

You Stand This Day — Names at the Gate

Aryeh Leib Thorne Toren · 7 September 2026

List-lock week · September 2026

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You Stand This Day — Names at the Gate

A Shin Bet Two; An Independent Winter; A Fourth Seat That Blocks Both Houses; Two Days to Lock

An Expanded Learned Essay

7 September 2026 / 25 Elul 5786

Monday of Selichot week · Two days to statutory list lock

Current Cycle: 26th Knesset elections — 27 October 2026

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Abstract

On 25 Elul 5786 — the day the midrash assigns to the creation of the world, four days before the creation of the human being who will be judged — the cycle produced names at the gate. Lists that are filed cannot be withdrawn. That is the increment.

Gadi Eisenkot submitted Yashar to Justice Noam Sohlberg. The letters are *Derech*. The two is former Shin Bet director Yoram Cohen. The six is Hili Tropper, who dissolved Zionist Home yesterday rather than print under the line. The ten is Shira Shapira. A house that already stands in the low twenties has now absorbed a reservist chairman, a bereaved mother, and a former referee of the security services. Absorption is not yet a government. It is a deposited address.

Ofer Winter submitted People of Israel without Bezalel Smotrich. The door Netanyahu had been pressing — a merger that would inventory Winter inside Religious Zionism rather than leave him as a fourth-seat gamble — closed from Winter's side. The published top of the list is Winter, Yoseph Haddad, Netali Shem Tov, Eran Ben-Ari, and Fleur Hassan-Nahoum. Eighteen names. Most houses still price the instrument at four. Channel 14 still prices it under. The law-first

condition of 2 September was not restated at the gate. It was also not repealed. A filed list is not a statute.

Kan's Kantar poll, fielded Sunday and published Sunday night, is the first house to price the new Hendel-Zelekha ticket as a crossing: four seats. Yashar 23, Likud 20, Together 13, Religious Zionism-Zehut 6, Otzma 7, Democrats 8, Yisrael Beytenu 7, UTJ 8, Shas 7, Joint List 7, Ra'am 6, Winter 4. Outgoing column 48. The same poll's bloc arithmetic is the sharper fact: Netanyahu's current partners at 52; with Winter inventoried, 56. The Zionist opposition at 51; with Hendel-Zelekha added, 55. Both houses short of 61. A four that crosses can block more than it builds.

Ayelet Shaked will not run. Gilad Erdan already will not run. Unity closed Friday. Zionist Home dissolved Sunday. The residual third-way brand is now a four-seat economist-and-reservist ticket that Kan is willing to print above the line. Together submitted Bennett first and Lapid second. Yisrael Beytenu published Liberman first and Rafi Ben-Shitrit — a bereaved father of 7 October — second. Twenty-three parties had registered by Monday afternoon. The early window at the Knesset ran into the afternoon. Tuesday's window remains. The statute still runs to **9 September**. Election day is 27 October — fifty days.

This essay is an increment. It does not rebuild the Israeli Politics Master Project, *The Sacred Burden Renewed*, *The Demos Under Higher Law*, *The Ballot as Covenant Affirmation*, or the prior *You Stand This Day* sequence through yesterday's *The Book Is Open*. It applies that standing architecture to one live mechanism: names that, once filed, cannot be taken back.

The thesis is fourfold. First, 25 Elul is the right midrash for a filing day: the world is named before the human being is judged. Second, a deposited list is a speech act of a different species from a poll, a recommendation, or a condition. Third, Kan's four-seat Hendel-Zelekha crossing and Winter's independent filing are both threshold facts that shrink the space for a 61 rather than enlarge it. Fourth, two days before lock, names at the gate are still not a standing people.

Competing approaches are stated fairly and measured against the covenantal-republican standard: non-domination, limited office under law, and civic virtue as infrastructure.

The Israeli Politics Master Project remains the permanent foundation: institutions, sovereignty, covenantal republican principles applied to the Jewish state. This essay does not recreate that standing architecture. It applies it to the live cycle. The question here is not what Israel is in principle. The question is what this particular contest — the first scheduled full-term election since 1988 — is doing to list integrity, threshold discipline, turnout quality, and the moral condition of public speech on the day names begin to be deposited at the gate and cannot be withdrawn.

