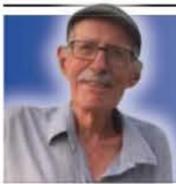


MONDAY, JULY 1, 2024 ■ 25 SIVAN, 5784



Bring them home

Oded Lifshitz, 83, abducted by Hamas from Kibbutz Nir Oz

Our heritage

Unlikely guardians of Moroccan-Sephardi Jewry
Page 11



Finishing touch

IPO to close season with 10 July concerts
Page 16



WE WON'T SERVE

Tens of thousands of ultra-Orthodox men demonstrate in Jerusalem yesterday against the cancellation of exemptions for yeshiva students from service in the military. (Marc Israel Sellem/The Jerusalem Post)

IDF advances in Shejaia as dozens of terrorists killed

18 soldiers wounded in drone strike in northern Golan

• By YONAH JEREMY BOB

The IDF's current re-invasion of Shejaia in northern Gaza has killed dozens of additional Hamas terrorists since Friday, but so far it seems to be more about eliminating tunnels there that were missed during the first invasion.

ISRAEL AT WAR



Netanyahu insists on victory over Hamas, Page 2

PM won't attend US Embassy's July 4 party, Page 2

The re-invasion is expected to last for weeks as the military wraps up its operations in Rafah.

By early January, the IDF had already achieved operational control over Shejaia, but over recent months, once the army withdrew from the area, Hamas has been reconstituting itself.

But the IDF did not operate in all parts of Shejaia during the first invasion, it said, adding that it did not penetrate a significant area of Hamas's tunnel network there.

Throughout the invasion

of Gaza, IDF sources have emphasized that they would need years to eliminate all of the tunnels and are not necessarily being given sufficient time to do so.

Rather, in the initial invasions of Gaza, many of the larger and more strategic tunnels with larger communications tools, intelligence centers, and more powerful weapons were destroyed, but significant aspects of smaller tunnels were not always fully accounted for.

Later on Sunday, an explosive drone strike on the northern Golan Heights wounded 18 soldiers, one critically, the IDF said in a statement.

Israeli aircraft responded with air strikes on southern Lebanon.

This is the fourth re-invasion staged by the IDF of northern and central Gaza since mid-March, with prior ones including Shifa Hospital and the camps of Jabalya and Nuseirat.

IDF sources said that Division 98 surprised Hamas on Friday in broad daylight, and took only 40 minutes to penetrate a new makeshift headquarters established inside a school and a pharmacy.

By getting to the new Hamas command center in such a short time, the IDF was able to prevent most of the Hamas terrorists from escaping, which has been a problem in many other operations.

See ADVANCES, Page 7



SMOKE RISES from the southern Lebanese town of Khiam, amid ongoing cross-border hostilities between Hezbollah and Israeli forces, as pictured from the town of Qlayaa, southern Lebanon, last week. (Reuters)

Netanyahu holding security assessments on Rafah campaign

• By TOVAH LAZAROFF

Prime Minister Benjamin Netanyahu is holding security assessments on the IDF's military campaign in Rafah, which is expected to wind down this month.

Defense Minister Yoav Gallant and IDF Chief of Staff Lt.-Gen. Herzi Halevi are taking part in the talks, which are also looking at the overall Gaza war and "the continuation of military pressure on the Hamas

terrorist organization."

The IDF heads of the Air Force, Southern Command, Operations, Intelligence, Operations, Government Activities in the Territories, Ground Forces, and additional senior commanders are participating in the discussion.

Gallant also held an operational assessment in Rafah, in which he said that "time is actually working against

See RAFAH, Page 7

Democrats Party formed as Labor, Meretz unite

• Jerusalem Post Staff

The Labor Party, led by chairman and former IDF deputy chief-of-staff Yair Golan, reached a formal agreement on Sunday in which it will unite with Meretz under a single party called "The Democrats."

The statement made by the merged parties said, "Unlike in the past, this is not a 'technical bloc,' but a historic move that finally creates one large and united party, a liberal-democratic Zionist party that will serve as a political home for a large public in Israel."

The union is a necessary step in building a large and strong democratic base that will lead to the replacement of the extreme right-wing government led by [Prime Minister] Benjamin Netanyahu.

"The new party will be home for all the forces fighting for democracy and the image of Israel in recent years: Protest organizations... civil society, youth movements... [and] reserve organizations fighting for equal burden."

In response to the unity agreement, Golan stated, "One of the goals I have set for us is to create connections

that will lead to the fulfillment of the camp's electoral potential. This is a necessary political, public and moral goal."

As per the agreement, the new party's Knesset list will be chosen through democratic primaries by the parties' members and new recruits who join. There will be a representation guarantee mechanism ensuring that at least one representative from Meretz will be included up to the 4th place on the list, at least one more representative up to the 8th place, and

See UNITE, Page 7

Smotrich says Ben-Gvir 'totally failed' to curb 'internal threat of Arab Israelis'

• By ELIAV BREUER

The Israel Police and those who are responsible for it "totally failed" in preventing a scenario in which Israeli Arabs take part in the Iranian threat to "conquer" Israel, far-right Finance Minister Bezalel Smotrich said in a speech at a joint conference of *Makor Rishon* and Machon Lev called "Security and Technology"

on Sunday. Smotrich described what he viewed as a multi-pronged Iranian effort to counter Israel, and listed as a possible front "the internal front of Israel's Arabs," which "could not be ignored."

"The Iranians are counting on them joining, and we are far from doing what needs to be done in order to neutralize their threat in advance,"

Smotrich said, including "hundreds of thousands of illegal weapons and arms, which at the moment of truth are supposed, according to the Iranian ambition, to take part in the conquering plan."

"On this issue the police and he who is responsible for it are completely failing. This

See FAILED, Page 7



BEZALEL SMOTRICH (Gil Cohen-Magen/Pool via Reuters)

Cracking (or not) the Hamas-Egyptian cross-tunnel mystery

ANALYSIS

• By YONAH JEREMY BOB

Almost seven weeks into the IDF invasion of Rafah, and with major operations there due to be wrapped up any day, the IDF still is far from certain that it has found or will find all of the cross-border tunnels between Gaza and Egypt, *The Jerusalem Post* learned during a visit while embedded with IDF forces at the Philadelphia Corridor at the end of last week.

In fact, the estimated time for finding and completely destroying all of the cross-border tunnels could exceed six months.

So far, multiple IDF sources have estimated that there are at least 25 cross-border tunnels, but these are just initial estimates.

Of all of the tunnel battles the IDF has taken on in Gaza, this is the most important by far because the Philadelphia Corridor is "Hamas's oxygen" for receiving arms from

the outside world, especially from Iran.

October 7 could not have happened without the arms and intelligence training Hamas received through the corridor.

How can it be that the army's progress, while very impressive, falls significantly short of solving the greatest threat Hamas presents?

Doesn't the IDF - after years of expanding the Yahalom tunnel Special Forces unit and investing billions of dollars in robots, specially trained dogs, customized drones, and a variety of other cutting-edge technologies - have the capabilities to close off this mega-threat?

This is without even getting into the complex geopolitical question which involves Egypt, the US, the UN and others, of whether the military can prevent Hamas's return if it withdraws completely from the Philadelphia Corridor.

If the IDF, currently in full

control, cannot root out all of the tunnels, it is hard to see what will stop Hamas from rearming.

Visiting the area up close and discussing the tunnel threat with two senior IDF commanders, Nahal Brigade Commander Col. Yair Zuckerman and Negev Brigade Commander Col. Elbaz Ivri, the *Post* got a better understanding of how much harder this job is than most of the public understands.

First of all, when you get to the Philadelphia Corridor, you actually see nothing.

These tunnels are especially long, and are deep underground. The only way to really find them is to start with a shaft deep into Rafah that might have nothing to do with cross-border issues. Then you excavate and follow every tunnel all the way through to see which ones lead to the border.

IDF sources pointed out

See TUNNEL, Page 7

Clinging to power: Surprising similarities between Biden and Netanyahu

ANALYSIS

• By HERB KEINON

New York Times columnist Thomas Friedman loves US President Joe Biden, as his column Friday following the debate calling on the president to graciously step aside, attests. He also hates Prime Minister Benjamin Netanyahu, as

his columns over the last three decades bear plentiful witness.

How painful, therefore, it must be for Friedman and others who share those views to wake up and realize that on one important metric, the two men are very similar: they share a stubborn belief that they must remain in power, that only they can do their jobs at this time, and

that after them comes the flood.

Thursday night's debate between Biden and his predecessor Donald Trump brought into the open what hitherto was primarily on the lips of Republicans, Fox News commentators and right-wing talk-show hosts: that Biden, at 81, is no

See POWER, Page 7

French Jews turn to National Rally, 'the nicest enemy'

• By MICHAEL STARR

Many French Jews are turning away from their prior political mainstays and are voting for the right-wing

National Rally (RN) in Sunday's parliamentary elections, Jewish Paris resident David told *The Jerusalem Post*, as problems arising from immigration and cultural change have risen to the forefront of political discussion.

David said that everyone in his synagogue was voting for National Rally, as were many other religious Jews he knew.

Many of his leftist Jewish friends were either voting for parties on the Right or not voting at all.

"We're voting for the nicest enemy," said David, referring to RN's founder's controversies with Holocaust denial and antisemitism. "It is very hard to vote for them [National Rally] - who wants to vote for those who have a

history with Nazis?"

David pointed to mass immigration and the consequent changes in French society and Islamist antisemitism as the major concern driving the drastic political shifts he had seen among his friends. He lives in an area heavily populated with immigrants, many from Mali, Senegal, or Afghanistan.

David explained that the area has become riddled with drugs and crime, and was not safe for native French or girls.

See ENEMY, Page 7

SUPPORTERS REACT at RN candidate Marine Le Pen's headquarters yesterday, in Henin-Beaumont. (Yves Herman/Reuters)



Netanyahu insists on victory over Hamas

• By TOVAH LAZAROFF

Prime Minister Benjamin Netanyahu doubled down on the importance of defeating Hamas as American officials reportedly sought to amend some of the language in the proposal in an attempt to bridge the differences between Israel and Hamas.

"We are committed to fighting until we achieve all of our objectives," Netanyahu said during the weekly government meeting on Sunday.

These objectives are, "Eliminating Hamas, returning all of our hostages, ensuring that Gaza never again constitutes a threat to Israel, and returning our residents securely to

their homes in the south and the north," he stated.

"There is no change in Israel's position" on the proposal for a hostage deal that US President Joe Biden unveiled on May 31, Netanyahu stressed.

"Today, everyone knows a simple truth: Hamas is the only obstacle to the release of our hostages.

"With the combination of diplomatic and military pressure, the latter first and foremost, we will return them all – all 120 hostages, the living and the deceased," he said.

He spoke amid reports by the Axios news outlet that the US has amended some parts of the deal in an attempt to bridge the gap between Hamas and Israel.

Hamas has insisted that Israel must commit to a permanent ceasefire and withdraw the IDF from Gaza prior to the start of the deal. It has refused to accept any deal, including this latest one, that does not include those principled points.

Israel has accepted the proposal that Biden unveiled, which is essential to its plan, that would allow for a three-phase deal to move forward, and would leave the question of a permanent ceasefire to the second phase.

Hamas has rejected that deal. The mediating countries Qatar and Egypt have continued to press for an agreement as has the United States. *Reuters contributed to this report*



TEARFUL FAREWELL FOR A FALLEN SOLDIER

Mourners chant prayers around the fresh grave of Sgt.-Maj. Yakir Shmuel Tatelbaum, who was killed in fighting in the Gaza Strip over the weekend, during his funeral at the Mount Herzl military cemetery in Jerusalem yesterday. (Nir Elias/Reuters)

Middle East not in focus in US presidential debate

ANALYSIS

• By SETH J. FRANTZMAN

The US presidential debate between former US President Donald Trump and current President Joe Biden has led to many take-aways. For those focused on the Middle East and Israel, the debate illustrated how the region is not a major focus.

Despite a specific question about Palestinian statehood and some focus on Iran and the Gaza war, both candidates appeared to eschew a deep dive into the region.

It is clear that Biden is interested in underlining his attempt to create a hostage deal and ceasefire in

Gaza. Trump compared his opponent to a Palestinian, drilled down on the fact that Iran is emboldened, and accused Biden of failing in the Afghanistan withdrawal.

In essence, Trump's point was that if Biden had handled Afghanistan better, then Russia would not have been emboldened to invade Ukraine and Hamas would not have been emboldened to attack Gaza border communities on October 7.

Biden has often run on his historic record regarding foreign policy and decades of experience on the global stage. However, the debate was a disappointment for some Democrats who saw Biden's performance as stumbling.

The big question in the wake of the debate is whether the Middle East is actually being focused on now. Biden has been dragged into focusing on the Middle East by the Gaza war, but it was not something he wanted to focus on.

The problem for the US is that its ally Qatar hosts Hamas. This was supposed to make the terrorist group more moderate and prevent massacres like October 7, but Hamas has instead become more powerful under backing by Doha, Tehran, Ankara and Moscow.

Two US allies back Hamas: Qatar and Turkey. It was the Obama administration that asked Doha to host Hamas. Israel also worked with

Qatar to enable funding for the terrorist group. This policy appears, in retrospect, to have been disastrous. However, none of the candidates appear to care much about this.

Trump's main focus is in discussing Iran; beyond that, his main manifesto is that exhibiting a kind of America-first strength will deter adversaries.

While the pro-Hamas activists in the US, primarily extremists in places like New York and California, have made it seem like the Gaza war it's important, the debate showed that a lot of Americans probably don't care about the war.

College activists and extremists want to drag Americans into focus-

ing on the war but most Americans care about the economy and issues closer to home. They don't want to be colonized by the obsessive anti-Israel focus that some privileged college students have.

The focus on the conflict is primarily on social media and riots in places like New York City where activists recently targeted an exhibit about the Nova festival victims.

There may be a second US presidential debate before the election, which may focus more on foreign policy. However, the first debate taught us that even when the hosts ask the candidates about an issue, the candidates often stray from the discussion.

Trump, for instance, was asked pointedly about Palestinian statehood, but his only comment was "I will have to see." This sums up the debate and the Middle East in general. There is a wait and see attitude.

This will lead many regional states to take away a feeling the US is not focused. That likely makes chances of a hostage deal and ceasefire less likely.

Those who think the US will pressure Israel or Hamas into a deal are now likely taking such a wait-and-see approach. Iran, Russia and Turkey will be emboldened and will seek to exploit the post-debate period.

PM won't attend US Embassy's July 4 party

• By TOVAH LAZAROFF

Prime Minister Benjamin Netanyahu doesn't plan to attend the United States Embassy's July 4 party, due to the ongoing IDF wars with Hamas in the south and Hezbollah in the north.

"Israel is in at war and the prime minister is busy managing it," Netanyahu's office said.

"Just as the Prime Minister did not participate in the [Israeli] Independence Day and Jerusalem Day ceremonies – so he deemed it appropriate not to attend the American Independence Day celebrations at the Ambassador's Home," the Prime

Minister's Office stated.

The party itself will be a toned-down affair in light of the war. The media, which typically attends, has not been invited. The traditional guest list is highly condensed, although some ministers have been invited. Foreign Minister Israel Katz is expected to attend.

A source close to Netanyahu dismissed as "nonsense" reports that the prime minister's decision not to attend the US Embassy party was due to tensions with the Biden administration.

Netanyahu attended last year's July 4 party and delivered a public address about the strength of American-Israeli

ties, despite tensions between him and Washington over the government's proposed judicial reform.

That event was a large gala affair held at the Israel Museum in Jerusalem. At the time Netanyahu was frustrated by the absence of an invitation to Washington, which traditionally is extended to Israeli prime ministers upon taking office.

Netanyahu was sworn into office at the end of December 2022, but as of July 2023 had not yet received such an invite.

He did meet with US President Joe Biden – who he has known for over four decades – in New York in Septem-

ber last year, on the sidelines of the United Nations General Assembly.

Biden has yet to extend an invitation to Netanyahu to visit him in the White House, even though the prime minister is set to travel to Washington later this month to address a joint session of Congress.

Biden and his administration have strongly backed Israel in its war against Hamas in Gaza and Hezbollah in the north.

But relations have still been tense between the strong allies over strategies regarding the Gaza war, the distribution of humanitarian aid in Gaza, and the pace of the flow of arms to Israel.

Conservative Rabbi Andrew Sacks dies

• Jerusalem Post Staff



ANDREW SACKS
(The Masorti Movement)

Rabbi Andrew (Andy) M. Sacks, a revered leader and advocate for Jewish pluralism, has died at the age of 66. Known for his tireless dedication and unwavering commitment to social justice, he was a prominent figure within the Masorti Movement in Israel and worldwide.

Born in Philadelphia, Pennsylvania, Sacks was ordained by the Jewish Theological Seminary of America in the 1980s. He served as a congregational rabbi and Jewish educator in the US before making aliyah to Israel in 1987. His career in Israel was marked by significant contributions to religious pluralism and social justice.

Sacks spent 28 years as the head of the Bureau of Religious Affairs for the Masorti Movement in Israel, providing religious services outside the ultra-Orthodox rabbinate.

He also served as the director of the Conservative/Masorti Rabbinical Assembly in Israel. He was known for being Israel's only non-Orthodox mohel (ritual circumciser), traveling across the country to perform circumcisions at the request of families.

A staunch advocate for gender equality and Jewish pluralism, Sacks fought for the recognition of non-Orthodox conversions both in Israel and globally. He advised the Jewish Agency and the Interior Ministry on conversion laws and battled the Israeli government and the Rabbinat for the recognition of non-Orthodox Jews. His efforts extended to supporting individuals facing discrimination and bureaucracy, including LGBT Jews, converts, and Jewish communities like the Abayudaya (a Jewish community in Uganda).

In his blog on *The Jerusalem Post*, Sacks highlighted the challenges faced by non-Orthodox converts and criticized the Israeli government for its discriminatory practices. He described the difficulties faced by converts, particularly those from emergent communities, and highlighted the systemic issues within the conversion process in Israel.

Sacks' commitment to social justice and equality was evident in his writings and

public statements. He once wrote, "We are determined to continue our efforts to shape the State of Israel to reflect the Zionist values of Klal Yisrael [the community of Israel]." His passion for religious pluralism and his dedication to fighting for the rights of all Jews were cornerstones of his legacy.

Rakefet Ginsberg, executive director of the Masorti Movement, recalled Sacks as a man of action and integrity. "Rabbi Andy was a true warrior for justice," she said. "He inspired those around him with his dedication and brought many smiles to the offices of the movement with his characteristic humor."

Dr. Yizhar Hess, deputy chairman of the World Zionist Organization and former CEO of the Masorti Movement, praised Sacks for his fearless commitment to justice. "Sacks was deeply committed to justice and unbound by formalities. He helped thousands of people and supported many converts from around the globe against the strict Israeli bureaucracy. His sense of humor and unique personality will be greatly missed."

Sacks' legacy is one of relentless pursuit of justice and equality. His contributions to Jewish law, particularly in conversion and religious rights, have had a lasting impact on the Jewish community. His memory will forever be a blessing and an inspiration for future generations to continue his fight for a more inclusive and just society.

He is survived by his family and a global community that mourns his loss and celebrates his remarkable life. May his memory be a blessing.

Police officer to protester: I'm going to rape your mother

• By EVE YOUNG

The Justice Ministry's Police Investigations Department announced that they are looking into two cases of suspected police violence that took place at protests Saturday night, and will reach out to those involved and invite them to submit complaints.

The first incident examined by the PID is one in which "police officers allegedly attacked a protester in Jerusalem, and an officer was heard threatening him," they said,

adding that they are also looking into "the attack of Labor MK Naama Lazimi in Tel Aviv."

In footage from the incident in Jerusalem, an officer can be heard telling a protester that he would "rape your mother," and additional footage shows the protester was slammed into the hood of a police car by a number of officers.

Police responded to the incident saying that "the policeman's conduct at the scene is not in line with the norms of discourse and conduct expect-

ed of every policeman," adding that they will examine the incident.

When asked by *The Jerusalem Post* if the police officer involved will continue to work as normal while the examination takes place, and what the status of the investigation is, Israel Police said that "The incident is currently being reviewed by the Police Internal Investigations Department, and we will act in accordance with its findings" – without addressing whether the officer has been



PEOPLE ATTEND a demonstration against Prime Minister Benjamin Netanyahu's government and call for the release of the hostages in Gaza, in Tel Aviv on Saturday. (Eloisa Lopez/Reuters)

suspended or allowed to continue to work as normal.

"We are very angry but not deterred," protest organization Changing Direction said on Sunday, adding that the protester was "arrested with extreme violence."

As shocking as the statement by the officer was, it is not the first time this year that this statement has been made by officers at protests. An officer also threatened protester Amitai Aboudi, whose violent arrest made headlines last summer, that he would rape his mother.

Lazimi commented on the alleged attack against her on X Saturday, saying that police pulled her hair and strangled her. Police responded on X, saying that Lazimi "prevented the police officers from carrying out their duty, while pushing forcefully between the police officers and preventing them from [confiscating a] mobile phone, as seen in the attached documentation."

"In a democratic country, the police can't confiscate a protester's cell phone simply because they do not like him," Lazimi responded on X, saying that it is absurd that the Police spokesperson is justify-

ing the officer who "violently and aggressively pulled her hair and grabbed her face and strangled her."

"There are laws in Israel and while there is no executive authority that will defend citizens in Israel, we will be their shield, and you will not prevent us from fulfilling that duty," she said.

Labor leader Yair Golan also responded on X, saying, "The police violence that was directed tonight towards MK Naama Lazimi, who defended the families of hostages with her body, and the violence towards demonstrators in Jerusalem, is crossing a redline, [and is] alarming and reminiscent of totalitarian regimes."

"This is exactly what the politicization of the police by the criminal and terrorist supporter [National Security Minister Itamar] Ben-Gvir looks like," he wrote.

"The role of the police is to protect the citizens and not to be a private militia of a convicted criminal and beat citizens and members of the opposition."

Lidar Grave-Lazi and Jerusalem Post Staff contributed to this report.

חברת נמלי ישראל
ישראל

Tender No. CIFA 01.24 ("Tender") For manufacture and supply of pilot boat

- In accordance with the Mandatory Tender Law, 5752-1992, the Israel Ports Company – Development and Assets Ltd. ("IPC") hereby invites bidders to take part in an international public tender for manufacture and supply of pilot boat on CIF Ashdod port, Ashdod, Israel (as defined in incoterms 2020), for Ashdod Marine Services Ltd. (wholly owned subsidiary of IPC), as further detailed in the tender documents.
- The Tender will be conducted via Electronic Tender Box, as defined under Regulation 19(c) of the Mandatory Tender Regulations, 5753-1993 (except for the bank guarantee which shall be submitted to a designated Tender Box in IPC offices).
- The Tender documents include several threshold requirements as detailed in the Tender documents. Only participants demonstrating compliance with all such threshold requirements may participate in the Tender, all in accordance with the terms and provisions of the Tender.
- The application forms may be downloaded from the Company's website at www.israports.co.il (under the "Tenders" column). The completed application forms must be e-mailed to Timashdod@ashdodms.co.il, with a request to receive a user name and password. Applicants will receive instructions to download the Tender documents from the website <https://ramdor.net>.
- Bids may be submitted, as detailed in the Tender documents, by 30 July 2024 at 14:00 (2pm) Israel local Time, online to the digital Tender box.
- The bank guarantee shall be submitted to a designated Tender Box at IPC offices, 74 Menachem Begin Road, Tel Aviv, 12th floor, room no. 1207, no later than the last date to submit the bids as stated above.
- Additional information may be found on the Company's website www.israports.co.il (under the "Tenders" column). This notice contains only general and preliminary information regarding the Tender process. If there is any discrepancy between this notice and the Tender documents, the Tender documents shall prevail.

When does a protest become pro-Hamas?

ANALYSIS

• By MICHAEL STARR

Since protests erupted against Israel and in support of Palestinians after the October 7 massacre and Israel's prosecution of its war against Hamas, writers and journalists have grappled with how to accurately and fairly describe protests.

Israel-Hamas war protests have variously been described as protests against Israel's war, Pro-Palestinian protests, anti-Israel protests, and more controversially, pro-Hamas protests. Journalists and commentators have been especially hesitant to describe a protest as "pro-Hamas" because it is a grave charge and definitively ascribes a belief to the protesters that they may not necessarily share.

While rallies in the immediate aftermath of October 7 would be fairly described as pro-terrorism, protests since Israel responded in force have ostensibly presented themselves as pro-ceasefire and against a supposed genocide in Gaza. The humanitarian cloak, be it a cunning guise or misguided naivety, provides a degree of plausible deniability when opponents describe the alignment of these protests as pro-terrorism.

Hundreds of organizations have been involved in the protests, representing a rainbow of ideological beliefs. Even at protests in which there were some activists who professed affinity and support for Hamas, such as those at Columbia University in April, it could be argued that they were individuals and outside instigators who did not represent the whole group and organizers.

Few groups readily state a policy of support for terrorists, hiding behind the ambiguous term "resistance." Yet declared policy is not the only way in which organizations are judged. Action is far more important than their stated goal. It is reasonable to characterize a group according to the practices that it tolerates among its activists and leaders.

Within Our Lifetime (WOL), which primarily operates in New York, offers an example of how a clear pattern of behavior indicates that its protests are pro-Hamas. One factor to take into account is whether support for terrorism is a repeated occurrence - which decreases the likelihood that an outside instigator or rogue faction is involved.

One waving of a terrorist flag could be explained, but the latest WOL protest on Friday in which multiple Hamas and Hezbollah flags were present was one of many such incidents. At a June 10 WOL protest against the Nova Music Festival Exhibit, Hamas, Hezbollah and a "long live October 7" banner were displayed.

Another indicator of pro-Hamas sentiment is the acceptance of pro-Hamas behavior among the group. WOL activists without the terrorist paraphernalia seem perfectly comfortable to be seen next to terrorist symbols and banners. The flags have not been hidden among the crowd, but flutter proudly at the front of marches and at the center of podiums.

The behavior of a group's leadership toward its activists' behavior also reveals whether a practice is accepted or supported by a group. WOL's leadership has repeatedly been pictured with such terrorist materials. On Friday, the group's leader Nerdeen Kiswani led chants next to a banner of Hamas Izz ad-Din al-Qassam Brigades spokesperson Abu Obaida. On April 15, WOL released a video of Kiswani with a Hezbollah flag just behind her. Another organizer, Abdullah Akl, led chants calling on Abu Obaida to "Strike, Strike Tel Aviv."

While a group may not explicitly state support of a terrorist organization, silence about the proclivities of its activists speaks loudly. If an organization like WOL fails to repudiate repeated instances of Hamas and terrorism support

at its events, then it is tacitly approving the practice.

