conclusions gathered by each of the Tribunal’s thematic analysis sessions:

Panel 1 (*R&D+Science, universities and education*). Even after their governing councils issued statements in support of Palestine saying that they would suspend relations with Israeli institutions, more than half of the universities within the Spanish state continue today to participate in research consortia with Israeli universities, institutions and companies. The vast majority collaborates with entities and companies that participate in and/or benefit from the occupation, apartheid and genocide –through agreements, professorships, contracts and financial relations- in blatant violation of the obligations imposed on all states by

inviolable norms of international law. University governing bodies thus participate in the extensive international structure of complicity with the scholasticide and epistemicide in Palestine.

Panel 2 (*Arms industry, commerce and banks financing the arms industry*). A network of state and international corporations and companies actively participates in the genocide business, by rendering services, manufacturing products, nurturing the economic and logistics machinery of occupation, and reinforcing its logics of space capture and systematic oppression. The presence of this network of entrepreneurial interests within the Spanish state is evident, as well as the chain of complicities that sustains the occupation and genocide. During the last two years, Spanish ports have become crucial enclaves on the routes that supply the genocidal regime of Israel with weapons and energy. Banks involved in the arms industry have played a crucial role in the production and use of weapons employed in Gaza. Banco Santander, BBVA, Caixabank, Ibercaja Banca March and others are both beneficiaries and essential facilitators of the extermination of the Palestinian people.

Panel 3 (*Media*). The mass media are not mere spectators but structural actors of genocide: they select, frame, silence or amplify Zionist whitewashing messages. *Informicide* manifests itself in the murder of journalists, the elimination of Palestinian testimonials and the criminalization of Gazan journalists and is accompanied by defamation campaigns that exercise a double-condition violence: on the Palestinian people and on journalism, for telling the truth. Informicide is spreading as a form of “narrative control and silencing of the voices that denounce the genocide”. This control legitimizes the violence under the guise of informational neutrality: “it presents Israel as a civilized people, dehumanizing the Palestinians as barbarians”. The dissemination of information about the genocide to the public follows three different trends: the securitarian-justifying framework, the humanitarian-compassionate one and the supportive-decolonial frame. Few state media outlets adhere to the third information frame, rigorously linked to the historical process of colonialism and occupation. The relationships between prominent business and/or political figures with international Zionism and the defence of Israel significantly influence the Spanish media ecosystem. During the genocide, the hasbara (Israeli propaganda) has multiplied its accusations of anti-Semitism in all directions to silence any critical discourse but it has utterly failed both locally and internationally. Palestinians have managed to inform the rest of the world despite genocide and informicide.

Panel 4 (*Health care system/market*). Most scientific societies in the medical field that claim to be committed to social justice have remained silent about the destruction of the Palestinian healthcare system and the atrocities committed

against their colleagues until well into the genocide, and still many remain silent. Many doctors have continued to accept payments (“value transfers”) of the Israeli pharmaceutical giant TEVA, and the scientific collaboration with Israel has continued, even with the Advisory Opinion of the International Court of Justice in force. Currently there are 101 health-related projects with European funding and Spanish and Israeli participation in the execution phase.

Panel 5 (*Companies and business sectors: energy, housing, security, etc.*): The PTCGP-25 has analysed and documented the links, contracts, investments, commerce and forms of cooperation between public and private companies, entities and organizations that operate in the Spanish economic environment and that collaborate and benefit from colonialism, apartheid and genocide in Palestine, in construction and civil works, water and energy, real estate and finance services and investments, tourism, technology and communications, consumer and agroindustry goods and services, evidencing the implication of all these companies –CAF, ACS, SEMI, INECO, OSSA, Abengoa, Tysa, Intecs, TSK, ICL Group, ICL Iberia, Nordex Energy Spain, Banco de Sabadell, ACCIONA, Naturgy, Solaer, Resolar, Ellomay, Enlight Renewable Energy, SolarEdge, Volta Solar, KKR, Blackstone, FITUR, eDreams, ODIGEO, IBERIA, Globick, Leonardo Hotels, NSO Group, TKH, IBM, Microsoft, Amazon, Palantir, Oracle Corporation, Apple Inc., Nvidia, Hewlett Packard, Hikvision, Fortinet, Check Point, Palo Alto Networks, Ex Libris...

