

VOLUME 19 ISSUE 3 | SUMMER 2025

# *in*FOCUS

QUARTERLY

## The U.S. and Israel: Shared Resolve



**Adam Milstein** on anti-Westernism | **Dan Diker** on the Death of Oslo | **Barry Shaw** on Gaza's Future Governance | **Cdr. David Levy, USN (ret.)** on Israel in CENTCOM | **Eric Rozenman** on Lessons from October 7 | **Olga Deutsch** and **Yona Schiffmiller** on NGOs in Gaza | **Moshe Kaplan** on Israeli Resilience | **Guermantes Lailari** on China and the Houthis | **Benji Shulman** on Israel-South Africa Relations | **Shoshana Bryen's** Summer Reading List

An Interview with Maj. Gilad Ach, IDF (res.)

# LETTER FROM THE PUBLISHER

This was supposed to be the “Israel Issue.” But as events, problems, and possible solutions unraveled in front of us, we realized that this is the “America-Israel Issue.” The left-wing, antisemitic, anti-Zionist, “intersectional” consortium is also anti-Western, anti-American, and anti-democratic. What happens at Harvard and in Los Angeles and in New York is as much about the United States and our governing system as it is about Israel, Jews, and Palestinians.

And in both countries, the post-communist “peace dividend” made it hard for people to keep an eye on threats that never went away.

“Israel’s Enemies are America’s Enemies,” by Adam Milstein, encapsulates the problem. Cdr. David Levy, USN (ret.) assures us that US-Israel Security Cooperation continues, while Eric Rozenman worries about Israel being too dependent on American strength. Israel’s relations with South Africa, described by Benji Shulman, mirror America’s relations. Guermantes Lailari goes to the other side of the world to bring us “Lessons for Taiwan” from the Red Sea. Olga Deutsch and Yona Schiffmiller show us how your government and charitable dollars can go to the wrong people.



Shoshana Bryen’s interview with Gilad Ach of Ad Kan, shows the impact as money moves among organizations and entities that hold both the US and Israel in contempt. Some of them are European and Chinese and Qatari, but some are American and Israeli – the truth matters here. Their goal is the same goal: to replace the democratic, free market systems of both countries with something leftist, radical, and unhealthy.

Some issues are Israel’s alone. Barry Shaw and Dan Diker take on the demise of Israel’s “peace movement” and the “two-state solution.” Moshe Kaplan describes the extraordinary resilience of Israeli civilians after October 7.

“Beach Reading,” our book review, is actually three reviews – one new and two pulled from our library shelf for their relevance to the situation today.

If you appreciate what you’ve read, I encourage you to make a contribution to the JPC. You can use our secure site: [www.jewishpolicycenter.org/donate](http://www.jewishpolicycenter.org/donate).

Sincerely,

A handwritten signature in dark ink, appearing to read "Matthew Brooks".

Matthew Brooks  
Publisher

## inFOCUS

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# Enemies Within: Islamo-Left Alliance and Far-Rightists

by ADAM MILSTEIN

On October 7, 2023, Hamas terrorists massacred more than 1,200 innocent people in Israel, most of them civilians, wounded another 3,400, and kidnapped 251 individuals to the Gaza Strip, of whom (as of May 2025), 58 hostages were still being held in Gaza, with 20 believed to be alive and 38 confirmed dead. But the real shock came not just from the barbaric attack and the torture and rape of the hostages, but from the response in the West. Instead of uniting in condemnation, academic institutions, news media outlets and many individuals across the US and Europe rationalized or even celebrated the atrocities.

This reaction revealed a dangerous ideological shift underway in the United States. The murder of Israeli civilians, including babies and women, unmasked an alliance of extremist ideologies that now shape major American institutions. These movements threaten not just the Jewish people, but America's future as a global leader and force for good.

This May, two Israeli embassy staffers, Yaron Lischinsky and Sarah Milgrim, were gunned down in cold blood on a public street in Washington, DC, allegedly by Elias Rodriguez, a domestic terrorist with prior affiliations with far-left organizations including the Party for Socialism and Liberation (PSL) and the ANSWER (Act Now to Stop War and End Racism) Coalition, two groups that have exhibited a pattern of support for radical and violent agendas.

Rodriguez, PSL, and ANSWER allegedly promoted armed resistance in America. The shooting was not “random

violence.” It was an antisemitic, targeted murder of two young people by an extreme-left anarchist determined to kill Jews here in America.

Following this vicious attack, many Americans and organizations justified and even celebrated the murder on social media. Guy Christensen, a TikTok influencer with almost 3.5 million followers, supported the attack and refused to condemn the murder of “Zionists” who worked at the Israeli embassy.

But Christensen is not alone. On college campuses, in the media, across social media platforms, in labor unions

from the far left, radical Muslims, and the far right to become increasingly normalized and infiltrate our institutions.

On one hand, the Islamo-left alliance, a coalition between far-left ideologues, anarchists, and Islamists, is working to dismantle America from within. On the other end of the political spectrum, white supremacists, while a fringe movement, still have the capacity to take weapons into their hands and kill Americans.

In addition, a dangerous new ideology is taking root on the American right. What began as a sensible “America

The real shock (after October 7) came not just from the barbaric attack and the torture and rape of the hostages, but from the response in the West

and in local and national politics, there's an alarming rise of antisemitic incitement that metastasizes into violence. As an Israeli American, and like so many in the Jewish community, I am deeply shaken by this growing trend.

While the resurgence of violent hatred is frightening, the broader state of our nation worries me most. This ideological shift reflects a deeper crisis: Our society has allowed extremist voices

First” doctrine to prioritize American interests has, in some circles, morphed into an “America Only” worldview that seeks to isolate the United States from the outside world and abandon its global responsibilities as leader and ally of free nations.

These groups may seem to have little in common, but all of them advance ideologies that are deeply hostile to America's founding principles and its international

interests. They aim to reshape the very fabric of our society. Alarming, through years of strategic planning, infiltration and coordinated efforts, they appear to be making real progress.

the banner of “decolonization,” students are taught to vilify America and view meritocracy and individual rights as tools of systemic oppression. Western allies like Israel are demonized, while

The report also shows an online surge of more than 3,000 percent in calls for violence and a 186 percent increase in anti-American and anti-police rhetoric. The social media posts affiliated with these groups have reached tens of millions of viewers.

These groups serve as ideological proxies for Hamas, Hezbollah, and other extremist actors. Slogans like “Globalize the Intifada” and “Resistance by any means necessary” are chanted by students who have no connection to Islam and little understanding of its values yet are unwittingly being used to advance the Islamist agenda in the name of “social justice.”

This phenomenon is not confined to academia. Such ideas are now mainstreamed into media, corporate human resources departments, non-profit organizations and parts of the federal government. They push an absolutist moral relativism in which “lived experience” overrides truth, group identity trumps individual merit and the oppressor-oppressed binary world view governs all human relations.

This is a cultural insurgency designed to undermine the American project from within.

The “America Only” worldview sees global engagement as betrayal. It is a refusal to lead, a willingness to abandon allies including Israel, and the false belief that we can wall ourselves off from the world’s problems.

### ■ *Islamism vs. Western Values*

At first glance, radical leftist ideologies and Islamist fundamentalists might seem like strange bedfellows. One side champions postmodern secularism, gender fluidity, and borderless internationalism. The other enforces strict pre-modern religious codes and theocratic rule. Yet they unite around the shared pretense that America and the West are inherently unjust, irredeemably oppressive, and must be destroyed.

However, the true agenda of the Islamists is to impose their version of Islam globally and dismantle Western civilization. They use leftist allies as convenient tools, allowing them to believe they share a common cause.

Sadly, this manufactured ideological alliance has found fertile ground in American academia, where decades of leftist capture have transformed once-rigorous disciplines into engines of grievance and radicalization. Ethnic studies, post-colonial theory, intersectionality, and diversity, equity, and inclusion (DEI) programs are silos of extremist, anti-Western orthodoxy. Under

authoritarian regimes, including China and Iran, and terrorist groups, including Hamas (Palestinian Islamic Resistance Movement) and Hezbollah (Party of God), are cast as freedom fighters.

As recently documented by the Capital Research Center, nearly 500

America is strongest when its leaders, Democrats and Republicans alike, stand for something greater than partisan gain. . . When they champion a world order rooted in freedom, fairness and strength.

American nonprofits claiming to support Palestinian rights have adopted increasingly radical positions since October 7. Groups such as Within Our Lifetime, the Palestinian Youth Movement, and Code Pink have amplified violent rhetoric and promoted anti-American narratives.

### ■ *Confronting Foreign Influence*

This decades-long campaign is funded by the detractors of the West, particularly by regimes including Qatar, China, Russia, and Iran. They have strategically used Western democratic systems to infiltrate academia, media, civil society and even policy-making circles with language

# THE ENEMIES WITHIN

## HOW THE ISLAMO-LEFTIST ALLIANCE IS UNDERMINING AMERICA



## THE VIOLENCE THAT STARTS WITH THE JEWS, NEVER ENDS WITH THE JEWS

that excuses terror, glorifies tyranny, and demonizes democratic allies.

The result is a generation of Americans who are taught to despise their own country, distrust our history and embrace the very ideologies that threaten freedom everywhere.

Too many of our leaders, on both sides of the aisle, refuse to confront it. They fear backlash from campus mobs or losing influence among elite institutions that have become morally unhinged. This existential threat to our society requires:

- Aggressive enforcement of foreign agent registration laws to expose foreign-backed political operatives posing as grassroots advocates.
- Defunding and decertifying tax-exempt organizations that provide cover for antisemitic propaganda, terrorist glorification, and political extremism.
- Requiring universities and think tanks to disclose foreign donations and ending federal funding to institutions

that tolerate violence or calls for intifada and jihad.

• A bipartisan moral reckoning, where elected officials publicly condemn the Marxist relativism that justifies terrorism (i.e. “One person’s terrorist is another person’s freedom fighter”), excuses tyranny and tears down American exceptionalism.

America cannot lead the world if it cannot defend itself from within. Leaders must have the moral clarity to say, without apology: America is not just good but exceptional, our values are worth defending and those who seek to unravel them – whether in Beijing, Moscow, Doha, Teheran, or Berkeley – will not prevail.

### ■ *The Isolationist Right’s Retreat*

On the right, what began as a prudent correction which all of us support, an “America First” call to prioritize US interests, has recently morphed into something reckless. The “America Only” worldview sees global engagement as

betrayal. It is a refusal to lead, a willingness to abandon allies including Israel, and the false belief that we can wall ourselves off from the world’s problems.

This ideology is gaining ground among vocal and influential figures. Commentator Tucker Carlson, and some elements within the current administration push a narrative that casts American power abroad as inherently abusive and views our global alliances as burdens. In doing so, they ignore both history and strategic interests.

The firing of Michael Waltz as the National Security Adviser, the ceasefire deal with the Yemen’s Houthis – which gave them a green light to continue launching ballistic missiles at Israel – and the pursuit of a nuclear deal with Iran, despite its ongoing uranium enrichment, anti-American rhetoric and past failure to comply with agreements, are early signs.

When America withdraws from the world, authoritarian adversaries fill the

vacuum. After World War I, American retrenchment helped pave the way for fascism and a second, even deadlier war. Today, a similar pattern is emerging. China eyes Taiwan. Russia attempts to take over Ukraine. Iran, North Korea and fundamentalist Persian Gulf states like Qatar are probing the boundaries of a weakened international order.

The “America Only” faction insists we can pick and choose our battles and, that we can disengage selec-

leadership and a sense of global responsibility. Both the Islamo-Left and the “America Only” right reject the values that make America great. And both endanger the economic and democratic systems that have underpinned relative global stability for decades.

Neither extreme believes in America’s values. In fact, they oppose them. They know American action as the world’s economic and moral leader threatens their reactionary authoritari-

Neither extreme believes in America’s values. In fact, they oppose them. They know American action as the world’s economic and moral leader threatens their reactionary authoritarianism.

tively. But in today’s interconnected world, there is no such luxury. When America retreats, our adversaries surge. They will eagerly embrace our abdication of leadership and sow instability around the globe. This will eventually reach our shores.

We don’t need to be the world’s police. But we must be the world’s anchor. That means preserving alliances with nations like Israel, Japan, South Korea, and India; pushing back against authoritarian revisionism; and securing the global order that underwrites our prosperity and security.

America First should mean leading with resolve and purpose, on our terms, with clear goals and strong alliances. It must not be hijacked by neo-isolationists who would have us turn inward while the world burns.

## ■ **Standing for America**

America is caught between two extremes pulling our politics away from what has always made this nation exceptional – moral clarity, principled

anism. But as modern history has shown, the world does not work well without American leadership. And America does not thrive in a world shaped by others.

We need a new bipartisan commitment to moral leadership. It must rise above the ideological dogma and power games of the moment. This style of leadership must recognize:

- Our values are our strength. Free markets, individual liberty, the rule of law, and democratic governance are the foundation of our global influence and domestic prosperity.

- Our prosperity is tied to global stability. Open trade, secure alliances and the defense of democratic norms are essential to economic growth, innovation, and the American middle class.

- Our leadership must be principled. That means calling out antisemitism and extremism wherever it arises – whether from radical Islamists abroad or radical ideologues on our campuses. It means rejecting populist nihilism and defeatist retreat in favor of constructive vision and courage.

America is strongest when its leaders, Democrats and Republicans alike, stand for something greater than partisan gain. When they act not only in our interests but in line with our ideals. When they champion a world order rooted in freedom, fairness and strength.

## ■ **Why This Matters**

The Islamo-left and the isolationist right erode the pillars of American strength. One attacks our culture and identity from within and the other retreats from our responsibilities abroad.

Both movements celebrate enemies of freedom and delegitimize our allies. Both adopt conspiratorial thinking about “elites,” “neocons” (often used to imply “Jews”), “globalists,” and “colonizers” to justify their radicalism. And both are gaining influence within their respective political coalitions.

The result is a dangerous ideological squeeze. America is being pulled toward self-destruction on the left and isolation on the right.

## ■ **A Call to Action**

If we fail to confront the rise of the Islamo-left, we will watch our institutions hollowed out by foreign influence and moral relativism that erode the very values that make America exceptional.

If we fail to resist the isolationist right, we will cede the global stage to authoritarian regimes and invite instability to our shores.

If Americans of good conscience left and right, secular and religious, public and private can stand together with conviction, courage, and clarity, we can restore our strength, revive our values, and reclaim America’s role as a beacon of freedom and prosperity.

The threats are real. The stakes are historic. But so is our opportunity.

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ADAM MILSTEIN is a venture philanthropist, a business investor, and a community leader. A native of Israel, he served in the Israel Defense Forces during the 1973 Yom Kippur War.



# The Two-State Illusion: Oslo and Hamas Terror

by DAN DIKER, Ph.D.

**T**he Iran-backed Hamas massacre of October 7, 2023 was not an isolated act but the predictable climax of the Palestinian national and Islamic movement, from the Palestine Liberation Organization's handmaiden, the Palestinian Authority (PA), to the fundamentalist and extremist Hamas. Both movements are wedded to rejectionism and holy war against Israel's existence (See "Unmasking Jihad's Quest for International Legitimacy," Jerusalem Center for Security and Foreign Affairs, July 17, 2024). The Gaza proto-state experiment, far from validating Palestinian statehood, exposed the two-state paradigm as an illusion based in the Oslo Accords' fatal miscalculations, which were sustained by Israeli and Western wishful thinking and willful blindness.

Thirty years after Oslo's signing in

two-state vision. The October 7 massacre demands a reckoning: the international community must abandon this obsolete framework and confront the Palestinian leadership's radicalism, its terror-supporting legacy, and its indoctrination machinery, and search for alternative structures.

## ■ *Gaza: From Withdrawal to Hamas Terror State*

Israel's 2005 withdrawal from Gaza – uprooting 8,000 Jewish residents, present in the Strip for three generations, and ceding full control to the PA – was heralded as a test case for Palestinian self-governance. Instead, it became a cautionary tale. Within months, Hamas, exploiting the PA's weakness, won the 2006 legislative elections with 74 seats (44 percent of the popular vote) to Fatah's 45 seats (with more than 41 per-

establishment of a massive terror infrastructure – tunnels, rocket arsenals, and training camps – funded by Iran and Qatar.

Gaza's transformation into a de facto Hamas terror state buried the two-state proposition. Between 2005 and 2023, more than 20,000 rockets from Gaza rained down on Israeli civilians. Hamas's violent attacks culminated in the October 7, invasion – a meticulously planned operation involving 3,000 Hamas terrorists in pick-up trucks, on paragliders, and operating suicide drones. Hamas terror has enjoyed broad support among the Palestinian public.