I. Thesis

A name filed at the gate is not yet a people standing. It is the condition under which a people *may* stand.

Deuteronomy 29:9 remains the cycle's verse: "You stand this day, all of you, before the Lord your God." Standing is public. Standing includes ranks that do not resemble one another. Standing is possible only because the covenant names a place. Yesterday the place acquired an administrative form: the voter register in force. Today the place acquired a second form: lists that, once handed to the chair of the Central Elections Committee, cannot be pulled back. The revealed things Nitzavim assigned to us now include an irreversible filing.

The midrash that places the creation of the world on 25 Elul and the creation of Adam on 1 Tishrei is not decoration. It is the right calendar for a republic that is naming its instruments four days before it names its judgment. Rosh Hashanah is the birthday of the human being who will be weighed. List-lock is the birthday of the tickets that will ask that human being for an envelope. Creation precedes judgment. Filing precedes the booth. Neither act is the assembly.

What Monday added to Sunday's open book is the difference between a courtyard that dissolves and a courtyard that deposits. Tropper dissolved yesterday and filed today — sixth on a house that already prints. Winter declined the merger yesterday's rumors assigned to him and filed today under his own letterhead. Hendel, left outside Eisenkot's agreement, is now priced by one public house as a four with Yaron Zelekha. Shaked looked at the same map and sat down. Those four sentences are not the same civic act. Treating them as interchangeable "last-minute drama" is how a cycle loses the difference between standing and milling.

The covenantal-republican standard for this increment remains threefold:

1. Does the contest itself strengthen or erode non-domination?
2. Is the emerging coalition arithmetic likely to produce a government capable of limited power under law rather than perpetual crisis management and veto politics?
3. Does the quality of public discourse — including the way lists are signed, dissolved, absorbed, filed, averaged, or performed as responsibility theater — reflect or further degrade the moral conditions of national life?

On current evidence the cycle is still open. What Monday files is a set of names. What it does not file is the conscription statute Winter named on 2 September, a 61 in any house that is not Channel 14, or a people who have already stood.

II. The Live Cycle as of 7 September 2026

Institutional fact

The outgoing Knesset became the first Israeli legislature since 1988 to reach the natural end of its term. Completing a term is evidence that institutional norms retain residual force. Completing a term does not dissolve the structural fragility of Israeli coalition politics.

Calendar facts that now govern the field:

- **Today:** Monday, 7 September 2026 / 25 Elul 5786. Selichot week. Midrashic anniversary of the creation of the world.
- **Today's window:** List submission at the Knesset to Justice Noam Sohlberg, chair of the Central Elections Committee. Wikipedia's institutional clock for this date: 13:00–17:00. Tuesday's window: 16:00–22:00.
- **Statutory deadline: 9 September 2026** — two days. Some campaign and media clocks still treat Tuesday night as the practical close.
- **Irreversibility:** A list that has been submitted cannot withdraw.
- **Last day for list-disqualification petitions:** 14 September (3 Tishrei 5787, after the first days of Rosh Hashanah and the Fast of Gedaliah).
- **Erev Rosh Hashanah 5787:** 11 September, two days after statutory lock.
- **Election day:** 27 October 2026 — fifty days.
- **Abroad voting:** from 20 October. Confirmation of results: 4 November.

The book of those who may stand has been public since yesterday. The book of those who ask to be chosen is being written today and tomorrow. After that the names are fixed.

What still stands from prior increments

The alignment lock of 27 August stands. Winter will recommend only Netanyahu. Eisenkot ruled Winter out as defense minister. Winter will not join an Eisenkot cabinet.

The Smotrich–Feiglin technical bloc of 1 September stands. Feiglin second, plus slots 8, 10, and 11. Separate campaigns. Separate post-election talks. Winter's second-slot option on that instrument remains on paper. Winter has declined it.

The law-first condition of 2 September stands unless and until Winter repeals it in public: no government unless a universal conscription statute is passed *before* the government is established, not as a coalition clause.

Gotliv's Friday placement stands. She is second on Otzma Yehudit. Likud's waiver stands: she is not a defector in the 25th Knesset; she remains under Likud discipline until the 26th is sworn.