Within Our Lifetime, through repeated occurrences of terrorist support, general acceptance by both activists and leadership, and failure of the organization to reject the practice, can be reasonably described as pro-Hamas and pro-terrorism. Any demonstration involving WOL should therefore be regarded as a pro-Hamas protest. After much observation of the generally accepted practice of anti-Israel groups, this reporter says even the most cautious of journalists and commentators should feel comfortable applying the pro-Hamas label when relevant.

• By MICHAEL STARR

Multiple flags and banners of terrorist organizations were flown at a New York City anti-Israel protest against President Joe Biden on Friday, according to videos published by Within Our Lifetime.

At the Manhattan Center, WOL leader Nerdeen Kiswani was flanked by a banner of Hamas Izz ad-Din al-Qassam Brigades spokesperson Abu Obaida as she led the crowd in chants of "Genocide Joe has got to go."

Two Hamas flags, one carried by an activist with a Hamas headband, could be seen at the protest site.

When marching to the cen-



ISLAMIST FLAGS are flown at an anti-Biden rally in New York on Friday. (Screenshot/X/Within Our Lifetime)

ter, two Hezbollah flags could be seen, one held by a person wearing what appeared to be the colors of the Popular Front

for the Liberation of Palestine.

Another Hezbollah flag, two Al Qassam Brigades flags, and a Lion's Den flag were waved at the center of the protest march's starting point at Madison Square Park. Banners called to "globalize the Intifada" and achieve aims "by any means necessary."

Promotion for the protest called on supporters to "flood Manhattan for Palestine and Lebanon," as Hezbollah continued to bombard northern Israel and the specter grew of an expanded Levantine war.

"Palestine suffers massacre after massacre while inspiring the world with its resistance. Lebanon, which has been getting bombed by the IAF for

months, is moving increasingly into the crosshairs of the Zionist and US war machine due to their unwavering support for Palestine," WOL said Thursday on X. "Escalation in Lebanon could break out at any time, so we, too, need to escalate."

WOL sought to confront Biden over his support for Israel during its war with Hamas. The group decried what they said was a "pinkwashing event" as Biden was set to speak at the Stonewall National Monument Visitor Center grand opening ceremony. Friday was the anniversary of the 1969 Stonewall riots against persecution of LGBTQ Americans.

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NEWS IN BRIEF

Israeli, PA banks cooperation extended

Finance Minister Bezalel Smotrich has extended a waiver that allows cooperation between its banking system and Palestinian banks in the West Bank during a recent cabinet meeting, the minister's spokesperson said on Sunday. The waiver, which was due to expire at the end of June, allows Israeli banks to process shekel payments for services and salaries tied to the Palestinian Authority. Without it, the Palestinian economy would have taken a hit. US Treasury Secretary Janet Yellen has said it was important to keep open the Israeli-Palestinian correspondent banking relationships to allow battered economies in the West Bank and the Gaza Strip to function and help ensure security. Some 53 billion shekels (\$14 billion) was exchanged at Palestinian banks in 2023, official data show. • Reuters

Gov't okays Danon as UN envoy

The government approved unanimously on Sunday the appointment of Likud MK Danny Danon as Israel's ambassador to the UN, the government stated. Danon has already served in this role once before. "I am proud and honored to return and serve the State of Israel during this critical period," he commented. "As Israel faces numerous fronts, it is imperative for each of us to contribute our best efforts and expertise. This has been my approach in the past, and it will continue to be my approach moving forward," he said. "In the face of the resurgence of diplomatic terrorism, I am committed to presenting the truth with confidence for the sake of the people of Israel and our shared future." • Jerusalem Post Staff

'Legislation to fire academics who incite to terror is unconstitutional'

• By ELIAV BREUER

A bill proposed to force universities to fire faculty who are deemed to have "incited to terror" or "supported a terror organization or supported armed struggle or [an] act of terror by a terror organization, enemy state or individual against the State of Israel," disproportionately violated free speech and freedom of occupation and was thus unconstitutional, the Attorney-General's Office wrote in a legal opinion on Sunday.

The bill proposal, which was scheduled to face a vote in the Ministerial Committee on Legislation on Sunday, stipulates that if "it was proven to the manager of a recognized institution" that a member of faculty had made the aforementioned transgressions, the manager was exempt from giving the faculty member early notice of his or her removal, and the facul-



ATTORNEY-GENERAL Gali Baharav Miara. (Yonatan Sindel/Flash90)

ty member will not be eligible for severance pay.

However, the manager must first receive a "detailed report from the disciplinary authorities" of the institution in question regarding steps it had already taken against the faculty member. The manager must also first "examine" the legal opinions of the institution and of The Council

for Higher Education's legal advisers before firing the faculty member, and give the faculty member the opportunity to defend himself or herself.

The bill also gives a Knesset subcommittee the authority to slash funding for institutions that ignore the bill, as well as take "other enforcement measures."

According to the bill's explanatory notes, the balance between freedom of expression and the "vital need" to limit inciteful speech has been "violated recently." The bill's purpose was therefore to ensure that "the arena of higher education will also be void of expressions and actions that incite and support terror."

The bill was proposed by Likud MK Ofir Katz, with the backing of members of Knesset from both the coalition and opposition: MKs Yevgeny Sova (Yisrael Beytenu), Ze'ev Elkin (United Right), Yosef Taib (Shas), Matan Kahana (National Unity), Limor Son Har-melech (Otmza Yehudit), Tzvi Sukkot (Religious Zionist Party) and Yizhak Pindros (United Torah Judaism).

In a letter to Justice Minister Yariv Levin, who chairs the Ministerial Committee on Legislation, the Attorney-General's Office argued

that the bill "disproportionally violated" freedom of expression, academic freedom, and freedom of occupation. The goal to prevent incitement was of course a worthy one, and was therefore a crime in Israel's criminal code and open for police investigation, the office argued. However, the bill did not provide sufficient reasons to specifically sanction academics, especially without there being criminal indictment or even a basic investigation.

The A-G's Office added that "between the walls of academia, especially broad freedom of expression should be enabled," since "the heart of academic activity is the expression of ideas, presentation of criticism, and development of thinking." The bill would create a "chilling effect" within academic institutions and thus it would also violate academic freedom, it argued.

Labour politician's London office vandalized by anti-Israel activist

• By MICHAEL STARR and MATHILDA HELLER

Labour candidate Stella Creasy's London campaign office was vandalized by an anti-Israel activist, an anonymous source in her party confirmed on Saturday.

Creasy's Walthamstow office window was smashed by a man with a hammer and spray-painted last Saturday night. While the Labour candidate alluded to what motivated the attack, she did not explicitly state the reason. The Metropolitan Police on Thursday told the *Post* that it wouldn't speculate regarding the motive, but confirmed that the incident was not being treated as a hate crime.

Waltham Forest Police released CCTV still images of the suspect on Sunday, urging the public to come forward with information if they have any.

"It is entirely unacceptable for the office of one of London's prospective candidate's to be targeted in this way," Waltham Forest Detectives Superinten-



LABOUR LEADER Keir Starmer attends a general election campaign event at The Royal Horticultural Halls in London on Saturday. (Suzanne Plunkett/Reuters)

dent Dion Brown said in a statement.

Creasy said that she has always endeavored to make herself available for discussions with voters on controversial subjects, including the Israeli-Palestinian conflict, but that the attacker has refused to take part in such discussions.

"What I will not do is give an inch to those people who do

not care for the democratic process and use violence, intimidation, and harassment to try and express themselves, and make it unsafe for anybody to take part in our politics," the Labour candidate said in a video message on social media.

Creasy said that those who had been circulating "malicious and false leaflets" about her political position also

didn't "belong in the political process."

The Labour politician said in her video that she had voted for a ceasefire in Gaza "at every opportunity" and had challenged the UK government on arms sales to Israel and upholding international law. She also noted her advocacy both for families of hostages held by Hamas, and Palestinians in Gaza seeking visas to come to Britain.

Creasy touted her record of supporting a two-state solution, and that in 2014 she had voted for recognition of a Palestinian state.

Vandalism of the offices of UK politicians by anti-Israel activists has occurred repeatedly since the October 7 massacre. The *Jewish Chronicle* reported that on June 1, the Labour Party Office in Chingford and Woodford Green was defaced with anti-Israel graffiti.

Golders Green and Finchley Conservative MP Mike Freer's office was torched in an arson attack in December, after he had received threats over his support for Israel.

Anti-Israel demonstrators at Biden-Trump debate call for militancy instead of protest

• By MICHAEL STARR

Anti-Israel activists called for a shift from protests to militancy and violent revolution at protests against the presidential debate between President Joe Biden and former President Donald Trump in Atlanta on Thursday.

"We say f**k the police, we will burn it down and take what is ours in the streets. And that isn't an empty threat, it's a promise," said a woman speaking to around a hundred activists in a protest organized by Palestine Action US. "The days of protests are behind us, and to be peaceful in the belly of the beast that commits unlimited genocide on the Global South is a disgrace. It is time we follow the lead of militants of oppressed nations. It is time to change our orientation from one of protest to resistance."

Advertisement for the "stop the debate" protest explained that both Biden and Trump were part of a system that needed to be upended, calling the choice between Democrat and Republican a "false choice. In a video published by Palestine Action US, the speaker called for the beheading of the "two-headed beast."

"Intifada, intifada: Long live the intifada," chanted activists. "Globalize the intifada."

The Escalate network said on X Friday that the protesters had opted for a "tactical

retreat" when confronted by police. The group claimed that a speaker cited the philosophy of deceased terrorist Basel Al-Araj, and told other protesters "we fight when we are ready, not when the enemy is ready."

The Party for Socialism and Liberation also held protests outside the CNN Atlanta studio where the debate was held. PSL's own presidential candidate Claudia De la Cruz joined the pro-Palestinian protests.

"As Genocide Joe and arch-racist Donald Trump each clamored to call themselves bigger supporters of Israel and the war machine than their opponent, more and more people reject the two-party system and desire an alternative," PSL Atlanta said Saturday on Instagram. "No matter who takes the presidency in November, we will not let up until we get a permanent ceasefire, an end to the occupation, and an end to all US aid to Israel! We must build a mass movement that will tear down this unjust system!"

Atlanta Democratic Socialists of America and Atlanta Multifaceted Coalition for Palestine also participated in the PSL protests.

One photograph shared on Saturday on Instagram by the coalition said that the "whole damn system's got to go."

Atlanta DSA said Saturday on social media that neither Trump nor Biden represented the "will of working people."

Apple Store offering Hamas radio station app for download

• By MICHAEL STARR

The Hamas-run radio station Al-Aqsa Voice is available for download from the Apple application store for iPhones and iPads.

The free application allows listeners to tune into broadcasts of the Gaza-based radio station.

The age rating for the app is +17 because of "Mild/moderate realistic violence."

Middle East analyst Eitan Fischberger, who originally discovered the application, questioned what internal review mechanisms Apple has in place to prevent terrorist organizations from exploiting its platform.

"Apple should immediately remove the app and fix whatever

led to this gross oversight," said Fischberger.

"How many susceptible American youths have tuned into Al-Aqsa radio through the App Store? How many have listened to the station as it aired speeches by [Hamas political leader] Ismail Haniyeh and [Hamas Gaza leader] Yahya Sinwar? Voice of Al-Aqsa has been one of Hamas's primary propaganda channels for years."

Al-Aqsa Voice advertises its Apple application on its website next to an option for an application on Google Play, however the Google version no longer appears to be available.

The Hamas-affiliated radio channel also has accounts on Soundcloud, X, and Facebook, but they haven't been updated since July, May, and October. The station's Telegram account also no longer appears to be available.

Turkish opposition leader Ozgur Ozel condemns Hamas, October 7 attacks

• Jerusalem Post Staff

There was anger in Turkey over opposition leader Ozgur Ozel, who said in a TV interview on Saturday that Hamas is a terrorist organization, a stance he has also previously voiced.

Ozel stated, "Hamas rains bombs on innocent people in the middle of the night, with balloons, drones, and I don't know what else."

He further argued that accusing fingers are pointed at him when he makes these statements, yet he also stated, "You must see that this issue started there [with Hamas]. What Hamas did was an act of terror. Hamas fired bombs at sleeping Jews in the middle of the night."

Turkey's main opposition party, the Republican People's Party (CHP), elected Ozel as its new leader in November 2023, replacing Kemal Kilicdaroglu, the

Associated Press reported shortly after the elections that year. Following the elections, Ozel vowed to strive for a better political future and "to make people smile." AP quoted the Turkish opposition leader as saying.

Following Turkey's economic challenges and the aftermath of the February 2023 earthquakes, dissatisfaction grew within the CHP as the party missed the opportunity to defeat Erdogan in May's elections that year.

Pre-election expectations had suggested strong support for former leader Kilicdaroglu, who was seen as the opposition's best chance to unseat Erdogan since 2003.

According to the report, Ozel secured 812 out of 1,366 delegate votes, marking a significant leadership change following the party's electoral setback.

Maariv contributed to this report.



OZGUR OZEL (Dilara Senkaya/Reuters)

'We're going to take your head off,' Belgian student tells Jewish woman

• By MICHAEL STARR

The same day that the anti-Israel protest encampments at universities in Brussels were cleared by police on Tuesday, a Jewish woman alleged that she had been threatened and pelted with objects by student activists.

The People's University of Brussels group and Pro-Palestinian organizations alleged brutalities against their activists as police removed them from French-speaking Free University of Brussels' Building B, which they had occupied since May 7 and renamed after deceased Popular Front for the Liberation of Palestine terrorist Walid Daqqah.

Belgian pro-Palestinian groups shared a post on Instagram on Tuesday promising to continue with their activism, proclaiming "It is not an expulsion: It is the beginning of a movement!"

Video of the raid posted by People's University of Brussels and photographs published by the European Jewish Congress showed that the interior of the building had been defaced, with graffiti in multiple languages lining the walls. EJC claimed that some slogans on the wall called for Tel Aviv's destruction.

"This is the sad result of a weak administration that has succumbed to the violence, hatred and blackmail of these wanna-be revolutionary stu-

dents," EJC Director of European Affairs Ariella Witchik said on X on Thursday in response to the vandalism. "It is a far cry from the values advocated by this university, which I once respected."

The same day as the encampment's clearing, Belgian League against Antisemitism President Joel Rubinfeld shared the claim of a Jewish woman who said that while walking her dog past the encampment, she had received abuse from the student activists who allegedly called her "Jew" in Arabic and "dirty Bourgeois." The activists were accused of throwing objects at her, resulting in her being cut. She was also threatened, supposedly told "we are going to take off your head and your dog's, too" and "you are going to pay for the others."

Rubinfeld said that she reported the incident to the police.

Brussels Against Genocide accused Rubinfeld on Instagram on Thursday of misrepresenting the event, claiming that the woman had mocked and insulted the students who had not touched her. A video of the incident was published by the group depicting a hostile verbal exchange, with no physical clash.

After the encampment had been established, on May 8, Université Libre de Bruxelles (ULB) issued a statement saying that it was open to dialogue. It touted its record of decrying both the October 7

Hamas massacre and the "disproportionate Israeli military reaction" as well as its adoption of motions calling for respect for international law, a call for a "just and lasting peace," and its condemnation of the alleged systematic destruction of Palestinian higher education facilities in Gaza.

The university also condemned any violence and antisemitism on campus and said that it was monitoring the situation.

The ULB encampment had held an "intifada festival" on June 23, proclaiming in advertisements: "long live the resistance." One of the groups that participated was Samidoun: Palestinian Prisoner Solidarity Network, which has long been accused of being an activism arm of the Popular Front for the Liberation of Palestine.

Alleged PFLP leader and Palestinian Alternative Revolutionary Path Movement founder Khaled Barakat gave a lecture to the group in mid-May. Another alleged PFLP operative, Samidoun European Coordinator Mohammed Khatib, gave a lecture on June 7 to the encampment of the nearby ULB Flemish sister university Vrij Universiteit Brussel (VUB).

The VUB encampment said on Wednesday that its protesters were also removed from their encampment by police. They also alleged that law enforcement had engaged in violence to expel the students.



AN EXPLOSION on a ship that Houthis say was an attack by them on Greek-owned MV 'Tutor' in the Red Sea last month, in this screen grab obtained from a video. (Houthi Media Center/handout via Reuters)

Houthis to boost attacks with new kamikaze boat

ANALYSIS
By SETH J. FRANTZMAN

A spokesperson for the Iranian-backed Houthis claimed on June 30 that the group will soon unveil a new "military boat" which is "furnished with advanced technology and destructive power," Iran's state media IRNA claimed.

This was based on a statement by the Houthis to their own media in Yemen, the *Al-Masirah* news network, in which the Houthis made these claims on the evening of June 29.

The Houthis have switched to using new kamikaze drone boats in attacks. These have proven more effective than their flying drones and ballistic missiles. The boat sits low in the water and appears to be converted from various types of small speed boats or fishing boats.

These are hard to detect because they are small and so low in the water they may not be seen amidst the waves. Large commercial ships have no defenses against boats like this and a large commercial ship likely cannot outrun them. US and partner navies can sink the boats but they first have to detect them and be aware of where they are heading. In a large body of water such as the coast off Yemen or the Red Sea, this is difficult.

According to the reports, the Houthis said they will soon release images of their new boat. "According to the spokesman, the boat is the same vessel the Yemeni army used nearly a week ago to attack the *Transworld Navigator* ship in the Red Sea. He said images of that attack will be released as well." This indicates that the boat will be of a type of drone boat or kamikaze vessel.

According to US Central Command on June 23 "Iranian-backed Houthis struck the M/V TRANS WORLD NAVIGATOR, a Liberian-flagged, Greek-owned, and operated bulk

cargo carrier in a suspected uncrewed aerial system (UAS) attack. Today, at 4:00 a.m. (Sanaa time), the crew reported minor injuries and moderate damage to the ship, but the vessel has continued underway. M/V TRANSWORLD NAVIGATOR most recently docked in Malaysia and was en route to Egypt. This marks the fourth attack by Iranian-backed Houthis on the M/V TRANSWORLD NAVIGATOR. There were no injuries on US or coalition vessels." The *Transworld Navigator* was attacked several times, once apparently by a drone boat.

CENTCOM has destroyed numerous drone boats. On June 23, CENTCOM said they had "successfully destroyed three Iranian-backed Houthi uncrewed surface vessels (USV) in the Red Sea." A report at Seatrade Maritime notes that "according to defence specialists Ambrey, the Houthis first successfully used a Remote Controlled-Water Borne Improvised Explosive Device (RC-WBIED) on June 12 when another Liberia-flagged bulk carrier, *Tutor*, was impacted off Yemen's Red Sea coast, near Hodeida.

The impact of the maritime drone caused the engine room to flood. Three hours thereafter, the vessel was targeted with a missile. One crew member was reportedly killed following the attack, making this the second incident with crew fatality."

The Iranians agree with this assessment, and according to Iranian state media, "since mid-November, Yemen has been attacking Israeli ships or any vessels heading to ports of occupied Palestine in a show of support for the Palestinian people in war-ravaged Gaza. Yemen has said that its attacks will continue until the Israeli regime stops its war on Gaza and lifts its blockade of the territory," IRNA claimed.

Overall, the picture is clear. The Houthis are using more drone boats in their attacks.

Why is the Arab League reaching out to Hezbollah?

ANALYSIS
By SETH J. FRANTZMAN

Reports over the weekend suggested the Arab League is shifting its position on Hezbollah. According to the reports, the Arab League Assistant Secretary-General Hossam Zaki spoke at length with Lebanese parliament Hezbollah member Mohammed Ra'ad. "Zaki reportedly said there should be no additional escalation and that Lebanon should choose a new president to fill the long-vacant position," the *New Arab* reported.

There is a lot of speculation that this means the Arab League no longer views Hezbollah as a terrorist group. However, there is still lack of clarity on whether this implies a trend in the region among the league members or whether it is merely designed to brief the league due to concerns about a possible war between Israel and Hezbollah in Lebanon.

According to *Al-Akhbar* in Lebanon, which is considered sympathetic to Hezbollah, Zaki was visiting the country and held several important meetings. For instance, he spoke with the commander of the Lebanese army and several other factions.

"The most prominent meeting was with the head of the Loyalty to the Resistance bloc, MP Mohammad Raad," the newspaper said. "This was the first contact between the two sides in more than ten years, especially since the Arab League had accepted the Saudi-Emirati request and approved in 2016 the classification of Hezbollah as a terrorist organization."

According to this report, "as for the content, the sources revealed that 'Zaki informed Hezbollah that the university decided to remove the terrorist designation against him, and it believes that he has a major role in the future of Lebanon.' He also called for accelerating the presidential elections, pointing out the difficulty of electing any of the known candidates, and considering that 'the solution is to agree on the third solution.'"

"While Representative Raad did not comment on the issue of party classification, he repeated in the presidential file the position in support of [presidential candidate] Franjeh while emphasizing openness to any discussion, but the other party refuses dialogue."

This section of the report appears to illustrate that the wider context is not



HOSSAM ZAKI
(Dalati Nohra/Handout via Reuters)

the possible conflict with Israel, but actually Lebanese politics.

MEANWHILE, Anadolu media in Turkey also reported on the meetings. "In a televised statement on the Egyptian Al-Qahera News Channel the day after he concluded his visit to Beirut, Hossam Zaki said: 'In previous Arab League decisions, Hezbollah was designated as a terrorist organization, and this designation was reflected in the resolutions, leading to the severing of communication based on these decisions.'"

This report leaves some confusion. "The member states of the League agreed that the label of Hezbollah as a terrorist organization should no longer be employed," Zaki said. "The designation of Hezbollah as a terrorist organization no longer applies... the Arab League does not maintain terrorist lists and does not actively seek to designate entities in such a manner," he indicated. I searched for the original Al-Qahera report of this statement and could not find it. It is apparently a translation of a short video segment.

It's worth noting that Lebanese politicians who met with Zaki pushed back against Hezbollah's actions, which are escalating toward war with Israel. Lebanon24 media noted that "the head of the Phalange Party stressed his rejection of Hezbollah monopolizing decisions on war and peace and dragging Lebanon into a war that will only bring it tragedies. It has proven that it did not and will not serve Gaza or the two-state solution that grants the Palestinians their right to a viable homeland, which is the only way out to stop the war and stabilize the region."

MEANWHILE, the pro-Hezbollah Al-Mayadeen characterized Zaki's visit as also reversing eight years during which Hezbollah was viewed as a terror group by the league. "Zaki pointed out that the issue of the war in the south took a significant amount of time in communications, expressing his hope that things would not develop because 'the evidence coming from the Israeli side is worrying and expresses a desire to expand the war on Lebanon, which is rejected by the Arab League,'" the report said. This is important because it shows that the goal of the league is to prevent a wider conflict.

In most cases, there is no clear evidence about how the Arab League has officially changed its position. On the other hand, the decision by Zaki appears to come as the league has normalized ties with the Syrian regime and the Syrian regime, which has close ties to Hezbollah.

The terrorist group intervened to back the region in 2012. The decision by the Arab League to view Hezbollah more negatively came in the context of the Syrian civil war. Therefore, with the war largely over, it makes sense that the league may be more open to talks with Hezbollah.

It's worth noting the meeting was with a Hezbollah member of parliament in Lebanon, so the league can argue this is merely a formality and a meeting with parliamentarians. Ra'ad was recently slammed in Lebanon for comments in which he critiqued Lebanese citizens for going to the beach and to nightclubs during the tensions with Israel.

The overall context here is that the region is concerned about possible war. Countries are considering asking their citizens to leave, and reports say some countries, such as Saudi Arabia, are already urging citizens to leave Lebanon. The Kingdom of Jordan has also advised citizens against travel there.

The Arab League isn't the only one doing outreach to Hezbollah. According to reports, on Thursday, a Qatari official is also traveling to Beirut to meet with Hezbollah. This report also appeared at *Al-Akhbar*, clearly showing that the Lebanese daily paper has an interest in trumpeting the meetings with Hezbollah and officials in the region. This is designed to legitimize the terrorist group and make it seem like it is playing a major role negotiating on behalf of Lebanon.

NGO: US A-G should investigate Amal Clooney's role in ICC case

Jerusalem Post Staff

The US Attorney-General Merrick Garland should investigate Amal Clooney's assistance to the International Criminal Court's case against Prime Minister Benjamin Netanyahu, Israeli NGO Shurat HaDin argues.

According to Shurat HaDin, the human rights attorney (and wife of Hollywood actor George Clooney) has violated federal law by illegally participating in the International Criminal Court's (ICC) "investigative actions" against Netanyahu for war crimes while she was on US soil.

Representatives of the NGO have sent a letter to Garland on the issue. The document was sent by attorneys Robert J. Tolchin of New York and Shurat HaDin President Nitsana Darshan-Leitner of Tel-Aviv. Shurat HaDin represents hundreds of Hamas terrorism victims, including victims of Hamas' October 7 massacre, in legal actions against the terror group and its financial supporters.

"The American law is extremely clear: no agent of the ICC can operate or assist in ICC investigative actions against Americans or their allies while residing in the US," said Darshan-Leitner. "As President Biden stated, it is outrageous that this biased court in The Hague would attempt to prosecute Israeli officials as they bat-



NITSANA DARSHAN-LEITNER
(Courtesy)

tle the Hamas murderers, rapists and terror gangs in Gaza."

The letter to Garland notes that Amal Clooney, at the request of ICC Chief Prosecutor Karim Khan, participated in an investigative panel convened to evaluate evidence of suspected war crimes and crimes against humanity in Israel and Gaza. The panel was tasked to review the legal analysis underpinning the chief prosecutor's intended application for warrants against two Israeli leaders, Netanyahu and Defense Minister Yoav Gallant, as well as several Hamas leaders.

Ms. Clooney has spoken publicly about her involvement with the ICC investigative panel and boasted of her actions to assist in indicting the two Israeli leaders. The Shurat HaDin letter requests that the Attorney General subpoena

the email, phone records and passports of Clooney in order to discover her whereabouts and communications with the Prosecutor's Office in The Hague and determine if she acted illegally while on American territory. Clooney is not an American citizen.

After President Joe Biden initially criticized the ICC's actions earlier this month, George Clooney called White House official Steve Ricchetti, counselor to the president, to complain about Biden's denunciation of the arrest warrants for Netanyahu and Gallant. Clooney was afraid that his wife might be subject to US sanctions and penalties as the Biden Administration had initially threatened ICC officials. Clooney later wrote fundraising solicitation letters and appeared at a Biden re-election campaign fundraiser on June 15th in Los Angeles.

"If Amal Clooney participated in the ICC panel investigating Prime Minister Netanyahu while residing in the US then she is the one that needs to be prosecuted," said Darshan-Leitner. "She seems to be passionate about international law but pretty contemptuous of American regulations. George Clooney's efforts to intervene and interfere with White House policy on behalf of his wife while raising funds for Biden's campaign is troubling and suspicious."