An Arab World Research and Development (AWRAD) poll conducted between October 31 and November 7, 2023, showed that 75 percent of both West Bank and Gaza Strip Arabs surveyed supported the October 7 massacre, with 59 percent expressing "extreme support." The survey reported an even higher degree of support for the massacre among Palestinians in Judea and Samaria (83.1 percent) than among those in the Gaza Strip (63.6 percent). The poll also recorded that both West Bank and Gaza Arabs reject coexistence with Israel (85.9 percent), are committed to the restoration of "historical Palestine" (71.1 percent), and support the creation of one Palestinian entity "from the river to the sea" (74.7 percent) to end the Israeli Palestinian conflict. (See "A New Poll of Palestinians: Supporting Terror and Rejecting Peace" by Maurice Hirsch).

These findings reflect not a Palestinian Arab desire for peace but an embrace of Hamas's genocidal charter, which calls for Israel's destruction and

Israel's unilateral withdrawal from Gaza in 2005... intended as a pilot for Palestinian independence, instead birthed a Hamas terror state on Israel's southern doorstep.

1993, it has become clear that the process empowered terror rather than peace (see JCFA's compendium, "30 Years Since Oslo: Lessons Learned)." Gaza's post-2005 descent into a Hamas-controlled jihadist stronghold underscores the failure, as did the PA's complicity in terror, corruption, and governance collapse in the West Bank, together burying the

cent). (See Lt.-Col. Maurice Hirsch, IDF (res.), "Is It Time to Declare the Failure of the Oslo Accords?" JCFA, March 3, 2025.) Between 2005 and 2007, Hamas rocket fire on Israel increased by more than 500 percent. By 2007, Hamas had violently seized Gaza, expelling Fatah forces in a bloody coup. What followed was not state-building but rather the

the killing of Jews – a stark contrast to Oslo’s promise of coexistence.

The Gaza failure exposes the folly of assuming territorial concessions could pacify religiously and ideologically fueled rejectionist forces. The 2005 pullout, like Oslo, underestimated Palestinian

Bank compounds this breach. Cities including Jenin and Nablus have become sanctuaries for Iranian proxies Hamas, Palestinian Islamic Jihad (PIJ), the Lion’s Den, and the Marxist-Leninist Popular Front for the Liberation of Palestine (PFLP). PA security forces often collude

Hudaibiyah, which was breached when militarily opportune.

Arafat continued this deceptive strategy in refusing to amend the PLO Charter’s call for Israel’s annihilation, despite his false representations to then-US President Bill Clinton, in breach of the Palestinians’ commitments under the 1998 Wye River Memorandum. This duplicity, coupled with Arafat’s and his successor, PA Chairman Mahmoud Abbas’s praise of terrorists killed by Israel as “martyrs,” reveals a leadership aligned with jihad, not peace.

## The Gaza failure exposes the folly of assuming territorial concessions could pacify religiously and ideologically fueled rejectionist forces. The 2005 pullout, like Oslo, underestimated Palestinian radicalism...

radicalism, leading to a security vacuum exploited by Hamas. This has resulted in a failed terror state that turned a humanitarian two-state gesture into a strategic nightmare.

### ■ *Oslo’s Broken Promises and the PA’s Terror Nexus*

The Oslo Accords, intended to midwife a Palestinian-governed entity, instead entrenched a hybrid warfare strategy blending terrorism, political deceit, and global delegitimization. The PA’s “pay-for-slay” program exemplifies this betrayal (See my Foreword to “The PLO and PA Political Warfare and Israel’s Response,” JCFA, July 9, 2023). This PA program has disbursed more than \$300 million annually – seven percent of the PA budget – to terrorists and their families: \$3,120 monthly for a 30-year jail sentence. These stipends are funded partly by Western aid (as documented by Brig. Gen. Yossi Kuperwasser, IDF (res.) in “Incentivizing Terrorism,” JCFA, November 2016). This flagrant violation of Oslo’s anti-terror clauses not only bankrolls violence but also glorifies it, as seen in statements by PA officials Mahmoud Al-Aloul, Abbas Zaki, Jibril Rajoub, and Munib Al-Masri, that lionize the October 7 perpetrators. The PA’s facilitation of terror groups in the West

with these terror groups in direct contravention of Oslo’s security cooperation mandates. The PA’s decision, at the G.W. Bush administration’s urging, to allow Hamas’s 2006 electoral run – despite its terror agenda, its declared rejection of Israel, peace, and of negotiations – paved the way for Gaza’s takeover, a fatal flaw of Oslo’s design.

The PLO’s history of terror and ideological rejection of Israel underpins this dysfunction. Founded in

### ■ *Indoctrination: A Generational War Machine*

Palestinian education, under PA oversight, has fueled this rejectionism. PA textbooks have erased Israel from maps, glorified “martyrdom,” and have denied Jewish historical ties to the land. External studies, like IMPACT-se’s 2022 report, confirm this curriculum’s role in radicalizing youth, ensuring that each generation inherits a warlike ethos antithetical to a two-state vision.

Oslo’s failure to counter the “Palestinian right of return” and other propaganda has radicalized Palestinian Arabs. And PA indoctrination has tran-

US Ambassador David Friedman called Oslo “a bunch of handshakes” devoid of substance – a verdict validated by thousands of Israeli deaths since 1993.

1964, it included factions like the nominally secular, nationalist Fatah and the Marxist-Leninist Popular Front for the Liberation of Palestine (PFLP), notorious for airline hijackings and civilian massacres. Yet, post-Oslo, PA and PLO Chairman Yasser Arafat, referencing Islamic historical warfare, framed the accords as a tactical truce akin to Islam’s Prophet Mohammed’s Treaty of

scended grievances, institutionalizing a culture of violence that renders coexistence impossible, at least in the current era.

### ■ *Abbas’s Crumbling Authority*

Abbas, now 89 and in his 20th year of a four-year term, wields virtually no control beyond Ramallah. A May 2025 Palestinian Center for Policy and Survey Research (PCPSR) public opinion poll





Israeli Prime Minister Yitzhak Rabin, US President Bill Clinton, and PLO chairman Yasser Arafat at the signing of the Oslo Accords on September 13, 1993 at the White House in Washington, DC. (Photo: Vince Musi / The White House)

surveying both West Bank and Gaza Arabs reported nearly twice as much support for Hamas over Abbas's Fatah party, including in future voting projections for West Bank residents. (See PSR Press Release). This explains why the PA has avoided elections for 20 years: to evade a Hamas sweep.

The PA has become a "corrupt shell," in the words of Israeli policy advisor Michal Cotler-Wunsh, incapable of governing a state or curbing Iranian proxies. Gaza's Hamas takeover and the West Bank's militant hotspots illustrate a fractured polity unfit for sovereignty, mocking Oslo's state-building aspirations.

### ■ **The Two-State Illusion Post-October 7**

The so-called "two-state solution" presumed a Palestinian partner committed to peace. The Oslo Accords, signed in 1993, were driven by a confluence of American and Israeli optimism, and in retrospect, Western naivete and willful blindness, underpinned by a post-Cold War belief in a global "peace dividend."

American policymakers, buoyed by the Soviet Union's collapse in 1991, saw the end of superpower rivalry as an opportunity to resolve regional conflicts, including the Israeli-Palestinian dispute. The Clinton administration, particularly, viewed the Palestinian-Israeli peace process as a pathway to Middle Eastern stability, believing that economic cooperation and Palestinian self-governance would foster peace and reduce anti-Western sentiment (see "The Reckoning," by Shoshana Bryen, October 5, 2024, *The Daily Caller*). This mirrored a broader Western hope that liberal democratic values could transform adversarial societies, ignoring the deep-rooted rejectionism within Palestinian leadership.

Israeli architects of Oslo, led by leftist academics such as Yair Hirschfeld and Ron Pundak, politically progressive diplomats Uri Savir and Yossi Beilin, and leaders Shimon Peres and Yitzhak Rabin, shared a vision of mutual recognition and coexistence. Hirschfeld and Pundak, operating initially without official sanction, believed secret talks with the PLO could bypass stalled

negotiations in Washington, offering a pragmatic framework for Palestinian autonomy (see Savir, *The Process*, 1998). Beilin and Peres saw Oslo as a chance to marginalize territorial maximalists and secure Israel's future through diplomatic compromise, while Rabin, a security hawk, reluctantly endorsed the process to address the Palestinian issue before confronting more strategic threats, particularly the Iranian regime's race for nuclear weapons and regional supremacy. The Oslo acolytes anticipated a "peace dividend" of economic growth, regional cooperation, and reduced military burdens, assuming Palestinian goodwill.

This optimism reflected what Kuperwasser and historian Dr. Joel Fishman term "willful blindness." Israeli and American leaders overlooked Hamas's and the PA's terror activities, including the PLO's unchanged charter and rising violence, projecting Western rationalism onto an Arab nationalist and Islamic rejectionist ideology. This miscalculation, rooted in a secular, post-Soviet hope for peace, ignored Hamas's growing influence and

the PA's "pay-for-slay" program, setting the stage for Oslo's collapse and the October 7 catastrophe.

In a clear-eyed historical view, Palestinian rejectionism can be traced back to the early 1920s, when the first

constitute a strategic threat to Israel's existence, given Gaza's October 7 precedent and jihadist entrenchment.

There are other options. For years, the Jerusalem Center for Security and Foreign Affairs (JCFA) has proposed

Gaza's post-2005 descent into a Hamas terror state culminating in the atrocities of October 7 buried the two-state proposition. The Israeli public's eyes are wide open... Oslo's implosion from Gaza's failure to the West Bank's radicalization demands a new paradigm.

Palestinian "mufti," Haj Amin Al-Husseini, a British mandate appointee, falsely accused Jewish worshippers of endangering the al-Aqsa mosque on Temple Mount. Palestinian ideologically-fueled opposition to Jewish presence and sovereignty would continue to the current day. Former US Ambassador David Friedman called Oslo "a bunch of handshakes" devoid of substance – a verdict validated by thousands of Israeli deaths since 1993. Oslo's security imbalance lies in empowering terror-supporting entities.

### ■ **A Realistic Alternative**

The PA's current structure is unsalvageable: any path forward demands transformation. Kuperwasser and Hirsch, in "Unmasking Jihad," outline six prerequisites to any future Palestinian entity: (1) condemn October 7, (2) end "pay-for-slay," (3) recognize Israel as the Jewish nation-state, (4) halt terror incitement, (5) stop anti-Israel international campaigns, and (6) actively fight terror. These reforms, absent since Oslo, are essential to dismantle the PA's terror ecosystem and shift its narrative.

Yet, even a possibly reformed or more probably restructured Palestinian entity would indicate that a sovereign Palestinian state is unviable, and would

a federal-confederal model: localized Palestinian self-governance, affiliated with Jordan and/or other regional actors, with complete Israeli security. This

The federal-confederal approach is a more viable option, conditioned on strict and verifiable restructuring, and conditioned upon de-radicalization of the Palestinian public, media, and political discourses.

### ■ **Beyond the Illusion**

Gaza's post-2005 descent into a Hamas terror state culminating in the atrocities of October 7 buried the two-state proposition. The Israeli public's eyes are wide open. A May 2025 JCFA poll showed that 78 percent of Jewish Israelis reject an additional terror-supporting Palestinian state. The PA's terror facilitation and indoctrination, and Abbas's feeble rule reveal a partner incapable and unwilling to foster peaceful relations with Israel. Oslo's implosion from Gaza's failure to the West Bank's radicalization demands a new paradigm.

The federal-confederal approach is a more viable option, conditioned on strict and verifiable restructuring, and on de-radicalization of the Palestinian public, media, and political discourse. This is the work of a generation that demands a pragmatic reset: security for Israel and its recognized legitimacy as

the nation-state of the Jewish people, autonomy for Palestinians, and hopefully an end to indoctrination, extremism, and terror.

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DAN DIKER, Ph.D., is President of the Jerusalem Center for Security and Foreign Affairs, a former Secretary-General of the World Jewish Congress, and a Research Fellow at the International Institute for Counter-Terrorism at Reichman University, with expertise in counter-political warfare, Middle East policy, and combating antisemitism.

# A New Gaza — An Abraham Accord Protectorate?

by **BARRY SHAW**

**T**he 50-year record of Palestinianism is bloody and awful and reached a crescendo on October 7, 2023.

In the Gaza Strip, for decades when they were not killing each other they were killing us.

October 7 was the day that the world should have come to its senses and said, “No more! This is where it leads. This is where it must die.”

It must die in the cursed ruins of Gaza, but out of these ruins could come new hope. A possibility of a new and better future not only for Gaza, but for the Middle East.

## ■ *The Palestinian Authority*

Put aside, for heaven’s sake, the idea of bringing the corrupt, failed leadership of the Fatah-PLO in Ramallah to rule over Gaza. They don’t even have the support of their own people, according to every Palestinian poll and actual elections.

Let’s be brutally honest and acknowledge that the half-century experiment of a two-state non-solution is dead in the water, killed along with thousands of Israelis by those incited and rewarded by the Palestinian Authority (PA).

The PA was driven out of Gaza by Hamas and by the people in the Strip. It should not be revived in Gaza because this will condemn an already violent Middle East to another half century of conflict.

Clearly, Gaza needs to be rebuilt from scratch. The ideology of its violent past has to be swept away along with its rubble.

It must not be mismanaged by those whose principles led to its ruin. It must be led by people rejecting its violent past, totally dedicated to making Gaza a better place to live rather than looking obsessively at Israel which they do not possess and never will.

Better to offer a non-violent prosperous future for Gaza and have it serve as an example to those West Bank Arabs suffering under the failed Ramallah regime.

## ■ *Gaza’s Potential*

The location of Gaza makes it a place that can become the Cote D’Azur of the Middle East. The sort of place that Beirut was before the intrusion of dangerous and deadly forces, such as radical Islam, Syria, Palestinianism under

by a moderate Islam.

This new experiment should be incorporated into Gaza through the spirit and fabric of the Abraham Accords.

Not only should the PA have no permanent governing role in the future Gaza. Neither should Israel. It is clear that neither the PA nor Israel should step in and impose their governing rule over Gaza. Instead, there should be an international administration to reconstruct a future Gaza while establishing a future local leadership based on merit, moderation, and modernization.

And it should not be farmed out to the United Nations, whose agencies have made such a mess of the Middle East.

The reconstruction of a new Gaza should be established by a regional board led by the Abraham Accord partners.

Gaza needs to be rebuilt from scratch. The ideology of its violent past has to be swept away along with its rubble.

Yasser Arafat. And now, Hezbollah.

Another solution is desperately needed, and Gaza is the best place to start.

The project must be founded on the rejection of radical Islam to be replaced

Saudi Arabia should be invited to play a major part if it can put aside its outdated dedication to a corrupt PA leadership in Ramallah. The reason the PA has never held an election after the presidential term of Arafat’s successor, Mahmoud



Abbas, expired in 2009 and legislative council's mandate ended a year later is because Palestinian polls indicate West Bank Arabs would reject the authority's failed, corrupt Fatah leadership.

If it's democracy we want in Gaza we won't find it in the example of Fatah in Ramallah.

The ultimate goal must be to lead Gaza into becoming the model for a new peaceful Middle East. Done properly, this Gaza Strip could become an independent state in its own right and eventually led into becoming a new member of the United Nations.

In effect, the budding State of Gaza will begin life as an Abraham Accord Protectorate.

## ■ **The Protectorate**

There are many successful examples of how small blossoming countries and destroyed nations flourish when guided

protectorates ranging from Puerto Rico and the Virgin Islands to Guam and Samoa in the Pacific.

As a political and governing system, the concept of protectorates has been successful in the past and is currently working well in the international arena.

People forget that, after the United States defeated Japan in World War II, including the utter devastation of Hiroshima and Nagasaki by two atomic bombs, it became a protectorate of the United States. Part of that responsibility was not only the rebuilding of Japan but also a deradicalization program for its people.

The same applied in Europe after the defeat of Nazi Germany, when the Allies occupied Germany including its divided capital Berlin. Under the Marshall Plan West Germany was rebuilt, but an essential part of that reconstruction was an intensive de-Nazification program.

Israel and Egypt both have vested interests in protecting the borders of a peaceful Gaza. Both have transit points for goods, services, and people to flow in and out of Gaza for work or business.

by larger democratic states.

France has numerous protectorates including Guadeloupe, Guiana, Martinique, La Réunion, Mayotte, Saint-Barthélemy, and even several Polynesian islands. All peaceful and prosperous.

The United Kingdom has 14 protectorates, known as UK Overseas Territories, perhaps the most famous being the Falkland Islands which the British defended when the Falklands were invaded by Argentina in 1982.