Unity's Friday withdrawal stands. Gantz's announcement that Blue and White will stay and harvest the residual stands. Ayelet Shaked's Sunday decision not to run stands as of this writing.

The CEC plenum's 19–11 restoration of real-time arrival reporting stands, subject to the High Court's Wednesday resume.

The voter register published yesterday stands. Address changes closed 3 September.

Monday's increment — deposited names, a refused merger, a priced four, a sitting-out Yashar, Monday 7 September.

Eisenkot submitted. Published top ten, matching the Jerusalem Post, Wikipedia list page, and Hebrew reporting:

1. Gadi Eisenkot
2. Yoram Cohen — former director of the Shin Bet (2011–2016)
3. Orit Farkash-Hacohen
4. Adi Altschuler
5. Matan Kahana
6. Hili Tropper
7. Shaul Meridor
8. Tair Ifergan
9. Oshrat Gani Gonen
10. Shira Shapira

The letters filed with the Committee: *Derech*. Tropper's merger is complete rather than technical: he will not be able to split a faction off Yashar after the election. Elyasaf Peretz and Shlomi Yehiav are reported further down. A house priced in the low twenties has now written a former internal-security referee into the two, a reservist chairman into the six, and a bereaved mother into the ten. That is a theory of office expressed as sequence. It is not yet a theory of coalition.

People of Israel / Amcha Yisrael, Monday 7 September.

Winter announced the complete list and closed the door on a merger with Smotrich that Netanyahu had been pressing. Religious Zionism's reply was public and sharp: Smotrich had believed joining forces mattered for the national camp; Winter had chosen to "gamble irresponsibly on the future of right-wing rule"; Smotrich would now be free to examine strengthening Religious Zionism through the chairman's reserves. Winter's language refused intimidation and named a "new spirit," military decisiveness, Haredi integration into the IDF,

and people “who were not part of the events that led us to October 7.” Published realistic names: Ofer Winter, Yoseph Haddad, Netali Shem Tov, Eran Ben-Ari, Fleur Hassan-Nahoum. Eighteen candidates against a poll range that still includes both four and under-the-line.

The 27 August recommendation and the 2 September condition were not restated at the filing table in the reports available this afternoon. They were also not withdrawn. A list can be filed while a statute remains unwritten. That is the moral problem the cycle has not solved.

Hendel–Zelekha, priced Sunday night, live Monday.

After the Tropper split, Hendel allied with Yaron Zelekha’s New Economic Party. Kan’s Kantar, fielded 6 September (2,450 invited, 551 completed, ± 4.2 percent), is the first major house to print that ticket at four seats. Talks with Gantz did not produce a joint run. Shaked did not enter the residual. The Reservists’ own prior platform language — a Zionist government, not Haredi partners, not Arab partners — travels with Hendel into the new letterhead. A four that carries those vetoes is not a spare part. It is a second lock on 61.

Shaked sits out.

The former justice minister announced she will not run in this cycle. Her stated reason was not exhaustion. It was diagnosis: after 7 October she had hoped the system would stop reproducing two camps that tear the country; she does not see a path to the broad government she considers necessary. Sitting out can be civic. It can also be a form of quietism dressed as responsibility. The covenantal test is whether the diagnosis produces other work that still serves the assembly, or whether it merely withdraws a competent name from the book.

Other filings and clocks.

Together’s list, published Sunday, was among the first deposited: Bennett, Lapid, and a top ten with five women and four Yesh Atid names. Yisrael Beytenu published Sunday evening: Liberman, Rafi Ben-Shitrit, Talya Lankri, then the sitting caucus, with Dan Illouz — last month a Likud MK — at ten. i24 counted nine parties expected at the gate on Monday, including the Reservists, Together, Yashar, Winter, Sharren Haskel’s Israel First, Shas, Otzma, the Democrats, and a Haredi-public list. Srugim counted twenty-three registered by afternoon. A submitted list cannot withdraw. That sentence will govern Tuesday more than any poll.

Kan / Kantar, fielded 6 September, published Sunday evening.