MAGEN DAVID ADOM IN ISRAEL
Israel's National EMS

מגן דוד אדום
בישראל

ארגון החירום הלאומי

ISRAEL'S HEROES

חובש

מגן דוד אדום בישראל
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Defense Ministry spent NIS 30b. on local procurement since war – report

• By SHMUEL ELMAS

Since the start of the war in October, Israel's Defense Ministry has spent NIS 30 billion (\$8 b.) including VAT on local procurement, according to information from the ministry's Department of Production and Procurement (DOPP) seen by *Globes*.

More than half of this amount has been spent on defense equipment, ammunition, and weapons. This wide-ranging spending was directed by Defense Ministry Director-General Maj.-Gen. (res.) Eyal Zamir to base as much procurement as possible on Israeli-made items. This amount represents the DOPP's typical full-year procurement.

The data reflect the significant consequences of the recruitment of some 300,000 reservists, as a result of which 28.7% of Israeli procurement during the war (NIS 8.61 billion) has been for "miscellaneous" items. The wide range of products includes,



AN IRON DOME anti-missile system fires interception missiles as rockets fired from the Gaza Strip to Israel in May last year. (Yonatan Sindel/Flash90)

for example, clothing, tents, accommodation, equipment, and chemical and other services that exist on the market. This was the second-biggest category after the procure-

ment of defense equipment, ammunition, and weapons, which amounted to NIS 16.4 billion. The lion's share of that amount went to Elbit Systems, Israel Aerospace

Industries (IAI), and Rafael. However, it is very likely that subcontractors of the three major companies also benefited from procurement.

One of the significant issues

that the management of the Defense Ministry has been asked to address is to restore capabilities that have not been acquired for many years.

As part of the rapid conclusions drawn, it has been realized that there is a critical need for a large quantity and independence in the field of land weapons – four times the amount of domestic production before the outbreak of the war. Investments have been made, and procedures for modernization, automation, and expansion of production lines have been carried out.

Interesting procurement by the IDF includes NIS 100 million for drones and NIS 920 million for computer equipment. Over the same period, the procurement delegation in the US spent more than \$6 billion. The annual US military aid package is worth \$3.3 billion plus \$500 million per year for joint developments in the field of air defense and the various aid packages approved during the war. (*Globes/TNS*)

Israel, Korea to form new \$80m. investment fund

• Jerusalem Post Staff

Israel's most active investment platform, OurCrowd, was chosen by the South Korean government to co-manage an investment fund of \$80 million for startups in both countries, OurCrowd announced on Wednesday.

The target for the fund is \$80 million, over half of which has already been raised by NH Venture Investment and K-Growth, the Korean partners.

With \$48 million secured, OurCrowd is working to raise remaining funds from its 240,000 registered global investors, the company announced.

The bilateral fund will invest in 25-0 startups in both Israel and Korea, particularly projects focused on technology, such as robotics, automotive, quantum computing, cybersecurity, and digihealth, OurCrowd said.

The fund is backed by NH Venture Investment, the venture arm of NongHyup Financial Group, which has total assets of \$400b, and Korea Growth Investment Corporation (K-Growth), a Korean government agency that invests policy funds to achieve strategic objectives on behalf of the Korean Ministry of Trade Industry and Energy (MOTIE). K-Growth has pledged \$32 million to the fund, and NH has committed \$16 million. NH and OurCrowd will co-manage the fund as general partners.

"The establishment of the Israel-Korea bilateral fund with the backing of the South Korean government is wonderful news for Israeli hi-tech," said Jon Medved, CEO of OurCrowd.

Medved said South Korea

wished to use Israeli innovation to secure its position in pioneering industries.

He also said that Israeli DeepTech companies would receive direct access to the South Korean industrial conglomerates, allowing for global collaborations, especially those in the Asia-Pacific region.

Medved added that South Korean startups would benefit from exposure to Israel's connections to leading venture capital investors and entrepreneurs, helping them drive their technological progress forward.

Kim Hyun Jin, CEO of NH Venture Investment, said, "K-Growth has established this fund to support the global expansion of Korean companies through open innovations with global hi-tech enterprises, such as innovative Israeli companies.

"OurCrowd's extensive Israeli and Global network [will] collaborate with Korean hi-tech startups to grow together through this fund."

South Korea has the 13th-largest economy in the world, with an increasing GDP. It is also the fifth-largest manufacturing power in the world after China, the United States, Japan, and Germany, according to OurCrowd.

After Israel, South Korea is the second-biggest global investor in Research and Development as a percentage of GDP.

This partnership comes despite recent news of the South Korean NGO People's Solidarity for Participatory Democracy (PSPD), the Asian Dignity Initiatives, and South Korean lawmakers filing crimes against humanity charges for seven Israeli officials.

IVC, Leumitech preliminary data show hi-tech recovery

Second quarter is first since beginning of 2022 with no decline compared to same quarter in previous

• Jerusalem Post staff

Leumitech, the hi-tech banking arm of Bank Leumi, and IVC, a provider of data, quantitative research, and business information, today published the first data from the Tech Review report for the second quarter of 2024.

According to preliminary data from the report, it appears that Israeli hi-tech is continuing the positive trend with a high volume of financing rounds and a higher number of rounds than in previous quarters. This is the first quarter since the beginning of 2022 in which there was no decline compared to the same quarter in the previous year. Israeli technology companies raised \$2.9 billion in 110 rounds in the second quarter.

While 62% of the total capital in the quarter was raised from six financing rounds, most came from companies in the cyber field. The most prominent transaction was that of WIZ, which completed a \$965 million funding round. The positive upward trend that began in the first quarter is also evident in that, excluding WIZ's huge funding round, there was an increase of 19% in the volume of fundraising (\$1.93b.).

"We are pleased to see that the signs of recovery felt in recent months are also reflected in second-quarter data," Leumitech CEO Maya Eisen-Zafir said. "The data reflect growth in the volume of capital raised and in the number of transactions relative to the previous quarter, as well as in the corresponding quarter of last year. If this volume

continues, we will be on pace for the tech sector to end with a year of growth compared to the previous year. In addition, from the in-depth examinations we conducted regarding the identity of investors, it is encouraging to see foreign investors – who have never invested in Israel – taking part in transactions since the beginning of the war."

Ben Klein, CEO of IVC, said: "The second quarter ends today with positive growth indicators. The scope of activity in Israeli hi-tech continued to grow moderately. This is not trivial in light of the circumstances. The growing presence of foreign investors attests to the attractiveness of Israeli hi-tech."

This article was written in cooperation with Bank Leumi.



LEUMITECH CEO Maya Eisen-Zafir (Oren Dai)

'Economy was struggling long before October 7'

• Jerusalem Post Staff

Israel's economy was struggling long before October 7, and financial difficulties have had an impact on the country's defense capabilities, Israeli economist Prof. Yaron Zelekha argued during the latest episode of Conversation Corner, a series powered by *The Jerusalem Post* and Ono Academic College.

Zelekha, director of Accountancy Studies at Ono Academic College and a former accountant-general for the Finance Ministry, was interviewed by the *Post's* Deputy Editor-in-Chief Tamar Uriel-Be'eri.

"For the past 17 years Israel has witnessed a slow deterioration in the state of the economy," Zelekha said. He stressed the stark contrast between the economic boom of 2007-2008 and the decline observed since then, noting that during the economic peak, Israel's GDP per capita reached 62% of that in the United States, but has since fallen below 50%.

Uriel-Be'eri pressed on, "How does Israel finance this war right now?" Zelekha responded with a detailed analysis of the shifting economic policies over the years, explaining that the government has increasingly relied on raising real estate prices and the consumer price index to boost revenues.

"From 2008 until 2023, the government has brilliantly, or should I say, viciously, structured the economy in a way that it can take a larger share of our income," he elaborated. This strategy, he argued, has enriched the government while impoverishing the citizens.

The discussion turned to the impact of these policies on Israel's defense capabilities.

"On October 7, we were facing our enemies with a smaller army than we needed," Zelekha said. He explained that the reduction in GDP allocated to defense from 7% to 5% has resulted in significant budget shortfalls, affecting the country's military readiness.

"That explains why on October 7

we were facing our enemies with a smaller army than the one we needed," he said.

"I don't want to mention the number of divisions, including armed divisions with tanks that were closed in these 17 years, while according to reports, half of our fighting helicopters were dismantled."

When asked whether Israel is on the right track to economic recovery, Zelekha's response was both optimistic and cautionary.

"Israel's economy is very stable and robust to external shocks because of its experience," he said. "I'm not afraid of the stability of the economy. I'm afraid of our level of income, which has deteriorated."

The conversation shifted to the hi-tech sector, a vital engine of Israel's economy.

Zelekha emphasized the sector's resilience but cautioned against over-reliance on it.

"High tech is important, however, it's not important enough to be a sole engine to the Israeli economy," he explained.

Instead, he advocated for policies that support the 90% of the workforce employed in other sectors.

"We cannot expect the 10% to become 30%, 40%, or 50%," he explains "It will not happen. It's only growing by a half percent a year, so in 10 years, it can be 15%. We need to take care of the other 90% of workers – and in order to do that, we need to change our economic policies."

According to Zelekha, a key issue for this purpose is the education system.

"You cannot teach 40 children in a classroom in 2024," the professor stated emphatically. He argued for smaller class sizes and better resource allocation, noting that increasing the number of teaching hours without addressing class size would be ineffective.

"You can teach 10,000 hours, but the outcome with 40 pupils in a classroom will be zero," he said.

This article was written in cooperation with Ono Academic College.

Israel Police deploying Chinese-made license plate recognition cameras blacklisted by US

• By ASSAF GILEAD

The Israel Police is deploying Chinese-made license plate recognition (LPR) cameras as part of its "Hawk-Eye" traffic enforcement project, which do not comply with required standards in Western countries like the US and the Netherlands.

Globes has learned that most of the cameras that the Israel Police is using to monitor the country as part of the "Hawk-Eye" project are made in China, and in particular, manufactured by Dahua. The police are also making use of cameras from Chinese company Hikvision. These two companies have been removed from the national infrastructures of several Western countries in recent years.

Dahua and Hikvision were blacklisted in 2021 by the US Federal Communications Commission (FCC) together with Huawei, China Telecom and ZTE, as companies endangering US national security.

The US Congress also enacted special legislation prohibiting import and sale of the Chinese companies' products, including the Dahua and Hikvision surveillance cameras, by government companies or any organization that relies on a federal budget.

Amsterdam Municipality also announced that within five years it will replace nearly 1,300 city cameras made in China that were installed on its streets, due to fear of espionage as well as suspicion of complicity in the violation of human rights in the communist country. In addition, as far as is known, due to US suspicions about Chinese cameras, Israeli defense companies, like Elbit Systems and Israel Aerospace Industries, (IAI) are also barred from using these cameras.

Dahua and Hikvision were founded in 2001 in Hangzhou, 200 kilometers south of Shanghai. The two companies control the global security cameras market –



A CCTV CAMERA from Dahua Technology on show at the Security China 2018 exhibition. (Thomas Peter/Reuters)

Hikvision has a 40% share and Dahua 25%. Western companies have most of the remaining 35% market share. The Chinese government has a 39% stake in Hikvision and a 12% stake in Dahua.

Both companies have had sanctions and boycotts imposed by a number of Western countries. Against Dahua there are sanctions in the US, Canada, Ukraine, Australia and UK. Against Hikvision there are sanctions and other actions in the US, Canada, UK, New Zealand, Australia, Ukraine, South Korea, and India.

DESPITE CONCERNS about espionage, the Israel Police chose to cover the country's roads with Chinese-made cameras. It is a relatively cheap commodity, with high technological reliability, and a "proof of feasibility" over many years in China. According to the regulations, the cameras are supposed to track license plates only, but Adv. Gil Gan-Mor, director of the Civil Rights Unit of the Association of Civil Rights in Israel (ACRI) says that the system also stores a close-up image of the vehicle in which the driver and passenger can also be seen. He adds that police are able to cross-check data with other data-

bases such as the vehicle license database, thus creating a connection between the vehicle and its owner.

The cameras deployed in Israel do not yet have facial recognition capability, but according to Gan-Mor, the cabinet voted even before the outbreak of the war that it would also support biometric identification, although this legislation has not yet been enacted. "A lot of information can be extracted just from a photo of a vehicle along a road," says Gan-Mor. "You can understand whether the journey is abnormal and what its destination is. If it is a destination that will embarrass the driver, it could be used against them. Cameras located near sensitive sites add a security aspect to the problematic nature of the camera system."

ACRI contacted the Attorney-General before petitioning the Supreme Court to annul legislation, allowing police to keep all filmed content for two years – even of innocent citizens. In ACRI's opinion this is equivalent to mobile tracking, and can be done without a judicial order. ACRI also claims that the use of the system is for very broad purposes, and is not limited to inves-

tigating serious crimes and locating criminals.

"The police are acting through all the required means to ensure data security and prevent leakage of information" the police said.

Hikvision maintained, "It seems that those interviewed in the article are biased and have interests not related to the matter."

"There is no targeted security problem with Hikvision cameras and it has not been proven that the level of cybersecurity with other cameras is higher."

"Hikvision cameras are popular worldwide, including in Western countries and in Israel due to their very high technological capabilities and their safety and reliability, and all at a fair price."

"Hikvision cameras meet the recommendations and regulations of Israel's National Cyber Directorate, which is the government body responsible for data security and protecting the national civilian cyber space of the State of Israel. The National Cyber Directorate has published instructions to reduce data security risks and Hikvision's cameras comply with them all."

"Hikvision cameras also meet the most stringent international standards including complying with the US Federal data security risks. FIBS 140 standard and laboratory tests have determined that Hikvision cameras are at a very high security level."

"Accordingly, public and large private bodies in Israel benefit from secure and proper use of Hikvision cameras after having conducted their checks on the product and decided that it is secure to use in terms of cybersecurity. A few countries around the world, which do not encourage use of Hikvision cameras do so out of political motivation or as a result of the trade war with China and with no connection to the level of the product's security."

No response was forthcoming from Dahua. (*Globes/TNS*)

Israel's first rolling Hebrew news channel debuts

• By HANNAH BROWN

It's understandable that Israelis are addicted to watching news, and now there is finally a 24/7 Israeli news channel in Hebrew – i24NEWS. It went live on Sunday night with its Hebrew-language news and current affairs programming.

The channel opened with a main evening news program, hosted by Miri Michaeli, and went head-to-head with the established nightly news broadcasts on Kan, Keshet, Reshet, and Channel 14. The new

channel is part of the i24NEWS network that was established in 2013 and has been broadcasting news from Israel to the whole world on three channels and in three languages: English, French and Arabic.

The channel is available to HOT customers on the internet and in the i24NEWS app on Channel 15, on NEXT TV on Channel 15, yes+ on Channel 15, STING+ on Channel 15, Partner TV on Channel 22, Cellcom TV on Channel 10, and FREE TV alongside the Israeli channels.

Sunday night's inaugural broadcast was similar to the news programs on the other channels. It opened with coverage of Hezbollah's attacks on northern Israel and reactions of Lebanese citizens to the fighting; the soldiers who just fell in the fighting in Gaza; the latest attacks by the Houthis; an analysis of terrorism in the West Bank; violence by police at anti-government and pro-hostage deal demonstrations on Saturday night in Tel Aviv and Jerusalem; demonstrations by ultra-Orthodox in Jerusalem

against the new law that would require them to serve in the IDF; US President Joe Biden's weak debate performance against Donald Trump; and so on. In short, it was a pretty slow news day for Israel these days and i24 covered it thoroughly, with Lebanese experts speaking about Lebanon and several correspondents in the US.

Michaeli hosted one segment in which she interviewed Ofri Bibas, the sister of Yarden Bibas, one of the 120 hostages still held by Hamas, who was kidnapped along with his

wife, Shiri, and children, Kfir and Ariel, on October 7 from Kibbutz Nir Oz. Ofri has just given birth and discovered she was pregnant in mid-October. Michaeli and Ofri discussed the joy mixed with sadness and how she has fought as hard as she could for family's release during all these months, in spite of her pregnancy.

The news was followed by a program, The Israelis, with a panel that featured a diverse group: Eli Ohana, former soccer star and former chairman of Beitar Jerusalem; actor Yossi



ISRAEL'S FIRST 24/7 news channel in Hebrew on the i24 network launched last night. (Courtesy)

Marshak; Eyal Waldman, the hi-tech entrepreneur whose daughter was murdered by Hamas terrorists at the Nova

Festival; and former MK Orly Levy-Abekasis. They were joined by National Security Minister Itamar Ben-Gvir.

ADVANCES

Continued from Page 1

A number of the terrorists killed were part of anti-tank missile cells, which have been one of Hamas's strongest assets in ambushing IDF troops.

Still, the army did not enclose the entire area before the attack so some terrorists might have escaped.

The military added that it had acquired a significant amount of updated intelligence about Hamas activities and strategy through the operation but did not mention anything specific about new leads on hostages.

IDF sources were somewhat defensive about needing to return to so many parts of Gaza where they had declared operational control, but added that the speed with which the military could penetrate (in 40 minutes compared to weeks in December) showed that whatever version of Hamas was trying to return, it was exponentially weaker.

The rest of Gaza was much calmer, in relative terms.

In the Rafah area, where the fighting was most intense from early May until mid-June, troops of the 162nd Division killed gunmen and demolished tunnel shafts, but in much smaller numbers.

One of the tunnels was around 500 meters long.

On Saturday, the IDF targeted and destroyed a mortar launch site, and on Sunday, it destroyed nine more rocket-firing sites.

In central Gaza, the military carried out raids and destroyed a tunnel shaft in the area.

A soldier from the 890th battalion of the Paratrooper Brigade was critically injured in a battle in the northern Gaza Strip on Saturday, the IDF stated on Sunday.

Earlier Sunday in the North, the military carried out multiple rounds of airstrikes against Hezbollah in different parts of southern Lebanon.

The terrorist group fired an anti-tank missile and launched a drone into northern Israel on Sunday. One missile hit a house in Metulla and a drone exploded in the Golan.

"Following the sirens in the area of Merom Golan in northern Israel at 16:08, a number of suspicious aerial targets were identified crossing from Lebanon into Israel territory. An explosive UAV was identified falling in the area," the IDF said.

"Again, near Beit Hillel at 16:25, a rocket was identified falling into an open area in northern Israel. No injuries or damage were reported."

Full information on damage or casualties was not available at press time.

The IDF has reportedly responded with airstrikes against Hezbollah following the above attacks, which would be its third round of strikes on Sunday.

Jerusalem Post Staff contributed to this report.

RAFAH

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them, not for them."

He spoke of the IDF's seizure last month of the strategic Philadelphi Corridor that borders Gaza and Egypt, as well as its efforts to close the smuggling tunnels underneath.

"The result is [that] they

have nowhere to arm themselves, they have nowhere to equip themselves, they have no way to bring in reinforcements, they have no way to take care of their casualties," Gallant stated.

"Contrary to the stories heard in the Hamas tunnels and hotels in Qatar, Hamas is worn out and unable to recover, while we reach places it never dreamed we would reach. We will continue until Hamas cannot rebuild its power," he stressed.

UNITE

Continued from Page 1

similarly up to the 12th and 16th places. A similar representation guarantee (25%) will also apply to the new party's institutions.

This will apply for one election only, after which the new party will operate as one unit.

Furthermore, Meretz's municipal factions, a significant part of the party's grassroots strength, will be incorporated into the new party and will also become representative factions of

the united party, alongside Labor factions in local authorities. According to the agreement, these representation guarantees are one-time, and each party will bear its debts accordingly. Meretz has a debt estimated at approximately NIS 16 million from previous elections, which it will continue to bear alone.

Meretz and Labor ran separately in the previous election, after former Labor chairwoman MK Merav Michaeli refused a merger. Meretz finished just below the electoral threshold of 3.25% of the general vote, and did not make it into the current Knesset.

The merger, which Golan set as his goal since announcing his candidacy to lead Labor, is a remarkable moment in Israeli political history and a watershed moment for the Israeli Left. It indicates the end of Labor, which is the continuation of the Mapai Party that ruled the country during its first 30 years.

FAILED

Continued from Page 1

is not solved by giving guns to first-response teams; the weapons need to be collected and the phenomenon needs to be eliminated," Smotrich said. "It is inside us and is more dangerous than what is outside of the border. A concentrated effort is necessary here, not in talk and announcements, but in actions."

The finance minister was clearly directing his criticism at National Security Minister MK Itamar Ben-Gvir. The two far-right politicians ran in the last election as a joint list, with Smotrich as number one, but polls in recent months have consistently given Ben-Gvir nearly 10 seats, while Smotrich has failed to reach the electoral threshold of 3.25% of the general vote, which usually gives a party four seats.

Ben-Gvir responded in a statement soon after: "While all of our children are united at the front, we must be united and not be pulled into personal attacks. The finance minister's words have the Left rubbing its hands together in delight. Despite the attacks from the Left and, unfortunately, from partners, we will

continue with the first-response project, distributing weapons and worsening conditions for terrorists in prison at full force."

During his tenure, Ben-Gvir has led a policy of widespread arms distribution, by relaxing the restrictions on civilians to purchase personal arms. He warned after the October 7 Hamas massacre and ensuing war that Israel's Arab civilians would join in the fight against Israel, but this did not happen. Smotrich also did not provide backing or evidence that this was a looming threat.

POWER

Continued from Page 1

longer cognitively fit for the presidency.

The Right's relentless focus over the last three years on every Biden verbal stammer, every trip going up a staircase, every blank gaze in the wrong direction, every misstep – physical or oratorical – was downplayed by Democrats and Biden supporters as inconsequential.

On Thursday night after the debate, however, it was precisely Democrats and Biden supporters – like Friedman and the *New York Times* Editorial Board – who were calling on him not to run in November because age had caught up with him.

Many elements of Thursday night's debate were jarring: Biden's overall demeanor, Trump's fact-challenged assertions, the lack of any substantive content, the I'm-better-at-golf-than-you exchange.

Equally staggering was the rapidity with which the pundits at CNN – which hosted the event – framed the debate: characterizing it within minutes as an unmitigated Biden disaster, holding it up as Exhibit A on why the president needs to step aside.

Viewers barely had time to digest what they witnessed – Biden's underwhelming and at times confused performance, and Trump's bombastic rhetoric and frequent outlandish claims (such as calling Biden a "Manchurian candidate") – before CNN's pundits had already reached their verdict: Biden should step aside. This rapid-fire analysis left little room for the audience to make up its own mind.

Years hence, this will be held up as a textbook case of the ability of the media to shape reality.

But Biden, at least as of Sunday, is not buying into it, not accepting the media's interpretation of events, and not making his decisions based on them.

And in that, he is Bibi-esque.

Had Netanyahu listened to the media and punditry's interpretation of reality, he would have called it quits long ago, like when he was formally indicted in 2019 on criminal charges, or a few months into the current war.

Biden, so far, has given no indication that he intends to heed the calls of the media and the punditry, energetically telling a crowd in North Carolina on Friday, one day after the debate: "I know how to do this job... I would not be running again if I didn't believe with all my heart and soul that I can do this job. The stakes are too high, the stakes are too high."

The claim that the "stakes are too high" is also one Netanyahu uses to cling to

power. With a war raging in Gaza and another one lurking around the corner in Lebanon, the stakes are too high to change a leader at this time, he, or his supporters, argue. Only he can withstand world and US pressure to push for a Palestinian state at this time, and therefore "the stakes are too high" to replace him now.

Biden's insistence that he can do the world's most difficult job, though many of his friends and supporters watching the debate on Thursday now believe he is no longer up to the task, is also his way of saying that no one else can perform the job. Meaning, no one else can beat Trump.

Close Biden ally and confidant Delaware Senator Chris Coons said as much on ABC's *This Week* on Sunday. Biden, he said, is "the only Democrat to have ever beaten Donald Trump."

Asked if he really thinks that Biden is the only Democrat who can beat Trump, Coons replied: "I think he is the only Democrat who can beat Donald Trump."

It doesn't take much imagination to conjure up staunch Netanyahu allies, such as Transportation Minister Miri Regev, saying that Netanyahu is the only person who can beat Hamas or stand up to international pressure.

Both Netanyahu and Biden, along with their supporters, appear to believe that their continued leadership is crucial to averting catastrophe. This stance reflects a strong conviction in their own capabilities and the perceived risks of leadership change.

Another striking similarity in the two men is a determination to stay the course despite signs that this is not what the public – even some among their base – want to see.

A Morning Consult poll released to Axios on Friday found after Biden's debate that nearly 60% of the public think the president should – Biden's underwhelming and at times confused performance, and Trump's bombastic rhetoric and frequent outlandish claims (such as calling Biden a "Manchurian candidate") – before CNN's pundits had already reached their verdict: Biden should step aside. This rapid-fire analysis left little room for the audience to make up its own mind.

In other words, both Biden and Netanyahu are facing public opinion that does not want to see them continue. Yet, continue they do.

Netanyahu is continuing because he is not paying attention to the pundits in the television studios, the columnists, the polls or the tens of thousands of people now on the streets every Saturday night calling for new elections.

He dismisses it as background noise, showing no inclination whatsoever of going to new elections or throwing in the towel. The pundits will prognosticate, even colleagues within his party may try to steer him in a different direction, but he seemingly has blinders on and earplugs in and continues to plow ahead – deaf and blind to it all.

The same, at this point, is true of Biden. His closest friends in the media are calling for him to step aside, as are leading voices in the Democratic Party – though anonymously. Yet he is not listening.

Like Netanyahu, Biden is

convinced that he knows best. Like Netanyahu, Biden – who has been in politics for over half a century – has a history of holding his ground and letting the background noise wash over him until it eventually disappears. And, like Netanyahu, he thinks he can do it this time as well.

TUNNEL

Continued from Page 1

tunnel shafts in the Brazil, Shvura, and NPK areas of Rafah to the Post. All were well-concealed and not immediately obvious to the naked eye.

We had to approach the tunnel shafts from multiple angles to pinpoint them – and sources indicated that extensive drone observation is devoted to this issue.

If finding cross-border tunnels starts deep inside Rafah, and not just on the border at the Philadelphi Corridor, then the search for them is far more complex than could have been imagined.

The cross-border tunnel dilemma would be a bit easier if the Egyptians were as dedicated as the IDF to eliminating all of them, but IDF sources indicate that they are not.

Why aren't they? Didn't Egypt's current military government in 2013 ban the Muslim Brotherhood, an ideological parent of Hamas, because it was considered a threat to Egyptian stability after it was narrowly elected to power during the so-called Arab Spring?