The United States has five

The result of these two deradicalization and reconstruction programs led to the creation of two prosperous, peaceful democratic counties.

Protectorates are recognized under international law and the specific relationship between the "Protectorate" and the "Protector" is set out under a treaty signed by both parties.

## ■ **The Role of Arab States**

In the case of Gaza, the "Protectors" will be multi-layered.

Wealthy, moderate Arab nations would play a central role in both the physical and spiritual revitalization of a modern, moderate Gaza including rebuilding the mosques and madrasahs and hiring the imams and religious teachers teaching their moderate form of Islam. Meanwhile, the United States and Israel will lend their talent and expertise in building a modern educational system for the next generation of Gazans in reading, writing, and arithmetic (rather than indoctrination) leading to hi-tech, business and administrative skills needed to fill leadership and managerial roles in a new Gaza.

Israel and Egypt both have vested interests in protecting the borders of a peaceful Gaza. Both have transit points for goods, services, and people to flow in and out of Gaza for work or business.

In the past, Israel proposed a Gaza Strip with an offshore airport, marina, and seaport connected by road and rail to the mainland.

This ambitious project should be revived. Gaza could become, more quickly than many imagine, a tourist-based economy as a prosperous hub bordering on two powerful and peaceful neighbors.

Israel proved when it developed Gaza that the area, about twice the size of the District of Columbia in the US, has significant agricultural potential.

A successful Gaza can be an example to Arabs living under a failed Ramallah leadership.

We can no longer be led or influenced by those with limited, failed, vision.

Better we follow original thinkers who can open up a new future.

Perhaps a three-state solution is a better vision than a half-century two-state failure.

A new Gaza heralds a new Middle East. And the route to that success is through an enlarged Abraham Accord Protectorate.

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BARRY SHAW is International Public Diplomacy director of the Israel Institute for Strategic Studies.

# From Integration to Operation: Israel's Role in US CENTCOM

by CDR. DAVID LEVY, USN (ret.)

Four years ago, as part of the 2016 Trump administration's adjustments to the Unified Command Plan (UCP), Israel was officially transferred from US European Command (USEUCOM) to US Central Command (USCENTCOM). This meant Israel was expected to engage in security cooperation (e.g., exercises, military sales, operational planning) with US regional allies and partners, also in USCENTCOM – specifically, with moderate Arab states. The Abraham Accords, signed in 2020, were a vital precursor to this move and a harbinger of future Arab-Israel collaboration.

Israel's transition to USCENTCOM and the subsequent trajectory toward greater operational integration represents more than a mere bureaucratic change. It has signaled a realignment of strategic relationships and expectations, opening the door for multinational exercises, operational synergies, and a plethora of future collaborations between Israel and the moderate Arab states, all under US aegis.

At the time, the focus was on foundational benefits: military sales, joint training and exercises, the assignment of exchange and liaison officers, and crucially, a single operational theater that improved communication and coordination – especially in air and missile defense. Israel's entrance into the USCENTCOM area of responsibility (AOR) allowed it to collaborate more easily with Arab militaries that are also US partners.

Those fundamentals remain in place today, but Israel's role within USCENTCOM has matured. It is no

longer only about capability building and interoperability. It is now about combined operations.

This shift is evident in the maritime and integrated air and missile defense domains. The International Maritime Exercise (IMX) series, hosted by the US Navy's Fifth Fleet in Bahrain, now features Israeli naval assets alongside Gulf

new era of Israel-USCENTCOM cooperation than General Michael "Gorilla" Kurilla, who assumed command of USCENTCOM in April 2022. Since taking command, Gen. Kurilla has visited Israel five times on official visits since the October 7, 2023 attack, an extraordinary frequency for a combatant commander. He has also visited at least four

Gen. Kurilla has visited Israel five times on official visits since the October 7, 2023 attack, an extraordinary frequency for a combatant commander.

Arab partners. The exercise covers a range of operational scenarios, including mine countermeasures, integration of unmanned systems and artificial intelligence, vessel defense, search and rescue, mass casualty response, and counter-terrorism operations. The Israel Navy's 3rd Flotilla (missile ships), the 915th Patrol Boats Squadron, and the Underwater Missions Unit (YALTAM) participated in the exercise. This is not symbolic; it is operational. Israel's presence in the Arabian Gulf and Red Sea has become a practical component of regional maritime security, and its naval forces now operate under a shared understanding with other USCENTCOM partners on deconfliction, tactical communication, and shared threats.

No figure better symbolizes this

other times on short notice following the Iranian attacks or during other crises. His presence on the ground reflects Israel's centrality to USCENTCOM planning and Kurilla's commitment to building trust among the region's stakeholders.

## ■ *Houthi Attacks*

Ongoing since October 2023, the Yemeni Houthis have launched more than 200 ballistic missiles and 170 drones toward Israel. These attacks have repeatedly targeted Israeli territory, starting with the Eilat region and now, more often in Israel's center, including areas near Ben Gurion Airport and Israel's major seaports. In response, Israel has intercepted the vast majority of these threats using its own air



*CENTCOM chief Gen. Michael Erik Kurilla (left) and IDF chief Herzi Halevi meet in Tel Aviv on May 30, 2023. (Photo: IDF)*

defense systems, sometimes with assistance from US Navy ships operating in the Red Sea, such as the USS Carney and others, which have shot down missiles and drones heading toward Israel.

USCENTCOM partners – including Saudi Arabia, the United Arab Emirates (UAE), and Bahrain – have reportedly increased intelligence sharing and regional airspace coordination with USCENTCOM. This level of cooperation, including the sharing of radar data and early warning information, represents a significant and unprecedented shift in regional defense dynamics, making operational realities that would have been unthinkable a decade ago.

Starting on the evening of April 13, 2024, and continuing into the early hours of April 14, 2024, Iran attacked Israel with more than 170 drones, 30 plus cruise missiles, and 120 plus ballistic missiles. The defense of Israel was coordinated, integrated, and multinational. USCENTCOM partners like Jordan and US global partners the UK and France participated directly in the defense of Israeli airspace. US forces in the region (including those at Al-Udeid Air Base in

Qatar and US Navy ships) participated in intercepting threats. The second Iranian attack on October 1, 2024, demonstrated that the previous event was not an anomaly but a new operating norm.

Each visit has deepened bilateral cooperation. During his March 2023 visit, Gen. Kurilla observed IDF exercises involving long-range strike scenarios and joint missile defense simulations. In July 2023, he met with defense officials to discuss operational responses to Iranian aggression in Syria and the Red Sea. His January 2024 visit came amid escalating Houthi threats and involved high-level war gaming and strategic coordination sessions with Israeli military planners. These visits signal to allies and adversaries alike that the Washington-Jerusalem relationship is operationally active and strategically strong.

### ■ **Support in Gaza**

The US has provided extensive intelligence and operational support to Israel during IDF operations in the Gaza Strip, including signals intelligence, precision targeting assistance, and persistent ISR (intelligence, surveillance,

and reconnaissance) coverage through American drones and surveillance aircraft, which have complemented Israel's own robust capabilities; this support has also included significant arms transfers, naval and aerial deployments, and cooperation on special operations planning.

### ■ **Lebanon**

With Operation "Opening Blow" – Israel's beeper and radio covert action against Hezbollah – Israel attacked Hezbollah operatives and the command and control system they relied upon. Following the attack, Israel continued its campaign with airstrikes and targeted assassinations, with Hezbollah's Secretary-General Hassan Nasrallah killed by an Israel air strike on September 27, 2024. These activities weakened Hezbollah to such an extent that an opportunity emerged for the new Lebanese government to attempt to reassert its authority over the country.

Israel's sustained military campaign, combined with US diplomatic leverage and substantial aid to the Lebanese Armed Forces (LAF), is designed to create conditions under which the Lebanese state can reassert control, particularly in the south. *The Times of Israel* has published a recent article detailing how Israeli intelligence – delivered to the Lebanese authorities via the United States – has helped locate remaining Hezbollah caches and posts in southern Lebanon. The US and Israel are closely coordinating both their military and diplomatic activities, with joint intelligence sharing, a shared approach to monitoring ceasefire violations, and a mutual commitment to limiting Iranian influence and ensuring Hezbollah's disarmament or withdrawal. The US-led monitoring committee, which includes France and other partners, provides a framework for managing disputes and supporting Israeli actions against Hezbollah resupply efforts, while continued American support for Lebanon's reconstruction and military is explicitly tied to progress in reducing Hezbollah's role.



While US forces have not operated in combat roles alongside the IDF, the depth of coordination – especially in logistics, ISR, and strategic messaging – reflects a shift from traditional strategic alignment toward a more integrated operational partnership.

### ■ **More Regional Partners**

Washington increasingly expects close allies to support multinational coalitions. The “expeditionary expectation” is real. Israel, while still primarily focused on territorial defense, is edging toward this paradigm. In recent months, there have been credible reports that Gulf states, particularly the United Arab Emirates, are expanding security

Israel’s contributions to cyber defense, intelligence fusion, and special operations liaison roles have also expanded. US and Israeli cyber units have jointly monitored Iranian-linked threat groups, especially during periods of escalated regional tensions. Special forces from both countries have conducted joint training in desert and urban environments, simulating scenarios likely to arise in future contingencies.

Israel’s cooperation with other regional players will likely grow. Steve Witkoff, the US Special Envoy to the Middle East, has publicly predicted that once the Gaza War is over, the Abraham Accords are poised for imminent expansion. Speaking at multiple events in May 2025, includ-

While no countries have been officially named, diplomatic analysis points to several likely candidates, all of which fall under USCENTCOM’s auspices. Saudi Arabia remains a key but complicated target, with its position influenced by the ongoing conflict in Gaza. Azerbaijan and Kazakhstan have been identified as promising prospects due to their strong existing ties with Israel and interest in expanding economic and security cooperation. Azerbaijan has held direct discussions with Israeli officials, while Kazakhstan seeks to use the Accords to reduce its reliance on Russia and China. Syria has also been mentioned as an Abraham Accords candidate directly by President Trump when he announced the lifting of US sanctions on Damascus.

### ■ **From Integration to Operational Partner**

The transformation of Israel’s role in USCENTCOM from integration to operational partnership is ongoing, but its trajectory is clear. What began as a bureaucratic realignment has developed into joint exercises, real-time threat responses, and deepening military ties. As a major non-NATO ally with one of the region’s most capable and battle-tested militaries, Israel is increasingly seen by Arab states as a pillar of regional security rather than a pariah. Looking ahead, Israel’s participation in USCENTCOM may expand to include multinational deployments beyond the Middle East as the US seeks to share the burden of global security. By partnering with USCENTCOM, Israel is building upon a relationship that promotes interoperability and operational cooperation, builds trust among regional partners, and, when necessary, avoids the political costs of normalization while cooperation continues and deepens through informal channels.

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cooperation with Israel in response to the threat of Houthi missile and drone attacks. Citing satellite imagery, *The Times of Israel* reported that the imagery showed “two Barak launchers and an Elta ELM 2084 [Israel] radar near the al-Dhafra airbase, south of the UAE capital Abu Dhabi.” Also, open-source intelligence has confirmed the deployment of an ELM-2084 in northeastern Somalia – to enhance early warning and tracking of aerial threats from the Yemeni Houthis. This cooperation signals Israel’s willingness to support regional partners against shared threats.

ing Israeli Independence Day celebrations in Washington, Witkoff stated, “We think [we] will have some, or a lot of announcements, very, very shortly, which we hope will yield great progress by next year.” He emphasized that these developments could lead to significant diplomatic breakthroughs and further normalization between Israel and additional states. His remarks are echoed by other US officials, including Secretary of State Marco Rubio, who testified before Congress that he expects “a number of more countries that are willing to join that alliance,” potentially by the end of the year.

# October 7 — Lessons Learned or Relearned

by ERIC ROZENMAN

**W**hat are the lessons of October 7 and Israel's subsequent war against Hamas, Palestinian Islamic Jihad and their allies in the Strip, from fighting Hezbollah in Lebanon, terrorists in Judea and Samaria, Houthis in Yemen and the puppet masters of them all in Iran?

Eight lessons – not necessarily a comprehensive list – follow. Perhaps obvious, but no less inescapable for that:

## ■ *Believe Your Enemies*

Interpret their actions according to their beliefs. Gaza-based Hamas (Palestinian Islamic Resistance Movement, the Palestinian branch of the Muslim Brotherhood) has called for the destruction of Israel and genocide of Jews since its original 1988 charter and repeatedly launched terrorism and mini-wars before October 7 to further those goals. Its visible rehearsals for the 2023 massacre were just that, visible rehearsals, even if discounted by Israeli officials.

The Islamic Republic of Iran, Hamas' patron, has labeled Israel "the Little Satan" and the United States "the Great Satan" since its founding in 1979. Government-organized rallies from then until now chant "Death to Israel" and "Death to the United States." No matter the costs imposed through economic sanctions and dissatisfaction among much of the Iranian public, Tehran's theocratic dictatorship continued its pursuit of nuclear weapons and improved ballistic missiles. It wasn't for defense.

## ■ *Defang the Mullahs*

Israel's destruction of much of Iran's air defenses in retaliation for the Islamic Republic's launch of nearly 200 ballistic missiles at the Jewish state last October presented the best opportunity to heavily damage if not destroy the mullah's accelerated drive for nuclear warheads. Having learned to believe its enemies, Israel struck on June 13.

Although Israel, the United States and other countries cooperated to intercept most of Tehran's missile barrages in October and April of 2024, the United Nations' International Atomic Energy

Agency (IAEA) said early this year that the mullahs had pushed on with nearly weapons-grade uranium enrichment. Iran insisted its nuclear program supported only peaceful uses – medicine, electrical power generation, etc. – but its enrichment levels far exceeded those needed for non-weapon purposes.

Washington renewed talks with Iran to end its nuclear efforts, with President Donald Trump imposing a short deadline. He warned of military action by Israel, backed by the United States, if Tehran failed to make a deal. But talking with Israeli Prime Minister Benjamin Netanyahu about attacking

Iran before the latter met with Trump reportedly helped explain why Mike Waltz was pushed from national security advisor and instead nominated as US ambassador to the United Nations. In any case, Ayatollah Ali Khamenei could not abandon Iran's drive for nuclear weapons, according to Shay Khatiri, Vice president of development and a senior fellow at the Yorktown Institute, Khatiri argued that American administrations from presidents Barack Obama through Trump's first term and that of Joe Biden miss the point of Iranian nukes.

Palestinian terrorists murdered as many Israelis in the first five years of this "peace process" as in the 15 years preceding it.

He asserted the Islamic Revolution that ousted the American-backed Shah in 1979 rested on three pillars: "public practice of Islamic law, economic leveling and anti-Americanism and anti-Zionism. ... Half a century later, the state is facing a crisis of legitimacy for its failure to deliver on its promises." Mosques have never been quieter, poverty spreads among those not connected to ruling cliques and revolutionary-minded youth see the regime failing against the Little Satan and Great Satan, Khatiri says. "The nuclear program is Khamenei's last chance to save his regime and leave a legacy."

Iran bought time by negotiating a



Pro and anti-Israel demonstrators gather in Times Square, New York City, on October 8, 2023. (Photo: Vanessa Carvalho/ZUMA Press)

deal with the Obama administration. Trump withdrew and imposed punishing economic sanctions. Biden's unsuccessful attempt to restart talks provided Tehran with more time for nuclear development. The mullahs tried try for a faux negotiation sequel, with newer and

### ■ **Fighting “Hate” Doesn’t Work**

If Dara Horn were to update her 2021 bestseller, *People Love Dead Jews: Reports from a Haunted Present*, which dealt with sterile, often eccentric ex post facto sympathy for victims of the Nazi Holocaust, then *People Love Jews*

antisemitism. In Berlin, Paris, London, and Washington, D.C. among many other cities, tens of thousands of Israel-haters – routinely excused as “pro-Palestinian” by news media – marched in the streets. On campuses, online, as news and entertainment there was more of the same. In the United States for 2024, the Anti-Defamation League tallied 9,354 antisemitic incidents, up 893 percent in 10 years and the most recorded since the organization started tracking this category in 1979. A vehement compulsion to be done with the Jews and their country spreads under the perverse banner of “intersectional anti-racist resistance.” Meanwhile, non-Jews often mistake antisemitism as only “a Jewish problem” instead of also a warning sign of social disintegration.

To avoid manipulative slowdowns or domestic American political obstructions, Israelis must expand their ammunition, spare parts and fuel resupply capacity for any but the shortest conflicts.

more numerous enrichment centrifuges spinning, and missile development continuing. Russia and China might have assisted in rebuilding air defenses. The regime, an Islamist police state with aggression as part of its DNA, wreaked havoc across the Middle East when unprotected by a nuclear umbrella. What might Tehran have attempted with one?