List	Seats
Yashar	23
Likud	20
Together / B’Yachad	13
Democrats	8
UTJ	8

Otzma Yehudit	7
Yisrael Beytenu	7
Shas	7
Joint List	7
Religious Zionism–Zehut	6
Ra’am	6
Winter / Amcha Yisrael	4
Hendel–Zelekha / Reservists–NEP	4

Outgoing-column print in the table 48

Bloc readings of the same poll: Netanyahu’s current partners 52; with Winter added, 56. Zionist opposition 51; with Hendel–Zelekha added, 55. Arab lists 11. Both political houses short of 61. Eisenkot 38 / Netanyahu 35 on suitability; Netanyahu 37 / Bennett 32. Sixty-two percent rate Netanyahu’s conduct on the morning of 7 October “not good.”

The Economist tracker, refreshed 7 September.

Likud 23, Yashar 24, Together 13, Jewish Power 8, Religious Zionism 4, UTJ 8, Shas 8, Democrats 10, Yisrael Beytenu 8, Joint 7, Ra’am 5. Outgoing government around 50. Opposition cluster around 66 if Arab lists are stacked with the change bloc — which is a tracker convention, not a coalition. Neck-and-neck at the top. Still short of 61 for the outgoing column.

What has not been repealed.

Globes’ Sunday poll of polls still sits on the desk: Likud 24, Yashar 23, Together 12, Winter 4, Religious Zionism 5, Otzma 7, and a headline that the coalition leapfrogged only by inventorying Winter. Madad 120’s Sunday 51–57–12 has not been repealed. Channel 14’s Friday 63 and Maariv’s Friday 47 have not been repealed. Two countries, an average, a smoother, and now a Kan that prices two small tickets at four each and still cannot find 61.

III. Torah and Republican Frame for a Filing Day

Creation before judgment

The midrashic calendar that sets 25 Elul as the world’s first day and 1 Tishrei as Adam’s is a teaching about sequence. First there is a world with named kinds. Then there is a creature who can answer for how he walked in it. A republic that files lists on 25 Elul and judges governments after Rosh Hashanah is walking, whether it knows the midrash or not, inside that sequence. The danger is idolatry of the filing: treating the deposited name as already the assembly. The equal danger is contempt for the filing: treating the deposited name as theater because the poll still will not add to 61.

Rambam in Hilchot Teshuvah 5 anchors the season in free will. A person, and by extension a people, can choose. Elul’s King-in-the-Field — the Alter Rebbe’s register — maximizes access. It

does not erase consequence. Selichot that began Saturday night are the liturgy of a people who still have time and already have names. Filing a list during Selichot is either *teshuvah* in public form or performance that hopes the liturgy will do the work the statute will not.

Nitzavim's hidden and revealed remains the right distinction. The hidden things belong to God. The revealed things — register, gate, irreversible filing, threshold, booth — belong to us and to our children. A people that discusses destination and condition in August and then files in September without introducing the bill it named is using the revealed calendar to postpone a revealed duty.

Non-domination and the small four

Pettit's non-domination is not a synonym for "my bloc should win." It is the condition of not living at the arbitrary mercy of another's will. In a parliamentary republic with a 3.25 percent threshold, a four-seat list can be an instrument of non-domination — a minority that cannot be ignored — or an instrument of domination — a minority that can veto any government except the one that flatters it. Hendel-Zelekha priced at four, carrying Hendel's prior refusal of Haredi and Arab partners, is the second kind unless it states a theory of office that can live with other free citizens. Winter priced at four, carrying a Netanyahu recommendation and a statute that does not exist, is the same structure from the other side of the aisle: a lock that has not yet become law.

Eric Nelson's Hebrew Republic and Daniel Elazar's covenant tradition both insist that biblical politics is not the sacralizing of a faction. It is the binding of office under law that the office did not write. A Shin Bet two on Yashar is a claim about competence and memory. It becomes republican only if the house that filed it will accept limits it did not choose. A Winter list that names new people "who were not part of the events that led us to October 7" is a claim about responsibility. It becomes republican only if the condition attached to the recommendation is introduced as a bill rather than worn as a badge.

Shared sacrifice as the cycle's authentic file

The generation's real question remains equity of burden. Replacing that question with victimhood is extraction. Naming a law and introducing no bill is delay. Absorbing a reservist chairman who carried the file into a house that already stands is conservation. Filing an independent list that still names the file is a wager that the water-drawers will finance a new letterhead rather than an old one. Conservation and wager are both civic. Neither writes the statute. Rosh Hashanah will not write it either. The 26th Knesset will, or it will not.