In fact, in 2015, Egypt extensively flooded Hamas's cross-border tunnels with sea-water or sewage, destroyed hundreds of Rafah homes (on the Egyptian side) to remove other tunnels, and in 2019 said that a major military operation destroyed another 37 cross-border tunnels.

The IDF has not disputed that Cairo has taken these actions. So how is it that Hamas in 2024 still has so many tunnels?

In fairness to the Egyptians, they, like Israel, may have underestimated Hamas's capacity to rebuild them.

Neutralized does not mean completely destroyed, and even once destroyed, does not mean forever destroyed. And destroyed does not mean new tunnels will not immediately replace the old ones.

A regular message from top IDF officials during this war has been that while they had tremendous intelligence about a vast Hamas tunnel network, they still had no concept of how much bigger, advanced, and longer the tunnels were than their estimates.

If the military, which sees Hamas as a serious threat, underestimated the terror group and did not get to anywhere near all of the tunnels even after wars with Hamas in 2008-9, 2012, 2014, and 2021, then why expect better results from Egypt?

Those who closely followed the 2012 war with Hamas might recall the IDF's proud announcement that it had destroyed Hamas's "metro" – its most important tunnel network.

The current war made it clear that the IDF's 11-day operation against Hamas in 2021, was a mere pinprick against the terror group's tunnel capacity.

All of this is the generous explanation regarding Egypt.

The less generous explanation is that politics shifted for Egypt between 2015/19 and 2023/24.

2015 and even 2019 were closer in time to when Hamas helped the Egyptian Muslim Brotherhood against the Egyptian military, and Cairo's main thought about Hamas was probably still to smash it and any assets, including tunnels, that it had in Egypt.

But at some later point, the politics may have changed.

Most of the world started to see Hamas as a fait accompli that would rule Gaza forever and would need to be recognized in some way. Just as Israel felt Hamas had been "deterred," Egypt's military regime itself eventually likely started to feel more secure.

Maybe at some point, Egypt's military regime reached an understanding with Hamas that as long as Cairo preserved certain interests and influence over Gaza's rulers, the military would look the other way over certain cross-border underground smuggling issues that only impacted Israel negatively.

There is no question that the quantity of criminal smuggling has spiked in recent years, and Egypt was doing little to assist Israel in breaking the trend.

If that is true, then Cairo was probably also doing less to crack down on terror smuggling by Hamas.

The Post saw Egypt's extensive network of watchtowers on the Philadelphi Corridor and, while quite useful for spotting any potential above-land invasion, they are nearly useless to combat underground smuggling where the point of origin is deep in Rafah.

IDF sources told the Post that the Egyptians have been embarrassed when confronted with the large number of cross-border tunnels that it has shown them, which Cairo had said no longer existed.

But was it embarrassment in the sense of shock that Hamas had outwitted them? Or was it embarrassment that they understood that they had decided to look the other way?

Either way, defense sources have indicated that it is not at all clear that Egypt is even eliminating all of the extensions of tunnels that are on its side of the border.

This means that even if Israel eliminates many kilometers of tunnels going from Rafah-Gaza up until the Egyptian border, the continuation of those tunnels may remain neither destroyed, nor even neutralized – partially caved in.

This would make it that much easier for Hamas to reestablish those tunnels if (more likely when) the IDF gives up complete or partial control of the Gaza side of the Philadelphi Corridor or even once it starts to reduce its standing troop presence in Rafah.

With all of that better understood, there is actually very little mystery to the Egypt-Gaza cross-border problem. Absent several months if not years to continue to destroy the tunnels, a jump in cooperation from Egypt, and some way to permanently prevent Hamas from re-digging everything that is destroyed, there should be no expectation that Hamas's rearmament oxygen will be cut off – it

will not. Rather, the questions remain; how long will it take Hamas to reconstitute the tunnels to start smuggling significant quantities of weapons? And will the IDF or a third party start handling aspects of Gaza security and try to interdict those weapons at some point within Gaza – or will Hamas rebuild unchallenged?

ENEMY

Continued from Page 1

Many were living off of social benefits because they had no work, and the rest were employed by food delivery companies. It didn't feel like a city in France anymore, but a foreign country – and it was not relegated just to his area.

"France has changed so much in the last 10 years," said David. "The French are not having children."

The Paris resident traveled around France for work, and has seen many Muslim-dominated towns devoid of any native French citizens. Despite being a heavily secular country, such areas had become decorated with Islamic religious trappings.

There has been a startling rise in Islamic terrorism in France in recent years, and in the wake of Hamas's October 7 massacre, there has been a massive spike in antisemitism. David described how many people aren't optimistic about the future of the Jews in the country, and many of the youth are considering immigration to Israel.

Seeking solutions, David explained how the political blocs left them with few options. He said that French President Emmanuel Macron's centrist party didn't do anything over the years. While the Center offered no solution, the Left was now inhospitable.

"I am a leftist, usually I vote for the Left," David said. "I'm the most leftist of all my friends."

The Left had hitched itself to Pro-Palestinian and anti-Israel sentiment since October 7, with some leftist leaders "talking just about Palestinians." The European Parliamentary election earlier in June even had a French "Free Palestine party," David said, showing a leaflet. Left-wing politicians appeal to French Arabs, he said, warning them that if the Right rose to power, it would return them all to Tunisia or Algeria.

"I don't know Jews who are voting for the leftists," said David. "Most of the Jews I know are voting for [Reconquête leader Eric] Zemmour or [National Rally President] Jordan Bardella."

David had wanted to vote for Zemmour, but Reconquête didn't have a candidate in his riding.

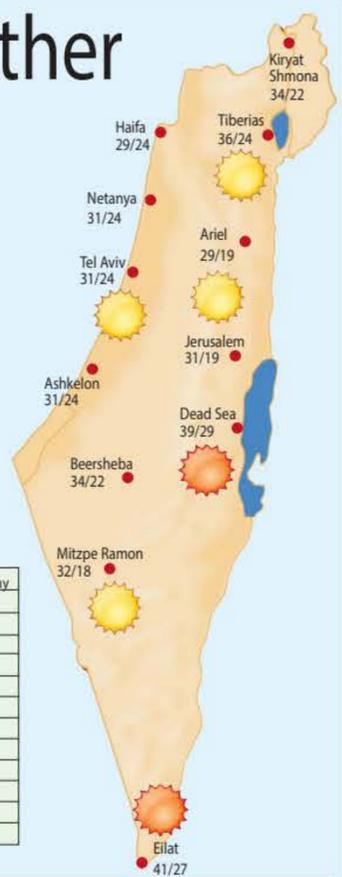
"The French don't deserve a man like Zemmour," said David, describing the leader of Algerian Jewish extraction as an intelligent man who has a passionate love for French culture and society. Zemmour had long warned about how increasing immigration could change the character of the republic's culture.

Moving from the Left to the Right is a dramatic change for some French Jews, who David said have been left with a difficult choice. But difficult or not, based on what David said, his friends have made the choice all the same.

• Sports Editor: URIEL STURM
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Weather

Today	Sunny
Tuesday	Sunny
Wednesday	Unchanged



	Tuesday
Kiryat Shmona	34/21
Tiberias	37/23
Haifa	29/23
Netanya	31/23
Ariel	29/19
Tel Aviv	31/24
Jerusalem	32/19
Ashkelon	31/23
Dead Sea	39/29
Beersheba	35/21
Mitzpe Ramon	32/20
Eilat	41/28

North America Weather Today



England snatch victory from jaws of defeat

Germany weather storm to beat Denmark and reach quarters • Swiss stability too much for Italy



ENGLAND TEAMMATES Harry Kane (left) and Jude Bellingham (right) rescued their side from Euro elimination last night, with goals in the 95th minute and then in the first minute of extra time to help steal a 2-1 victory over Slovakia in their last-16 clash. (Kai Pfaffenbach/Reuters)

GELSENKIRCHEN (Reuters) – England came back from the brink of elimination to secure a 2-1 win over Slovakia in their Euro 2024 round-of-16 clash on Sunday after a last-gasp bicycle kick by Jude Bellingham took the match to extra time, with Harry Kane heading the winner.

England were unable to get a foothold against a Slovakia team who were aggressive from the start and pressed their opponents relentlessly, taking the lead with an Ivan Schranz strike from a counter attack in the 25th minute.

Declan Rice hit the post from long range as England desperately sought an equalizer, but it wasn't until five minutes into added time that Bellingham found the net, with his side's first shot on target in the game, before Kane headed home in the first minute of extra time.

England will face Switzerland in the quarterfinals after they knocked-out defending champions Italy with a 2-0 win on Saturday.

On Saturday, Kai Havertz and Jamal Musiala's second-half goals sent Germany into the quarterfinals with a 2-0 win over Denmark after their last-16 clash was delayed by thunderstorm.

The game was suspended for 20 minutes in the first half due to the weather before Danish defender Joachim Andersen went from hero to zero when his close-range finish was disallowed for offside and he conceded a penalty converted by Havertz in the 53rd minute.

Nico Schlotterbeck earlier had a goal ruled out for a foul in the build-up as Germany started strongly in front of an expectant crowd, but Denmark grew

into the game and went close either side of halftime.

The hosts established an unassailable lead in the 68th minute, however, when Musiala ran on to a ball over the top and curled home his third goal of the tournament to put Germany into the last-eight, where they will face Spain or Georgia.

Musiala equaled Georgia's Georges Mikautadze as Euro 2024 top-scorer with three goals, as Germany recorded their first major tournament knockout win for eight years after being eliminated in the group stage at the last two World Cups and in the Euro 2020 last-16.

Denmark thought they had taken the lead when Andersen fired in a loose ball inside the box after a free kick, but the effort was ruled out by the VAR.

Three minutes later, VAR intervened again to flag to the referee a handball inside the box by Andersen, who accidentally touched David Raum's cross with his right hand.

Havertz scored with a tidy finish as the stadium exploded in joy and, with Denmark chasing an equaliser, they were often exposed to counter-attacks and Havertz and Leroy Sane missed good close-range chances.

Musiala did not waste his opportunity, however, as he burst on to a long pass and placed a calm finish past Schmeichel to secure Germany's place in the quarterfinals.

"It feels really good," Germany defender and player of the match Antonio Rudiger told German television station ZDF.

"I think everybody who watched the match will be of the opinion that we were dominant from the start. The only criticism you can have is that we missed too many chances."

Also Saturday, Italy rang the changes for their round-of-16 game, but it was the settled and confident Switzerland side who came out deservedly on top to knock the defending champions out of Euro 2024, proving as reliable as a Swiss watch this tournament.

Swiss coach Murat Yakin made only one change from the starting team which almost outfoxed Germany in their previous game before a late equaliser denied them top spot in the group, and even that change was unavoidable with Silvan Widmer suspended.

Ruben Vargas came in and, with the Swiss already 1-0 up, struck a beautiful shot into the top corner with less than

KNOCKOUT GLANCE	
Round of 16	
Saturday	Switzerland 2, Italy 0 Germany 2, Denmark 0
Sunday	England 2, Slovakia 1 (AET) Spain vs Georgia (late)
Monday	France vs Belgium (7 p.m.) Portugal vs Slovenia (10 p.m.)
Tuesday	Romania vs Netherlands (7 p.m.) Austria vs Turkey (10 p.m.)
Games on TV on Channel 11 and Sport 1	

30 seconds gone after the break. It was no more than they deserved having completely outplayed the Italians in the first half.

The Italians lacked any composure with so many passes going amiss, and after multiple changes to their starting lineup they failed to gel and were without a single shot on target in the opening half. Remo Freuler's goal for the Swiss before the break did nothing to wake them from their slumber.

It was Vargas who put the cross in for Freuler's goal, his recall by Yakin proving invaluable, and the minimum tinkering which the manager has kept to throughout this tournament paid off again.

The Swiss had not beaten Italy since 1993, but they were confident they could finally get one over on their neighbors having drawn twice in the last World Cup qualifying group, with the Swiss reaching the finals, and the Italians failing again.

"Pace and freshness always makes the difference, I changed the players by letting them recover and maybe at the moment here we are not able to do more than this," Spalletti said.

Switzerland also made the quarterfinals in Euro 2020, and only went out on penalties to Spain, having lost 3-0 to Italy in the group stage.

They now await England, who will not look forward to taking on Yakin's settled team, unbeaten in Germany and full of confidence. This win will convince the Swiss they can reach the semi-finals of a major tournament for the first time.

Mac TA hires Lazetic as coach

LOCAL SOCCER

• By JOSHUA HALICKMAN

Maccabi Tel Aviv appointed Serbian Žarko Lazetic as the club's new head coach after he had been in charge of TSC Backa Topola for the past three seasons. Lazetic will succeed Robbie Keane as the yellow-and-blue bench boss after an agreement was reached with Serbian outfit, which finished this past season in third place in the domestic league behind powerhouses Red Star Belgrade and Partizan Belgrade.

The 42-year-old was named Manager of the Season by his peers and club captains after having guided his squad to the Europa League group stages last season, where he faced the likes of West Ham, Freiburg and Olympiacos. Lazetic becomes Maccabi's fourth Serbian head coach after Slavisa Jokanovic, Vladimir Ivic and Mladen Krstajic.

Lazetic joined TSC in November 2021 from newly promoted side FC Metalac, a club he guided to eighth place, while a year after his appointment the club finished the 2022/23 season in second place.

Lazetic spent most of his playing career in Serbia as a forward with Partizan Belgrade, where he won the League and Cup double (2007/08), Vojvodina and Bezanija, with short spells in Greece and Indonesia. In 2011, he came to Israel for a trial at Hapoel Acre and almost landed a spot with the port city club but came up just short.

He retired in 2013 and began his coaching career, climbing up the ranks at Partizan where he held various coaching positions – including first-team Assistant Coach, U17's, U18's and U19's Coach, first-team caretaker and Head Coach of Partizan's reserve team, Teleoptik. He switched to Metalac Gornji Milanovac in 2020



ŽARKO LAZETIC (Maccabi Tel Aviv/Courtesy)

before attracting the attention of TSC, where he spent the past two-and-a-half years.

Maccabi's owner, Mitch Goldhar said: "I am pleased to welcome Žarko and his team to Maccabi Tel Aviv. During the process I was impressed by Žarko's resilient character and clear methodology which has, no doubt, contributed to consistent coaching achievements. He understood the task involved at Maccabi and is ready to work hard towards moving the club forward and achieving results. Please join me in welcoming Žarko along with the rest of the coaching staff and in wishing him much success."

Lazetic added: "I am excited to join such a great club as Maccabi and looking forward to work hard in order to make this campaign as successful as possible."

Lazetic will be joined by assistant coaches Drazen Bolic, Mutavdzic Dobrovoje who both worked with him at TSC as well as Bojan Leon-tijevic.

Professionally, Lazetic is a coach who knows how to get the most out of his team and his squad was able to compete with the likes of both Red Star and Partizan. While Maccabi's new bench boss usually plays a 4-3-3 formation, he has shown the flexibility and the ability to switch to a formation of three central defenders if necessary.

On numerous occasions, the local media in Serbia declared that Lazetic's brand of soccer is the best in the country due to it being high pressure, attacking and with terrific quality. It was, plain and simply, fun to watch his team play.

During the past season, he met Israeli coach Barak Bachar, who had been in charge of Red Star, in a game that ended in a 1-1 draw and at the end of the contest he asked the Israeli tactician how he and his family and friends were doing following the events of October 7.

Many in Serbia have been impressed with his loyalty as well as his ability to get the most out of his players while also looking to push his own limits to be the best in the business. It has been said that he spent many a night at the club's headquarters and ended up sleeping in the youth department due to his dedication to the task at hand.

There is no question that Lazetic is the best up-and-coming Serbian coach and many believe that he has a bright future ahead of him and Maccabi may serve as a springboard for him on the way to bigger and better leagues.

With a chance to secure a place in the Champions League, the opportunity to join Maccabi Tel Aviv was a no-brainer for Lazetic as the yellow-and-blue will look to turn the trick for the first time since 2015. Many of the yellow-and-blue bench bosses have moved to bigger clubs after succeeding with Maccabi, whether it was Oscar Garcia, Peter Bosz, Slavisa Jokanovic and Paulo Sousa, to name a few, and this will no doubt be what Lazetic will be aiming for.

But for Maccabi fans, defending the league title along with playing in the group stages of one of the UEFA competitions as well as the Israel State Cup will be the goals. Should Lazetic earn favor in the fans eyes, then the sky's the limit for the new sheriff in town.

LeBron's father-son dream is fulfilled, but the shadow looms large on Bronny James



COMMENTARY
• By LUCA EVANS

The idea materialized for LeBron James three or four years ago, his body still in mint condition despite the mileage, his son a few years away from a future that seemed impossible to create.

Bronny James was just getting his bearings at Sierra Canyon High back then. But he was beginning to turn heads in front of sold-out nationwide crowds, and holding his own in the rotation of a nationally renowned program ripe with NBA prospects. And suddenly, it seemed possible James's NBA timeline, then in his mid-30s, could intersect with his son's after Bronny played a year or two of college basketball, James's longtime friend Romeo Travis recalled.

"I think that was the time he started to realize, like, 'This could become a reality,'" said Travis, a former member of the St. Vincent-St. Mary "Fab Five" in Akron, Ohio.

James, fellow childhood friend Dru Joyce III emphasized, is a sports historian. And he has long remembered the moment, Joyce III said, when Ken Griffey Sr. and Ken Griffey Jr. trotted out to the outfield together as Seattle Mariners in 1990, the first father-son duo to hit in the same MLB lineup.

Over time, that opportunity has transformed from oft-dismissed fantasy into a sheer inevitability, Bronny tied to the Lakers at nearly every step of his pre-draft process after he declared in April. On Thursday afternoon, the young James was officially taken with the 55th pick in the NBA draft, a move that could ensure perhaps the greatest player of all time will take the floor with his son in a feat unlike anything seen before in basketball history.

"For him to be able to even change his whole family's dynamic – the whole dynamic of his family, the trajectory of the James name for generations to come – is something simply amazing," Travis said.

It's a final, shining piece in James's legacy, a kid from Akron, Ohio, growing up with no father figure who has grown into a model father himself, laying a future for his children in the league he's forever molded.

In four years at Sierra Canyon, Bronny's potential was most often debated under a toxic storm of discourse around his status as James's son. In a trying year at USC, his



LEBRON JAMES and his son Bronny have officially become teammates with the Los Angeles Lakers, marking a historic moment in NBA history. (Mark J. Rebilas/USA Today Sports)

potential was most often debated under a toxic storm of discourse around basketball nepotism and James's next contract.

"My dream has always just been to, put my name out, make a name for myself, and of course, get to the NBA," James told reporters at the NBA combine in May, the longest media session of his young life.

He's arrived. But his name won't be his own, shared across a purple-and-gold jersey as the world picks him apart and lauds his senior, because this is how it's always been for Bronny James.

For years, those close to Bronny have said he simply wants to pave his own path. There was never a chance for that at USC. He suffered a shocking cardiac arrest last summer, making a miraculous return to basketball within months. Within months, the world had forgotten, moving on to evaluations of his draft stock as a bargaining chip for an NBA team to sign his father. The promise of joining James hung over Bronny's every move, a Beats commercial from October narrated by mother Savannah making abundantly clear his father's intentions.

"Tell them you're not done until you play with your son," Savannah's voice echoed.

Initially, James's decision to push full speed ahead in the draft was met with widespread skepticism, given his freshman year results at USC. He shot 37% from the field and 27% from 3-point range, and even more concerning than the percentages was James's sheer passivity at times, frequently passing up

open looks or driving lanes to swing the ball. From February 17 until March 7, a five-game span, he took a total of one 3-point shot.

James, though, put together a strong performance at the combine in May, showcasing an improved stroke and some off-the-dribble savvy during scrimmages. His IQ and defensive instincts were widely praised in the pre-draft process, and Dallas Mavericks assistant coach Jared Dudley praised his ability to stay in front and avoid picks on pick-and-rolls.

"That's a skill level that you see guys like Davion Mitchell from Sacramento, guys like Jrue Holiday, guys like Marcus Smart, that it's hard to screen those guys... Bronny could be in that category, with work and time," Dudley told the Southern California News Group.

The question that's followed him for months, of course – for his entire life, really – is whether Bronny would be in this position if not for his father. Some, like Dudley, say yes, pointing to his potential as a prospect. The majority of the world says no, engaged in a cultural debate over the merits of nepotism. None of it matters, anymore. It's all out of Bronny's hands, now. His fate has been sealed, this dream that might or might not be his set in stone, his story impossible to unravel from his father's.

"Now that we're here, eventually, it's going to come to a point where the rubber has to meet the road," Travis said.

"Where, if you are as good as you say you are, you're going to have to play." (Orange County Register/TNS)

COMMENT & FEATURES

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Settlements as a weapon?

It's become as predictable as it is counterproductive. Whenever the Israeli government perceives a move by an international body that will inch closer to the legitimization and recognition of the trappings of Palestinian statehood, it punishes the Palestinians.

The latest decisions, taken by the security cabinet late Thursday night and published only by Finance Minister Bezalel Smotrich, were in response to five countries' announcements over the last month that they were unilaterally recognizing Palestine as a state.

Israel's answer to Spain, Ireland, Norway, Armenia and Slovenia? Authorizing five outposts as official settlements – Eyyatar, Givat Assaf, Sde Efraim, Heletz and Adorayim, one for each country's recognition of Palestine.

In addition, the cabinet approved canceling exit permits for Palestinian Authority officials to leave the country and increased enforcement against illegal Palestinian buildings in Area C of the West Bank, which is under total Israeli control. The cabinet rescinded authorization given to the PA nearly three decades ago for control of nature reserves in Area B of the West Bank, jointly controlled militarily by Israel and civilly by the PA.

"After weeks of discussions, the Israeli government promoted an appropriate response to the anti-Israeli measures led by the Palestinian Authority," Smotrich said in a statement, referring to the PA's activity against Israel at the International Court of Justice, the International Criminal Court, and the United Nations.

Claiming that the PA had "joined Hamas in trying to harm Israel in Israel and the world, and we will fight it," Smotrich added: "For those who needed proof, we got it on October 7. A Palestinian state in the heart of Israel is an existential danger; I will not allow such a disaster to be brought upon the State of Israel."

Israel Ganz, who heads both the Yesha Council and the Binyamin Regional Council, welcomed the move, saying, "Judea and Samaria are crucial for the security of central Israel, and strengthening them reinforces Tel Aviv, Kfar Saba, Modi'in, and Jerusalem."

"Especially in these difficult days, when we are at war for our home, strengthening the communities in the land of our ancestors is the proper Zionist response to the countries that are trying to promote a stranglehold on Israel by establishing a Palestinian state in the heart of the land over the heads of our children," Ganz explained.

Naturally, the EU condemned the moves "in the strongest terms possible."

Be that as it may, and whether one supports the move or not, the issue that arises following last week's cabinet decision – and any time the government responds to Palestinian statehood moves by announcing new settlements and more sanctions against the PA as it has done in the past – is the timing.

It's impossible to ignore the subtext here that Israel is retaliating to a deliberately detrimental move being committed against it by implementing its own intentionally detrimental move – a case of tit-for-tat schoolyard brinkmanship. You do something bad; we're going to do something worse. Using the threat of settlements as a "punishment" feeds directly into the narrative that an Israeli presence on the West Bank is an obstacle to a peace agreement and is inherently counterproductive.

Instead of utilizing settlements as a stick-out-your-tongue "oh yeah?" weapon, Israel needs to finally reach a consensus and set a policy regarding the territories. Suppose it's government policy that no parts of Judea and Samaria will ever be given up to make way for a Palestinian state. In that case, there's no reason for cabinet declarations like last week's. Israelis should be encouraged to move to settlements, and there should be a massive building drive.

At the same time, if the policy, even after October 7, leaves room for a future accommodation with the Palestinians that would cede areas in Judea and Samaria and consolidate some settlements, then there's also no reason for last week's cabinet declaration, which would make that already unlikely reality even more distant.

The punishment of more settlements as a reaction to regional events must be taken off the table. It should be policy, not a knee-jerk reaction, that drives the government's decisions. It's time to decide.

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The Iran-Hezbollah game plan

• By NEVILLE TELLER

Ever since October 7, Hezbollah, egged on by Iran, has been escalating its cross-border clashes with Israel, while its leader Hassan Nasrallah has been stepping up his blood-curdling rhetoric, predicting Armageddon if Israel were to launch an all-out war.

Yet the truth is that Iran-Hezbollah would like nothing better. They have sound strategic reasons for not initiating formal armed conflict. So their tactic has been to ramp up the provocation, daring Israel to strike back and trigger war.

Iran learned a lesson from its abortive attempt at overwhelming Israel's defenses on April 13. In its first-ever direct aerial assault, it sent some 170 drones, over 30 cruise missiles, and more than 120 ballistic missiles 1,000 km. toward Israel. The Iranian leadership no doubt expected a massive military and propaganda triumph.

The operation was a miserable failure. To supplement Israel's Iron Dome defense, America and Britain sent jet fighters to help shoot down the missiles. Jordan refused to allow Iran to use its air space for the operation, while several Gulf states, among them Saudi Arabia and the United Arab Emirates, passed on intelligence about Iran's plans.

As a result, about 99% of the aerial armada never reached Israel, and Iran learned that not only the West, but much of the Middle East disliked and distrusted it.

Fearing wholesale lack of support if any formal Hezbollah-Israel conflict were seen as Iran-instigated, Iran-Hezbollah has, in the words of the English poet, Alexander Pope, been "willing to wound and yet afraid to strike."

ON JUNE 18 the IDF announced that a plan for an offensive to push Hezbollah further back from the border had been approved, but that a diplomatic solution was still the preferred option. The next day Nasrallah gave a televised address lasting more than an hour.

In previous wars with Israel, he said, Hezbollah had only hoped to be able to strike Israel's Meron air base. Now, he claimed, the whole of Israel was within its range.

"And it won't be random bombardment," he threatened. "Every drone will have a target. Every missile will have a target."

Boasting that Hezbollah had a large stockpile of drones, a "surplus of fighters" and unspecified "new weapons"



HEZBOLLAH DEPUTY leader Sheikh Naim Qassem (right) and Iran's Ambassador to Lebanon Mojtaba Amani attend a memorial service for Taleb Abdallah, a Hezbollah senior commander killed in an Israeli strike in Lebanon, last month. (Mohamed Azakir/Reuters)

that would be unveiled in due course, he said Hezbollah was manufacturing military weaponry in Lebanon and, despite Israel's attacks on weapon-carrying convoys in Syria, had continued to receive weapons from Iran.

This, at least, was confirmed by the UK's *Daily Telegraph* which, on June 23, reported that weapons are being flown from Iran into Lebanon and stored at Beirut's main airport. The *Telegraph* based its report on whistleblowers at the airport who claim to have observed a marked increase in the arrival of weapons and also the presence of more Hezbollah commanders on the ground. The whistleblowers claim the operation has been escalating since the intensification of cross-border conflict between Hezbollah and Israel post-October 7.