*Dead* would do nicely. A new chapter could detail that while not every Arab or Muslim or most Westerners despise Jews, their state and Judaism, plenty do and anodyne campaigns against “hate” will not end this detestation.

The biggest one-day massacre of Jews since the Holocaust sparked an eruption of ecstatic anti-Zionist

### ■ **The “Two-State Mirage**

A “two-state solution,” meaning an Israel inside pre-1967 armistice lines and a West Bank, Gaza Strip and eastern Jerusalem “Palestine” was always a mirage envisioned by many Israelis, Americans and Europeans. But not by



Palestinian Arabs. Their leaders said so, rejecting two-state opportunities or outright offers in 1938, 1947, 1979, 2000, 2001 and 2008. To underline their refusal, they often turned to violence. The sole time they agreed – the Oslo Accords

### ■ **The US “Bear Hug”**

The close US-Israel relationship can become a diplomatic and military bear hug squeezing Jerusalem. Hence, to avoid manipulative slowdowns or domestic American political obstructions,

Former Israeli Ambassador to the US Michael Herzog... disclosed how tight the bear hug can get. He said the Biden administration exerted heavy pressure on Israel... especially regarding retaliation for direct attacks from Iran.

of 1993 and 1995 – they did so in bad faith. Palestinian terrorists murdered as many Israelis in the first five years of this “peace process” as in the 15 years preceding it. Two states – one Jewish, one Arab, at peace in the 40-mile-wide sliver west of the Jordan River – will not be part of a post-Gaza war settlement.

Not only has “Palestine,” tested in the Hamas-run Gaza Strip and Palestinian Authority (Fatah/Palestine Liberation Organization)-led West Bank proved to be a failed state, but Palestinian Arabs also have shown themselves a failed people. It hardly could have been otherwise since Palestinian nationalism is based not on the construction of a twenty-second Arab country but on the destruction of the one Jewish state. Hence the annihilationist language of the Hamas charter and PLO Covenant.

Like Soviet man and Yugoslav man before it, Palestinian man is an artificial construct spawned by a negative ideology enforced primarily through violence. Though no “two-state” Israeli-Palestinian settlement is possible, Israeli-Arab peace remains desirable. The Abraham Accords among Israel, the United Arab Emirates, Bahrain, and Morocco suggest how.

Israelis must expand their ammunition, spare parts and fuel resupply capacity for any but the shortest conflicts. Israel also should attempt something even more difficult – leveraging close intelligence and security/weapons assistance to some European and Arab countries into diplomatic backing.

The regime, an Islamist police state with aggression as part of its DNA, wreaked havoc across the Middle East when unprotected by a nuclear umbrella. What might Tehran attempt with one?

East works. For us, this is existential.” But “more than once, they went crazy on me. They yelled, ‘You’ve lost your minds! You’re dragging us into a regional war,’” Then, when Israel went ahead successfully, US officials tried to take credit for stability in the Middle East, Herzog said.

“There are many within the State Department who are not just unfriendly to Israel, but outright hostile,” he asserted. “Some actively worked to block nearly every Israeli request.” Prolonged battles over basic military needs weakened Israel’s ability to act decisively, Herzog claimed.

Simultaneously, the foundation of Cold War US-Israel ties including overlapping national interests and shared Western cultural and democratic values appears to be cracking. Matt Brooks, chief executive officer of the Republican Jewish Coalition, warned in April that only 33 percent of Democrats now say they have a favorable opinion of Israel, compared to 83 percent of Republicans. But, Brooks added, among GOP supporters under 50, the positive-negative split is just 50-to-48 percent.

### ■ **The Death Penalty**

Nine days after the October 7 massacre, Hamas demanded Israel release 6,000 Palestinian Arab prisoners, among them hundreds charged or convicted by Israeli authorities for terrorist murders, in exchange for the hostages seized on October 7. During the sixth prisoner-hostage swap early this year, Jerusalem prepared to

free up to 1,900 Palestinian detainees for scores of hostages, including more bodies of those who died in captivity.

Of the Arabs, Israel's Justice Ministry published names of 737 men, women and teenagers involved in terrorist killings to allow time for petitions against their release.

Lopsided exchanges began with prisoner of war releases during the 1948 Independence War in which Israel repeatedly traded hundreds of Arabs for a few Jews. They include the 1985 "Jibril deal" with the Popular Front for the Liberation of Palestine-General Command, which saw three Israel Defense Forces members exchanged for 1,150 terrorists and the 2011 deal with Hamas that released 1,027 Israeli detainees for IDF soldier Gilad Shalit. Historically, many Arabs freed in such agreements returned to terrorism.

To reduce Palestinians' incentive to hold hostages as bargaining chips, Israel ought to impose the death penalty on terrorist murderers.

### ■ **Failure to Draft Haredim**

Israel's population reached 10 million in 2024, including 7.7 million Jews. By Oct. 17, 2023, the defense ministry had mobilized more than 300,000 reservists to join the 170,000 members of the standing army, air force and navy in the battle against Hamas. But what became the Jewish state's longest war endangered pre-conflict prosperity and highlighted underlying social difficulties. Among them, according to a Jerusalem Center for Security and Foreign Affairs (JCFA) report issued one year into the fighting, "lack of an appropriate economic and budgetary policy for the new [wartime] reality and a preference for nonproductive sectors while avoiding cuts in political and coalition funding [government subsidies to parties representing special interest voting blocs]."

Most glaring of these was the continuing failure to integrate ultra-Orthodox (Haredi) Jews into the general society. Signs of progress have been noted in

military enlistment by a small number of Haredi youth and rising employment among Haredi women. Nevertheless, the JCFA report stated, "the high growth rate of the Haredi population [14 percent of the total and fastest growing portion] and its lack of integration in the labor market and the military" threatens the economy and the country. "The manpower needs of the army and the civilian economy have become acute, and Haredi conscription has become an operational problem, not only a moral one."

### ■ **The Allon Plan**

As Israel needs continued Jewish population growth and greater unity (not uniformity), so too with territory. Israel's victory in the 1967 Six-Day War brought with it the Golan Heights (for-

and Latrun salient south and north of Jerusalem, a united capital city and the addition of other parts of Judea and Samaria with relatively few Arab inhabitants. In all, a sizable portion of the former Jordanian West Bank.

Never officially adopted by any Israeli government, the outline became the de facto security consensus until overtaken by the Oslo "peace process." Nevertheless, in 1995 in his last Knesset speech, presenting that year's Oslo II provisions, Prime Minister Yitzhak Rabin reasserted a vision of Israeli security control that overlapped significant parts of the Allon Plan.

Area C of the Oslo Accords comprises much of what remains of the Allon Plan's strategic but lightly Arab-populated West Bank. According to Oslo

To reduce Palestinians' incentive to hold hostages as bargaining chips, Israel ought to impose the death penalty on terrorist murderers.

merly Syrian), the Egyptian-occupied Gaza Strip and Egyptian Sinai Desert, and Jordanian-occupied West Bank and eastern Jerusalem. The next year, Yigal Allon, a general in the 1948 War of Independence and cabinet member in several Labor Party-led governments, proposed a new security arrangement eventually given his name. The plan was meant to remedy Israel's geographic vulnerabilities, including the narrow coastal waist (less than nine miles wide north of Tel Aviv), exposed and divided capital and essentially naked Jordanian Valley front without adding a large Arab population.

Modified over time, the Allon Plan called for annexation and settlement of the Jordan Valley, the Etzion bloc

Two, it is under Israeli administration. Area A is overseen by the Palestinian Authority and supervision of Area B is shared by the PA and Israel. Time may be running out to make strategic Area C part of sovereign Israel, just as time lapses to strike Iran's nuclear program.

Much depends on lessons learned and relearned.

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ERIC ROZENMAN retired as Jewish Policy Center's communications consultant last year. He is author of *Jewish Make the Best Demons: "Palestine" and the Jewish Question* and, most recently, *From Elvis to Trump, Eyewitness to the Unraveling: Co-Starring Richard Nixon, Andy Warhol, Bill Clinton, the Supremes and Barack Obama!*

# An Emerging Consensus in Israel

## An *in*FOCUS interview with GILAD ACH

Israel is under political as well as military attack at home and abroad. During the past twenty years a network of organizations and NGO's, financed primarily by the European Union, its component governments, and anti-Zionist NGOs has been organizing and promoting anti-Israel propaganda and demonstrations. Ad Kan, comprised of former members of IDF special operations units and of the Israel intelligence community, work to expose these organizations. JPC Senior Director Shoshana Bryen spoke with Maj. Gilad Ach, IDF (res.), founder of Ad Kan.

***in*FOCUS: TELL US HOW YOU CAME TO FOUND AD KAN; IT WASN'T A STRAIGHT-UP MILITARY DECISION.**

**Gilad Ach:** I was in the Golani Brigade for six years, and my older brother was a commando in Shayetet [a branch of the IDF that specializes in sea-to-land incursions]. He and his team were sent for training in the Kishon River near Haifa. At the time, the river was very polluted. Within a few years, almost everyone in his team had died from diseases related to the pollution.

I worked with a group of former army and intelligence officers to collect information about the pollution in the river. As it happened, the pollution began during the British Mandate, when the British were exporting oil from Iraq through Haifa. We started an organization called Green Israel Forum (GIF) to build a legal case for damages and environmental crimes. GIF became one of the few organizations in Israel certified to bring these kinds of cases on behalf of the Israeli Government. We won damages and a lot of people went to jail.

We became more involved in Judea and Samaria after that because it was like the Wild West – there was no real legal authority. In 2013, we saw a Palestinian attack an Israeli soldier, and the soldier did not defend himself. He told us he was

afraid he would have to face charges if he did, and that the Israeli Government would not support him. This was a very common feeling at the time.

The problem was that once an event began, the Palestinians would bring out cameras and take pictures or videos. There was no other evidence or point of view. So, we started using our investigative methods to show how they created the situation, and in a lot of cases, we were able to collect evidence showing what really happened.

to complain about Israeli “atrocities.” We infiltrated the organization and got evidence that they were paying Palestinians to attack the soldiers and then take videos of the soldiers’ responses. We shut them down, and many of their leaders went to jail.

Another investigation involved Palestinians who wanted to sell their land to Jews and leave Judea and Samaria. We learned that there was a Palestinian project to torture and kill them. This became a very big story in Israel, and ap-

...we’ve brought legal cases resulting in prison for the individuals who attacked Israel in one way or another, and also, we collected damages....

We often send undercover agents to infiltrate the Palestinian groups. There was an organization called Anarchists Against the Wall that was organizing protests and violent attacks along the Green Line fence. Their objective was to get the Israeli soldiers to react, and then

peared on the TV show Uvdah, which is like the Israeli version of 60 Minutes.

The investigations I mentioned are just some of the public projects we’ve worked on, and in these cases and others we’ve brought legal cases resulting in prison for the individuals who



attacked Israel in one way or another, and also, we collected damages. We usually have about 8-10 projects going on at any one time.

### ■ **Funding and Connections**

**iF: TALK ABOUT THE SUPPORT FOR PALESTINIAN AND ANTI-GOVERNMENT GROUPS – IS IT FROM EUROPE? FROM THE US?**

**Ach:** Many of these groups receive funding and other help from Europe and America, and of course, Iran. I don't think we can say that we've shut down the pro-Palestinian networks in Israel or any other country. But I do think that we have made operations much more difficult for the pro-Palestinian groups who try to pretend that they are not under foreign control. First, they know that we are out there, and they have to be much more careful about how they do things. Second, we have made clear to the people that these groups are not just honestly pursuing a moral agenda; they are pursuing an agenda set by foreign countries, with the money being traced back to supporters of Hamas and Hezbollah, and ultimately to Iran.

**iF: WHERE DOES AD KAHN GET SUPPORT?**

**Ach:** We get support from Americans, both individuals and organizations. I think some Jewish groups in the United States would think of us as a very right-wing organization, but the fact is that when we produce the results of our investigations, and we bring cases, we have to provide evidence in court. As the whole world knows, the Israeli courts are not exactly right-wing, yet we win a lot of cases.

Also, we have good contacts in Washington. I have met with senior leaders in Congress, both Democrats and Republicans, to talk about how the situation looks from the perspective of a soldier who fought on the Lebanon front earlier in the war, and I'll be leading a



*Gilad Ach*

battalion in Gaza starting at the end of June. Not every member of Congress will meet with me, of course, but I am glad that many are willing to take their time to learn the facts.

**iF: TELL US MORE**

**Ach:** One of our investigations involved a radical left-wing Israeli organization called Breaking the Silence. We were able to infiltrate their operations, and we learned that their money was coming from several European governments – Norway, Ireland, and some others. They would give the money to local churches, and then the churches would send the money to these pro-Palestinian organizations. We were able to show that they were getting funding from foreign governments and then spreading lies about Israeli soldiers.

The governments would then condemn Israel, so it was a vicious cycle.

Then, in 2016 or 2017, one of our investigators in Samaria was able to infiltrate a Palestinian organization there,

and she learned that they were getting money from Hamas's branch in Europe – basically the Muslim Brotherhood. She volunteered to go to Europe to investigate, and she rose in the organization and became a manager of one of the flotilla operations that was illegally sending ships into Gaza. We were able to identify people in the US and Europe who were acting as fronts for Hamas, to purchase ships and so forth – and also to damage Israel's reputation.

### ■ **Civil-Military Relations**

**iF: THERE IS A STORY ABOUT HORSES – BUT IT HAS A DEEPER MEANING WHEN CONNECTED TO CIVIL-MILITARY RELATIONS IN ISRAEL**

**Ach:** The IDF does not have as much of a “top-down” command structure as the American army, at least as I understand it. For example, early in the war, I was in charge of an army unit responsible for guarding a large section of the Lebanon border. We knew that Hezbollah terrorists were right across the border, and

that if we used motor vehicles at night, we would be targets. So, we commandeered horses from a local town, and we patrolled on horseback. It also helped that a nearby Arab town, in Israel, used horses for travel, so we thought the Hezbollah troops would be reluctant to fire on anyone riding a horse. It worked.

At the same time, we knew from Israelis in the area that there was a building about five-stories high just inside the Lebanese border that had been used as a spotting tower to target missiles into Israel. When we finally moved into Lebanon, the government was reluctant to let us blow up the building because they said it was owned by the Lebanese Armed Forces (LAF), not Hezbollah, and they didn't want to target the regular army. But it was a clear danger to us and to the towns in Israel along the border, so we blew it up anyway.

This happens often. The government and top military officers come under political pressure to take certain steps, or not to take certain steps. But the soldiers on the ground assess the situation, and their local commanders make decisions. This can lead to misunderstandings in the international press about what really happened and why. This can have a very significant effect on morale in the army and in the country, especially if the government does not come right out and explain the situation.

### ■ *As the War Goes On*

**iF: DESCRIBE, IF YOU WILL, THE LEVELS OF MORALE AND TRUST IN THE IDF AS THE WAR GOES ON LONGER AND LONGER.**

**Ach:** We need to consider the impact the war has had on the country as a whole. There are 170,000 people serving in the regular army, and another 400,000 or so in the reserves. And this of course does not count their families, their businesses, the other institutions in the country, that have all been affected by the war.

[Israel's first Prime Minister] David Ben-Gurion said there were two

principles for a war in Israel. Make it fast and fight on the other side's territory. No one expected this war to last almost two years, and the damage it has had on Israel's economy, society, and politics cannot yet be determined, but it has done tremendous damage.

President Trump mentioned this idea last February, and I am hoping that there will be international support to help the Gazans who want to leave. This will help solve two problems – Israel's security problem and the perceived humanitarian crisis that the world seems ready to

All of the countries who criticize Israel for its conduct of the war could provide support to Gaza refugees to relocate ... If the world is concerned about their plight, this would be a good way to address the situation.

But we also know that we cannot continue with this never-ending cycle of violence in Gaza. There is not much support in Israel for the idea of signing another peace agreement, only to face another disaster a few years from now.

### ■ *Israel's War Goals*

**iF: WHAT DO YOU THINK ISRAEL'S GOALS IN GAZA SHOULD BE?**

**Ach:** Everyone knows that Hamas is a terrorist organization. In 2005, Israel gave a terrorist organization a defined territory and a population. Hamas is, in effect, a terrorist organization and also a country. When countries fight wars, the objective is to defeat the other country. The United States and the West learned this in World War I. They did not defeat Germany, and Germany arose stronger 30 years later. Then the West learned that it had to defeat the Germans once and for all. The same is true with Gaza.