Panel 6 (*Culture and sports*): Alongside the ongoing actions of appropriation, destruction and denial of Palestinian history, culture and identity, paramount to bolster the Zionist imaginary, the Israeli presence in the world of culture and sports in Spain takes on diverse forms in key scenarios for whitewashing the occupation and normalizing of genocide. In this way, we can find religious programs that include specific discourse about identity, security and legitimacy, foundations that make it possible to identify the Zionist state with the Sephardic historical and cultural tradition, networks of sponsorship, grant and institutional exchanges, and a broad and growing presence of investment funds in music festivals. The internationalist narrative of neutrality in sport cannot hide a tension that undermines the founding values of sporting practice and favours the construction of a positive image of Israel, often supported by media collaboration. Although various sporting events have allowed citizens to express their rejection of genocide in recent months, the recourse to centralizing decision-making power in international organizations, the co-optation of these decisions within the organizations and the business dynamics that accompany much of the sporting activity make it possible for sport to continue being part of the machinery of Zionist normalization and whitewashing in Spain.

Panel 7 (*Repression, diplomatic support and Zionist lobby*): The Spanish government and an extensive list of state institutions maintain relations of assistance and recognition with a systematic violator of international law, who has been immersed for two years in a genocidal campaign broadcasted live, 24 hours a day and seven days a week. As any other government, the Spanish government had and has full knowledge of the illegality of the blockade and of the large list of crimes committed by Israel –in Gaza and the whole of Palestine– without anything preventing it from maintaining economic and political relations, omitting sanction measures and avoiding a single decision subject to the legal framework in the face of direct aggression to its nationals.

Zionism and its lobby campaigns seek to raise the definition of anti-Semitism proposed by the International Holocaust Remembrance Alliance (IHRA) to the condition of “legally binding” in the criminal legal system, resorting to the criminal offense of “hate crime”, in order to prosecute any report of Israel’s crimes. Criticism of the colonial regime works in the IHRA prospectus as one of the “active ingredients” of anti-Semitism. By the way, the majority of Zionists in the world are not Jewish, and a growing proportion of the world’s Jewish population –especially the younger they are– oppose Zionism. Could that far-right Zionist group that points the finger at us with false accusations clarify whether anti-Zionist Jews are also “anti-Semites”?

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To ride or to bark. On denunciations, gag orders and silences (Part Two)

To nobody’s surprise after 27 months, the first edition of the PTCGP-25 provoked sufficient “discomfort” to have to overcome two major obstacles.

The first one, more concrete and explicit, was the attack carried out by the core group of the Hispanic Zionist political-media apparatus with barely two days’ notice –although information about the program, the participations, the chairpersonships and the location of the Tribunal had been published two months earlier. The attempt at censorship failed, because its accusations against Masar Badil and Samidoun –reproduced by the Minister for Universities of the Autonomous Community of Madrid, transmitted by the UCM rectorate and expanded by media channels– lacked the minimum legal basis. Thanks to the generosity of the aforementioned organizations, the PTCGP-25 –that “anti-Semite witches’ meeting” (“*akelarre antisemita*”), nothing less– was able to take place. Much of what that attack was intended to censor is already available in video format, in the reports of the seven thematic panel sessions, in their respective resolutions, in the legal documents of reference or in the Tribunal’s final resolution, in the [YouTube channel of the RUxP](#) and on the [Tribunal’s website](#). The rest will be made public very soon. [Other texts resulting from the](#)

[work carried out within the Tribunal's framework](#) will also be published in the coming weeks.