IV. Competing Approaches, Measured

Pure power realism. File whatever locks 61. Merge Winter into Smotrich because Netanyahu asked. Merge Hendel into Eisenkot or Gantz because the residual burns. Count Winter as coalition inventory because he recommends the sitting prime minister. Measured against the standard: realism that cannot distinguish a condition from a seat will build a government that

cannot distinguish a clause from a statute. That is how domination returns inside the camp that claims to have won.

Procedural liberalism. The filing window is open; the Committee is the referee; whatever passes the form is legitimate. Measured against the standard: procedure is necessary and not sufficient. A 19–11 restoration of arrival-tracking is procedure doing work. An irreversible filing is procedure doing work. A poll that treats a man who will not speak with the recommended prime minister as already seated is procedure being asked to launder a category error.

Identity mobilization. Reservists here, security chiefs there, bereaved parents in the ten, a former Shin Bet director in the two, a 7 October father in Yisrael Beytenu's two. The cycle is filling lists with sacred biography. Measured against the standard: biography can be civic memory or it can be a substitute for a program. Shira Shapira at ten is an honor if the house will govern. It is extraction if the house only campaigns.

Quietism. Shaked's sitting-out is the cleanest current instance. The camps will tear; therefore a competent name withdraws. Measured against the standard: there are seasons when refusal is integrity. There are seasons when refusal is the luxury of people who will still be governed by the lists other people filed. Elul does not bless withdrawal as such. It blesses return.

Maximalist turnout theory. Get everyone to the booth; volume is legitimacy. Measured against the standard: quality over volume remains the measure. A high-turnout election that produces another veto coalition without a service statute is a large milling, not a standing.

Minimalist turnout theory. Only the mobilized bases matter; the exhausted center will not move. Measured against the standard: Nitzavim's assembly includes the hewer and the water-drawer. A strategy that writes them off is already a theory of domination.

Threshold discipline as the only virtue. Close Unity. Dissolve Zionist Home. Merge Winter. Merge Otzma and Religious Zionism. Measured against the standard: refusing to waste the water-drawer's vote is civic. Forcing every distinct claim into a larger letterhead so that no claim can be heard except as staffing is how a republic forgets why it has more than two lists.

V. Institutional Integrity of This Contest

Several referee facts now sit together.

The register is in force. The address-change window closed on time. The Plombo queue is numbered. Sohlberg is receiving lists on a published clock. A filed list cannot withdraw. Disqualification petitions close 14 September, which means the first fight after Rosh Hashanah will be legal rather than electoral. The High Court resumes Wednesday on the arrival-tracking question the plenum already voted 19–11. Abroad voting begins 20 October.

That is more institutional regularity than a people in a long war always gets. It is also not self-executing. Real-time arrival apps can be civic infrastructure or turnout-harvest machinery; the difference is whether the referee remains a referee. Letter assignment by queue order is a small fact with large campaign consequences; treating it as trivia is how headquarters forget that form is part of justice. Irreversibility of filing is the right discipline for a season of last-minute theater. It is also a trap if a list is filed in order to lock a negotiation that has not finished.

The quality of public speech around these facts is mixed. Eisenkot's deposition was a list, not a sermon. Winter's deposition was a list plus a refusal. Religious Zionism's reply was a charge of irresponsible gambling. Kan printed a four and a blocked 61 in the same breath. The Economist declined to recast its 50 around a single Sunday-night house. That mixture — filing, charge, priced four, unrecast smoother — is healthier than a single narrative. It is not yet a people telling the same story about what office is for.

VI. Turnout, Demoralization, Mobilization

First-time voters remain a structural fact of this cycle: on the order of 595,000 new names in the summer counts. The register that took effect yesterday is the book in which those names either appear or do not. Quality still precedes volume. A first-time voter mobilized only by contempt will stand in body and sit in spirit. A first-time voter who understands the ballot as *na'aseh venishma* — we will do and we will hear — is the assembly Nitzavim described.