In some of my meetings on the Hill, I've talked about the idea of supporting emigration from Gaza for the tens of thousands of Gazans who are tired of living under Hamas and want to rebuild their lives in other countries.

blame on Israel, and not Hamas. Unless we find a way to address these issues, the problems will arise again and again just as they have been for the past 60 years.

Israel and the rest of the world are forcing the people of Gaza to stay and live under Hamas and suffer during the war. Some of them are also hostages. I would like to see a program where people in Gaza can leave if they want and go in peace. We know that tens of thousands have already left, many through Egypt, and settled in countries all over the world.

All of the countries who criticize Israel for its conduct of the war could provide support to Gaza refugees to relocate. Many countries have already welcomed them. If the world is concerned about their plight, this would be a good way to address the situation.

### ■ *The Domestic Side*

**iF: TURNING TO ISRAEL'S DOMESTIC ISSUES, WHAT DO YOU SEE AS THE FUTURE OF ISRAELI POLITICS?**

**Ach:** There is a new political force in Israel – for the first time, a large portion of the population has served in a war that has lasted for nearly two years. For





Israeli military vehicles in northern Israel near the border with Lebanon. (Photo: Xinhua / Alamy)

years, our government, on both sides, did not confront Israel's challenges – security or domestic.

They left Hamas and Hezbollah to develop into existential threats to Israel. The idea was that we could ignore them or at least manage them. There are efforts around the world to delegitimize Israel, and our governments have ignored that as well. Israel has many domestic problems, too, that haven't been addressed. For example, there's a huge criminal syndicate in Israel that no one has addressed, and many people outside of Israel don't know about.

And then, of course, there will be the issue of reviving Israel's economy, healing the society, after this war.

There will be a strong new force in Israeli politics. It will center on the people who have served in the war, and the millions of others who were directly

affected by it. I don't think it will be left or right necessarily – I don't know. But I think it will be a more unified party that will focus on addressing Israel's problems in a practical way.

I think people who might have been aligned with the left and the right before the war will be brought into the coalition because they will see that Israel needs to solve its domestic, security, and international problems in a practical way, not in an ideological way. It might happen that the far left and the far right – including the *haredim* – might lose a lot of their support and political influence.

My sense is that most Israelis realize that any effort to manage the Palestinian conflict will not work. We gave the Palestinians a state in Gaza 2005 and they have been firing missiles at Israel ever since – and then we had October 7. But realistically, the Palestinian conflict

has been going on for at least 60 years. I think most Israelis believe there has to be a way to bring an end to the violence.

#### **iF: CAN YOU LEAVE US ON AN OPTIMISTIC NOTE?**

**Ach:** There is a will in Israel now to solve our security problem with the Palestinians. After the war, many people will remain physically and emotionally scarred, but Israel has the ability to rebuild its economy, and to solve many of its social problems. Finally, I think a new political consensus will allow Israel to rebuild its standing in the international community.

**iF: GILAD ACH, THANK YOU FOR AN ENLIGHTENING LOOK AT THE PROBLEMS – AND THE STRENGTHS – OF ISRAEL. STAY SAFE.**



# Critical Policy Changes to Stop US Funding of Terror

by OLGA DEUTSCH and YONA SCHIFFMILLER

October 7, 2023, marked the bloodiest day for Jews since the Holocaust. The massacre and atrocities committed by Hamas terrorists and their allies demonstrated their genocidal aims. However, what followed in the days and weeks after was, for many, almost as shocking: the rapid and coordinated global response that sought not to condemn Hamas, but to isolate, demonize, and punish Israel and the Jewish People.

With a well-entrenched infrastructure, anti-Israel organizations behind the facade of human rights and international law quickly mobilized, almost immediately accusing Israel of genocide, demanding arms embargoes, and lobbying for international criminal investigations of Israeli leaders and soldiers. In cities across Europe and North America, demonstrations became outbursts of antisemitism and Jewish institutions were targeted.

non-governmental organization (NGO) network for more than two decades, this was not a surprise. The explosion of hatred, lawfare, and disinformation since October 7 was the result of years of careful planning, rooted in an ideology that portrays the Jewish state as a colonial aggressor to be dismantled.

Who leads this network, and how do we respond?

## ■ *Where it Began*

The modern NGO-led campaign against Israel became visible in September 2001 at the United Nations World Conference Against Racism in Durban, South Africa. There, at an NGO Forum held parallel to the official conference, over 1,500 civil-society organizations convened to craft a strategy that would weaponize the language and institutions of human rights against a single target: the Jewish state.

The final declaration, drafted and

comprehensive international campaign of boycotts, divestment, and sanctions (BDS). This was not simply a criticism of Israeli policy; it was an explicit attack on Israel's right to exist as a Jewish state and, by extension, a denial of the Jewish people's right to sovereign self-determination.

Durban marked a turning point: Israel was to be delegitimized through a relentless civil society offensive. The framework was clear: renew the "Zionism as racism" campaign, portray Israel as a uniquely malevolent global actor, and use the terminology of international law – "war crimes," "apartheid," "genocide" – as tools for political warfare.

This campaign was conceived and promoted by some of the world's most prominent and respected human rights and humanitarian organizations. Armed with multi million-dollar budgets and institutional credibility, they took the lead in embedding anti-Israel narratives into the heart of the international human rights system. Through their reports, lobbying, and partnerships with UN bodies and news media outlets, these NGOs elevated falsehoods and demonization into mainstream discourse, shielding terror and delegitimizing Israeli self-defense.

The goal was to isolate Israel diplomatically, weaken it economically, and ultimately criminalize its existence. Hamas' October 7 invasion and the ensuing war presented NGOs with an opportunity to intensify the Durban strategy for eliminating the Jewish state.

It was in response to the nascent

USAID and the State Department have funded Palestinian organizations that openly glorify terrorism - including those with convicted terrorists in leadership... disqualifying information was all publicly available.

To outside observers, the speed and intensity of this response were unexpected. But for those of us who have tracked the powerful global anti-Israel,

endorsed by leading international NGOs, accused Israel of being "a racist apartheid state" guilty of genocide and ethnic cleansing, and called for a

threat that appeared at Durban that NGO Monitor was established by Professor Gerald Steinberg in 2002. Our goal is to research, document, and expose this NGO network, its allies, funding sources, and activities, while driving policy change to eliminate government funding and hold them accountable.

## ■ *The Role of US Funding?*

US taxpayers have unwittingly contributed to this network, facilitated by insufficient US government vetting of partner NGOs and the behavior of US-registered tax-exempt charities 501(c)3s.

**Terror-supporting NGOs:** Both USAID and the State Department have funded Palestinian organizations that openly glorify terrorism – including those with convicted terrorists in leadership and as role models for children, and even hosted events and discussions with members of US-designated terrorist organizations such as Palestinian Islamic Jihad. In these cases, the disqualifying information was all publicly available, including photos of children smiling with terrorists and celebrating their release from prison, as well as a plethora of statements from officials of NGOs funded by the US calling for violence against Israelis.

The colossal failure – the financing of these NGOs – stems largely from ineffective vetting mechanisms that fail to adequately review the publications, statements, posts and other activities of potential grantees to ensure that they are appropriate partners and trustworthy stewards of US taxpayer funds.

**BDS-supporting NGOs:** Another dimension of this phenomenon is USAID support for international NGOs engaging in anti-Israel BDS and delegitimization. Often, this occurs when the US funds human rights or humanitarian work led by these groups.

Notably, while these organizations are ultimately focused on harming Israel, their immediate targets are often countries, companies, and institutions that work with or maintain ties with the Jewish state – including significant

numbers of US firms. This leads to the absurd result whereby US taxpayers fund international – often European – NGOs actively seeking to harm US corporations and employers.

For instance, Norwegian People's

civil-fraud suit with USAID and the Justice Department relating to providing “material support” to Hamas and other Palestinian terrorist groups as well as partnering with the Iranian military, it received \$1.1 million in new

NGO Monitor research uncovered millions of dollars from USAID to aid organizations operating in Gaza that were selecting beneficiaries for cash assistance based on information provided by a Hamas-controlled ministry.

Aid (NPA) is an NGO that received more than \$350 million in US government funds from 2021-2024, despite campaigning for divestment from several US companies – including Ford Motor Company, General Electric, General Motors, and RE/MAX Holdings, Terex Corp., The Coca-Cola Company, and TripAdvisor Inc – because of their ties to Israel.

**UN collusion with terror-linked actors:** In addition to bilateral US funding, US support for terror-linked and extreme anti-Israel actors is also at times provided through UN-coordinated frameworks. For instance, NGO Monitor research has uncovered millions of dollars from USAID to aid organizations operating in Gaza that were selecting beneficiaries for cash assistance based on information provided by a Hamas-controlled ministry. These activities took place in the context of UN-coordinated aid programs.

**NGO lobbying:** US vetting policies are not formulated or applied in a vacuum. International NGOs are interested parties for preferential treatment by lawmakers and government officials, much like members of any other lucrative and well-organized industry.

For instance, five years after Norwegian People's Aid settled a

US grants for activities in Yemen. The decision was not only outrageous, it served as a reminder of successful NGO lobbying efforts that convinced USAID to reduce the period an NGO that has worked with a foreign terrorist organization (FTO) must wait before being eligible for US funding.

## ■ *NGOs Operating in the US*

The fact of growing antisemitism in the US is widely known, and the extent and nature of the NGO network driving it are the subjects of extensive research. The diffuse coalition of activist organizations, funders, student groups, organizers, groups providing legal assistance and more has come into greater focus, revealing more than 150 such NGOs operating in the US alone.

Relatedly, NGO Monitor has demonstrated that certain US-based tax-exempt 501(c)3 organizations and foundations are both bankrolling NGOs spearheading college encampments and similar intimidation tactics, as well as fundraising for terror-linked organizations in the West Bank and Gaza.

One example of US-based charities supporting terror-linked groups in Gaza is the Michigan-based non-profit, Rahma Worldwide. In 2023, Rahma Worldwide announced that it was partnering with

the Kuwaiti Islamic Heritage Revival Society (RIHS) and the Gaza Ministry of Social Development (MoSD) to provide financial assistance in Gaza. RIHS was designated by the US Treasury Department in 2008 “for providing financial and material support to al Qaida and al Qaida affiliates” and “financial support for acts of terrorism,” and in November 2024, the US designated the head of the Gaza MoSD – Ghazi Hamad – as a senior Hamas official who has engaged in smuggling for the terror group.

**Terror-linked NGOs:** In addition, NGO Monitor has revealed the extent of terror-linked NGO activity in the context of antisemitic intimidation campaigns in the US, Canada, and Europe, including regarding recently designated groups like Samidoun.

## Financial commitments from the US to NGOs must be accompanied by clear accountability mechanisms, independent auditing, and political will to prevent aid abuse.

In October 2024, the US declared this NGO a “sham charity” that was fundraising for the Popular Front for the Liberation of Palestine (PFLP), a terrorist organization that participated in the October 7 massacre and that has been designated a terrorist organization by the US since 1997.

While not necessarily widely known, Samidoun has played a crucial role in seeking to normalize Palestinian terrorism on US campuses and in public demonstrations, popularizing calls for “resistance”; legitimizing Hamas, the PFLP, and other terror groups; and distributing terror symbols and paraphernalia. Even prior to the Foreign Terrorist Organization (FTO) designation,

documented research on Samidoun’s activities helped drive Stripe and PayPal to curtail Samidoun’s online fundraising, while Meta removed its accounts.

### ■ Next Steps

Weak and insufficient vetting mechanisms have led to millions in US taxpayer funds for NGOs that systematically engage in anti-Israel initiatives, as well as funding to organizations justifying and glorifying violence. The US must carefully review all funding to NGOs, and act on the ones that call for the destruction of Israel and that promote violence and antisemitism against Jews. Transparency measures that help identify where the US funds are going, including via the UN, will also reduce aid diversion to terror.

For instance, NGO Monitor’s research led to congressional scrutiny and alerted the US Secretary of State about funding to a Gaza-based organization that called for a “third intifada” and hosted members of Palestinian Islamic Jihad for a variety of events and initiatives.

Decades of funding with minimal oversight have created an environment in which international aid is routinely diverted by Hamas, whether through direct NGO collusion or a permissive infrastructure that enables abuse.

October 7 was not just a wake-up call for Israel’s security – it was a moral reckoning for the entire international system. In the aftermath, the machinery of human rights, humanitarian aid, and

civil society were revealed to all as being deeply compromised. Beyond individual funding decisions by governments, systemic change through policy reforms is needed. European lawmakers have been introducing guidelines and establishing vetting protocols that reflect important recommendations, including prohibitions on funding groups that incite violence, promote antisemitism, or reject Israel’s right to exist.

In the US, policymakers must create and implement the detailed review mechanisms necessary to prevent future humanitarian aid to Gaza from being hijacked by Hamas or other terrorist organizations. Billions pledged for post-war aid are already being mobilized, and without aggressive oversight, the international community risks rebuilding the very infrastructure that enabled the October 7 invasion.

Financial commitments from the US to NGOs must be accompanied by clear accountability mechanisms, independent auditing, and political will to prevent aid abuse. Appropriations legislation must incorporate language that mandates higher vetting standards to safeguard taxpayer funds from terror-linked NGOs and organizations espousing antisemitism, promoting violence, and denying Israel’s legitimate rights.

For decades, many were unaware of the true intentions of the anti-Israel NGO network, or even of its existence. October 7 pulled back the curtain.

We must continue to expose the funders of hate and their allies, shut down their funding mechanisms, hold them accountable, and prevent US tax dollars from supporting their activities.

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OLGA DEUTSCH is the Vice President of NGO Monitor. YONA SCHIFFMILLER is the Director of Research of NGO Monitor. Founded in 2002, NGO Monitor is an internationally recognized research institute that exposes the abuses of power of anti-Israel NGOs in government, on campuses, at the UN, and in corporate settings.



# Israel's Resilience Since Oct 7

by MOSHE KAPLAN, MD

*Editor's Note: Nothing can erase the horror of the Hamas massacres of October 7, 2023. Nothing. And nothing can erase the horror of Hamas hostage-taking in violation of international humanitarian law, and violation of internationally protected space including hospitals, mosques, schools and private residences. Nothing. The military response to horror is to defeat the enemy militarily; other things will come after. But the societal response to horror is emotional. Society can collapse or it can rise. Israel rose in the wake of 10/7. We are pleased to bring you excerpts from the book Extreme Trauma by Moshe Kaplan, MD.*

## ■ The Fandel Family

On October 7, in the courtyard of a quiet house in Moshav Shuva, the Fandel family ran a private rescue operation. Dr. Gedalya Fandel set up and managed an improvised emergency room and field hospital at the junction leading to the moshav, treating numerous wounded with limited resources, while facing a medical and psychological crisis of unprecedented proportions. All day long he cared for a non-stop influx of shell-shocked soldiers and injured civilians. He also dealt with a pile-up of bodies that were dropped off at his makeshift hospital for “safekeeping” until they could be dealt with properly.

Meanwhile, his wife, Merav, and their children managed the home command, offering survivors of the massacre a safe haven with a kind word, a listening ear, games of Rummy, warm food, and beds – ensuring safety, emotional support, and comfort for everyone who came to find refuge. The welcome and hospitality they gave the survivors offered a calming semblance of normality amid the chaos. Their home became a brief shelter for many, including two

children who had witnessed their parents murder, and a pregnant woman seeking safety.

As the day wore on, neighbors and other residents of the moshav joined in their efforts, offering additional help and resources.

The Fandel family's actions exemplify human kindness and the power of community support during times of unimaginable crisis.

## ■ Human Potentials

Human potential is a boundless force waiting to be unleashed. As we've seen through these acts of kindness and bravery, our greatest achievements come from our capacity to care for, support, and uplift one another. Each of us has the potential to make a significant impact on

exponentially to a greater good. G-d and the universe are waiting for each of us to actualize the greatness within us, making the world a better place for all. This is the foundation for “normative” human behavior.

Having expressed the particulars of human potential, we have seen what happens when a person, instead of using his gifts for good, uses them to produce tragedy, disaster, and inhumane behavior...

## ■ Israeli Women

Israeli women have shown resilience from Day One, as Dr. Miriam Adelson noted, “One dramatic achievement has been clear from the very first minutes of October 7. The women of Israel have earned their reward for the

Human potential is a boundless force waiting to be unleashed. Our greatest achievements come from our capacity to care for, support, and uplift one another.

the world. By embracing our unique human qualities and striving for greatness, we can create a better future for ourselves and for generations to come.