The following explanatory note is relevant here: in response to [the proverbial hyperactivity of the Zionist propaganda and lawfare machines](#), we must remind our central, autonomous, municipal and academic authorities of something important: when one or various states censor, cancel, repress, sanction, imprison or illegalize those who defend the rights of the Palestinians kidnapped by the occupying regime of Israel, or those who engage in politics outside of the institutions, or those who protest against a genocide, occupation, apartheid regime and the complicity of its institutions in all of it, when all this happens, the duty of the other states is not to follow in its footsteps but the opposite. Unless, of course, the intention is to become like the United Kingdom, Germany, USA... and end up cracking the skulls of our “terrorist grandmothers” for holding a sign with the slogan “We are all Palestine Action” or singing “From the River to the Sea, Palestine will be free”.

The second obstacle, even more worrying, is the silence that is politically imposed and deployed by virtually all traditional media outlets, a manoeuvre in addition to Israel's multi-million investment in cyber hasbara –or whoever covers the expense, which we could very well be paying part of. This genocidal silence has declared “peace”. In the particular case of the Spanish state, “if in September you liked *There goes the European government most committed to human rights*, in December you will like [There goes the government that announces an arms embargo decree with exception clauses that allow it to ensure the ‘business as usual’ of genocide](#)”. The propaganda, censor and cease-fire campaign, the umpteenth version –the goriest one to date- from the classic saga of “peace processes”, has accelerated land grabbing, killed hundreds of people in Gaza, multiplied the colonies in the West Bank, cut off water, electricity, communication of what remains of UNRWA in Palestine, [expels 37 humanitarian aid organizations](#), from Doctors without Borders to Caritas, and broadcasts live the celebrated confessions of [genocidal masters at a press conference](#). In reality, they revel in their sense of impunity and confidently boast of their absolute ability to kill and lie.

The “Silent Night” declared by the axis of genocide is the most horrible of all that have been. Three months later, two years later, nearly eight decades later, it wants us in the dark to carry out the extermination. Four months ago, street protests forced the government to feign understanding and empathy with the practice of civil disobedience. Since October 10, *three months worse*, Europe is silencing the genocide while discussing the electoral rise of the far-right “as a threat to liberal democracy” and not as its logic outcome. Nobody questions the point of speaking in those terms from historical-political places that have

genocide *embedded in its identity*, that is why we speak of “threats to our liberal democracies” after years of genocide, sponsored, legitimized and participated in by those same liberal democracies. This abominable paradox is also embedded in *our identity*. It is *our problem*. Fascism does not solve it; it only sublimates it. The necessary condition to any solution is called *decolonization* and consist of dismantling the structures of oppression. European governments have, *once again*, taken the oppression to its (genocidal) limit, [with universities as the focus of its supremacist rationalization](#), laying out the red carpet *once again* for the fascist monster that every aggressor nation carries within. That boomerang...

Here and now, censorship and silence are two tools –by the way, not very “democratic” for the liberal theory- that encapsulate various centuries of racial capitalism, colonial genocides, sieges, blockades, invasions, concentration camps, forced labour, extermination... and accumulation by dispossession. This is the primary source of harm facing the Palestinian people and all of humanity: The imperialist inertia of a criminal economic regime that produces profitable death to multiply the concentration of wealth in the hands of the *owners* of said regime.

In the case of the PTCGP-25, the reasons for censorship and silence have become clear, with pretexts that are equally crude in both cases. Silence celebrates: *peace!* Censorship accuses: *anti-Semite!* We respond first that all peace requires justice and, second, that we are exactly as anti-Semitic as (mind you, it does not mean the same thing) Judeophobic: not at all. What we are, however, is that we are both anti-fascist and anti-Zionist, given (here yes) the intimate equivalence between both terms. We are also growing in number and walking with greater conviction: [The “Israel” paradigm is expanding. In the current imperialist hegemony, the West is becoming Israelized while the rest of the world is becoming Palestinianized.](#)

That is why the *intifada*, the protest that *shakes, agitates, stirs up*...is becoming globalized.

Hence the new *punitive striptease* to which the reason of (market-)state feels obliged.

There is no longer any *hasbara* that can hide such infamy.