The report claimed that currently, the cache of stored weapons includes Iranian-made Falaq unguided artillery rockets, Fateh-110 short-range missiles, road-mobile ballistic missiles, and M-600 missiles with ranges of 240 to 320 km. Also at the airport, it is claimed that there are AT-14 Kornets, laser-guided anti-tank guided missiles (ATGM), huge quantities of Burkan short-range ballistic missiles, and explosive RDX, a toxic white powder also known as cyclonite or hexogen.

The allegations will raise fears with-

in Lebanon that, in the event of war, the Rafic Hariri airport, just four miles from the city center, could become a major military target.

Staff at the airport claim that Wafiq Safa, Hezbollah's second in command and the head of its security apparatus, has become a notoriously conspicuous figure at the airport.

"Wafiq Safa is always showing up at customs," one whistleblower claimed. Workers collaborating with Hezbollah, he said, "walk around like peacocks" with new watches and smartphones, and drive new cars. "A lot of money [is] being passed under the table."

Ghassan Hasbani, the former deputy prime minister and an MP for the Lebanese Forces party, said Hezbollah's control of the airport has long been a concern for Lebanon, and more so if it becomes a potential military target in a conflict with Israel.

"Weapons being transported from Iran to Hezbollah across border entry points, endangers both the Lebanese population and the non-Lebanese traveling through and living in the country," he said.

Taking action, he said, is all but impossible without international intervention to implement relevant UN resolutions. "The entrenchment of Hezbollah is everywhere, not only

in the airport but in the port, the judiciary; it's across society. The public administration now is largely hijacked by Hezbollah."

Ali Hamieh, Lebanon's transportation minister, said the allegations were "ridiculous" and invited journalists and ambassadors to visit the airport. Hamieh, who was nominated to the government by Hezbollah, in fact, exemplifies the straits to which the once-independent sovereign state of Lebanon has been reduced. Hezbollah has acquired an iron grip on the levers of power and, in the process, reduced the nation to penury and political deadlock.

LEBANON HAS been without a president since October 2022, with every possible nominee blocked by Hezbollah and its political allies. Moreover, compounded by widespread government corruption, the country is experiencing the worst financial crisis in its history.

After Prime Minister Najib Mikati announced in March 2020 that Lebanon would default on its Eurobond debt, the Lebanese currency began to plummet, leading to hyperinflation. In April 2023, Lebanese inflation hit a high of almost 270%. It has taken a year to bring the level down to around 52%, which still means unsustainable price increases for ordinary citizens, many of whom have become virtual paupers.

A further destabilizing factor is the huge refugee burden imposed on the country by the civil conflict in Syria. Lebanon maintains one of the largest refugee populations per capita in the world – more than 1.5 million, many of them Syrian.

Yet Lebanon, overwhelmed with domestic problems, is faced with the prospect of being dragged into Iran-Hezbollah's ideological conflict with Israel, and potentially suffering bombardment, destruction, casualties, and deaths.

The people of Lebanon resented their sons being recruited by Hezbollah and sent to Syria to support its president, Bashar Assad, in his fight against his democratic opponents. How much more would they oppose a call by Nasrallah to take up arms against Israel? This is why Nasrallah refrains from taking the decisive step, and would much prefer to point to Israel as the instigator of the conflict.

The writer is the Middle East correspondent for Eurasia Review. His latest book is *Trump and the Holy Land: 2016-2020*. Follow him at www.a-mid-east-journal.blogspot.com.

Our community is under attack

We collectively need to fight back

• By NOAH FARKAS

Let's call what occurred in Los Angeles last Sunday, in the heart of the Jewish community, exactly what it was: an antisemitic attack. Those who targeted the most densely populated Jewish neighborhood on the West Coast came well-organized, in similar dress and armed. They had a coordinated plan to intimidate, harass, impede, and ultimately assault Jews.

As a leader of Jewish Los Angeles, the second-largest Jewish population in the world outside of Israel, I have seen the abhorrent rise in antisemitism that is predictably heading towards catastrophe. Two years ago, when Kanye West, aka Ye, came after the Jewish community, I said, "Hate speech leads to hate crimes." And here we are – again. These anti-Israel protests that ostensibly seek to advocate for the Palestinian cause have devolved into antisemitism, violence, and hate. This past year, we have witnessed the harassment of Jews on college campuses, shootings deliberately targeting members of the Orthodox community, and the murder of Paul Kessler.

Enough is enough. The time is now for our city and our country to decide whether they will take the security of the Jewish people seriously. The time is now to show the world that the harassment, intimidation, and physical attacks against our



THE WRITER addresses a news conference last Monday, the day after the attack, as Los Angeles Mayor Karen Bass (front row, second from right) looks on. (Jewish Federation Los Angeles)

Jewish community cannot be tolerated or normalized. Jews, like everyone else, have the right to live, pray, and gather in peace. Let's be clear: Holding all Jews accountable for the current war in Gaza is antisemitic.

I am grateful for the strong support of elected local, state, and federal officials, as well as our law enforcement partners. However, we are acutely aware of the slowly growing distrust of government institutions meant to keep our community safe. Efforts to defund police and the unwillingness to apply prosecutorial pressure on those who flout the law have left many within the Jewish community feeling desperately vulnerable, disoriented, and alone.

The solution is collective action.

Jewish Federation Los Angeles has retooled our work to collaboratively fight antisemitism. This means coordinating with our Jewish partner organizations; working closely with law enforcement on security matters; teaching our civic, interfaith, and educational partners about the challenges Jews are facing; and leading legislative efforts to address the current climate.

We have engaged university administrators to protect our Jewish students. Last year, we created the Jewish Security Alliance – in partnership with other Southern California Federations, ADL Los Angeles, and the Community Security Service – to strengthen our work with law enforcement. We partnered with the Jewish Public Affairs Committee of Cali-

fornia to help Governor Gavin Newsom's office develop the Golden State Plan to Counter Antisemitism.

This past week, in partnership with the Jewish Community Foundation and The Tepper Foundation, we granted over \$1.3 million to over 50 Jewish institutions to pay for additional post-October 7th security needs. On Tuesday, we met with Los Angeles Mayor Karen Bass, LAPD Interim Chief Dominic Choi, and other city leaders to address Sunday's violence, resulting in these action steps.

Unfortunately, these efforts are not enough in an environment that is increasingly hostile to Jewish existence. We need even more collective action to ensure our safety.

We now call upon our city

to enforce federal anti-masking laws, created to combat the Ku Klux Klan, against this generation's hateful mobs, as Mayor Bass and others have promised. The KKK uses hoods and masks to commit acts of intimidation and violence in anonymity. Anti-Jewish entities employ similar tactics today.

We also call upon the government to establish safe zones around houses of worship, schools, and other cultural and religious centers to allow us to pray and assemble peacefully.

We call upon law enforcement to stop antisemitic violence at its inception and to proactively create a plan to ensure that protests do not devolve into harassment and violence.

Lastly, we call upon our allies – interfaith, civic, and educational leaders – to strongly denounce antisemitism and support our efforts.

History has shown that what happens to the Jewish community soon happens to others. Join our call to establish safety and security for all Americans. Join us in holding our elected officials accountable for the promises they made earlier this week. Join us in using your voice to shut down antisemitism and Jew-hatred.

We can live in peace and prosperity only by working together and utilizing our collective power.

The writer, a rabbi, is president & CEO of the Jewish Federation Los Angeles.



US PRESIDENT Joe Biden and former president Donald Trump attend a debate ahead of the presidential election in November, on Thursday in Atlanta. (Brian Snyder/Reuters)

The presidential debate



THINK ABOUT IT
• By SUSAN HATTIS ROLEF

I admit that I did not stay up until 4 a.m. last Friday to listen to the Biden-Trump presidential debate in real time, but I did wake up an hour later (when my morning paper is dropped by my front door) and listened to its latter part before going back to sleep.

There were no surprises. Joe Biden's performance was rather pathetic, mostly due to the visible effects of his age (81) – his weak, at times almost mumbling voice, with an occasional stutter and seconds of confusion – which couldn't but cause embarrassment to those of us who are grateful to the man for all he has done for Israel and malicious joy to those who wish to see Donald Trump return to the White House next January.

Anyone who has followed Biden's public performances since he was elected president in 2020 was not surprised by his poor performance, but rather by the fact that the professional team surrounding him apparently believed that he could cross the Rubicon safely. Nevertheless, I have a feeling that if one were to read what Biden had said rather than listen to it, one would find that on the whole, he recited all the messages he had planned to convey quite coherently.

Trump was his usual arrogant, nasty self, even though he was prevented from breaking into Biden's words when he spoke (as he had done during the debates before the 2020 election) simply because the microphones of each of the two candidates were switched off whenever the other spoke. However, Trump's facial expressions said it all: his contempt for Biden and for his current term as president.

Biden at least tried to answer most of the questions he was asked, fairly and squarely. Trump, on numerous occasions, tried to shirk giving straight answers to "tricky" questions, such as whether, unlike the previous election, he would accept the results of next November's, no matter what the outcome. Though Trump, 78, also falters in his speech occasionally and spouts out lies and fake news like a fountain, his appearance conveyed self-confidence. If there was a winner in this debate, it was undoubtedly Trump.

My main conclusion from the debate was not that one of the two candidates is more worthy than the other to be president of the US in the years 2025-2028, but that neither is. My yardstick is not who of the two will serve Israeli interests

better than the other (though it is certainly legitimate for Israelis to prefer a president who is more partial to our point of view and interests), but which of the two will better serve the people of the United States and the world order as designed under American leadership after the US entered World War II.

Today, 24 years after the collapse of the Soviet Union and the end of the Cold War, this world order appears to be in growing disarray. At this point, my conclusion, with or without last week's debate, is that neither presidential candidate is truly competent to deal with the crisis, though Biden has a more coherent policy on most issues, while Trump has a record of acting impulsively, both on domestic and international issues.

At the moment, there is still a vague possibility that Trump will be prevented from running again due to his various legal travails, even though the US Constitution does not disqualify an indicted or convicted person from running for president. In recent years, Trump has been issued four indictments; in one of these cases, on May 30, 2024, the Manhattan Criminal Court found him guilty on 34 counts of falsifying business records (the case of the hush money paid to porn actress Stormy Daniels).

In Biden's case, since last Thursday, there have been some serious thoughts within the Democratic leadership as to whether he ought to be replaced as their party's presidential candidate.

Against this background, one cannot help but wonder how a properly functioning democratic system has ended up with such candidates in the first place and whether liberal democracies, such as the United States, ought to have a better system to protect themselves from problematic candidates. In the US, the only way to achieve this is by amending the Constitution, which today includes only three qualifications required for running for president: one must be a natural-born citizen of the United States, at least 35 years old, and have been a resident of the US for 14 years.

In Israel, the president of the state may approach any MK after elections to try forming a government as prime minister. According to article 6(a) of Basic Law: The Knesset, every Israeli citizen, who on the day of the submission of a list of candidates, which includes his/her name, is 21 years old and over, is entitled to be elected to the Knesset. A court of law may deprive a potential candidate of this right by virtue of the law, or if he/she has been sentenced, in a final verdict, to actual imprisonment for a period of over three

months, and on the day of the submission of the list of candidates seven years have not lapsed from the day on which he/she finished serving the actual imprisonment.

A candidate may also be deprived of his/her right to run if he/she was convicted of a serious terror or other security offense, as prescribed by law, and was sentenced, in a final verdict, to an actual prison sentence for a period of over seven years imprisonment, and on the day of the submission of the list of candidates, 14 years have not lapsed from the day that he ended serving the actual imprisonment. In such a case, the chairperson of the Central Elections Committee may determine that the offense for which he/she was sentenced did not involve turpitude, and allow him/her to run.

In the case of Prime Minister Benjamin Netanyahu, after he was indicted on November 21, 2019, on criminal charges, the High Court of Justice ruled on May 6, 2020, that an MK, who has been indicted but not yet sentenced on criminal charges may form a government, even though such an MK cannot serve in a government formed by someone else.

BUT BACK to last week's debate. Was Israel given any sort of indication during the debate which of the two candidates is likely to serve Israel's interests best? While Biden defended his record of support for Israel's security since October 7, Trump accused Biden of not allowing Israel to defeat Hamas in the Gaza Strip and of acting like a Palestinian, despite Hamas considering him to be a very bad Palestinian (whatever that may mean). He also claimed that if he were president last October, Hamas would never have invaded Israel. (He also said that under his presidency, Russia would not have invaded Ukraine.) In fact, based on the debate, Israel cannot conclude which of the two presidential candidates would serve Israel's interests and needs better in the next four years.

Based on the records of the two presidents, I believe that Biden has been more generous and dependable. Nevertheless, a recent opinion poll showed that around 50 percent of the Israelis support Trump's election as the next president of the US.

The writer worked in the Knesset for many years as a researcher and has published extensively both journalistic and academic articles on current affairs and Israeli politics. Her most recent book, Israel's Knesset Members - A Comparative Study of an Undefined Job, was published by Routledge.

Silver lining of Jew-hatred



ABOVE THE FOLD
• By MICAH HALPERN

A new trend is taking over America called "hating Jews." Jew-hatred is now so acceptable in the United States that to be a Jew-hater is hip, cool, and trending.

A new Gallup poll indicates that while a large swath of Americans are proud Jew haters, even more people – a majority of Americans, view hatred of Jews as "a problem." For some, it is even a "very serious problem."

Gallup conducted a telephone survey between May 30 and June 1. They spoke to 1,019 adults over the age of 18. And this is what their poll revealed.

For 9% of the people, Jew-hatred is "a very serious problem."

For 48% it is "somewhat of a problem."

For 30% it is "not much of a problem."

And 9% saw Jew-hatred in America as "not a problem at all."

The exact wording of the Gallup Poll question was: "Do you think that antisemitism, or prejudice against Jewish people, is currently a very serious problem, somewhat of a problem, not much of a problem, or not a problem at all – in the United States?"

In broad strokes, their results put the number of people who see Jew-hatred as a problem at 60%. More importantly, 40% of people do not.

The 40% number is way too high given the Malthusian increase of anti-Jewish incidents being perpetrated across the United States. I struggle to understand how so many Americans – 40% – do not interpret these attacks against Jews as harmful to the very fabric of American democracy and an ominous threat to our once-peaceful and safe society.

How do they not connect the dots and realize that this many attacks on American soil of fellow Americans are not simply attacks against Jewish Americans – they are attacks on the United States as a whole?

These attacks allow all who watch TV, read newspapers, or follow news sites or social media, to bear witness as anti-Jewish hooligans invade Jewish neighborhoods, attacking synagogues, Jewish schools, and Jews themselves.

This is not political free speech or protected rights to protest. These are acts of violence and hate crimes as defined by federal and state laws.

IN 1919, US Supreme Court Justice Oliver Wendell Holmes, writing in *Schenck v. United States*, used a phrase borrowed from the closing arguments of the prosecutor in the lower court case against Schenck. Holmes writes of "falsely shouting fire in a theater. This was Holmes's way of explaining to the nation that there are limits to free speech. That all speech is not free speech. Especially speech that can endanger others,

cause a riot, or get people trampled. Speech, like actions, can kill.

There are, of course, times when it is permitted to shout fire in a theater. That is, if there truly was a fire in the theater or if you sincerely believed that a theater was on fire.

While Justice Holmes's often-quoted line has become almost cliché, that is because, as is the case with many clichés, it rings true. Interestingly, over time the cliché has changed to include the word "crowded" as in "a crowded theater." The word "falsely" is almost always missing.

Going to a Jewish neighborhood in Los Angeles wearing keffiyehs and waving Palestinian and Hamas flags is incitement – and incitement is illegal.

Battering a Jewish-looking man or boy on the streets of Brooklyn is illegal.

Given the drastic rise in Jew-hatred unfolding before our eyes, I was both surprised and very pleased by the response to another Gallup polling question.

When asked about voting for a Jewish candidate for president of the United States, 89% of those polled would vote for a Jew. That is almost nine out of every 10 people answering that they would vote for a Jew for president if the person was nominated by the party. As astounding as that 89% figure is, there is no reason to believe that the number is inflated, unfounded, or untrue.

These numbers give tremendous hope in the battle against Jew-hatred. They ultimately mean that the people involved in attacks against Jews are a statistical anomaly. They mean that all the hatred spewed and all the attacks perpetrated are the work of a marginal, irrelevant group of people operating far outside mainstream America.

To beat them back the mainstream – the vast majority – needs to stand up and squelch the Jew-haters, the instigators, the inciters. The majority must set the tone. There are essential red lines to political and social behavior that can never be crossed. The mainstream knows this.

Instigators of Jew-hatred must be told by their friends, family, politicians, police, educators, and society at large, that instigating or acting upon Jew-hatred is unacceptable. Mass social media campaigns must organize a social movement to ostracize haters of Jews and instigators of hatred against Jews. They must be made to feel unwelcome in our mainstream society.

A united front of decent and good people – Jews and non-Jews, people who understand the danger and vulgarity of the world's oldest hatred – can eliminate this evil from our society.

It is not just the best way, it is the only way!

The writer is a social and political commentator. Watch his TV show Thinking Out Loud on Jewish Broadcasting Service.

LETTERS

Which comes first?

"Social cohesion, political divides" by Liat Collins (June 28) was good commentary and an article that all should read. The question is which comes first: the chicken or the egg?

If we can possibly achieve unity, will that mean the return of the hostages, end of the war and a long-lasting peace, or do we need the above first to obtain the unity? Lots of people protest and want change, or do not like the current government. I have not heard or seen any strategic alternatives to the current situation that will bring home the hostages, return the evacuees to their homes, and guarantee peace.

Protests are alright as long as they do not disrupt the ongoing lives of others, but how do you make that work?

Stay safe and well. Keep up the good commentaries. Thank you for your strength

JACK A. SALTZMAN
Hashmonaim

Responsibility and kindness

Regarding Jonathan Lieberman's "On the shoulders of giants" (June 28): I am fortunate enough to be of the generation of his parents, of whom he spoke. I too wonder, on reflection, whether I was patient enough, was I too strict, and do I fully appreciate the responsibility and kindness offered to me by my four children? Am I too independent to accept what they so kindly offer me?

I must not close my eyes. Instead I should thank them and the Almighty, before it's too late, for my very good fortune. Now, on the flip side, it is our "baby boomers" who are the giants, upon whose shoulders we rely so heavily.

JOY COLLINS
Bnei Dror

Indifferent to their fate

I fully agree with Sherwin Pomerantz in "Mr. Prime Minister: The buck stops with you" (June 26). It is pathetic that all he talks about is unity, and meanwhile our innocent citizens, and those of other countries – whose leaders seem indifferent to their fate – languish in tunnels in Gaza.

Would Prime Minister Netanyahu still talk about unity if one of his own sons had been taken hostage? Methinks the situation would be very different.

BRENDA GOLDBLUM
Jerusalem

Part of the equation

Regarding "High Court orders full draft of ultra-Orthodox students" (June 26): I'm an Orthodox Jew and an Israeli Zionist. We are a family of IDF combat and non-combatant soldiers and IDF reservists, for three generations already.

I really wonder – especially since October 7 – just what these ultra-Orthodox men would actually do if they'd see their women and babies being raped and murdered right in front of their own eyes? Would they just stand by, only reciting Psalms, or would they throw some nearby heavy objects at the terrorists in self-defense?

Would they turn their backs on their wives and children, and run away in fear of their own lives, or would they run and grab some kitchen knives, if at home, and actually struggle to protect themselves and others? Would they act to the fullest to protect others, while knowing that they might be killed in the process?

If they would, in fact, act in the interest of their immediate self-defense, then what is the difference between acting on an immediate personal level, and a local, regional, and/or national level for the

defense of the Jewish population in their own land?

These are all basic questions on my part. I've been restraining myself, and not asking any of these same questions of the haredi men who I know. It's been a very long almost nine months already. Do haredi Jews really believe that it's only due to their prayers that we have been winning battles and wars against our enemies for the past 76 years?

If they do acknowledge any sort of miracles regarding our survival against our enemies, don't they ever acknowledge that the IDF – our IDF – is part of the equation of our national survival, as an arm, a means of self-defense, granted to us by God? Do they and their leaders have a stubborn blindness and lack of appreciation for this part of the equation?

As a footnote: I am of the opinion that any school or yeshiva in Israel that refuses to teach basic core subjects – Hebrew, English, math and computers, plus ideally also history, geography and physical education – to school pupils ages 5-18 should be denied any and all governmental funding, and that anyone whose children are enrolled in such schools should be denied all tax exemptions and social welfare benefits.

Perhaps such measures will highly encourage these citizens to agree to having their children be educated in subjects which are basic learning material in the 21st century. Without this core curriculum attained at a young age, few of these potential draftees will be able to serve effectively in the IDF, and in fact they would be more of a hindrance in an army that requires such basic knowledge and skills.

Likewise, the time has come, following October 7, for all Israeli Jews to be partners in the shouldering of obligations in our Jewish nation, and not

remain as ungrateful benefactors of the contributions of others in the fields of defense, security, health and welfare.

The 613 Torah commandments include: "Do not stand aside as your brother's blood is being shed."
LEAH YERUSHALMI
Jerusalem

Visibility as leverage

Zach D. Huff suggests that an Arab Israeli serving as co-president ("Time for an Arab co-president," June 30) is not to be feared because the "position offers visibility without authority." Alas, that's what we thought about the presidency that we live with today, but no Israeli president, for decades now, has resisted the temptation to use visibility as leverage.

The position, created to be purely ceremonial, has repeatedly served as what Teddy Roosevelt called a "bully pulpit" for the president's own political vision. Even Huff himself muses that "an Arab leader could help expand the Abraham Peace Accords and mediate disputes." That's not the president's job, and with an Arab president alongside a Jewish president, even in what Huff hints would be a lesser presidency, how confident can we be that the two presidential agendas won't conflict?

Even the visibility itself is a problem. Would the existence of an Arab co-president send the message that Israel embraces the Arabs, or would it send the message that Israel consigns the Arabs to separate leadership?

It would be better by far to further the social and political integration of the Israeli Arabs into the existing structures, and maybe – as Huff recalls that Benjamin Netanyahu reportedly once wanted – abolish the president's office entirely.

MARK L. LEVINSON
Herzliya

Unlikely guardians of Moroccan-Sephardi Jewry

• By NOAM BEDEIN

On our way to participate in a multi-day conference in Morocco, representing ISRAEL-is alongside our P2P Abraham Accords partner, the Mimouna Association, I felt a deep sense of anticipation. This was my second visit to Morocco since October 7 with the ongoing mission of strengthening civil diplomacy between ISRAEL-is, which had previously led leadership programs between countries before the Gaza war. I looked forward to building meaningful bridges and connections, especially during these challenging times, to further strengthen our ties with our partners and civil leaders in Morocco.

Essaouira, a coastal town with ancient cobbled streets and salty sea air, played host to an extraordinary gathering. Representatives from 10 countries and Jewish student leaders from across Latin America converged there, not just for a conference but for a journey through time, culture, and identity. The conference, focusing on the Moroccan-Sephardi Jewish connection to Latin America, was a tapestry of shared history and a testament to the enduring spirit of cultural preservation. The event was generously funded by USAID, underscoring the importance of international support for cultural preservation and diplomacy.

The journey to Essaouira is one of historical significance. About two and a half hours west of Marrakesh, this town has long stood as a symbol of Morocco's multicultural heritage. The conference was orchestrated by Mimouna, a local Muslim organization committed to showcasing and preserving Morocco's Jewish heritage. Through their efforts, the richness of Morocco's Jewish culture was woven into the contemporary fabric of the nation,

presenting a powerful narrative of tolerance, acceptance, and coexistence.

Guardians of heritage

At the heart of this cultural preservation is Mimouna. Founded by El Mehdi Boudra and his partners, this organization has dedicated itself to educating the Moroccan public and students about the historical significance of Jewish culture in Morocco. In a region often marked by tension and conflict, their mission is both bold and necessary. Mimouna's work emphasizes the shared history of Jews and Muslims in Morocco, promoting a vision of a diverse and inclusive society.

The conference in Essaouira was a culmination of these efforts. It was more than just an academic discussion; it was a living, breathing exhibition of cultural heritage. Jewish representatives and community leaders from across the globe, along with Jewish student leaders from Latin America, gathered to share their experiences and challenges. The event was a poignant reminder of the resilience of Moroccan Jews in the Diaspora and their ongoing struggle against rising antisemitism.

The power of place

Essaouira itself added a layer of historical depth to the conference. Known for its well-preserved Jewish quarter, the town stands as a testament to the once-thriving Jewish community in Morocco. Walking through the streets, one can almost hear the echoes of past generations' stories etched into the very stones of the buildings. The setting was perfect for discussions on cultural preservation, as participants explored the town's rich Jewish heritage.

One of the most striking aspects of the conference was the juxtaposition of the past and present. On one hand, there was a deep dive into the historical



THE WRITER (third from left) poses with leaders of the Mimouna Association and participants from Latin America at the recent conference in Essaouira, MOROCCO. (Mimouna Association)

context of Moroccan Jewry in the Diaspora. On the other hand, there were the contemporary stories of the participants, many of whom face significant challenges as Jews in their countries, especially with the recent surge in antisemitism since October 7th. Their stories brought to light the urgent need for continued advocacy and support.

Bridging cultures

A key outcome of the conference was the realization of the potential for leadership programs that bridge Israel and Morocco through a third country. These programs would capi-

talize on strong cultural connections, fostering partnerships among various organizations and peoples. The goal is to create a network of leaders who can promote cultural preservation and advocate for tolerance and coexistence on a global scale.

This call to action is particularly resonant in the context of the personal narratives shared at the conference. These stories are not just about struggle; they are about resilience, hope, and the enduring human spirit. They highlight the importance of preserving cultural heritage and the role it plays in shaping contemporary identities.

Personal narratives

Among the many stories shared, one particularly stands out. A Jewish student leader from Latin America recounted his experience growing up with a dual identity, constantly navigating the complexities of his heritage in a predominantly non-Jewish society. His story was about resilience, finding strength in his roots, and using his identity as a source of empowerment.

Another poignant narrative came from a community leader who spoke of the challenges faced by Moroccan Jews in the Diaspora. He described the efforts to keep their

traditions alive in foreign lands, often in the face of hostility and discrimination. His words underscored the importance of gatherings like the conference in Essaouira, where stories are shared and cultural ties are strengthened.

A vision for the future

The conference in Essaouira was more than an academic exercise; it was a celebration of heritage, a testament to resilience, and a call to action. Mimouna's work in preserving Morocco's Jewish culture is a beacon of hope in a world often divided by differences. By fostering a deeper understanding of the Moroccan-Sephardi Jewish connection and its relevance to contemporary identity, Mimouna has set a precedent for future collaborations and cultural exchanges.