The journey to greatness is not a solitary path, but a collective endeavor. It is through our shared humanity and communal efforts that we rise above challenges. However, it is within the power of each of us as individuals to be the *mensch*es who will inspire change. Our actions, no matter how small, contribute

blood, sweat, and tears their sisters shed for the whole nation and all of humanity. Demonstrating their resilience, women became engaged in front-line combat against the enemy. Hamas is discovering, to its misfortune, that women will be the victors in this war. The fact that slender fingers with painted nails press the button that sends many of the terrorists to hell creates a special sense of humiliation for those who preach male supremacy.”

## ■ *Emerging Stronger from Adversity*

Israel's greatest asset is its people. The unity and determination of its citizens are driving forces that ensure the nation will not only survive but thrive. The Israeli hi-tech ecosystem, including numerous startups, has already mobilized to support survivors, the injured, soldiers, and civilians still under threat. Even as thousands of rockets targeted densely populated areas, the focus remained on helping those in need and maintaining the unity of the nation.

## ■ *Israel's Hi-Tech Sector*

The country's entrepreneurial ecosystem is built on four fundamental cornerstones with an additional unique element that sets it apart. The first four – entrepreneurial spirit, investor support, engineering talent, and experience – are common to other leading tech hubs like San Francisco, Boston, London, and Berlin. However, Israel has a distinctive fifth element.

## ■ *Mandatory Military Service*

Compulsory military service cultivates individuals with exceptional resilience, leadership skills, teamwork capabilities, and loyalty. While acting under pressure, as it has had to do recently, the fifth element becomes invaluable as it generates strong, resilient, and better-skilled actors where it matters – people with perseverance in leadership positions, ready to work in teams, and with extreme loyalty. When the crisis passes, these people use the skills they have honed to contribute to the strength of Israel's hi-tech ecosystem.

The result is a stronger, more innovative, and more resilient nation. Israel will emerge from this crisis fortified and ready for many prosperous years ahead. As the saying goes, tough times create strong people, strong people create easy times, easy times create soft people, and soft people create tough times. Israel is currently in a tough time, but its indomitable spirit ensures that it will not only endure but also thrive.

## ■ *A Beacon of Hope*

It was early on the morning of October 7, a day that should have been restful for attorney Hanas Alsanah, director of the Center for Bedouin Women's Rights at Itach-Ma'aki: Women Lawyers for Social Justice. She had planned a family picnic, a rare break from her demanding work. However, as she prepared for the day, her phone buzzed with an unusual flurry of messages from local WhatsApp leadership groups not typically active on Saturdays. At first, she thought little of the news of the invasion, believing that Israel would swiftly handle whatever disturbance was happening. But as the hours wore on, the gravity of the attack became apparent. Feeling the chaos in the absence of a strong response from the Israeli security services, Alsanah, for the first time, contemplated fleeing her home. This gave her a profound sense of insecurity.

locate survivors from the Supernova Music Festival near Kibbutz Re'im. Many of these rescuers were Bedouin, well-versed in the terrain. She spent the first day organizing transportation for the injured and those fleeing the area. By the second day, she was arranging deliveries of essential supplies to the most vulnerable Jewish and Bedouin communities. On the third day, alongside her Jewish colleague, Shir Nosatzki from the organization Have You Seen the Horizon Lately?, she established an emergency situation room in the Bedouin city of Rahat. They united their networks of activists, NGOs, and public representatives to aid both Bedouin families affected by rocket attacks and families from Gaza border communities.

This emergency situation room remains a vital resource, particularly for single-mother families in 16 unrecognized Bedouin villages. Here, 37 Bedouin women volunteers, along with

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Soon, desperate messages poured in from both Jewish and Bedouin survivors, pleading for assistance as the military failed to respond. Women from unrecognized Bedouin villages urgently needed mobile bomb shelters and coverage from the Iron Dome anti-missile defense system. This was a turning point for Alsanah; she abandoned her plans to escape and sprang into action, leveraging her network to coordinate immediate aid.

Alsanah reached out to individuals who could navigate the desert and

their Jewish counterparts, assist approximately 1,000 needy families with basic supplies, emotional support, and legal aid. Although women lead this movement, many men have also joined as volunteers, reflecting a growing communal solidarity.

Today, Alsanah's mission is to expand this light through collaborative efforts, ensuring that compassion and cooperation prevail over extremism. Her story is a testament to the power of solidarity and the enduring hope for a peaceful, shared society.

## ■ Unity

It has been said that if we were completely alike, we couldn't communicate, but if we were exactly the same, there would be no need, as we would have nothing to say. Our differences are what allow us to unite. A nation, like a family, doesn't always have to be perfect or always in agreement, but it must always be united.

Doron Almog, Jewish Agency Chairman, said, "We need to unite to guarantee that this state, this only Jewish state, will not only survive and prevail against a threat from Iran, Hezbollah, Hamas, missiles, [foreign] military at-

Seeing this narrative play out online, Gottlieb felt compelled to act. She and her friend, Ariella Goodman, decided to use their experiences to educate the public about Zionism and Jewish history. In early March 2024, they launched an Instagram page called Our Shared Jewish History. Their mission: to share stories of those affected by the October 7 attack, highlighting the rich and diverse tapestry of Jewish and Israeli life ... to counter simplistic and harmful stereotypes about Jews and Israelis ... giving a voice to the voiceless and showcasing the unique and varied backgrounds that make up Jewish and Israeli history.

It has been said that if we were completely alike, we couldn't communicate, but if we were exactly the same, there would be no need, as we would have nothing to say. . . A nation, like a family, doesn't always have to be perfect or always in agreement, but it must always be united.

tacks, and war, but also a split society."

Almog emphasized that "we need to unite our people, and we do not have the privilege to lose one segment of it. We need to unite all of us: The Orthodox, Conservative, Reform, traditional, secular – together. To be united, one people – a strong people – in order to guarantee our existence by this unity."

## ■ Reclaiming Our Stories

The reactions of Angelica Gottlieb's colleagues at her London start-up made Hamas's horrific attack even more distressing. They began posting blatantly pro-Hamas content on social media, casting Jews and Israelis as monolithic "white colonizers."

Their Instagram page began with the story of Alex Dancyg, a 75-year-old Polish Israeli grandfather from Kibbutz Nir Oz, whom Hamas kidnapped on October 7. Through a series of well-researched posts, they shared Dancyg's life story, his dedication to social justice, and his left-wing ideals, showing that being a Zionist and being a liberal are not mutually exclusive.

On International Women's Day, they featured Tamas Kedem Siman Tov, an artist and aspiring mayor, whom Hamas murdered along with her family in the October 7 attack.

Another post included the story of Eitan and Yair Horm, Argentinian Israeli brothers currently held hostage in

Gaza. They emphasize the brothers' love of simple pleasures and the void their absence has created in their communities.

While they do not expect to transform global opinions about Israel single-handedly, they see their work as a way to educate and empower the Jewish community.

## ■ Conclusion

There is more. Farmer Oz Davidian drove back and forth to the Nova Music Festival site fifteen times to save youngsters and bring them to safety. "I knew that I had been placed there by G-d. I could not ignore what I was seeing. My only regret is that I was not able to save more."

Rabbi Menachem Kalmanson told of his brother, Elchanan (z"l) who entered Kibbutz Be'eri to rescue survivors. He said the Shema outside a family's house to reassure them that he was one of them – not the enemy. "This cry for unity echoed around the region that day as thousands of soldiers went out of a sense of deep responsibility and endangered their lives for their brothers. This point which we nearly lost – the sense of brotherliness and mutual fate ... We cannot continue to fight without seeing the good in this nation, as the blood of our brothers cries out from the ground, as we are our brother's keeper."

There are organizations and people who arose on that day and remain in the forefront of service to their brothers and sisters.

Dr. Kaplan wrote, "It was none other than Albert Einstein who said, 'Either everything is a miracle, or nothing is a miracle.' Certainly, one of the greatest miracles of all time is the survival of the Jewish people – having survived pogroms, inquisitions, blood libels, massacres, the Holocaust and more – and our resilience continues."

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MOSHE KAPLAN, MD., trained and practiced as a psychoimmunologist. He is an author and chief executive officer of the Be a Mensch Foundation.



# Houthi's War with Israel: China's Insidious Role

by GUERMANTES LAILARI

**T**his article explains why and how the Chinese Communist Party (CCP) is assisting the Houthi terrorists in Yemen against the US, Israel, Europe, and world trade.

## ■ *Three Wars Strategy*

The Three Wars Strategy (TWS) is different from the 2003 People's Liberation Army's (PLA) Three Warfares (lawfare, media warfare, and psychological warfare).

Beginning in 2018, Long Kaifeng, a Chinese academic writing for the Kunlun Policy Research Institute (privately-run pro-CCP commentary platform advocating an extreme Maoist ideology), wrote four articles recommending that the PRC use TWS to globally stalemate the US and its allies. He developed his TWS with three additional articles during April–June 2023.

Kaifeng argued the CCP should foment at least three wars throughout the world to disperse US forces and to use up US weapons, especially those assigned to protect Taiwan. He describes TWS in his June 2023 article: “The three major battles refer to the European, Middle Eastern, and East Asian battles, each targeting the US's strategic foci: Europe, the Middle East, and East Asia. The US's European dominance hinges on NATO, so the goal of the European Battle is to dismantle NATO; the Middle East underpins the US dollar, so the Middle Eastern Battle seeks to dethrone the US dollar; and the Island Chain Strategy is central to US's grip on Asia, making the East Asian Battle's aim to shatter this strategy.”

Two of three wars have already started: (1) Russia invaded Ukraine, and (2) Iran and its proxies attacked Israel. The third war is yet to start.

In an April 2024 article for the Jewish Policy Center, “China's Support of Hamas: Evidence and Actions,” I demonstrated why and how the CCP directly supports Hamas, further elaborated in other articles and interviews.

In a *Taipei Times* article, “Implications of PLA soldiers fighting for Russia in Ukraine,” I provided evidence of the CCP's direct military support to Russia. On April 9, 2025, Ukrainian President Volodymyr Zelenskyy ac-

The Houthis continue to attack Israel with drones, cruise missiles, and ballistic missiles.

Houthi attacks on international shipping have imposed costs on regional states and beyond:

- Red Sea shipping throughput decreased by 75%.
- The safety detour around Africa adds 10 to 14 days to the traditional 30 to 40-day voyage from Asia to Europe and involves higher fuel costs and insurance premiums. Delays and additional shipping costs translate into higher consumer costs on shipped goods.
- The Atlantic Council reports costs

Houthi drones cost between \$5,000 and \$20,000.  
US Navy missiles used to shoot them down cost over  
one hundred times more!

cused PRC of providing direct support to Russia, citing the PRC's provision of war supplies, the capture of two Chinese nationals fighting with Russian soldiers, and that more than 150 Chinese citizens were fighting with the Russians.

The above examples illustrate Kaifeng's TWS.

## ■ *What are the Houthis Doing?*

From October 19, 2023, until May 5, 2025 (the ceasefire date between the US and the Houthis), Houthis attacked commercial vessels and Navy war ships with missiles, drones, and speed boats.

to Egypt and Saudi Arabia dating from September 2024: “transshipment traffic at Saudi Arabia's King Abdullah Port [has] nearly vanished, and Jeddah Port operations more than halved in the first half of the year ... [and] the Suez Canal also lost more than half of its shipping operations.” The loss of tax revenues collected on Suez commercial traffic (high of \$10.25 billion in 2023 to a low of \$4 billion in 2024) pose a severe challenge to Egypt.

- Israel's southern commercial Port of Eilat closed to commercial traffic due to Houthi attacks.

Commercial costs between October 19, 2023 and April 18, 2025 include two ships sunk, two ships hijacked, 140 ships attacked, and at least 30 ships damaged even with all the allied warships and Israeli missile defense systems in the region.

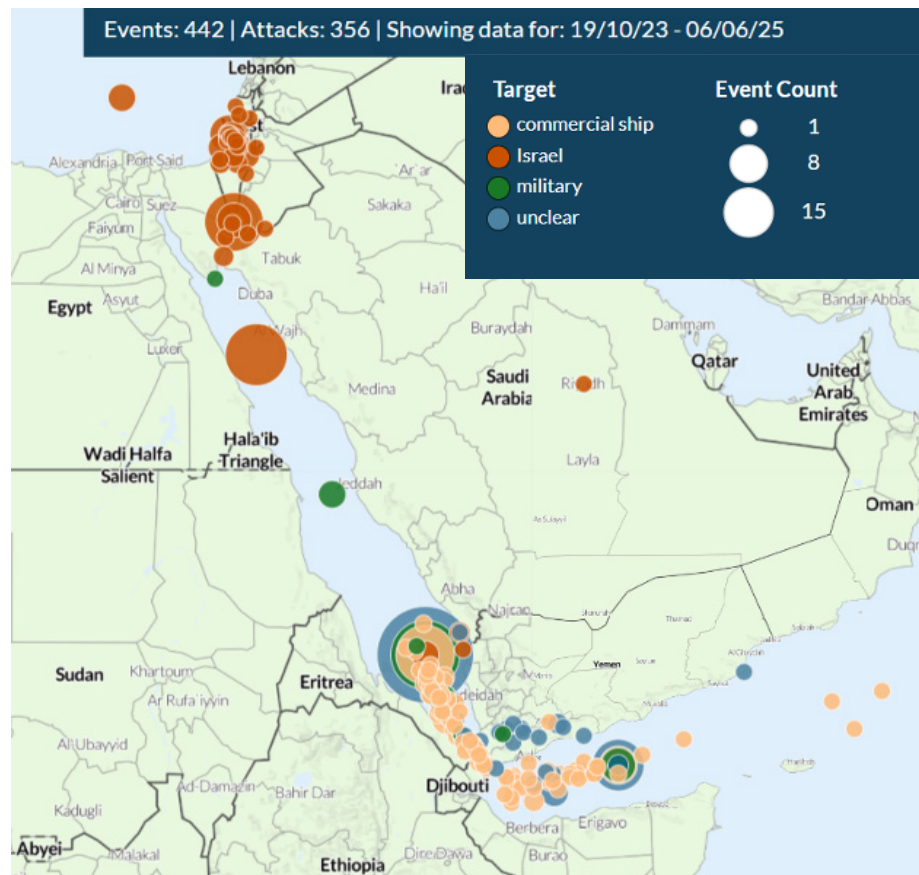
US military equipment losses include more than 22 MQ-9s (\$30 million per drone) and one F/A-18 Super Hornet (due to friendly fire).

The map nearby shows the attacks from October 19, 2023 through June 6, 2025 from the Armed Conflict Location & Event Data (ACLED) set. Between April 29, 2025 and May 29, 2025 (after the US-Houthi ceasefire), the Houthis attacked Israel 20 times.

Between October 19, 2023, and May 6, 2025 (US-Houthi ceasefire agreement), the US Navy launched more than 220 missiles to protect Red Sea commercial shipping and US and allied navy ships. Depleting stocks of these missiles lowers assessed risk in the CCP's attack planning calculus against Taiwan. Replacing these missiles has a large cost asymmetry.

In January 2025, the US Navy reported that during 15 months of fighting it had expended 120 SM-2 missiles (\$2.1 million per missile), 80 SM-6 missiles (\$3.9 million), 20 Evolved Sea Sparrow Missiles (ESSM) and SM-3 missiles (ranging from \$9.6 million to \$27.9 million) against 380 attack drones, ballistic and cruise missiles. The cost of US missiles launched against Houthi targets is more than \$1.8 billion. This expenditure does not include the costs associated with offensive operations, such as Tomahawk Land Attack Missiles (TLAMs) strikes (\$2.4 million each) against Houthis targets, US strikes against almost 1,000 targets from March-May 2025 (estimated to cost more than \$1 billion), deployment costs, and pulling naval assets from the Indo-Pacific.

The costs of Houthi weapons are lower than US systems employed to defeat them. For example, Houthi drones cost between \$5,000 and \$20,000. US Navy missiles used to shoot them down cost more than 100 times more!



*Map: ACLED's Yemen Conflict Observatory*

## ■ *Houthi Weapons Against Israel*

The Houthis have a wide variety of weapons including surface-to-surface missiles, artillery rockets, loitering munitions, and unmanned aerial vehicles (UAVs), and Russia, China, or Iran produce most of these. The Houthis have missiles and UAVs capable of reaching Israel, such as:

- Cruise missiles: the Iranian Soumar family with strike ranges of about 1,200 mi.
- Naval surface drones: 23-foot-long unmanned surface vessels (USVs) laden with explosives.
- Quds-2 missiles: with a range of 840 miles and designed to strike Israel.
- Samad-3 and Samad-4: UAVs/loitering munitions with ranges of at least 1,100 miles.
- Toufan: a surface-to-surface ballistic missile, with a range of 1,100 miles.
- Wa'id drones: like Iran's Shahed 136, loitering munition with a range of 1,600 miles.