Demoralization signals are not hidden. Shaked's diagnosis of two camps that tear is one. Sixty-two percent "not good" on the morning of 7 October is another, and it is not the same thing as a voting intention. Kan's blocked 61 even after inventing a four-seat residual is a third: the public is being told, house after house, that arithmetic may not produce a government. The civic risk is not that people will hear that. The civic risk is that they will conclude standing is futile.

Mobilization signals are also not hidden. Bereaved names in realistic slots are a claim on memory. A Shin Bet two is a claim on competence. A Winter list that refuses a merger is a claim that the right wants new people, not only new seating charts. Reservist language traveling from a dissolved brand into two different houses — Tropper's into Yashar, Hendel's into Zelekha — is a claim that the service file is larger than any one letterhead. Those claims will be tested at the booth, not at the gate.

VII. What This Cycle Already Reveals — and What It Has Not Yet Decided

Already revealed:

- Institutional norms retain enough force to complete a term, publish a register on time, and open a filing window that makes withdrawal impossible.
- The outgoing coalition does not command a renewed majority in the large majority of non-Filber polls. Kan today prints 48 for the outgoing column and 52/56 depending on whether

Winter is inventoried. The Economist still prints about 50. Globes leapfrogs only by counting Winter. Channel 14's 63 remains the outlier.

- A credible alternative list exists, has absorbed a reservist chairman as a complete rather than technical merger, and has written a former Shin Bet director into the two.
- A new nationalist list has now filed independently, declined the merger the sitting prime minister wanted, and still carries a recommendation and a condition that do not sit easily in the same cabinet.
- Religious Zionism has a signed technical address with Zehut and, as of this afternoon, a public complaint that Winter gambled.
- A Likud primary grievance remains Otzma's two. A sitting Otzma MK has already walked off that ticket. May Golan's office says she refused a realistic Otzma offer.
- The third-way brand has contracted from Unity to a dissolved reservist courtyard to a four-seat economist-and-reservist ticket that one house is willing to print.
- Arab-list unification on the Joint side and the Ra'am–Segalovitz technical signature remain threshold facts, not coalition facts.
- The referee table has moved from a chair's ban to a Court remand to a 19–11 plenum restoration, with the Court still to be heard on Wednesday.
- Names, once filed, cannot be withdrawn.

Not yet decided:

- Whether turnout will be high enough *and* well-enough motivated to produce a government with broad civic legitimacy.
- Whether Tuesday's remaining filings will enlarge or shrink the space for a non-narrow coalition.
- Whether Winter stands at four, burns under the line, or is inventoried after the election as if the statute had been written.
- Whether Hendel–Zelekha remains a crossing or recedes under the line once more houses sample the new letterhead.
- Whether Arab-list arithmetic will be handled as a problem of domination or as a problem of republican inclusion under a Jewish sovereign state.
- Whether the service file will be treated as covenantal, as a coalition chip, as a veto that never becomes a statute, or as a badge on a list that has not introduced the bill.
- Whether the people will remember this autumn as a moment of free affirmation or as another chapter of demoralization, veto politics, filed names, and accidental majorities.

Nitzavim does not guarantee blessing. It places the standing and records the consequences. The 2026 election is the current instance of that placement. The foundation of sovereignty, institutions, and covenantal principles remains. The question is whether this particular contest will be remembered as a moment when the people exercised their freedom toward civic repair — or as another chapter in which exhaustion, fragmentation, and veto politics prevailed.

The assembly stands. The citizen lifts the envelope. Both acts are empty if the story is not told and the courtyard is not real. Both acts, done freely under higher law, are how a people remains a people.

Yesterday the book opened. Today names are at the gate. A list that has been handed across the table cannot come home. Two days from this writing the remaining names lock. Four days from this writing the human being, in the midrash's counting, is created. Fifty days later the envelope is lifted. A Shin Bet two is not a government. An independent Winter is not a statute. A priced four is not 61. Names at the gate are the beginning of standing. The field will not stay open.

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- *The Demos Under Higher Law* (July 2026).
- *The Sacred Burden Renewed* and shared-sacrifice essays.
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- Prior sequence, 26 August–6 September 2026, especially *The Book Is Open* (6 September) and *A Courtyard That Closed Itself* (5 September).

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