Essaouira, with its rich history and vibrant culture, stands as a reminder of what is possible when we embrace our shared heritage. It is a testament to the power of storytelling, of coming together to celebrate our identities, and of building a future where diversity is not just tolerated but celebrated. In the heart of Morocco, the unlikely guardians of Jewish heritage have shown us the way. This is exactly what ISRAEL-is is all about, as we promote cultural understanding, bridge divides, and build lasting connections through shared narratives and experiences. The courageous invitation to this conference by our partners precisely at this time proves our P2P successful model.

As the conference drew to a close, the participants left with a renewed sense of purpose. The shared vision of preserving cultural heritage and promoting tolerance and coexistence continues to inspire and guide their efforts. In the words of one attendee, "Our heritage is not just our past; it is our compass for the future."

The writer is the foreign affairs manager of ISRAEL-is, an NGO.

AI is coming for our jobs

Those who can solve it don't see the danger

• By DANIEL SCHREIBER

After 28 years spent literally or figuratively in Silicon Valley, I've grown increasingly concerned about AI's potential to cause widespread, permanent unemployment. So I clambered out of the valley and into the "Ivory Tower" to share my fears with Israel's leading economists. Turns out, the view from the Tower is wildly different from the Valley. Not a good thing.

The view from the Valley is that AI will achieve human-level intelligence within a few years, leading to rising unemployment.

Leopold Aschenbrenner, a former superintelligence researcher at OpenAI, says: "We are building machines that can think and reason. By 2025/26, these machines will outpace many college graduates. By the end of the decade, they will be smarter than you or I; we will have superintelligence, in the true sense of the word... That doesn't require believing in sci-fi; it just requires believing in straight lines on a graph."

Avital Balwit, chief of staff at Anthropic, says: "I am 25. These next three years might be the last few years that I work. I stand at the edge of a technological development that seems likely, should it arrive, to end employment as I know it."

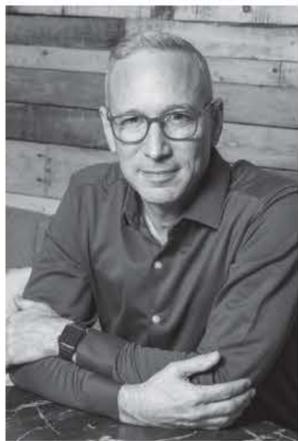
Consequently, tech rivals like Sam Altman, Mark Zuckerberg, and Elon Musk agree on the need to prepare for permanent mass unemployment with universal basic income.

The view from the Tower is far more tranquil. The OECD's report on "The Future of Work" concludes that "Overall, the total number of jobs is not likely to decrease," while The World Economic Forum predicts "a net increase of 58 million jobs." I heard much the same from Israel's think tanks and policy institutes.

Who's right? I hope it's the economists, but I'd wager on the technologists for three reasons:

1. "Change is the only constant" (Heraclitus)

The Great Crash of 1929 saw 90% of the stock market's value vanish. A few days prior, the prominent economist, Irving Fisher, pronounced that "stock prices have reached what looks like a permanently high plateau." Economists have missed every crash since, prompting the IMF to conclude that economists are "notoriously poor at spotting a crisis coming", and that there is "little evidence... that forecasts at



THE VIEW from the Valley is that AI will achieve human-level intelligence within a few years, leading to rising unemployment, the writer asserts. (Dor Malka)

horizons of two to five years contain much predictive content."

Add technology to the mix, and the economists' record goes from "notoriously poor" to comical. McKinsey, for example, pronounced that "mobile phones will never be a mass market," while Nobel-winning economist Paul Krugman predicted the Internet's impact would be "no greater than the fax machine's." In retrospect, Krugman conceded that "most macroeconomics of the last 30 years was spectacularly useless at best and positively harmful at worst."

In contrast, technologists have an impressive record in predicting key milestones decades in advance. Writing in the '80s and '90s, computer scientist Ray Kurzweil accurately forecasted to within a couple of years the arrival of the Internet, smartphones, voice recognition, self-driving cars, and virtual reality. In 1990, he predicted that human-level AI would arrive in 2029, a prognostication that has since catapulted from preposterous to prescient.

The difference? The economy is governed by the butterfly effect, while technology is governed by Moore's Law, which posits that computational power doubles every two years. Kurzweil calculated roughly how much compute is needed for each milestone he envisaged, and predicted their realization at the point where these needs intersect with the exponential progression of Moore's Law. His track record isn't perfect, but no economist can hold a candle to it.

2. The boy who cried wolf

The second reason is that I find the economists' arguments unconvincing. One explanation they offer for their equanimity is that, despite the rise of AI, unemployment has not risen at all. Yet nobody expected generative AI to move the macroeconomic needle so quickly; and in smaller, bellwether sectors, the needle is buried in the red. Freelance job boards, for example, have seen massive drops in demand for writers, web developers, graphic designers, and engineers.

More importantly, when a macroeconomic signal does emerge, I expect it to show that AI augments people rather than making them dispensable – right up to the point where it dispenses with them. By way of analogy, consider the story of Bob, a mediocre manager. In Act 1, Bob hires Sam, a wunderkind, who boosts the quality and quantity of Bob's deliverables. The big boss is happy. In Act 2, Sam has learned the ropes and is able to fly solo. Bob looks expensive and incompetent by comparison. In Act 3, Bob gets canned. The End.

The second explanation offered for their poise is that we've seen this movie before and it has a happy ending. There's full employment today even though 99% of the pre-industrial jobs have vanished. Stay calm and carry on.

But, unlike the industrial revolution, where machines replaced our brawn and we found jobs using our brains, today's machines are set to outperform our brains. What part of our being will we use to earn a living once that happens?!

Oh, and the industrial revolution triggered a century of catastrophic hardship, including mass displacement of skilled workers, and a rush for raw materials that fueled colonialism and wars that claimed tens of millions of lives. Not a movie we want to take our kids to.

3. Two thumbs down

AI is approaching human-level performance across the spectrum of intellectual endeavors. At its current rate of progress, AI will soon project onto your screen a talking-head that will shape-shift to be your lawyer, graphic designer, doctor, software engineer – you name it. As a rule of thumb, therefore, we should assume that any job that can be done over Zoom today can be done by an AI tomorrow. I've encountered no credible counterargument to this.

Which leads to my second rule of thumb: employers will replace

humans with AI whenever there's a buck to be made. That is the true lesson from the industrial revolution. I've heard no credible counterargument to this either.

Silicon Valley has tunnel vision. Taken together, you see why, on balance, I'd wager on Silicon Valley's predictions for what AI will soon do. But I'd never trust the Valley to tell society how to adapt or prepare. When it comes to the societal implications of its technologies, Silicon Valley is "spectacularly useless at best and positively harmful at worst." Indeed, recent years have seen devastating unintended consequences of the Valley's innovations, from skyrocketing teen suicides to the radicalization of our society.

Tech titans casually toss out slogans like "universal basic income" as though UBI is a panacea for the coming age. I favor UBI, but they seem oblivious to the monumental challenges it entails, including staggering costs, elusive sources, and complex second-order effects. Moreover, the societal problems born of mass unemployment won't end with any universal income, let alone a basic one. We need the full engagement by the Ivory Tower, leveraging the expertise of economists, political scientists, and sociologists to navigate these intricate issues.

In the coming years, AI is likely to achieve superhuman intelligence and drive rising unemployment. To my knowledge, no one has articulated a convincing case for how such AI can coexist with full employment, and so we must prepare accordingly. Yet those who see the gathering storm are ill-equipped to prepare for it, while those who know how to prepare don't see it coming.

Aesop's Fable tells of two men, one blind, the other lame. Alone they can't survive, so the lame man climbs onto the blind man's back, and united they can navigate safely. The moral is clear: we can't rely solely on economists' predictions or Silicon Valley's optimism. We need technologists who understand AI's potential, economists who can model its impacts, and policymakers who can implement solutions. The clock is ticking. Our choices today will shape whether AI becomes humanity's greatest achievement or, like the golem of Jewish lore, a force that turns on its master.

The writer is CEO and co-founder of Lemonade (NYSE: LMND), and chairman of the MOSAIC Policy Institute, whose mission it is to ensure that Artificial Intelligence benefits all of Israel's society.

We scream but you don't hear us

• By MADISON ROSENBERG

It is no mystery that Jewish university students have been targeted on university campuses, especially since October 7. There have been many Jewish voices on campus calling for the university to implement policies and regulations that assist in the safety of their students; unfortunately, these voices remain ignored and unheard. Since the Hamas terror attack on October 7, Toronto Metropolitan University has become a breeding ground for antisemitism.

Personally, as a Jewish student at TMU, I have asked myself, "Do I have to choose between my Judaism and my safety?" and "Will advocating for myself and my community put me in danger on campus?" These are questions no person should have to ask themselves, especially when trying to get an education, like everyone else.

While many schools, including mine, watch idly as students get accosted, harassed and mentally abused on campus, the antisemitism grows. When school administration and staff let injustices occur without consequences, this sends a clear message: "We do not care about our Jewish students' safety" and "We are okay with what is happening on our property." The school may not agree with those statements, but those are the messages sent out by their actions or lack thereof.

Throughout this past school year, protests against Israel on campus have been loud and aggressive. They have occurred in places such as inside school buildings, outside the Student Learning Center, and other places on campus. School is supposed to be a neutral, welcoming place for everyone, regardless of race, religion, ethnicity, nationality, sexuality, etc. The most recent example of the lack of neutrality is graduation, where students brought flags of Palestine, wore keffiyehs on stage, and were allowed to put them on by the Associate Dean of Toronto Metropolitan University. Instead of focusing on the success of each student, it was again made to be political.

This university has chosen to allow blatant double standards. During this school year, students protested in front of the Starbucks inside the Student Learn-

ing Center because they believed it was "complacent with genocide." There was a sign: "Zionists off our campus." They were allowed to stay there with that sign even after students made staff and security aware of it. Meanwhile, SSI (Students Supporting Israel) was denied a request for tabling that said "Anti-Zionism is Anti-semitism" in the center due to "safety reasons."

The students were told to hold the tabling in the engineering building, and they requested security in order to guarantee our safety. Security forces did not show up before the tabling started; they only showed up after being called multiple times when the students at the tabling, including myself, were getting screamed at and our property was being defaced.

If Jewish students were denied the right to have a table in the Student Learning Center due to "safety," then why was security not at the tabling in the first place? Why do disaster and aggression have to occur first before campus security shows up for their Jewish students?

On the TMU official site, they quote the Ontario Human Rights Commission and their definition of antisemitism, which is "latent or overt hostility or hatred directed towards, or discrimination against individual Jews or the Jewish people for reasons connected to their religion, ethnicity, and their cultural, historical, intellectual and religious heritage" (Canadian Race Relations Foundation, 2013).

Our history as Jews is directly linked to Israel, yet they allow blatant anti-Zionism and hate against Israel on campus. That is directly going against their own policies against antisemitism, as stated on their website.

Students deserve to attend school and go to classes without worrying about their safety due to a lack of security, a lack of upholding policies as set forth by the university, threats made by other students, and harassment. School should be a safe space for everyone, with no exceptions.

The writer is involved with Allied Voices for Israel and HonestReporting Canada's Campus Media Fellowship and is a student executive with Hillel, studying at Toronto Metropolitan University in the Faculty of Community Services.

Millions vote in high-stakes French election

Anti-immigrant RN ahead in polls • Leftist bloc in second • Second round to take place July 7

• By MIMOSA SPENCER

PARIS (Reuters) – French voters headed to the polls on Sunday in the first round of a snap parliamentary election that could usher in the country's first far-right government since World War Two, a potential sea change at the heart of the European Union.

President Emmanuel Macron stunned the country when he called the vote after his centrist alliance was crushed in European elections this month by Marine Le Pen's National Rally (*Rassemblement National* – RN). Her eurosceptic, anti-immigrant party was a longtime pariah but is now closer to power than it has ever been.

France's electoral system can make it hard to estimate the precise distribution of seats in the 577-seat National Assembly, and the final outcome will not be known until the end of voting on July 7.

"We are going to win an absolute majority," Le Pen said in a newspaper interview on Wednesday, predicting that her protégé, 28-year-old Jordan Bardella, would be prime minister. Her party has a high-spending economic

program and seeks to reduce immigration.

A woman screamed "It's shameful, it's shameful" as Bardella arrived to cast his vote in Garches near Paris. "They even invited the leftists," he said.

If the RN does win an absolute majority, French diplomacy could be headed for an unprecedented period of turbulence, with Bardella and Macron – who has said he will continue his presidency until the end of his term in 2027 – jostling for the right to speak for France.

France has had three periods of "cohabitation" – when the president and government are from opposite political camps – in its post-war history, but none with such radically divergent worldviews competing at the top of the state.

Bardella has already indicated he would challenge Macron on global issues. France could lurch from being a pillar of the EU to a thorn in its side, demanding a rebate of the French contribution to the EU budget, clashing with Brussels over European Commission jobs and reversing Macron's calls for greater EU unity and



FRENCH PRESIDENT Emmanuel Macron and his wife, Brigitte Macron, vote yesterday in the first round of the early French parliamentary elections, in Le Touquet-Paris-Plage. (Yara Nardi/Pool/Reuters)

assertiveness on defense.

A clear RN victory would also bring uncertainty as to where France stands on the Russia-Ukraine war. Le Pen has a history of pro-Russian sentiment and while the party now says it would help Ukraine defend itself against Russian invaders, it has also set out redlines, such as refusing to provide long-

range missiles.

In Hénin-Beaumont, a town in Le Pen's constituency in northern France where she may be re-elected in the first round, 67-year-old Denis Ledieu said people were suffering due to the long-term de-industrialization of the region.

"So if the [RN] promises them things, then why not?"

They want to try it out, I think," he said.

Across France, early turnout figures were higher than in the 2022 legislative vote, at 25.9% by midday, compared with 18.43% two years ago, the Interior Ministry said.

'Split vote favors RN'

Opinion polls have suggested the RN has a comfort-

able lead of 33%-36% of the popular vote, with a hastily assembled left-wing coalition, the New Popular Front, in second place at 28%-31% and Macron's centrist alliance in third with 20%-23%.

The New Popular Front includes a wide range of parties, from the moderate center-left to the hard-left, eurosceptic, anti-NATO party France Unbowed, led by one of Macron's most vitriolic opponents, Jean-Luc Melenchon.

How the poll numbers will translate into seats in the National Assembly is hard to predict because of how the election works, according to Vincent Martigny, professor of political science at the University of Nice and the Ecole Polytechnique.

Candidates can be elected in the first round if they win an absolute majority of votes in their constituency, although that is rare. Most constituencies will need a second round involving all candidates who received votes from at least 12.5% of registered voters in the first round. The top scorer wins.

"If you have a very high level of participation, you might

have a third or fourth party that is getting into the struggle. So then, of course, there's a risk of split voting and we know that the split vote favors the National Rally," Martigny said.

For decades, as the far Right steadily gained popularity, voters and parties who did not support it would unite against it whenever it edged closer to national power, but that may not hold true this time.

Martigny said no one knew whether candidates from Macron's camp would consider dropping out of the second round to give rivals from the Left a chance of beating the RN, or the reverse.

Le Pen and Bardella have sought to make their party's image more acceptable to the mainstream, for example by denouncing antisemitism. Le Pen's father Jean-Marie Le Pen, founder and long-term leader of the RN's forerunner the National Front, had a history of overtly antisemitic comments.

But critics say the party's courting of Jews is just a cover allowing it to deny accusations of racism while constantly stigmatizing Muslims and foreigners.

Greek firefighters battle new wildfire near Athens

ATHENS (Reuters) – Greek firefighters were battling a wildfire south of Athens on Sunday amid strong winds, just hours after managing to contain blazes in a mountainous area also near the capital as well as on an island in the Aegean Sea.

Dozens of firefighters, backed up by 17 water-carrying aircraft, fought to tame the new fire in a sparsely-populated area near the town of Keratea, some 35 kilometers south of Athens.

Greek television showed at least one house in flames as smoke from burning pine and olive trees billowed into the sky.

With hot, windy conditions

across much of Greece, dozens of wildfires broke out over the weekend and authorities advised people to stay away from forested areas.

Firefighters were still engaged on the island of Serifos where a fire had broken out amid low vegetation on Saturday and spread quickly, fanned by strong winds, damaging houses and prompting the evacuation of several hamlets.

The wildfire, which at one point had raged across 15 km., damaged holiday homes and storehouses, the island's mayor, Kostas Revinthis, told Greek television.

Another fire in the mountainous forest of Parnitha near

a nature reserve just outside Athens had eased by Sunday morning, officials said.

The strong winds are not expected to abate until later on Sunday, meteorologists said.

Wildfires are common in Greece but have become more devastating in recent years as summers have become hotter, drier and windier, which scientists link to the effects of climate change.

After last summer's deadly forest fires and following its warmest winter on record, Greece developed a new doctrine, which includes deploying an extra fire engine to each new blaze, speeding up air support and clearing forests.

Austrian and Czech nationalist parties, Hungary's Orban form new EU alliance

• By FRANCOIS MURPHY

VIENNA (Reuters) – Austria's far-right Freedom Party (FPÖ), Hungarian Prime Minister Viktor Orban's Fidesz and the populist Czech ANO party led by Andrej Babis are forming a new alliance in the European Parliament, they announced on Sunday.

The move would reorder but possibly also split nationalist forces in the assembly, provided four more parties join. Parties from at least a quarter of the European Union's 27 member states are needed to officially form a new political group.

While Fidesz has remained outside larger groupings since it parted ways with the main-

stream center-right European People's Party (EPP) in 2021, the FPÖ is part of the Identity and Democracy political group along with Marine Le Pen's National Rally party in France. ANO is not part of a political group.

"Today is a historic day because we are entering a new era of European politics," FPÖ leader Herbert Kickl said in an address to the media attended by Babis and Orban, convened at short notice in a Vienna hotel.

"This alliance is meant as a rocket that will bring other parties on board at the European level to join forces and give Europe a better future," Kickl said of the "new patriotic alliance."

Former Czech prime minister Babis said the new group would be called Patriots for Europe.

All three men cited the fight against illegal immigration, which has long been a pressing concern for them, as well as transferring more powers from Brussels back to member states.

In this month's European Parliament election, nationalist parties capitalized on voter disquiet over spiraling prices, migration and the cost of the green transition, and are looking to translate their seat gains into more influence on EU policy.

While the FPÖ has a clear lead in Austrian opinion polls ahead of a September 29 par-

liamentary election, Orban faces a growing threat in Hungary from the new opposition party Tisza, which said this month it would join the EPP in the European Parliament.

"Today we are creating a political formation that in my view will be off to a flying start and will very quickly become the largest group of the European right," Orban said.

"This will happen within days and then the sky is the limit," he said.

The three men took no questions but the FPÖ said a press conference would be held in Brussels or Strasbourg soon with other parties joining the alliance.

Trump puts murdered women and girls center stage in anti-immigration drive

• By TED HESSON and ALEXANDRA ULMER

WASHINGTON (Reuters) – Minutes before going on stage for the first presidential debate on Thursday, Donald Trump received a phone call from the mother of 12-year-old Jocelyn Nungaray, who was killed in Houston this month, allegedly by two Venezuelan men in the US illegally. The mother, Alexis Nungaray, was returning a voicemail Trump had left earlier in the day when she was at her daughter's funeral, a friend of the family, Victoria Galvan, who witnessed the call, told Reuters. Nungaray's body was found in a creek near her home on June 17, after her attackers allegedly took her under a bridge, tied her up, took her pants off and strangled her, according to police and prosecutors.

The suspects – Johan Jose Martinez Rangel, 22, and Franklin Jose Pena Ramos, 26 – had been detained by US border authorities in Texas earlier this year but released pending a court appearance.

During the debate, Trump spoke of Nungaray's case and the phone call as he hammered Biden on his immigration policies, accusing the Democrat of allowing murderers and rapists into the country. "There have been many young women murdered by the same people he allows to come across our border," Trump said. "These killers are coming into our country and they are raping and killing women. And it's a terrible thing."

Citing Nungaray's case, he said: "This is horrible, what's taken place ... We're literally an uncivilized country now."

Trump's attacks are from a well-thumbed playbook he has used repeatedly since first running for office in 2015 to cast immigrants illegally crossing the southern border as violent criminals. He typically focuses on young, usually white, women allegedly killed by Hispanic assailants to drive home that message, eschew-

ing cases that involve male victims. His opponents accuse him of cynically exploiting grieving families to fuel his narrative that foreign-born, often Hispanic, arrivals are part of an invading army.

"Part of what is going on here is an effort to stimulate xenophobia or animus or ethnic hostility," said Christopher Federico, a professor of political science and psychology at the University of Minnesota, adding Trump seems to be playing to racist stereotypes that paint Latino men as threats to "the perceived purity of white womanhood."

Studies generally find there is no evidence immigrants commit crimes at a higher rate than native-born Americans and critics say Trump's rhetoric reinforces racist tropes.

Still, polling shows that the visceral message resonates among many voters. It is amplified by conservative media, pro-Trump influencers online and sometimes the grieving relatives and friends of women killed.

Galvan, 27, blamed Nungaray's death on Biden's easing of some restrictions on the US-Mexico border.

"I think Jocelyn would definitely still be here if President Trump was our president," Galvan said, adding that she planned to vote for the first time in a presidential election and would support Trump.

Despite the lack of evidence, about three-quarters of Republicans in a Reuters/Ipsos poll conducted in May said migrants in the US illegally "are a danger to public safety."

TRUMP ATTACKS BIDEN for record levels of migrants caught illegally crossing the US-Mexico border. Immigration is a major voter concern, particularly among conservatives.

In response, Biden blames Trump for urging Republicans to block a bipartisan US Senate bill earlier this year that aimed to toughen border security and has portrayed Trump's policies as unnecessarily cruel.



MICHELLE ROOT, whose daughter Sarah was reportedly killed in a car crash with a driver who was an illegal immigrant, is greeted with a kiss from then-Republican presidential nominee Donald Trump as she takes the stage to speak at a rally in 2016 with Trump supporters in Council Bluffs, Iowa. (Jonathan Ernst/Reuters)

"Donald Trump is using the pain and loss of American families for the benefit of one person and one person only: Donald Trump," Biden campaign spokesperson Kevin Munoz said in a statement. "His sick and dehumanizing comments do nothing to make our border more secure and are beneath the office of president of the United States."

A digital ad featuring violent crimes and criticizing Biden was launched last week in seven battleground states as part of a push by the conservative group Building America's Future.

The ad focuses on Rachel Morin – a mother of five raped and killed while jogging in August 2023 near her Maryland home – and her accused killer, an immigrant from El Salvador in the US illegally.

"Joe Biden's open border, a night-

mare for American women," a woman's voice says as the face of Morin's accused killer is displayed next to Biden's.

Trump's approach echoes the oft-cited "Willie Horton" ad attacking Democratic candidate Michael Dukakis in the 1988 presidential campaign, according to Susan Del Percio, a Republican strategist critical of Trump's immigration rhetoric.

Horton was Black and critics said the ad – which effectively boosted Republican George H.W. Bush's candidacy – sought to provoke race-based fear.

"Trump is saying, 'We don't like immigrants and now here's another horrific reason not to like them. They will come after you and kill you,'" she said.

Trump campaign spokesperson Karoline Leavitt said Biden's border policies had allowed dangerous criminals to enter the US and that Trump sought to support the families of victims.

"President Trump says their names, calls their mothers, and stands with their families, while Joe Biden continues to ignore their suffering and welcomes in millions of dangerous criminal illegal immigrants," Leavitt said in a statement.

Trump has used inflammatory language to describe immigrants in the US illegally, including that they are "poisoning the blood" of the country.

The parents of some victims have welcomed Trump's efforts to publicize the brutal killings while others say he is simply politicizing the deaths of their loved ones.

In 2018, Trump publicized the case of Mollie Tibbetts after the 20-year-

old University of Iowa student was killed by a Mexican immigrant in the US illegally, but Tibbetts' father chastised Trump at the time for exploiting the tragedy for political gain.

Laura Calderwood, Tibbetts' mother, told Reuters she believed her daughter's murderer was a troubled person but that the killing had nothing to do with his immigration status.

"It was an anomaly," said Calderwood, a Democrat who plans to vote for Biden. "There are lots of illegal immigrants here and they don't go out and murder people."

Michelle Root, whose daughter Sarah was killed in Nebraska in 2016 when her car was hit by a drunken driver in the US illegally, told Reuters that then President Barack Obama and Vice President Biden never responded when she wrote them at the time to raise awareness about the case.

Obama's personal office and the White House did not respond to requests for comment.

Trump, then a presidential candidate, invited her to meet with him before a rally in Omaha, she said. The meeting convinced Root – a lifelong Democrat who twice voted for Obama – to back Trump.

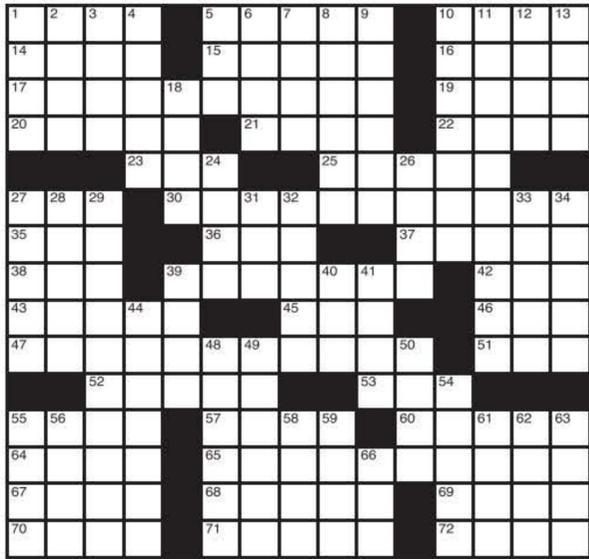
He later called her and asked her permission to mention Sarah's case in his acceptance of the Republican presidential nomination that summer, she said.

"If it wasn't for him, Sarah wouldn't have had a voice," she said.

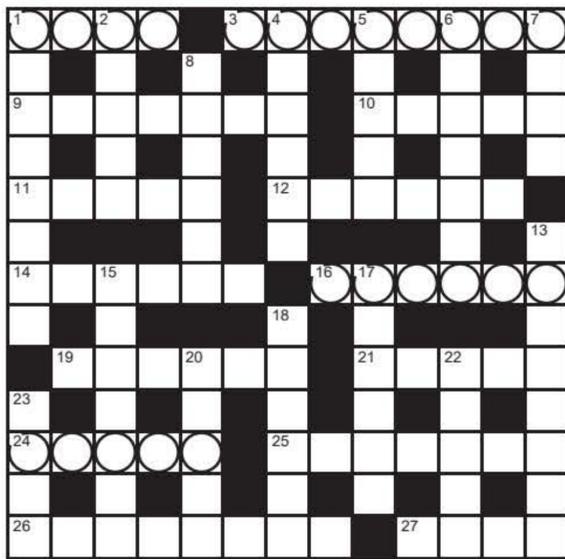
Patty Morin, the mother of Rachel Morin, was "incredibly touched" when Trump reached out to her earlier this month to offer condolences, her attorney, Randolph Rice, told Reuters.