Between October 7, 2023, and June 7, 2025, the Houthis launched more than 200 ballistic missiles and more than 170 drones at Israel. Since significant fighting in Gaza restarted on March 18, 2025, the Houthis increased their frequency of attack against Israel firing 43 ballistic missiles and 10 drones at Israel through June 7.

Although Israel's Iron Dome and David Sling missile defense missiles cost significantly less than US missile defense systems, Israel's Arrow II/III are several million dollars each and consequently face the same challenges of expending expensive missiles against cheaper adversary systems. Furthermore, as both Iran and the Houthis persist in launching attacks against Israel, there will come a point at which Israel's ability to defend itself will be impaired and the Israeli political leadership will no longer be able to hold back a more aggressive deterrent response.

## ■ **China's Houthi Support**

On April 17, 2025, the US State Department accused China and Russia with militarily aiding the Houthis. Sanctions degraded Iran's ability to help Yemen, while Russia and China stepped up their assistance.

State Department spokesperson Tammy Bruce said: "It is clear that Beijing and China-based companies provide key economic and technical support to regimes like Russia, North Korea, and Iran and its proxies... The CCP continues to enable these regimes, whether it be through the provision of dual-use items Russia needs to sustain its war in Ukraine, North Korea's ballistic missile development, or Iran's support of terrorism across the Middle East," she said, referring to the Chinese Communist Party.

The CCP has provided military hardware and intelligence to support Houthis aggression during the current conflict. For example, the US Treasury sanctioned two China-based companies in 2024 for providing "dual-use materials and components needed to manufacture, maintain, and deploy an arsenal of advanced missiles and unmanned aerial vehicles (UAVs) against US and allied interests."

A report by the Foundation for Defense of Democracies (FDD) stated that the Houthis were using weapons made in China for their attacks on shipping in the Red Sea in exchange for safe passage. Houthi leaders visited China in 2023 and 2024 to establish a supply chain to obtain "advanced components and guidance equipment" for their missiles. These Chinese components would allow the Houthis to produce hundreds of missiles capable of striking Arabian Gulf states, Israel, and shipping. In fact, Chinese shipping through the Red Sea has increased above previous levels enhancing its competitive pricing to other countries that had to travel around Africa. The Washington Institute also reported that maritime data confirms that "China-associated" ships continue to transit the Red Sea without being

targeted, even though a China-linked oil tanker was mistakenly struck in March 2024.

The US Department of State asserts that Chinese state-owned Chang Guang Satellite Technology Corporation (CGST) provided geospatial intelligence (targeting information) to the Houthis to strike US Navy ships and international vessels in the Red Sea. In 2023, the US sanctioned CGST for allegedly providing high-resolution satellite imagery to Wagner Group that participated in Russia's invasion of Ukraine. According to *The Financial Times*, BluePath Labs, a US government consulting firm, noted that CGST had 100 satellites in orbit and its plans to have 300 in orbit by the end of 2025 "would enable it to take repeat images of any location in the world every 10 minutes."

In addition to the CCP, Russia is helping the Houthis. According to *The Wall Street Journal*, Russia reportedly provided targeting intelligence to the Houthis against commercial ships, following Long Kaifeng's TWS of distracting US and NATO forces in other conflicts around the world. The Middle East Eye also reported that Russia had sent GRU military intelligence personnel to support Houthi efforts to attack commercial shipping in the Red Sea.

## ■ **Summary**

**The CCP is setting the world on fire:** It starts fires all over the world and helps terrorists like the Houthis, Hezbollah, Hamas, other groups in Gaza, and state sponsors of terrorism like Iran, North Korea, and Russia. Collaboration with China in TWS against the US reflects the common goal of removing the US as the guardian of free and open trade.

**The CCP is reducing US forces available for Taiwan:** Each time the US draws military assets away from the Indo-Pacific, the likelihood increases that the CCP could order the PLA to attack Taiwan. For example, one outcome of the Vinson Carrier Strike Group (CSG) leaving the Western Pacific to

steam to the Middle East, only one CSG – George Washington CSG home ported in Japan—is available for the Indo-Pacific. The US Navy may assign another CSG to replace the Vinson CSG. The Nimitz CSG eventually replaced the Vinson CSG in late April but there was at least a 30-day gap in coverage of the Indo-Pacific region.

**The CCP is depleting US sea-based missile defense assets:** US missile stocks shrink as the US expends missiles against Houthi airborne threats, and US production capabilities lag behind the rate of operational use.

**CCP's TWS:** Finally, we should understand that drawing the US into other conflicts around the world is a classic example of divide and conquer. The Greeks, Romans and the Chinese Communists used it extensively. Currently, we have Russia-Ukraine, Middle East with multiple terrorist groups active against Israel. A third war could be brewing with North and South Korea or a Southeast Asian Sea flare up to deplete forces available to assist Taiwan. So, Taiwan should be on guard whenever US moves military forces out of the Western Pacific, and whenever there are gaps of forces during rotations or exercises.

Elbridge Colby, Undersecretary of Defense for Policy, said it succinctly in October 2024 on "X": "Why would China help us address the Houthi problem when it obviously distracts and depletes us?"

An Atlantic Council's January 2025 article noted that "as the shipping industry adjusts to the disruptions, Beijing can absorb some losses, as long as the United States and its allies lose more." Cleo Paskal said it best in her testimony to Congress: For China it's not a zero-sum game - it's a negative sum game. They will win if the other side loses more.

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# South Africa — Israel: An Opportunity for a Reset?

by Benji Shulman

In December 2023, South Africa surprised and dismayed supporters of Israel – as well as Western diplomats and strategists around the world – by bringing a case against Israel before the International Court of Justice (ICJ) in The Hague. But perhaps observers should not have been surprised. For more than two decades, ties between Israel and South Africa have steadily deteriorated, while Pretoria has increasingly aligned itself with anti-democratic global actors and agendas opposed to the US-led international world order.

To fully understand South Africa's current posture toward Israel, it is necessary to zoom out and consider its broader international outlook.

Many Western diplomats came of age during the so-called “end of history” period that followed the collapse of the Soviet Union. They believed the triumph of liberal democracy had ushered in a new era in which hard power and deterrence could give way to diplomacy and engagement.

In South Africa, the African National Congress (ANC) rose to power during this time with the end of apartheid. With its primary ally – the Soviet Union – gone, many Western observers assumed the ANC would pivot toward liberal democratic values. This, however, was a miscalculation.

Despite its carefully curated image in Western capitals, the ANC was never a committed champion of global democracy. Since the 1960s, it had accepted financial and logistical support from authoritarian regimes – most notably the Soviets and East Germany. After

taking power, it continued these relationships, receiving backing from autocrats such as Suharto (Indonesia), Sani Abacha (Nigeria), Muammar Gaddafi (Libya), Saddam Hussein (Iraq), and the Qatari state. Yasser Arafat often facilitated these arrangements, introducing the ANC to benefactors across the Arab world that helped it overcome its chronic political funding challenges.

In return, South Africa offered diplomatic support and symbolic legitimacy, leveraging its global moral standing that came in the wake of the defeat of the apartheid regime. Authoritarian leaders facing domestic or international criticism were able to buy good PR, including policy positions, state visits, or back-

## ■ *Support for Global Extremism*

Over time, the ANC increasingly positioned itself, and by extension South Africa, as an opponent of global democratic norms. In 2005, the country blocked discussion of human rights abuses in Zimbabwe at the UN Human Rights Council. In 2008, Hugo Chávez visited South Africa, strengthening its ties with his autocratic Venezuela regime. In 2009, the government denied the Dalai Lama a visa to attend a peace conference. It abstained from UN General Assembly votes condemning North Korea's human rights violations in 2014 and consistently declined to support resolutions on human rights in

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ing at multilateral forums by writing checks. This practice was especially easy to achieve when aligned with the ANC's long-standing ideological commitment to “anti-imperialism,” and “third world solidarity,” a Cold War relic that continues to shape its foreign policy.

Syria in 2015, 2016, and 2018. That same year, US Ambassador Nikki Haley noted that South Africa ranked among the ten countries most likely to vote against the United States at the UN.

By 2022, civil society groups had to take the South African government to





*Russian President Vladimir Putin meets with the President of South Africa Cyril Ramaphosa during the 16th BRICS Summit on Tuesday, October 22, 2024. (Photo: BRICS 2024 Summit)*

court to prevent it from transferring R50 million in public funds to Cuba – without clear justification.

### ■ **Iran**

Among all its international relationships, South Africa's ties to the Islamic Republic of Iran are particularly close. Iran loudly supported the ANC during the anti-apartheid struggle (despite secretly trading oil for arms with the apartheid government). After 1994, Tehran's continued anti-Western stance deepened the relationship. In 2004, South African telecoms giant MTN – chaired at the time by current President Cyril Ramaphosa – secured an operating license in Iran, ousting Turkish competitor Turkcell. The deal was dogged by allegations of bribery and diplomatic manipulation. Unsurprisingly South Africa was a key ally of Iran at the International Atomic Energy Agency (IAEA).

The MTN scandal continues to

unfold. Turkcell has pursued legal action internationally for over a decade, and a recent ruling by South Africa's Supreme Court suggests domestic litigation may soon proceed. Meanwhile, a U.S. lawsuit accuses MTN of links to the Iranian Revolutionary Guard Corps (IRGC). The ANC has continued to push to deepen ties with Iran and advocated its inclusion in BRICS (the Brazil, Russia, India, China and South Africa economic bloc).

### ■ **The Western Response**

The West's response to South Africa's evolution into the world's "rogue democracy" was largely muted. Pretoria was seen as a minor player, and its enthusiastic endorsement of Western-sponsored climate change initiatives further dissuaded any diplomatic unpleasantness.

It took Russia's invasion of Ukraine to upend that complacency. South Africa abstained from UN resolutions

condemning the invasion, sent "goodwill delegations" to Moscow, and spoke of "recalibrating the global order." Naval exercises were conducted with the Russian military – timed to coincide with the anniversary of the invasion – and US diplomats were publicly rebuked for highlighting South Africa's weapons trading with Russia. For the first time, the West was forced to confront the reality of South Africa's foreign policy regression.

### ■ **Israel**

Nowhere was this situation more clearly illustrated than in its relationship with Israel.

In the early post-apartheid years, relations were cordial, buoyed by the optimism of the Oslo Accords and ANC caution over not upsetting Western allies. So, despite Israel and the ANC being on opposite sides for much of the Cold War, bilateral agreements were signed

in 1996. Nelson Mandela made a high-profile visit to Israel in 1999 (although no longer officially as president) and met senior officials including Prime Minister Ehud Barak and received an honorary doctorate from Ben-Gurion University. This was a move that upset some ANC members.

Relations began to sour after the 2001 World Conference Against Racism in Durban, which descended into an antisemitic farce. That same year, senior ANC figures began labeling Israel an “apartheid state.” In 2004, South Africa formally opposed Israel’s case regarding the Judea and Samaria security barrier at the ICJ. In 2010, the government temporarily withdrew its ambassador following the Mavi Marmara Gaza flotilla raid incident. In 2011, it attempted to label goods from Judea and Samaria as originating from “illegal settlements in the Occupied Palestinian Territories” – only relenting under legal pressure. In 2012, the ANC formally endorsed the Boycott, Divestment and Sanctions (BDS) campaign as one of its official policies.

By 2013, South Africa’s foreign minister announced a policy of curtailing high-level engagement with Israel. In 2015, the higher education minister urged universities to cut ties with their Israeli counterparts. That same year, Hamas leaders made an unannounced visit to South Africa and signed a co-operation agreement with the ANC – drawing criticism not only from pro-Israel groups, but also from the Palestine Liberation Organization (PLO), the ANC’s traditional ally. Hamas officials were welcomed again in 2017 at the ANC conference that elected Ramaphosa party leader. That same conference passed a resolution to downgrade diplomatic ties with Israel.

## ■ *Claims of Genocide*

In 2018, following violent Gaza protests over the US embassy move to Jerusalem, the ANC compared Israel Defense Force (IDF) actions to those of Hitler, saying, “All South Africans must

rise up and treat Israel like the pariah that it is.” South Africa recalled its ambassador from Israel and he has not returned.

At times, the government’s fixation on Israel bordered on the absurd. In 2021, the minister of the Arts and Culture Department decided to pick a fight with a beauty queen and launched a weeks-long public pressure campaign to try and force Miss South Africa to boy-

cott the Miss Universe pageant because it was being held in Eilat. She refused – and proceeded to place second runner-up in the competition.

After the October 7 Hamas attacks, President Ramaphosa issued a statement blaming Israel for the violence but failing to mention a word about the hostages. Shortly after, his international relations minister made an unannounced trip to Tehran and also held a phone call with Hamas leadership. Upon the minister’s return, Pretoria escalated its longstanding apartheid accusation against Israel to a charge of genocide – submitting the case to the ICJ.

## ■ *The US Responds*

This was the final straw for Washington. Frustrated with the Biden administration’s pusillanimity regarding South Africa, members of Congress introduced HR-7256, a bipartisan bill calling for a review of the US–South Africa relationship to ascertain whether Pretoria’s actions threaten American security interests.

The arrival of the second Trump administration further accelerated this

trend. A series of executive orders targeted South Africa for undermining property rights, enabling racial preferences in business, and supporting America’s adversaries abroad. Programs involving aid to South Africa as well as military cooperation have been suspended. South Africa’s ambassador to Washington – who had longstanding ties to Hamas – was declared persona non

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grata after labeling the MAGA movement “white supremacists.” A newly-appointed “special envoy” to the US, has come under intense scrutiny because he is currently chair of MTN (though not during the Iran deal) and for negative remarks made about President Donald Trump during his first term.

The situation means that South Africa-US relations are worse than they have ever been and have the potential to jeopardize US-Africa trade agreements such as the African Growth and Opportunity Act (AGOA), from which South Africa risks expulsion. The administration has also threatened to invoke the Magnitsky Act to sanction South African officials implicated in corruption.

## ■ *Ramaphosa Comes to Washington*

This all came to a head when President Ramaphosa led a high-level delegation to the White House in May 2025. The meeting turned adversarial when President Trump raised the issue of attacks on white farmers. In the runup to the meeting, 59 South Africans from

that community arrived under a United States-sponsored refugee program.

While claims of “genocide” may be hyperbolic, rural safety and farm attacks, which sometimes include elements of torture, are a real and long-standing concern in South Africa. The government has done little to address them. Furthermore, new legislation that empowers the state to expropriate property below market value – or even without compensation – has raised alarm. Additional proposed laws aim to redistribute land based on racial criteria.

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The blood-curdling chants of a small but militant opposition party at their rallies of “kill the Boer, kill the farmer” shown in a video by President Trump have further added to anxiety around the situation.

### ■ *Hope from the People?*

Yet, it would be a mistake to conflate the ANC’s foreign and domestic agenda with the values of the South African public at large.

In 2024, the Social Research Foundation (SRF) found that 74 percent of South Africans oppose race-based preferences – at odds with Western critical race ideology. Two-thirds favor job creation and tax cuts over welfare and redistribution. Nearly 60 percent oppose property expropriation without compensation. Most South Africans – regardless of race – are socially conservative, value family and faith (80 percent identify as Christian), and seek a better economic future.

On foreign policy, a narrow majority prefer alignment with the West over China and Russia. Regarding Israel, Pew (2007) found more South Africans supported Israel (28 percent) than the Palestinians (19 percent), a trend echoed in a SRF survey from 2023. Views on the “apartheid analogy” remain evenly split, despite decades of aggressive government and media messaging on the topic. Pro-Israel advocacy – both Jewish and non-Jewish – remains vocal and resilient and resonates with the population.

After October 7, the South African Jewish community, like many others around the world, put up posters of the hostages taken by Hamas. I was present when a group began pasting them along Johannesburg’s Nelson Mandela Bridge, a thoroughfare of chiefly poor and working-class people. In many Western capitals, these posters were torn down by pro-Hamas protesters, but in South Africa that was not the case. Passersby were taken aback; some stopped to read and ask questions; others offered a moment of prayer. The respect on display was a far cry from the shameful scenes that played out on American university campuses and in many Western cities.

### ■ *ANC: Losing the Public*

These sentiments were tested in South Africa’s May 2024 national election. Misreading the mood, the ANC doubled down on racial quotas, redistribution, and anti-Israel rhetoric.

Palestinian flags overshadowed South African ones at rallies. Ramaphosa, wearing a keffiyeh, declared: “Palestine will be free from the river to the sea.”