"During the 20-minute phone call, the president asked about Rachel and her family and how they are doing," Rice said in an email. "She has still not heard from the Biden administration."

THE JERUSALEM POST DAILY BRAIN TEASERS



QUICK CROSSWORD



- 21 ___ Be'av: Day of fasting (5)
24 Gregory ___: Noted American dancer and choreographer (5)
25 "Early ___" (TV series about a man who got tomorrow's newspaper today (7)
26 One's physical build, pride of body builders (8)
27 Yesh ___: Political party of Yair Lapid (4)

Down

- 1 India neighbor (8)
2 Hereditary Hindu social group (5)
4 Big and clumsy (HI SOFA anagram) (6)
5 Explode, as a bomb (2,3)
6 Spurious remedy, such as snake oil (TOM'S URN anagram) (7)
7 Disrespectful back talk (slang) (4)
8 "The ___ of Errors" (6)
13 ___ flight (pilotless and crewless) (8)
15 Word often used in hotel names (CRY GENE anagram) (7)
17 Unleash, as a rant (TRIPLE anagram) (3,3)
18 Decadent cake (6)
20 Native-born American of apanese ancestry (5)
22 Pants or shorts alternative (5)
23 Restaurant chain (acronym) that often serves syrup with its meals (4)

ACROSS

- 1 "___ Lisa": Louvre highlight
5 Highly capable
10 Squad car alerts, for short
14 Unaccounted-for GI
15 "American Top 40" medium
16 Peek
17 Where to see stars on an app
19 Assistant on Apple devices
20 New Year's Eve Potato Drop state
21 Mythical Himalayan beast
22 Smart ___: frozen food brand
23 "The Golden Bachelor" network
25 Motionless
27 Carpentry tool
30 Where to see stars after a blow
35 "Frankly," in a text
36 Female pheasant
37 Laughably silly
38 Org. that encourages flossing
39 Quick to prepare, like pudding or coffee
42 Ornamental pond fish
43 Toned down
45 Moody genre
46 Beings on UFOs

DOWN

- 1 "Please allow me"
2 Carried a balance
3 Mardi Gras city, informally
4 First Greek letter
5 "___ we good?"
6 Folk hero Crockett
7 Emmy winner Falco
8 Cobbler container
9 Service provided by a wrecker
10 Unsuccessful candidate
11 "I see where you're coming from"
12 Real snooze
13 Winter resort rentals
18 AnnaSophia of "Bridgette Terabithia"
24 "SportsCenter" anchor Linda
26 Issue forth
27 Notary public's mark
28 "Opposites Attract" singer Paula
29 "Ah, too bad"
31 "Hollywood Squares" symbols
32 Prefix with face or lace
33 100 bucks
34 Major caper
39 Concept
40 Calais chum
41 Word such as "word"
44 Converts into a secret message
48 Small spade
49 House with a sharply sloping roof
50 Bungle
54 Stretchy candy
55 "Frozen" sister with a French braid
56 Gently persuade
58 Seafood in a shell
59 ___ milk
61 "Teen Titans Go!" voice actress Strong
62 "So true!"
63 Scallion relative
66 La Liga cheer

Across

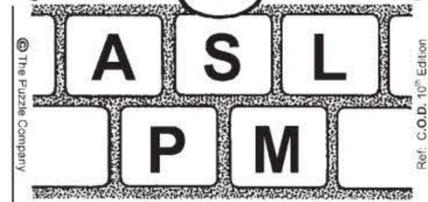
- 1 Gregory ___ (Played Atticus Finch in "To Kill a Mockingbird") (4)
3 Greg ___ (Diver who won gold medals in 1984 and 1988 Olympics) (8)
9 Dismissal, slangily (4-3)
10 "Midnight at the ___" (1974 hit) (5)
11 "Nectar in a ___" (1964 Kamala Markandaya book) (5)
12 "Surfin' ___" (1982 Beach Boys song) (6)
14 Gloria ___: President of the Philippines 2001 to 2010 (6)
16 Gregg ___ (Musician; exhusband of Cher) (6)
19 African country offered to Herzl for a Jewish state (6)



QUICK SOLUTION

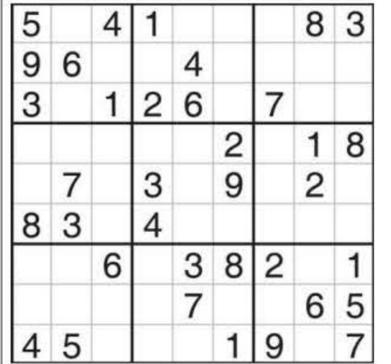


WORD-BUILDER 5540

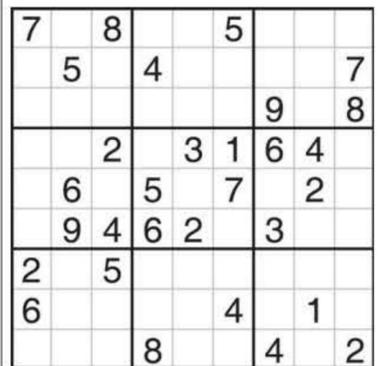


How many words of three or more letters, including plurals, can you make from the five letters, using each letter only once? No foreign words or words beginning with a capital are allowed. There's at least one five-letter word.

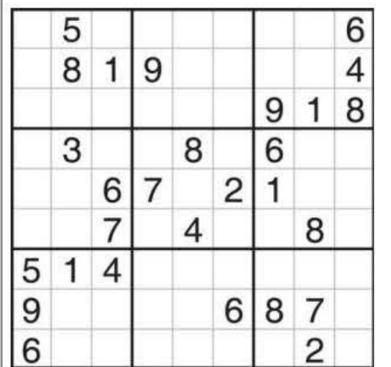
TODAY'S GOALS: Good - 13 Excellent - 17 Amazing - 21 SOLUTION 5539: agin, air, ani, gain, gar, gin, girn, grain, gran, grin, nag, rag, rai, rain, ran, rani, rang, ria, rig, ring.



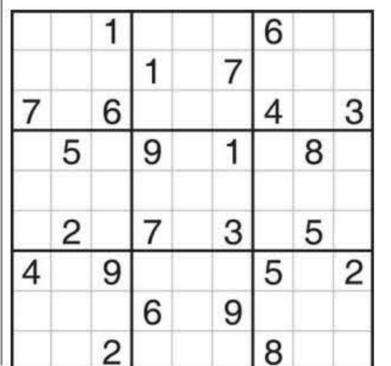
EASY



MEDIUM



HARD



5x5

Insert the missing letters to complete ten words - five across the grid and five down.



5500



PREVIOUS SOLUTION (other combinations may occasionally be possible)

Reference: Concise Oxford 10th Edition

NEW YORK TIMES CROSSWORD

No. 0630

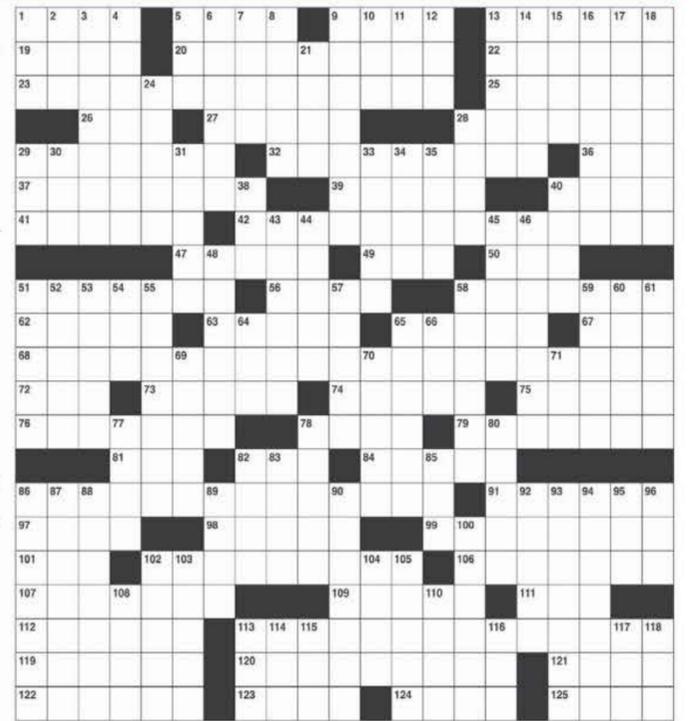
PICTURE DAY

BY MICHAEL SCHLOSSBERG / EDITED BY JOEL FAGLIANO

Michael Schlossberg is an internist in Bend, Ore. This is his third Sunday crossword of the year. Michael's antenna is always up for theme ideas — he struck upon this one after seeing the phrase at 113-Across in a news article. Though Michael is an avid gardener, he never brainstorms themes there. "It's my happy place," he says.

ACROSS

- 1 Plant in a bloom
2 Wane
5 "La Vie en Rose" singer
9 Mechanical catch
13 Seasonal decoration from the Old French for "sparkle"
19 Atypical band instrument
20 Path to Machu Picchu
22 World Cup cheer
23 Two Iowans (1930)
25 Renovation need, perhaps
26 Succor
27 Patton crossed it in 1944
28 Stuff left behind by an old flame?
29 Slip in a warehouse
32 Part of the atmosphere above most weather
36 Writer buried in a Baltimore churchyard
37 Six Basque villagers (1937)
39 "Real Time With Bill ___"
40 Souvlaki go-with
41 Hashtag's neighbor on a keyboard
REIGNED HEALS CRANK IT
BUSHED ROCKET LAUNCHES
ART SIAM BRIE KFED
NESS FRESH STARTS EASE
UNIT USEAS EMITS
NEW BEGINNINGS TOTAL
AMADOU ATAD SHACKS UP
ROKU RAMA SHOWERHEADS
CREE EVEN UMPIRE UFOS
OYS DADS POSTED PENT



- 58 Performing, perhaps
62 Wane
63 About to bloom
65 "Ted Lasso" footballer Jamie
67 Good name for a nuclear engineer?
68 One gemstone (1665)
72 Just manage, with "out"
73 Component of the immune system
74 Sauce in Philippine cuisine
75 Wacky
76 Feature of a Raggedy Ann doll
78 Frog-hopping-into-water sound
79 Crazy Horse and kin
81 Name on a box of fruit-flavored candy
82 Minute
84 Wash out
86 With 99-Across, four timepieces (1931)
91 Too much, musically
97 Plugs
98 Unreliable narrators
99 See 86-Across
101 Prefix with genetics
102 Instrument "played" in the "Bill & Ted" movies
106 Shanties
107 Goes straight
109 Eyelike openings
111 Not in the dark
112 Kitchen-drawer section
113 Kind of craft-store kit... or a hint to this puzzle's theme
119 Sheathe
120 They're comfortable alone or in a crowd
121 River through Kazakhstan
122 Yarn label number
123 World capital that's part of the NATO alphabet
124 Viking group?
125 Cable channel with horror/fantasy programming
DOWN
1 "So that's your game!"
2 Flight
3 Shin armor
4 Knowable without experience
5 Proof of meeting a celeb, say
6 "Hold on!"
7 What pore clogging can lead to
8 "Oliver Twist" antagonist
9 Press-conference organizers
10 Sound at the doctor's office
11 Console with a wireless controller
12 Business name ender
13 Something to talk about
14 Actress Graff of "Mr. Belvedere"
15 Enthusiast
16 Words woven into Charlotte's web
17 Director who is part of filmom's Splat Pack
18 "Mangia!"
21 Answering-machine signal
24 Bouncer's job
28 Vocalist Vikki
29 Supermarket-chain inits.
30 Enthusiast
31 Fünf : German :: ___ : Spanish
33 Put a value on
34 Sorry excuse for a pillowcase?
35 20-Across setting
38 QB stat: Abbr.
40 About 40% of a yard
43 Like some teas
44 Look at desirously
45 Gossip
46 One of two openings under a bridge
48 Divider's counterpart
51 Bock or dunkel
52 Chargeable transport
53 Like one's soul in a heart-to-heart
54 The Hawks, on scoreboards
55 Fresh perspective
57 Paragon
58 Cereal with a Mega Stuf variety
59 Helvetica-like typeface
60 "I'm ___ Git You Sucka" (1988 parody film)
61 Often-frayed parts of papyrus
64 Penguins play in it, for short
65 It circles the earth
66 Neighbor of Montana: Abbr.
69 Less emotional
70 Deck out
71 Vaccine component
77 Starts of some cheers
78 Kind of dish that you wouldn't want to eat from
79 Some cameras, for short
80 "Ya dig?"
82 "Bridesmaids" co-star
83 Biblical figure whose "whole body was like a hairy garment"
92 Sphere
93 Kind of spending bill
94 That's a bunch of crock!
95 Hardly a noob
96 Kvetchers' cries
88 Large building
89 Some cameras, for short
90 Country that had a nonviolent "singing revolution" in the late 1980s
92 Sphere
93 Kind of spending bill
94 That's a bunch of crock!
95 Hardly a noob
96 Kvetchers' cries
100 Lighter igniters
102 Childish retort
103 "No more for me, thanks"
104 When Macbeth fights Macduff
105 Politico Gallego
108 Like some mirrors
110 Vega's constellation
113 Mate
114 113-Down, in French
115 Company that once generated more than 4,000 patents in a single year
116 Security Council member
117 Subj. of Churchill's "Never... was so much owed by so many to so few"
118 Canny

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THE JERUSALEM POST

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TELEVISION

PROGRAMS

KAN HD (V/H11)

06:00 Morning News - Israel at War
07:00 This Morning - with Shaul Amsterdam
08:00 Kalman Liberman
10:00 Daily Agenda - with Keren Neubauch
12:00 The Grand Trip 2 - Episode 1
13:05 Life According to Dvir - 2. The Flu
13:33 The Future is Here - Episode 2
14:08 Tom Year: Cooking with Grandma 2 - Episode
15:00 The World Today - with Yoav Zehavi
16:00 Game of Pockets - with Liel Kyzer
16:45 The Five O'Clock Edition - with Maya Rac
18:05 Through the Looking Glass - with Guy Zoh
18:20 UEFA Euro 2024 - Pre-Game Studio
19:00 UEFA Euro 2024 - France-Belgium
20:58 The Evening News - with Michal Rabinovich
22:00 The Chase 8 - Episode 6
23:00 Through the Looking Glass - with Guy Zoh
23:15 Night News - with Akiva Novick
23:55 UEFA Euro 2024 - Post-Game Studio

KESHET HD (V/H12)

06:00 News Flash
06:10 The Morning Headlines
07:00 News Flash
07:05 The Morning News with Nir Raskin
09:30 News Flash
09:35 Special Broadcast - Nesli Barda and Yoav
11:00 A view of the Arab kitchen
11:40 Dancing with the Stars - One hand lift
13:00 Special News Broadcast - Elmaz Mangisto
15:00 Today's edition - With Gay Peleg
16:55 Five With Raffi Reshef
17:55 6:00 PM with...
19:00 Special News Broadcast - Keren Marciano
19:55 Main Edition
21:30 The Amazing Race 2024
23:15 Guy Pinnes
23:40 Avni and Sherki

RESHET HD (V/H13)

06:00 This Morning with Omer and Rotem - Previ
07:00 This Morning - Omer Yardeni & Rotem Isra
09:30 News Flash
09:35 Starting the Day - Elad and Yarden
10:00 News Flash
10:05 Starting the Day - Elad and Yarden
11:00 News Flash
11:05 Starting the Day - Elad and Yarden
12:00 News Flash
12:05 The Legal Countdown - Doron Herman
12:40 Behind the Money
13:00 News Flash
13:05 Behind the Money
13:15 The Tube - Guy Lerer
13:40 Vort - Neshama
14:00 News Flash
14:05 Vort - Neshama
14:52 Vort - Gil and Liat's Decision
15:00 News Flash
15:05 Vort - Gil and Liat's Decision
16:00 Showtime - Adi & Miki
16:58 Today's Talk - With Lucy Aharsh
17:59 Almog at Six
18:59 War Zone - Raviv Druker
19:55 The Main News Edition
21:15 Blackspace 2 - One of the Brave Ones
22:30 The Tube - Guy Lerer
23:12 The Sports Magazine
23:15 The Past Day - With Tal Berman
23:45 The Order of the Day: Real Estate

HOT CHANNEL 3 (H3)

08:26 The Good Fight 2
09:18 Bad Mothers
10:03 Refazel 2
10:34 Blinded
11:19 A Million Little Things 2
12:02 Bad Mothers
12:47 Refazel 2
13:17 Northern Exposure 6
14:04 The Good Fight 2
14:56 Days of Our Lives
15:37 The Young and the Restless, Yr. 46
16:14 The Bold and the Beautiful (2 eps)
17:00 Days of Our Lives
17:40 The Young and the Restless, Yr. 46
18:18 A Million Little Things 2
19:00 Blinded
19:47 Refazel 2
20:20 Sisi 2
21:16 A Million Little Things 2
22:00 Refazel 2
22:32 Northern Exposure 6
23:20 Sisi 2
00:13 The Good Fight 2

HOT ISRAELI ENTERTAINMENT

06:00 Renewal of Broadcasts at 08:00
08:00 My Sister Jackie 2
08:24 Spin
08:51 Nasrin 2
09:18 The Champ
09:54 Love Is Just around the Corner
10:26 The Game of Life
11:13 Psych Talk
11:39 Nasrin 2
12:08 Refazel 2
12:36 Spin
13:02 Multiple
13:27 Multiple
13:53 The Champ
14:28 Love Is Just around the Corner
15:01 The Game of Life
15:46 Refazel 2
16:16 Spin
16:40 The Champ
17:15 Love Is Just around the Corner
17:48 The Game of Life
18:34 Nasrin 2
19:06 Refazel 2
19:35 Spin
20:00 The Champ
20:39 Love Is Just around the Corner
21:11 The Game of Life
21:58 Desert Rose
22:24 Spin
22:52 Refazel 2
23:21 The Champ
00:00 Love Is Just around the Corner
00:33 The Game of Life
01:20 Spin
01:44 Desert Rose
02:12 Psych Talk
02:38 Psych Talk
03:08 Nasrin 2
03:37 My Sister Jackie 2
04:00 Renewal of Broadcasts at 08:00

HOT HBO (H4)

08:00 Renewal of Broadcasts at 09:35

09:35 My Brilliant Friend
10:35 Somebody Somewhere 2
11:05 Happily Married 2
11:49 Cry Wolf
12:46 The Allegation
13:21 My Brilliant Friend
14:21 Somebody Somewhere 2
14:50 Happily Married 2
15:36 Cry Wolf
16:33 The Allegation
17:09 Hollington Drive
17:57 Happily Married 2
18:42 Cry Wolf
19:35 The Allegation
20:10 La Stona
21:10 My Brilliant Friend
22:00 House of the Dragon 2
23:00 Mary & George
23:58 Looking 2
00:29 House of the Dragon 2

HOT ZONE (H5)

07:11 FBI: Most Wanted 4
07:54 Law & Order: SVU 25
08:36 S.W.A.T 7
09:19 NCIS: Hawaii 2
10:00 Magnum PI 5 (Part 2)
10:42 Station 19 S. 3
11:25 Law & Order: Organized Crime 4
12:07 Law & Order: SVU 25
12:49 FBI: Most Wanted 4
13:32 NCIS 20
14:15 S.W.A.T 7
14:58 NCIS: Hawaii 2
15:39 Station 19 S. 3
16:22 Law & Order: SVU 25
17:05 Magnum PI 5 (Part 2)
17:46 FBI: Most Wanted 4
18:29 S.W.A.T 7
19:12 Law & Order: Organized Crime 4
19:54 NCIS: Hawaii 2
20:35 Station 19 S. 3
21:18 Law & Order: SVU 25
22:03 S.W.A.T 7
22:43 Law & Order 23
23:25 FBI: Most Wanted 4

YES TV DRAMA

06:00 Malkat Hayofi Shel Jerusalem
06:35 Smother 3
07:30 Julia 2 (Series 2023)
08:20 Nancy Drew 4
09:05 Hotel Portofino 2
10:00 The Bold And The Beautiful 2020-2021
10:25 The Young And The Restless 49
11:00 Malkat Hayofi Shel Jerusalem
11:40 Smother 3
12:35 Julia 2 (Series 2023)
13:23 Nancy Drew 4
14:05 Hotel Portofino 2
15:00 Malkat Hayofi Shel Jerusalem
15:33 Nancy Drew 4
16:15 The Bold And The Beautiful 2020-2021
16:40 The Young And The Restless 49
17:20 Smother 3
18:15 Julia 2 (Series 2023)
19:05 Elsbeth
19:55 The Bold And The Beautiful 2020-2021
20:20 The Young And The Restless 49
21:00 The Traitors
22:00 We're Here 4
23:00 Succession 4
00:39 Elsbeth
01:29 The Flatshare
02:16 Succession 4

YES TV ACTION

06:07 Chicago Fire 8
06:50 Chicago Fire 8
07:31 Rabbit Hole
08:16 Law & Order: Organized Crime 2
08:59 Law & Order: Organized Crime 2
09:44 Di Ray 2
10:32 Ncis 21
11:15 Chicago Fire 8
11:58 Chicago Fire 8
12:40 Rabbit Hole
13:23 Law & Order: Organized Crime 2
14:04 Law & Order: Organized Crime 2
14:49 In The Dark 4
15:29 In The Dark 4
16:11 Chicago Fire 8
16:54 Chicago Fire 8
17:38 Di Ray 2
18:26 Ncis 21
19:08 Rabbit Hole
19:53 Law & Order: Organized Crime 2
20:35 Law & Order: Organized Crime 2
21:18 FBI: International 3
22:00 F.B.I 6
22:45 FBI: Most Wanted 5
23:30 Kvod
00:08 Line Of Duty 6
01:08 The Third Day, The 1
02:50 Kvod

YES TV COMEDY

06:00 Sni 47
07:10 The Neighborhood 4
07:35 The Neighborhood 4
08:00 Young & Hungry 2
08:25 Young & Hungry 2
08:50 Grown-ish 4
09:15 Grown-ish 4
09:46 Parks And Recreations 5
10:11 Parks And Recreations 5
10:36 The Neighborhood 4
11:01 The Neighborhood 4
11:26 Young & Hungry 2
11:51 Young & Hungry 2
12:22 Grown-ish 4
12:47 Grown-ish 4
13:12 Married With Children 9
13:38 Married With Children 9
14:00 Parks And Recreations 5
14:30 Parks And Recreations 5
14:55 Schitt's Creek
15:20 Schitt's Creek
15:45 How I Met Your Mother 5
16:10 How I Met Your Mother 5
16:35 Young Sheldon 5
16:55 Young Sheldon 5
17:15 Married With Children 9
17:40 Married With Children 9
18:05 Schitt's Creek
18:30 Schitt's Creek
18:55 How I Met Your Mother 5
19:20 How I Met Your Mother 5
19:45 Young Sheldon 5
20:05 Young Sheldon 5
20:25 Married With Children 9
20:50 Married With Children 9
21:15 Schitt's Creek
21:40 Schitt's Creek
22:05 How I Met Your Mother 5
22:30 How I Met Your Mother 5
22:55 Young Sheldon 5
23:15 Young Sheldon 5
23:35 Married With Children 9
00:00 Married With Children 9
00:25 Entourage 3
00:54 Entourage 3
01:29 The Neighborhood 4
01:49 The Neighborhood 4

MIDDLE EAST TV (Y109/H150)

11:00 Rawhide
12:00 Touched by an Angel
13:00 The 700 Club
14:00 Wake Today Count with Laurie Ditt
14:30 Supernatural Love of Yeshua
15:00 The Rifleman
15:30 The Rifleman
16:00 Gunsmoke
17:00 Rawhide
18:00 ILTV Weekly Review
19:30 It's Supernatural
20:00 Touched by an Angel
21:00 One America News Network

22:00 It's Supernatural
22:30 Israel Daily
23:00 Wanna Fest with Perry Stone
23:30 Wonders Without Numbers
00:00 Insider
00:30 The Rifleman
01:00 The Rifleman

HISTORY (Y37/H43)

06:00 The Iran-Israel War - 3
06:43 State Behind The Scenes
07:35 The Iran-Israel War - 3
08:17 The Iran-Israel War - 3
09:00 The Iran-Israel War - 3
09:43 The Iran-Israel War - 3
10:25 The Iran-Israel War - 3
11:07 The Iran-Israel War - 3
11:52 The Iran-Israel War - 3
12:34 The Iran-Israel War - 3
13:17 The Iran-Israel War - 3
13:59 The Iran-Israel War - 3
14:42 The Iran-Israel War - 3
15:25 The Iran-Israel War - 3
16:07 The Iran-Israel War - 3
16:49 The Iran-Israel War - 3
17:34 The Iran-Israel War - 3
18:16 The Iran-Israel War - 3
18:58 The Iran-Israel War - 3
19:40 The Iran-Israel War - 3
20:23 The Iran-Israel War - 3
21:06 The Iran-Israel War - 3
21:48 The Iran-Israel War - 3
22:30 The Iran-Israel War - 3
23:13 The Iran-Israel War - 3
23:55 The Iran-Israel War - 3
00:19 The Food That Built America 4 - 14
01:21 The Mega Brands That Built America - 2
02:05 The Curse Of Oak Island 11 - 18
02:47 Pawn Stars 24 - 19
03:28 American Pickers 20 - 16
04:13 The Bermuda Triangle: Into Cursed Waters
04:55 History's Greatest Mysteries 5 - 4

CLASSICA HD

06:00 Beethoven: Symphony No. 6 (Haitink)
06:44 Telemann: Jesus liegt in letzten Zugen
07:00 Bach: Cello Suite No. 5
07:25 Bach: Brandenburg Concerto No. 4 (2021)
07:41 Organ Works by J. S. Bach
08:38 Semi-final: Nils Wandlerer
08:58 Dance on Screen
09:57 Schumann: Fantasie in C, Op. 17
10:27 Classica Spotlight
11:03 Pierre Boulez - A Life for Music
12:03 Vocal Works by Puccini, Leoncavallo
12:35 Brahms: Symphony No. 4 (Wesler-Most)
13:16 Bach: Partita No. 2 and Sonata No. 3
14:14 Bellini-Liszt: Reminiscences de Norma
14:30 Classica Spotlight
15:01 Europakonzert 2012: Vienna
16:30 Bach: Brandenburg Concerto No. 3 (2021)
16:42 Dance: Wild Cursive
17:46 Mozart: Sinfonia Concertante, K 364
18:21 Berlioz: The Damnation of Faust (Rattle)
20:36 Documentary 2017: Liszt Competition
21:19 Solo Finals: Minsoo Hong
21:47 Classica Spotlight
22:00 Franck: Stradella (2012)
23:57 Haydn: Symphony No. 94 (2001)
00:04 Rimsky-Korsakov: Kitezh Suite
00:27 Classica Spotlight
01:00 Wagner: Das Rheingold (2003)
03:35 J. S. Bach: Mass in B minor, BWV 232

YES DOCU (Y8)

08:45 Life Of Crime 1984-2020
 Since 1984 Jon Alpert has followed the lives of three petty criminals. In this third film, he returns to his characters and the sad stories of their lives... 2021.
10:45 Icons Unearthed 2 Ep.6
 "Icons Unearthed 2: The Simpsons". 6 part docu-series. Brian Volk-Weiss explores the history of the legendary long-running animation show "The Simpsons" and its undeniable impact on pop-culture. 2022.
11:30 Belushi Using previously unheard audiotapes recorded shortly after John Belushi's death, director R.J. Cutler's documentary examines the too-short life of once-in-a-generation talent. Dir. R.J. Cutler. 2020.
13:15 Ennio Documentary film about the life and work of the legendary Italian composer Ennio Morricone. Dir. Giuseppe Tornatore.
15:45 Take That: Odyssey - Greatest Hits Tour "Take That: Odyssey - Greatest Hits Tour". The documentary chronicles concert tour by English band "Take That", in support of their greatest hits album, Odyssey (2018).
16:50 The Invisible Pilot - 1 A new series set out to investigate the story of Gary Batzner, a father of five who was recruited by the CIA and became the man who leaked the "Irangate" affair during Reagan's tenure. 2022.
17:45 Clinica de Migrantes An unprecedented look into the workings of one of the only health clinics that serves America's untouchable class: undocumented immigrants. Dir. Maimon Pozdorovkin. 2016.
18:25 Suiited The story of "Bindle and Keep", a Brooklyn tailoring company that makes custom suits for gender-nonconforming and transgender clients, following a range of people on the gender spectrum... Dir. Jason Benjamin. 2016.
19:40 The Lady And The Dale - 1 From Emmy-winning producers Mark and Jay Duplass comes a documentary series exploring an audacious 1970s auto scam centered around a mysterious entrepreneur Elizabeth Carmichael. 2020.
20:35 Seeking Fire Filmmakers Ian Bawa and Quan Luong travel the country meeting with people that are financially free, while also exploring their own relationship with money. Dir.: Ian Bawa, Quan Luong. Canada. 2022.
22:00 Master Of Light After being incarcerated for ten years, George Anthony Morton, a classically trained African-American artist, returns to Kansas City, to paint the key figures of his turbulent past. Dir. Rosa Ruth Boesten. 2022.
23:25 Where Is Baby Gabriel? Ep.1 Gabriel Johnson has been missing since 2009. Seven months old at the time, his disappearance shook the nation. Was baby Gabriel really murdered, or was he given up for adoption? Dir. Thomas Leader. 2023

CHANNEL 8 (H8)

06:00 Renewal of Broadcasts at Morning
06:02 This Is Joan Collins
06:29 Strangest Things
08:29 Hitler's Secret Sex Life
09:19 Hezbollah
10:18 The Syringe Killer
11:08 This Is Joan Collins
12:48 Strangest Things

13:34 Hitler's Secret Sex Life
14:29 Hezbollah
15:20 The Syringe Killer
16:08 This Is Joan Collins
17:50 Hezbollah
18:50 Hitler's Secret Sex Life
19:40 The Syringe Killer
20:29 Strangest Things
21:15 100 Days that rocked the kingdom
22:20 Dating Death
23:04 My so called selfish life
00:20 100 Days that rocked the kingdom
01:25 Dating Death
02:08 My so called selfish life
03:24 100 Days that rocked the kingdom

NATIONAL GEOGRAPHIC (Y41/H46)

06:15 Ice Road Rescue 6 - 7. White Oil: Warrior
07:02 Filthy Riches 2 - 3. Big Gator, Small Bo
07:48 Wicked Tuna: Outer Banks Showdown - 1. N
08:33 Air Crash Investigation 14 - 9. Step Im
09:20 Air Crash Investigation 14 - 10. Carnage
10:07 Drain The Oceans 1 - 9. Ultimate Battles
10:58 Ice Road Rescue 6 - 8. High Roads, High
11:45 Filthy Riches 2 - 4. Monster
12:31 Wicked Tuna: Outer Banks Showdown - 2. D
13:15 Primal Survivor: Escape The Amazon - 2
14:02 Lawless Island 4 - 13. Squibb Game
14:46 Lawless Island 4 - 14. A Winter's Feast
15:31 Air Crash Investigation 16 - 1. Killer A
16:17 Air Crash Investigation 16 - 2. Deadly M
17:03 Car S.O.S. 9 - 2. Fiat X1-9
17:49 Science of Stupid 6 - Episode 15
18:13 Science of Stupid 6 - Episode 16
18:37 Drain The Oceans 1 - 1. Deadly Pacific
19:27 Brain Games 2 - 11. Illusion Confusion
19:51 Brain Games 2 - 12. Battle of the Sexes
20:16 Ultimate Supercar: Compilation Season 2
21:00 Europe from Above: Season 6 - 6. Lapland
21:46 Gordon Ramsay: Uncharted: Season 4 - 2
22:31 Construction Falls - Episode 2
23:21 Ultimate Supercar: Compilation Season 2
00:01 Gordon Ramsay: Uncharted: Season 4 - 2
00:46 Primal Survivor: Extreme African Safari
01:32 Ultimate Survival WWII - 3. Death Railwa

MEZZO FULL (H195)

10:19 InterMezzo A selection of short musical clips and artmusic - enjoy a variety of genres from Jazz to Classical music.
11:00 Malkki, Josefowicz: Perry, Adams, Ives Royal Concertgebouw Orchestra and Leila Josefowicz (violin) led by Susanna Malkki perform works by Julia Perry, John Adams, and Charles Ives (Amsterdam, 2022).
12:23 Semyon Bychkov/Augustin Hadelich: Dvorak Dvorak: In Nature's Realm, concert overture, Op. 91, Violin Concerto in A minor, Op. 53, Symphony No. 8 in G major, Op. 88. Czech Philharmonic, Augustin Hadelich (violin) led by Semyon Bychkov. 2023.
14:04 InterMezzo A selection of short musical clips and artmusic - enjoy a variety of genres from Jazz to Classical music.
14:30 Rameau: Hippolytus and Arica Opera in 5 acts. Freiburger Barockorchester and Staatsoperchor led by Simon Rattle. Anna Prohaska (Ariana), Magdalena Kozena (Phaedra), Adriane Queiroz (Onone), Elsa Dreisig (Diana). Berlin, 2018.
17:02 Mozart: Piano Concerto No. 27 Berliner Philharmoniker led by Daniel Barenboim performs Wolfgang Amadeus Mozart's Piano Concerto No. 27 in B-flat major K. 595. Siemens-Villa, Berlin, 1989.
17:35 InterMezzo A selection of short musical clips and artmusic - enjoy a variety of genres from Jazz to Classical music.
18:00 Beethoven: Piano Concerto No. 2 Staatskapelle Berlin led by Daniel Barenboim performs Ludwig Van Beethoven's Piano Concerto No. 2. KlavierFestival Ruhr, Germany, 2007.
18:35 Beethoven: Piano Concerto No. 1 Staatskapelle Berlin led by Daniel Barenboim performs Ludwig Van Beethoven's Piano Concerto No. 1. KlavierFestival Ruhr, Essen, Germany, 2007.
19:16 Beethoven: Piano Concerto No. 3 Staatskapelle Berlin led by Daniel Barenboim performs Ludwig Van Beethoven's Piano Concerto No. 3. KlavierFestival Ruhr, Germany, 2007.
19:57 Beethoven: Piano Concerto No. 4 Staatskapelle Berlin led by Daniel Barenboim performs Ludwig Van Beethoven's Piano Concerto No. 4. KlavierFestival Ruhr, Germany, 2007.
20:37 Beethoven: Piano Concerto No. 5 Staatskapelle Berlin led by Daniel Barenboim performs Ludwig Van Beethoven's Piano Concerto No. 5. KlavierFestival Ruhr, Germany, 2007.
21:30 Mitten Dada documentary. Anne Teresa De Keersmaeker (choreography), Jean-Guhen Queyras (cello), Rosas company. 2018.
22:23 Gergely Madaras: Franck, Chopin, Dvorak Classical concert. Orchestre Philharmonique Royal de Liege and Gergely Madaras (conductor) performing works by Franck, Chopin and Dvorak. With Jan Lisiecki (piano). Liege, 2021.
00:05 Carmina Burana by Edward Clug SNG Maribor Opera Ballet, SNG Maribor Symphony Orchestra, SNG Maribor Opera Choir. Music: Carl Orff, choreographer: Edward Clug, conductor: Simon Krecic. Ljubljana Festival, 2023.
01:15 Bernard Haitink: Mahler's 7th - Berlin Classical concert. Berliner Philharmoniker and Bernard Haitink (conductor) performing Mahler's symphony no. 7 in E minor. Philharmonie, Berlin, 1992.
02:37 InterMezzo A selection of short musical clips and artmusic - enjoy a variety of genres from Jazz to Classical music.
04:00 Manu Dibango - Lugano Jazz Festival Manu Dibango accompanied by Michael Aido, Jean Pierre Coco, Elo Luong, Maria Lovensosse, Valerie Lobe, Michel Malecani, Adria Rabegna, Florance Titti, Brice Wonasi, Hetti Sina. Lugano, 1983.
05:10 Sun Ra Arkestra - Lugano Jazz Festival Sun Ra Arkestra performs at Lugano Jazz Festival, 1985.
05:56 Jack DeJohnette - Lugano Jazz Festival Jack DeJohnette (band-leader, drums), Howard Johnson

(Saxophone), Greg Osby (Saxophone), John Pettell (Saxophone), and Rufo Liu (Double bass) perform at Festival Jazz, Lugano, Switzerland, 1985.

MOVIES

HOT CINEMA 1 (H16)

06:24 The Professor and the Madman The creation story of the first edition of the Oxford English Dictionary in the mid-19th century. Cast: Mel Gibson, Sean Penn. Dir.: Farhad Safinia (Ireland, 2019).
08:28 The Italian Job Thieves plan to pull off the heist of their lives by creating Los Angeles largest traffic jam ever. With Mark Wahlberg, Charlize Theron (2013).
10:19 Miss Sloane Thriller. Miss Sloane is a successful lobbyist, but when she comes face to face with a powerful adversary, victory might come at a very high price. With Jessica Chastain, Mark Strong. (2016).
12:30 The Hunger Games: The Ballad... "The Hunger Games: The Ballad of Songbirds & Snakes". Coriolanus Snow mentors and develops feelings for the female District 12 tribute. Cast: Rachel Zegler. Dir.: Francis Lawrence (USA, 2023).
15:05 The Fabellmans Drama. In post-WWII Arizona young Sammy Fabellman aspires to become a filmmaker, but soon discovers a shattering family secret. Cast: Michelle Williams. Dir.: Steven Spielberg (USA, 2022).
17:34 The Next Three Days When a man's wife is arrested for murdering her boss, he spends the next few years trying to get her released from jail, until he decides to break her out. With Russell Crowe, Liam Neeson, Moran Atlas (2010).
19:46 Bohemian Rhapsody Drama. The story of the legendary British rock band Queen and lead singer Freddie Mercury, leading up to their famous performance at Live Aid (1985). Cast: Rami Malek. Dir.: Bryan Singer (UK, 2018).
22:00 The 355 A CIA agent joins forces with 3 international agents on a mission to retrieve a top-secret weapon that fell into mercenary hands. Cast: Jessica Chastain, Penelope Cruz. Dir.:Simon Kinberg (USA, 2022).

IPO to close '23-'24 season with 10 July concerts

By SARAH HERSHENSON

The Israel Philharmonic Orchestra 2023-24 concert season has been most unusual. It began in October 2023 with the IPO airing a live television broadcast called "Salute to Israel" in the Charles Bronfman Auditorium in Tel Aviv. However, Maestro Lahav Shani conducted the IPO for an audience of online viewers.

After the October 7 massacre, the regulations necessitated that the auditorium be empty, save for the posters of the faces of each of the 200+ hostages adorning the seats.

Nevertheless, the regulations have changed, and the IPO asserted itself and resumed concerts before live audiences. Nine months later, Maestro Shani is bringing the 2023-24 season to a close, and this time, the auditorium will be full.

Giving respect to the 120-plus hostages remaining in the hands of Hamas, Shani is leading the IPO in 10 performances in three series of concerts, with three different soloists testifying to the resilience, unity, and determination of the conductor, the audience, and the orchestra. Although this season has been fraught with changes due to the ongoing war, the IPO performed a full roster of concerts with first-class soloists and conductors.

"Our hearts are always with the families of the abductees," said Secretary General of the IPO Yair Mashiach. "We are blessed to have their presence at orchestra concerts as well as special initiatives such as recordings and performances of works dedicated to them and remembrances on the concert stage."

"We performed during the war," explained Mashiach, "except when security directives prohibited cultural events. We held concerts throughout the year, which included



LAHAV SHANI (Marco Borggreve)

chamber concerts and events in memory of those lost, for the families of the kidnapped, for the volunteers in hotels and hospitals, and the families of the evacuees. We are honored to have had the opportunity to provide moments of comfort through the power of music during these challenging times."

The first series of closing concerts will have Shani on the podium conducting the world premiere of a new orchestral work, titled *The Prisoner's Dilemma*, composed by Michael Seltenreich, one of his generation's most popular composers. This composition was commissioned by the Israel Philharmonic in collaboration with the Munich Symphony Orchestra and the Ernst Siemens Music Foundation. It will be performed again later this year by the Munich Philharmonic at the Lucerne Festival.

Seltenreich explained, in conversation with *The Jerusalem Post*, that the title "*Prisoner's Dilemma*" comes from the famous "game-theory thought experiment," noting that there was no "story" behind the piece.

"I wrote the piece in the months following the Octo-

ber 7th events and generally looked inwards for inspiration. My feelings are complex and layered, and the piece was my outlet for those feelings," he said.

The IPO organized a pre-concert talk, led by Seltenreich, an hour before the concert, during which he will answer questions and dispel fears. "My music is meant to convey music, a language that excels when it is abstract," he posited. "Where the piece meets every audience member (differently) is what makes it interesting for me. I hope there will be a wide range of interpretations. There is no wrong way to listen to the piece and no wrong way to interpret it."

TURNING BACK to the evening's program, the solo artist is acclaimed violinist Tabea Zimmermann, who will perform the *Viola Concerto* by Alfred Schnittke with the orchestra in four performances in Tel Aviv, Haifa, and Jerusalem between July 3 and July 7. Zimmermann is a soloist and chamber musician par excellence whose command of the repertoire bridges the centuries. She is a champion of music of the 20th and 21st centuries, performing the *Schnittke Violin Concerto* with important conductors and orchestras all over the world.

Stepping into the Romantic period, the concert will conclude with the magnificent and beloved *Symphony No. 5* by Peter Ilyich Tchaikovsky. Programming and blending new works with familiar favorites is a mission of the IPO.

Alisa Meves, the artistic director of the Israel Philharmonic, explained, "It is our firm belief that music, like anything else, cannot survive without innovation. The premiere of *Le Sacre du Printemps* (by Igor Stravinsky) in 1913 caused a sensation between those who immediately fell in love with the piece

and those who utterly disliked it. Today, it is considered one of the greatest works of the 20th century."

"Not every new work can easily be understood or turned into a masterpiece. However, we believe it is our duty to keep looking for and encouraging young composers by making their works heard," Meves said.

The first series of closing concerts will take place on July 3 at the Rappaport Auditorium in Haifa, July 4 and 5 at the Charles Bronfman Cultural Hall in Tel Aviv, and July 7 at the Sherover Auditorium in Jerusalem.

The second series will showcase the Beethoven Triple Concerto for violin, cello, piano, and orchestra in Tel Aviv at the Charles Bronfman Auditorium and Haifa Rappaport Auditorium. Maestro Shani will conduct from the piano, joined by IPO violinist and concertmaster Dumitru Pocitari and IPO principal cellist, Haran Melzer. The Beethoven Triple Concerto (for trio and orchestra) is the only concerto that Beethoven composed for more than one solo instrument, and it has been played and recorded by the best trios and orchestras worldwide.

The third series of three concerts in Tel Aviv will bring one of the world's leading violinists, Leonidas Kavakos, performing *Violin Concerto 2* by Bela Bartok onstage with Maestro Shani and the IPO. The second half of the program is devoted to luxuriating in the beauty of *Symphony No. 6 (Pathétique)* by Tchaikovsky.

On Friday afternoon, July 19, Kavakos will again perform the *Bartok Violin Concerto* with Maestro Shani and the IPO with the delightful addition of Ravel's *La Valse* and the popular *Intermezzo* series presenter, Kobi Meidan, bringing the IPO 2023-24 season to a close.

For more information, visit ipo.co.il or call *3766.



REVELERS ENJOY the Glastonbury Festival in Pilton, Somerset, Britain, on Saturday. (Dylan Martinez/Reuters)

Glastonbury rife with pro-Palestinian calls

Reuters and Jerusalem Post Staff

The iconic Glastonbury Festival taking place in Britain featured many displays of Palestinian identification, from performers and attendees alike.

Palestinian flags flew liberally throughout the five-day festival, with pop superstar Dua Lipa dancing over to the display to get them in the camera shot for the audience.

Blur's Damon Albarn, who made a surprise appearance during *Bombay Bicycle Club's* set on Friday, asked the festival-goers to cheer if they were "pro-Palestine" and agreed that there was an "unfair war" going on in Gaza.

One Twitter user pointed out the lack of any mention during the festival of the Israeli hostages being held in Gaza or the hundreds of Israelis who were massacred by Hamas at the Nova Festival on October 7.

"I wonder if the Palestinian flag-waving people at Glastonbury 2024 give a thought to the young people massacred at Nova," read the tweet.

Coldplay, which made it a point during its current tour to emphasize the plight of the hostages, brought Palestinian-Chilean singer Elyanna on stage for their Glastonbury headline slot on Saturday.

Towards the end of band's set, frontman Chris Martin called for unity at "what could be perceived to be a very divided time on Earth."

"Thank you for giving us and me restored faith that most humans can gather together very peacefully with all different genders, sexualities, ages, everything, and just sing and have a good time and ice cream. There's no fighting, nothing like that," he said.

Kinky Friedman, singer, raconteur, novelist, and Texas Jewboys frontman, dies at 79

By ANDREW SILOW-CARROLL/JTA

Kinky Friedman, the cigar-chomping, mustachioed Texan country singer and mystery novelist whose body of work often seemed like the un-kosher marriage of the Borscht Belt and the Bible Belt, died June 27 from complications of Parkinson's disease. He was 79.

As frontman for the flamboyant 1970s country group Kinky Friedman and the Texas Jewboys, he was notorious for satirical songs such as "They Don't Make Jews Like Jesus Anymore," a raucous sendup of racism, and "Get Your Biscuits in the Oven and Your Buns in Bed," which poked fun at feminism.

He could also turn serious, with songs dealing with social issues such as abortion and commercialism. His 1973 song "Ride 'em Jewboy" is a haunting elegy on the Holocaust, recorded by Willie Nelson and sung in concert by Bob Dylan. The lyrics transform cowboy clichés into a rumination on Hitler's victims:

Now the smoke from camps a-rising
See the helpless creatures on their way
Hey, old pal, ain't it surprising
How far you can go before you stay?

The Jewboys broke up in the mid-1970s and Friedman spent much of the next decade in a haze of drugs. In the mid-1980s he cleaned up and began writing a series of successful, raunchy, comic mystery novels whose main character is himself. He wrote more than 20 books, all on a manual typewriter.

One reviewer, the actress and author Fannie Flagg, described his writing as "Raymond Chandler on drugs, if Chandler had possessed a tremendous sense of humor."

In 2006 he ran for governor of Texas, looking to unseat incum-



KINKY FRIEDMAN styled himself after popular American satirists Will Rogers and Mark Twain. (JTA)

hair. His parents were educators who ran a summer camp for mainly Jewish children at Echo Hill Ranch, the 400-acre spread where Friedman would come to live in a small but rambling lodge.

"We had services every Friday night, and Kinky would play the guitar," Ellen St. Clair, who spent four summers at Echo Hill, told JTA in 2006.

The property is also home to the Utopia Animal Rescue Ranch, a home and adoption center for abused and abandoned dogs that Friedman helped found.

He attended the University of Texas at Austin, where he majored in psychology. Friedman proudly recalled that during their time as members of the Jewish Tau Delta Phi fraternity he and a friend, Nathan "Chinga" Chavin, tried to admit African-American students, an effort that was ultimately thwarted.

After graduating in 1966, he served in the Peace Corps in Borneo. After returning from the Peace Corps, he formed Kinky Friedman and the Texas Jewboys, at a time when hybrid "country rock" bands - including The Band, the Eagles, and Buffalo Springfield - were rising up the charts. The Jewboys drew a cult following - and occasional protests, as when the National Organization for Women awarded Friedman its "Male Chauvinist Pig Award" in 1973.

In early 1976, he joined Dylan on the second leg of the Rolling Thunder Revue tour. Friedman claimed to have been the first "full-blooded" Jew to take the stage at the Grand Ole Opry.

Friedman would cite Mark Twain with the humorist Will Rogers as his heroes, and the inevitable comparisons were not far off.

"These days," he once said, "there are many people around the world who listen to the songs that made me infamous and read the books that made me respectable."*

Versatile Martin Mull mastered the art of always being right for the job

APPRECIATION

By ROBERT LLOYD

For anyone lucky enough to have experienced the long arc of his career, the death of droll, dry, deadpan Martin Mull, Thursday at 80, feels like the end of an era.

A writer, songwriter, musician, comedian, comic actor, and, out of the spotlight, a serious painter, Mull was a comfortingly disquieting presence - deceptively normal, even bland, but with a spark of evil. Martin Mull is with us, one felt, and that much at least is right with the world.

There was a sort of timelessness in his person. As a well-dressed, articulate young person, he seemed older than his years; in later years, owl-eyed behind his spectacles, he came across as oddly boyish.

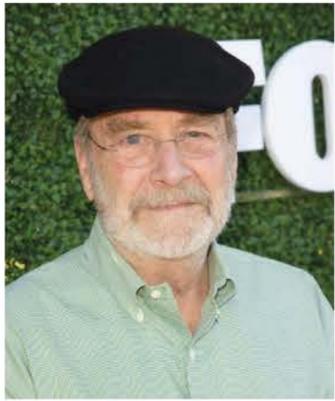
He leaves behind a long, uninterrupted string of screen credits, beginning with Norman Lear's small-town soap-opera satire *Mary Hartman, Mary Hartman* and including regular roles in *Roseanne* and *Sabrina the Teenage Witch*, recurring parts on *Veep* and *Arrested Development*, and guest shots ranging from *Taxi to Law & Order: Special Victims Unit* and in such films as *Mr. Mom*, *Clue* and *Mrs. Doubtfire*.

And so it seemed he would always be around and working. Even so, his appearances were never quite expected or in the expected place. But he was ever welcome and always right for the job.

Like Steve Martin, his friend and junior by a few years, he was an accomplished instrumentalist; as a purveyor of witty comic songs, he was in the tradition of Tom Lehrer and Flanders and Swann and a peer of Dan Hicks, with whom he shared a taste in floral-print shirts.

He was a countercultural cabaret artist who set himself apart from the counterculture and, again like Martin, he dressed well in an age when younger comics let their hair grow long and wore street clothes to distinguish themselves from their suit-and-tie elders.

But where Martin was a flurry of flapping arms and legs, Mull worked from a place



ACTOR MARTIN MULL in 2018. (Earl Gibson III/Getty Images/TNS)

of stillness; indeed, his early appearances found him seated. His musical stage act, christened Martin Mull & His Fabulous Furniture, found him in his signature prop, a big armchair, leaning forward over his big, hollow-body guitar ("Ever seen one of these before? It's electric. You'll be seeing a lot of those in the near future"). Later, he leaned back as Barth Gimble, the host of the talk show parodies *Fernwood 2 Night* and *America 2 Night*. Even his solo spots on *The Tonight Show*, on which he was a reliably hilarious, blue-streak-talking guest, usually playing off his career in show business, were delivered sitting.

On *Mary Hartman, Mary Hartman*, Mull played Garth Gimble, an abusive husband who died impaled on the star of a Christmas tree; one would say that Garth had to die in order that Barth, his twin brother, might live. On the spun-off *Fernwood 2 Night*, Mull as Barth and Fred Willard, as confidently dim sidekick Jerry Hubbard, created a telepathic double act in which they could seem antithetical expressions of a single character. Together, the talk shows lasted only two summer seasons, but because of their weeknightly appear-

ance - they adopted the form of the thing parodied - produced 130 episodes, giving them cultural weight. (You may find them extracted all over the Internet.)

MULL GREW up in North Ridgeville, Ohio, not far from Fernwood in the map of the imagination, and white insularity was a theme in his comedy.

My first Mull memory came with the 1973 album *Martin Mull & His Fabulous Furniture in Your Living Room!* which opened with a version of "Dueling Banjos" played on tubas and included a "Lake Erie delta" blues song, purportedly learned from his real estate agent grandfather; it was performed on a ukulele with a baby bottle used as a slide: "I woke up this afternoon/Both cars were gone/I felt so low down deep inside/I threw my drink across the lawn."

The History of White People in America, he told David Letterman, would examine "what, if anything, has the white Anglo-Saxon Protestant done in this country since World War I. It'll be taking a pretty good hard look at that."

A memorable episode of *Fernwood* exhibits a Jewish person stopped for speeding as he passed through town as something of an exotic animal, for the benefit of Fernwoodians who may have "actually never seen a real live Jew before." "I hope that seat's all right," Barth says, welcoming his guest. "I'm not sure what you're used to."

Like many great comedians - the Marx Brothers and W.C. Fields before him, or Martin and Albert Brooks in his own time - Mull was a temperamental outsider who achieved the success of an insider, while remaining essentially untamed.

It's not beside the point that he was, from first to last, a serious artist, with undergraduate and graduate degrees from the Rhode Island School of Design - where, it does not seem too coincidental to mention, the Talking Heads were later born.

He would refer to show business as a "day job" that allowed him to pursue painting.

We were lucky he needed the work. (Los Angeles Times/TNS)