Voters recoiled. After years of rolling blackouts, corruption, and stagnation, the ANC suffered a historic 17-point drop and lost its parliamentary majority for the first time. A coalition government was formed with the pro-Western Democratic Alliance and other smaller parties. The Islamist-leaning foreign minister lost her seat and was excluded from the new cabinet. The presence of so many groups sharing power is unprecedented in more than 350 years of South African history and offers a new path forward.

South Africa has immense potential to become a key ally of the US, Israel, and the broader Western world. Its strategic geography guards access to the southern Atlantic which is a backdoor into the Western hemisphere coveted by the Chinese. It is also host to an abundance of critical minerals, easy access to African markets, and a population that broadly supports democratic values. Such factors all position it well for a diplomatic reset which would include better relations with Israel.

The ANC’s grip on power may have weakened but lasting change will require sustained democratic pressure, both at home and from abroad. The Trump administration has put this agenda at the forefront and South Africa’s government has begun to respond – for example, by considering reforms to racially based procurement laws in the telecom sector. Yet deep reforms and realignment in foreign policy remain distant goals.

The Trump administration’s assertive stance must be supported, and pressure must be continued as this period offers a rare opportunity in South Africa to support democracy, the rule of law – and a chance to turn around South African–Israeli relations.

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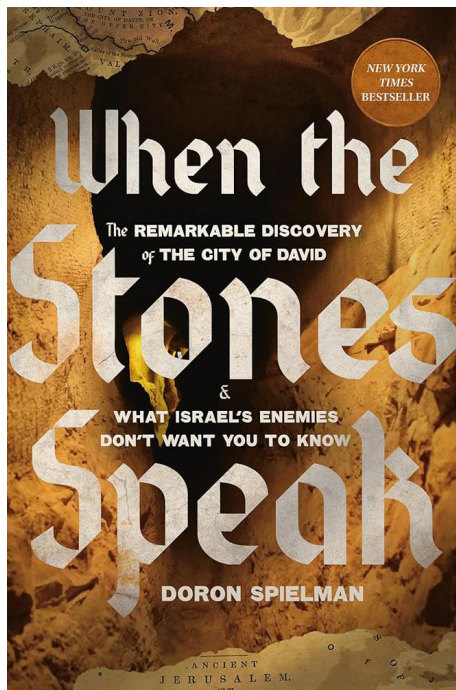
BENJI SHULMAN *is the Director of the Middle East Africa Research Institute.*



# Beach Reading

reviews by SHOSHANA BRYEN

**H**eaded on vacation? Stop scrolling social media and read real books by real authors. You may not be any happier at the end, but you will know more. Really.



***When the Stones Speak***  
Doron Spielman

*When the Stones Speak* is a brilliant excavation (no pun) of Jewish history in the City of David. Spielman, an American by birth, has spent more than two decades working to transform the City of David into one of the world's most significant archaeological and historical sites. It is, like every serious book about the Middle East, both historical and current in reference.

Archaeology is a way to understand the past – to learn history from those who lived it. In Israel is a way to connect to the lives and struggles of people 3,800 years ago who are our people, who lived where modern Israelis live, and where Jews from around the world can breathe

the air their ancestors breathed and walk the land they walked.

But there are other people. They do not want to venerate the past and connect to it; they want to destroy it so they can write their version of the future. In the middle of Israel's current war – not only against Hamas, but against anti-semitism, historical ignorance, political journalism, Western pacifist supremacy, and Islamic radical ideology – keep your eye on those people.

People often think this is a “hasbara battle.” That if you can present facts, you will win the argument. The question was put to Spielman in an interview in *The Jerusalem Post*, “The ‘hasbara’ battle is clearly difficult, due to the historical denialism promoted by the Palestinians and their allies. How do you tackle this in your book?”

He replied, “[By] presenting the incontrovertible archaeological evidence found in the City of David, to the south of the Old City [of Jerusalem]. This site reveals that the Jewish people have a 3,800-year-old history, thus proving that they are indigenous to Jerusalem and the Land of Israel.”

He is partly right. But Israel's enemies – particularly those of the Islamist, Muslim Brotherhood, ISIS, Shiite fundamentalist movements – know the truth.

Did you think Arab conquerors of 638 CE didn't know the Israelites had their Temple on the Temple Mount long before they put the mosque there? Or that the Jordanians didn't know the patrimony they destroyed after 1948? Of course they did, but they a) didn't care and b) figured that at some point YOU wouldn't know or care or both. For decades, the Palestinian Authority, Hamas, the UN and other international organizations have supported teaching Arab children that the Jews took their mosque

from them. The result is that when Arabs are told periodically that “The al-Aqsa Mosque is in danger,” thousands of people try to get there to defend it and attack the attackers. Around the world, Muslims demonstrate against Israel for the danger they believe Jews are doing to THEIR patrimony.

Many do not know and do not care that Jerusalem was known to Islamic scholars as the holy place of the Jews. Many others do not know and do not care that Jerusalem is not mentioned in the Quran even once. “The al-Aqsa Flood” – the historically gruesome, disgusting, vampirish murder, torture, and kidnapping of Jews on 10/7 – was named that to resonate with those who believe that Jews in Jerusalem are an intrusion.

That is not a reason not to read *When the Stones Speak*. On the contrary, it is a reason to ensure that we – as lay people and supporters of Israel – have real, factual information about the history of the Jewish people in the Land of Israel.

But don't let it lead you to believe enlightenment of Israel's enemies is the likely outcome of any “hasbara battle.”

Spielman, by the way, does not appear to believe that either.

The book is not a hasbara piece. It is a well-constructed telling of the finding and excavation of the City of David. Spielman takes us through the ruins – literally, my skin was crawling as he and his crew were crawling through tunnels in the muck – and through the mundane parts of the process – Israeli bureaucracy, fund-raising, and teaching. He is a brilliant storyteller.

The first chapters are modern history – Charles Warren and Baron Rothschild, and families that trace their presence in Jerusalem to the Spanish expulsion of 1492. In 1536, “Suleiman the

Magnificent encouraged Jews to settle around Jerusalem. He built the 1,300 sq.ft. plaza in front of the Western Wall and declared that Jews would have the right to pray there ‘for all time.’ Not to be. The British left chaos and war, and on May 28, 1948, the Jewish Quarter surrendered, and the illegal Jordanian occupation of eastern Jerusalem began.

Col. Abdullah al Tell of the Jordanian Arab Legion was an honest man. Reporting on the destruction of the Jewish Quarter, he wrote:

*The systematic demolition inflicted merciless terror in the hearts of the Jews, killing both fighters and civilians.” He added, “For the first time in one thousand years, not a single Jew remains in the Jewish Quarter. Not a single building remains intact. This makes the Jews’ return here impossible.*

Which was the point. Israel retook Jerusalem in 1967 and – in a fit of something other than common sense – gave authority for al-Aqsa mosque on Temple Mount to the Islamic Waqf (an inalienable charitable endowment), which proceeded to destroy as much Jewish patrimony on the site as possible. The story of “Solomon’s Stables” is horrifying, though not surprising. Nor, in fact, is Spielman’s note that:

*Few people realize that [the destruction of the Temple Mount] was possibly the largest archaeological destruction in world history. When the Islamic State destroyed Nineveh and other historic sites in Iraq, UNESCO called it a “war crime.” But when the PA destroyed fifteen thousand tons of treasures from the First and Second Temples in Jerusalem, the world organizations were all silent.*

But the archaeologists persist. Fascinating chapters on King David’s Palace, the Pool of Siloam, the Pilgrimage Road, and a fabulous chapter

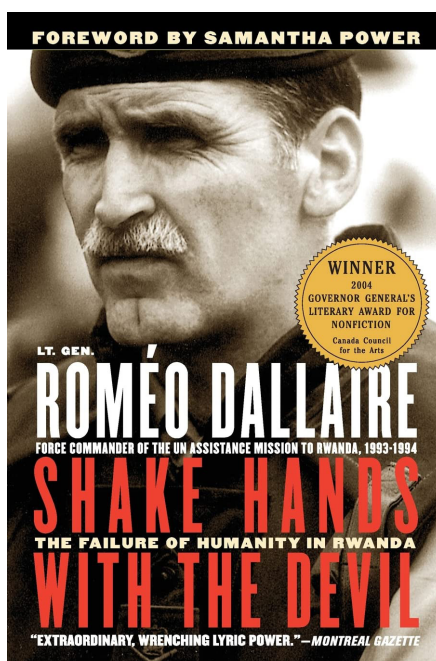
on “Palestina” take the center of the book. You can be fairly certain most Palestinians do not know the origins of the name “Palestine,” adopted in 1964 by Yasser Arafat. You will.

Part II takes on news media, international organizations, some Jews, and the sad saga of Huweida – an old friend from college in the US who had been part of an Israeli Palestinian discussion group. Huweida has become a Palestinian spokesperson – who announces, “I will never stop fighting until the genocide against the Palestinians ends.” Sigh.

There are helpful Arabs and vicious Arabs, just as there are honest journalists and political ones. Spielman talks about all of them.

Do not miss the chapter of the Golden Bells.

Do not forget where we came from.



## ***Shake Hands with the Devil***

LTG Romeo Dallaire  
(Full Review: Fall 2016)

***When ‘Never Again’ Doesn’t Mean Never Again***

Rwanda is proof – if proof is needed – that the world still contains a lethal mix of condescension, racism, apathy,

self-righteousness, and carelessness. It is also proof that the United Nations, far from preventing a holocaust (appropriately used here) simply allowed individual countries to hide behind the edifice, and worse, hide their real agendas behind an impersonal bureaucracy in a first-world country.

*Shake Hands with the Devil* is the 2003 memoir of retired Canadian LTG Romeo Dallaire, Commander of the UN peacekeeping force in Rwanda (UNAMIR). It was written years after the fact because it took that long for him to commit some of the most terrible parts to paper. Ugly as the descriptions are, one suspects there is worse still in his head. He attempted suicide four times after his return to Canada.

A military man, Dallaire connected best with other military officers regardless of their origin. Troops from Senegal, Ghana, Uruguay, Tunisia, and Bangladesh were extraordinarily dedicated to the under-staffed, under-armed, and under-funded mission, and Dallaire gives them their due.

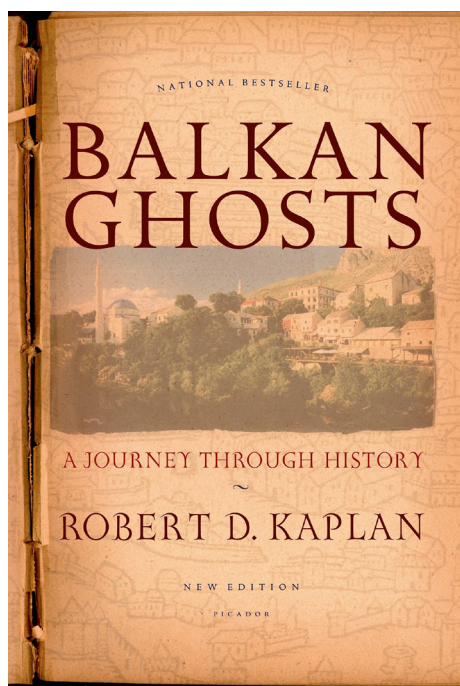
He worked with Belgian soldiers who were, literally, terminally racist. They called Rwandans a name that cannot be said in the US, and Rwandans, not surprisingly, despised the Belgians. Ten Belgian soldiers were massacred at the airport and Dallaire had trouble even having the bodies returned. Belgium removed its troops just as the genocide began.

Dallaire provides lessons:

- People can commit murder in horrific ways, but mass murder on the scale of Rwanda or Syria [or Hamas in Israel 2023] requires leadership on the inside and apathy on the outside.
- Communications media – radio in particular – is helpful in inciting violence.
- Moderates die first because they are dangerous.
- The UN is a perfect construct behind which to hide if you really don’t want to be involved.
- Europeans remain post-colonial

with all that implies.

- Post-traumatic stress disorder (PTSD) is an insidious battle wound. More than 20 years after his departure from Rwanda, LTG Dallaire still takes medication and has had more than 13 years of therapy. He is a hero in Canada for his service in uniform and his post-uniformed service to struggling soldiers.
- Life continues.



## ***Balkan Ghosts***

Robert Kaplan

(Full Review: Fall 2015)

### ***How do you Divide up the Past?***

Why read a book whose locus is outside the Middle East/Persian Gulf region and written before most of the current crises were crises? Because governments and borders come and go, often unrelated to the people under and within them. Family, tribe, land, and religion form an eternal prism through which history can be viewed, whether in the Balkans or the Middle East.

Non-linear history is at the center of Kaplan's thesis. The history of one group wanders and weaves across the history of others—sometimes the

Romanians are up, sometimes it is the Serbs, or Albanians, Hungarians, Macedonians, Croats, or Greeks. (Okay, Macedonians are rarely up.) And each takes its turn being down. There are periods of war and no war, but each interlude of no war is the starting point for

America is different. If family, tribe, land, and religion – and warfare over them – create the character of people in the Balkans and the Middle East, Americans are detached from four and a-half of the five

the next war. No defeat is ever final, so nothing is irrevocably lost, but no victory is final either, so each one is tinged with bitterness because it is temporary (a relative term: the Serbs lost the battle for Kosovo Polje to the Turks in 1389; it became part of Yugoslavia in 1921; and the Serbs lost it again in the Kosovo war of 1999).

Lessons:

- No one is nice about his or her fundamental interests. ISIS [or Hamas 2025] is our current *bête noir*—crude, vicious, seemingly delighting in ever escalating means of bloodshed. But ISIS [and Hamas 2025] has nothing on the Macedonians. And Macedonia at one point resembled nothing so much as Syria.
- ISIS [or Hamas 2025] has nothing on the Romanian Legionnaires.
- Each group wants only that to which it is entitled—but feels entitled to that which it held at the point of its greatest expansion.
- Land, and control of land, equals control of history, narrative, and destiny; this is particularly important for

the United States to understand

Divisibility of land and “territorial compromise” are at the heart of impossible US policy in the Middle East. The “two state solution” presumes that Palestinians and their Arab sponsors—who claim everything—can

be induced simply to agree that Jews in a legitimate State of Israel can rule Arab land. Why? And it presumes that Israel, with a 3,000-year-old claim to Jerusalem as its capital, will agree that half of it—the half that contains most of ancient Jewish patrimony—can be the capital of someone else.

- America is different. If family, tribe, land, and religion – and warfare over them – create the character of people in the Balkans and the Middle East, Americans are detached from four and a-half of the five. American Indians aside [far enough back, so did they], we arrived here (voluntarily or as slaves) from somewhere else. New land. New neighbors. Americans generally have believed people can get along, compromise, can solve problems, and that representative democracy works. Elsewhere, that is a hard sell.

Have fun out there. Wear sunscreen.

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## ■ *The Last Word ...*

# Food Distribution in Gaza

The Biden administration's \$320 million pier for Gaza was a boondoggle that injured 67 Americans and killed one US sailor. The pier had an operational life of 20 days across four months, delivering an estimated 9,700 tons of aid – for comparison, Israel oversaw delivery of 25,155 tons of food aid into Gaza in October 2024.

The Gaza Humanitarian Foundation (GHF) was established by the US government to bring aid to Gaza civilians without interference from Hamas or UN/other international "aid organizations." Below is the GHS report of June 10, 2025. Its success, it should be noted, has angered Hamas – which has killed/kidnapped more than a dozen Arab workers driving supplies to the distribution stations.

## ■ *GHF Operational Updates*

Distributed 2,051,280 meals today across three distribution sites:

- SDS1 (Tal Sultan – ed. near Rafah) distributed... approximately 997,920 meals.
- SDS2 (Saudi Neighborhood – ed. Near the Egyptian border) distributed... 9,600 boxes providing approximately 554,400 meals.
- SDS4 (Wadi Gaza – ed. Central Gaza) distributed... 8,640 boxes providing approximately 498,960 meals.

- This brings the total number of meals distributed to date to approximately 13,547,182 via roughly 228,000 boxes.
- SAFETY/SECURITY: Aid distribution proceeded without incident.

## ■ *Look Ahead*

- GHF is actively testing and adapting its distribution model to safely deliver the maximum amount of aid to the greatest number of people.
- We remain flexible and will continue to adapt distributions based on conditions on the ground, including road access, crowd pressure, and safety considerations.
- GHF is working on operational plans to open additional distribution sites, which will include sites in northern Gaza.

## ■ *Inaccurate News Reporting:*

We continue to ask the news media to use caution in relying on unverified and unsubstantiated sources. There are fake Facebook pages and countless bad actors pushing out inaccurate information to aid-seekers and misinformation to the public so please reach out to us if you have any information. Further, it should be understood that the intended audience of our Facebook page is the people of Gaza, who seek updates that are logistical in nature.